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THE WORKS

Of the LEARNED

JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

1668-1723

Late Rector of *Havant*, and ſometime Fellow of UNIVERSITY-COLLEGE in *Oxford*.

CONTAINING,

I. *ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ:* Or, The ANTIQUITIES of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH. In twenty three Books.

II. A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of LAY-BAPTISM. In two Parts.

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In TWO VOLUMES.

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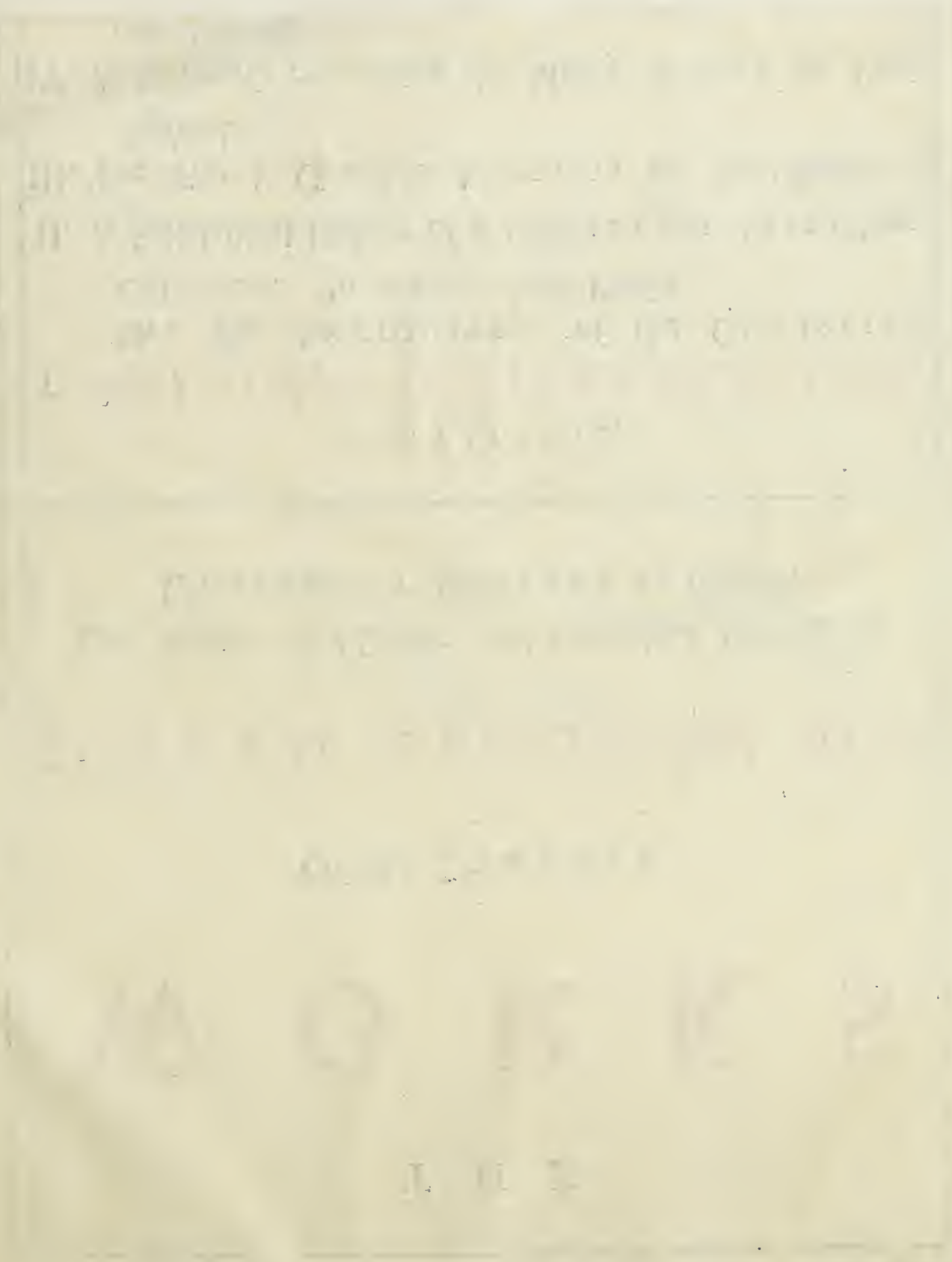

To the Right Reverend Father in GOD,

JONATHAN,

Lord Biſhop of WINCHESTER,

And PRELATE *of the Moſt Noble Order of the* GARTER.

My Lord,

HAVING once determined with my ſelf to make theſe Collections Publick, I needed no long time to conſider, to whom I ſhould firſt Addreſs and Preſent them. They are, my Lord, the firſt Fruits of my Labour under Your Lordſhip's Government and Inſpection: And I was willing to think, and do preſume I did not think amiſs, that Your Lordſhip had a ſort of Title to the firſt Fruits of any of Your Clergy's Labour; eſpecially if the Subject, on which they were employed, was ſuitable to their Calling, and had any direct Tendency to promote Chriſtian Knowledge in the World. The Subject of the preſent Diſcourſe, being an Eſſay upon the antient Uſages and Cuſtoms of the Primitive Church, and a particular Account of the State of her Clergy, is ſuch, as being conſidered barely in its own Nature, I know cannot but be approved by a Perſon of Your Lordſhip's Character; whoſe Care is concerned not only in Preſerving the Purity of the Primitive Faith, but alſo in Reviving the Spirit of the Antient Diſcipline and Primitive Practice: And were the Management any ways anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Subject, That would doubly recommend it to Your Lordſhip's Favour; ſince Apples of Gold are ſomething the more beautiful for being ſet in Pictures of Silver. But I am ſenſible the Subject is too Sublime and Copio[illegible]oo

Nice and Difficult, to have Juſtice done it from any ſingle Hand, much leſs from mine: All therefore I can pretend to hope for from Your Lordſhip, is, That Your Candour and Goodneſs will make juſt Allowances for the Failings, which Your Sagacity and Quickneſs will eaſily perceive to be in this Performance. I am not, I confeſs, without Hopes, that as well the Abſtruſeneſs and Difficulty of the Subject it ſelf, as my own difficult Circumſtances, under which I was forced to labour, for want of proper Aſſiſtance of abundance of Books, may be ſome Apology for the Defects of the Work: And if I can but ſo far obtain Your Lordſhip's good Opinion, as to be thought to have deſigned well; as I am already conſcious of my own good Intentions to conſecrate all my Labours to the publick Service of the Church; that will inſpire me with freſh Vigour, notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, to proceed with Cheerfulneſs and Alacrity in the remaining Parts of this Work, which are yet behind, and which I ſhall be the more willing to ſet about, if I can perceive that it has Your Lordſhip's Approbation. The Countenance and Encouragement of ſuch a Judge may perhaps have a more univerſal Influence, to excite the Zeal of many others, who have greater Abilities to ſerve the Church: And I know not how better to congratulate Your Lordſhip upon Your happy Acceſſion to the Epiſcopal Throne of this Dioceſe, than by wiſhing You the Bleſſing and Satisfaction of ſuch a Clergy, whoſe Learning and Induſtry, Piety and Religion, influenced by the Wiſdom of Your Conduct, and animated by the Example of Your Zeal and Perſeverance, even to Impriſonment in Times of greateſt Difficulty, may ſo qualify them to diſcharge every Office of their Function, as may make Your Dioceſe one of the ſhining Glories of the Preſent Church, and a provoking Example to the Future: Which is the hearty Prayer and Deſire of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's Faithful, and Obedient Servant,

J. BINGHAM.

THE

PREFACE

[To the First Volume, when printed in 8vo.]

THIS *Volume, which is now publiſhed, being only a Part of a larger Work, the Reader, I preſume, will expect I ſhould give him ſome little Account of the whole Deſign, and the Reaſons which engaged me upon this Undertaking. The Deſign which I have formed to myſelf, is to give ſuch a Methodical Account of the Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, as others have done of the* Greek, *and* Roman, *and* Jewiſh *Antiquities; not by writing an Hiſtorical, or continued Chronological Account of all Tranſactions, as they happened in the Church, (of which kind of Books there is no great want) but by reducing the antient Cuſtoms, Uſages and Practices of the Church under certain proper Heads, whereby the Reader may take a View at once of any particular Uſage or Cuſtom of Chriſtians, for four or five of the firſt Centuries, to which I have generally confined my Enquiries in this Diſcourſe. I cannot but own, I was moved with a ſort of Emulation (not an Unholy one, I hope) to ſee ſo many Learned Men with ſo much Zeal employed in Collecting and Publiſhing the Antiquities of* Greece *and* Rome; *whilſt in the mean time we had Nothing (ſo far as I was able to learn) that could be called a Compleat Collection of the Antiquities of the Church, in the Method that is now propoſed. The Compilers of Church-Hiſtory indeed have taken Notice of many Things of this kind, as they paſs along in the Courſe of their Hiſtory, as* Baronius, *and the* Centuriators, *and ſeveral others: But then the Things lie ſcattered in ſo many Places in large Volumes, that there are few Readers of thoſe few that enter upon Reading thoſe Books, that will be at the Pains to Collect their Accounts of Things into one View, or Digeſt and Methodize their ſcattered Obſervations. There are a great many other Authors, who have written ſeveral Excellent Diſcourſes upon particular Subjects of Church-Antiquity, out of which perhaps a* Gronovius *or a* Grævius *might make a more Noble Collection of Antiquities, than any yet Extant in the World: But as no One has yet attempted ſuch a Work, ſo neither, when it was effected, would it be for the Purchaſe or Peruſal of every ordinary Reader, for whoſe Uſe chiefly my own Collections are intended. There are a third Sort of Writers, who have alſo done very good Service in Explaining and Illuſtrating ſeveral Parts of Church-Antiquity, in the Occaſional Notes and Obſervations upon many of the antient Writers; of which kind are the curious Obſervations of* Albaſpiny, Juſtellus, Petavius, Valeſius, Cotelerius, Baluzius, Sirmondus, Gothofred, Fabrotus, *Biſhop* Beverege, *and many others, who have publiſhed the Works of the antient Fathers, and Canons of the Councils, with very Excellent and Judicious Remarks upon them But theſe again lie ſcattered in ſo many and ſo large Volumes, without any other Order, than as the Authors on whom they commented, would admit of, that they are not to be reckoned upon, or uſed as any Methodized or Digeſted Collection of Church Antiquities, even by thoſe who have Ability to Purchaſe, or Opportunity to Read them. Beſides theſe there are another ſort of Writers, who have purpoſely undertaken to give an Account of the antient Uſages of the Church, in Treatiſes written particularly upon that Subject; ſuch as* Gavantus, Caſalius, Durantus, *and ſeveral others of the* Roman *Communion: But theſe Writers do by no means ſatisfy a Judicious and Inquiſitive Reader, for ſeveral Reaſons;* 1. *Becauſe their Accounts are very Imperfect, being con-*

fined chiefly to the Liturgical Part of Church-Antiquity, beſide which there are a great many other Things neceſſary to be explained, which they do not ſo much as touch upon, or once mention. 2. *Becauſe in treating of that Part they build much upon the Collections of* Gratian, *and ſuch Modern Writers, and uſe the Authority of the ſpurious Epiſtles of the antient Popes, which have been exploded long ago, as having no pretence to Antiquity in the Judgment of all Candid and Judicious Writers. But chiefly their Accounts are unſatisfactory, becauſe,* 3. *Their whole Deſign is to varniſh over the Novel Practices of the* Romiſh *Church, and put a Face of Antiquity upon them: To which purpoſe they many times repreſent antient Cuſtoms in diſguiſe, to make them look like the Practices of the preſent Age, and offer them to the Reader's View not in their own Native Dreſs, but in the Similitude and Reſemblance of Modern Cuſtoms. Cardinal* Bona *himſelf could not forbear making this Reflection upon ſome ſuch Writers as theſe, whom he juſtly cenſures, as deſerving very ill* * *of the Sacred Rites of the Church, and their venerable Antiquity, who meaſure all antient Cuſtoms by the Practice of the preſent Times, and judge of the Primitive Diſcipline only by the Rule and Cuſtoms of the Age they live in; being deceived by a falſe Perſuaſion, that the Practice of the Church never differed in any Point from the Cuſtoms which they learned from their Forefathers and Teachers, and which they have been inured to from their tender Years: Whereas we retain many Words in common with the antient Fathers, but in a Senſe as different from theirs, as our Times are remote from the firſt Ages after Chriſt; as will appear (ſays he) when we come to diſcourſe of the Oblation, Communion, and other Parts of Divine Service. This is an ingenuous Confeſſion, and withal a juſt Reflection upon the Partiality of the Writers of his own Church; and a good Reaſon, in my Opinion, why we are not to expect any exact Accounts of Antiquity from any Writers of that Communion; though ſome are leſs tainted with her Errors than others, and can allow themſelves to be a little more Liberal and Free upon ſome Occaſions than the reſt of their Brethren: Yet even* Bona *himſelf, after the Reflection he has made upon others, runs into the very ſame Error, and falls under his own Cenſure: And* Habertus, *though otherwiſe a very Learned and Ingenuous Perſon, who has written about the* Greek *Liturgicks, as* Bona *has of the* Latin; *is often through Prejudice carried away with the common Failing of the Writers of that Side, whoſe Talents are chiefly employed in Palliating the Faults of the Communion and Cauſe they are engaged in. So that if we are to expect any exact Account of Church-Antiquities, it muſt be from ſome* Proteſtant *Authors, who can write with greater Freedom and leſs Prejudice concerning the Uſages and Cuſtoms of the Primitive Church. But among theſe there are very few that have travelled very far in this Way; the Generality of our Writers contenting themſelves to collect and explain ſo much of Church-Antiquity, as was neceſſary to ſhew the Errors and Novelties of Popery; but not deſcending to any more Minute and Particular Conſideration of things, which did not come within the Compaſs of the Controverſy they had with the* Romiſh *Church.* Hoſpinian *indeed, in the beginning of the Reformation, wrote ſeveral large Volumes of the Origin of Temples, Feſtivals, Monachiſm, with the Hiſtory of the Euchariſt. But as theſe take in but very few Subjects, ſo they are too full of Modern Relations; which make them ſomething tedious to an ordinary Reader, and no compleat Account of Primitive Cuſtoms neither.* Spalatenſis *in his Books de* Republica Eccleſiaſtica *has gone a little farther; yet he generally confines himſelf to the Popiſh Controverſy, and has much out of* Gratian *and the Canon Law; which indeed ſerved him as good Arguments* ad Hominem *againſt thoſe whom he had to deal with, but it will not paſs for Authentick Hiſtory in other Caſes.* Suicerus's Theſaurus Eccleſiaſticus *is abundantly more Particular, and indeed the beſt Treaſure of this ſort of Learning, that has yet been publiſhed: But his Collections are chiefly out of the* Greek *Fathers; and only in the Method of a Vocabulary or Lexicon, explaining Words and Things preciſely in the Order of the Alphabet. The moſt Methodical Account of Things of this kind, that I have yet ſeen, is that of our Learned Countryman Dr.* Cave, *in his Excellent Book of* Primitive Chriſtianity; *wherein he has given a ſuccinct but clear Account of many antient Cuſtoms and Practices, not ordinarily to be met with elſewhere. But his Deſign being chiefly to recommend the Moral Part of Primitive Chriſtianity to the Obſervation and Practice of Men, he was not obliged to be very particular in explaining many other Things, which though uſeful in themſelves, yet might be looked upon as foreign to his Deſign; and for that reaſon, I preſume, he induſtriouſly omitted*

* Bona Rerum Liturgic. lib. 1. c. 18. n. 1.

omitted them. There are ſome other Books, which I have not yet ſeen, but only gueſs by the Titles that they may be of this kind; ſuch as Bebelius's Antiquitates Eccleſiaſticæ, Martinay de Ritibus Eccleſiæ, Hendecius de Antiquitatibus Eccleſiaſticis, Quenſtedt Antiquitates Biblicæ & Eccleſiaſticæ: *But I preſume, whatever they are, they will not foreſtall my Deſign, which is chiefly to gratify the* Engliſh *Reader with an entire Collection of Church-Antiquities in our own Language, of which this Volume is publiſhed as a Specimen. And if this proves uſeful to the Publick, and finds a favourable Acceptance, it will be followed with the remaining Parts of the Work (as my Time and Occaſions will give me leave) according to the Scheme here laid down, or with as little Variation as may be. I ſhall next treat of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy, as I have here done of the Superior: Then of the Elections and Ordinations of the Clergy: And the ſeveral Qualifications of thoſe that were to be ordained: Of the Privileges, Immunities, and Revenues of the Clergy, and the ſeveral Laws and Rules which particularly reſpected their Function. To which I ſhall ſubjoin an Account of the antient Aſceticks, Monks, Virgins and Widows, who were a ſort of Retainers to the Church. After this ſhall follow an Account of the antient Churches, and their ſeveral Parts, Utenſils, Conſecrations, Immunities, together with a* Notitia *of the antient Diviſion of the Church into Provinces, Dioceſes, Pariſhes, and the Original of theſe. After which I ſhall ſpeak of the Service of the Church, beginning with the Inſtitution and Inſtruction of the Catechumens, and deſcribing their ſeveral Stages before Baptiſm; then ſpeak of Baptiſm it ſelf, and its ordinary Concomitant, Confirmation. 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After this I ſhall proceed to give a particular Account of their Faſts, and Feſtivals, their Marriage Rites, and Funeral Rites, and the Exerciſe of antient Church Diſcipline; their Manner of holding Councils and Synods, Provincial, Patriarchal, Oecumenical; the Power of Chriſtian Princes in Councils, and out of them: The Manner and Uſe of their* Literæ Formatæ, *and the ſeveral ſorts of them: Their different ways of Computation of Time: To which I ſhall add an Account of their Schools, Libraries, and Methods of Educating and Training up Perſons for the Miniſtry; and ſay ſomething of the ſeveral Tranſlations of the* Bible *in uſe among them, and ſeveral other Miſcellaneous Rites and Things, which would properly come under none of the forementioned Heads; ſuch as their Manner of taking Oaths, their Abſtinence from Blood, their frequent Uſe of the Sign of the Croſs, their ſeveral ſorts of publick Charities, the Honours which they paid to their Martyrs, together with an Account of their Sufferings, and the ſeveral Inſtruments of Cruelty uſed by the Heathen to haraſs and torment them. In treating of all which, or any other ſuch-like Matters, as ſhall offer themſelves, I ſhall obſerve the ſame Method that I have done in this Volume; illuſtrating the antient Cuſtoms from the Original Records of Antiquity, and joining the Opinions of the beſt Modern Authors that I can have Opportunity to peruſe, for unfolding Points of greateſt Difficulty. I confeſs, indeed, this Work will ſuffer ſomething in my Hands, for want of ſeveral Books, which I have no Opportunity to ſee, nor Ability to purchaſe: But that perhaps may tempt ſome others, who are at the Fountains of Learning, and have all manner of Books at Command, to add to my Labours, and improve this Eſſay to a much greater Perfection; ſince it is a Subject that will never be exhauſted, but ſtill be capable of Additions and Improvement. The chief Aſſiſtance I have hitherto had, is from the noble Benefaction of one, who* being dead, yet ſpeaketh; *I mean the renowned Biſhop* Morley, *whoſe Memory will for ever remain freſh in the Hearts of the Learned and the Good; who, among many other Eminent Works of Charity and Generoſity, becoming his great Soul, and high Station in the Church; ſuch as the Augmentation of ſeveral ſmall Benefices, and Proviſion of a decent Habitation and Maintenance for the Widows of Poor Clergymen in his Dioceſe,* &c. *has alſo bequeathed a very valuable Collection of Books to the Church of* Wincheſter, *for the Advancement of Learning among the Parochial Clergy: And I reckon it none of the leaſt Part of my Happineſs, that Providence removing me early from the Univerſity, (where the beſt Supplies of Learning are to be had)*

Dr. Radcliffe.

had) placed me by the Hands of a Generous Benefactor, without any Importunity or Seeking of my own, in such a Station, as gives me Liberty and Opportunity to make use of so good a Library, tho' not so perfect as I could wish. But the very mentioning this, as it is but a just Debt to the Memory of that great Prelate, so perhaps it may provoke some other generous Spirit, of like Abilities and Fortune with him, to add new Supplies of Modern Books published since his Death, to augment and compleat his Benefaction. Which would be an Addition of new Succours and Auxiliaries to my self, and others in my Circumstances, and better enable us to serve the Publick. In the mean time, the Reader may with Ease enjoy, what with no small Pains and Industry I have collected and put together; and he may make Additions from his own Reading and Observation, as I have done upon several Authors, whom I have had occasion to peruse and mention. From some of which, and those of great Fame and Learning, I have sometimes thought myself obliged to dissent, upon some nice and peculiar Questions: But I have never done it, without giving my Reasons, and treating them with that Decency and Respect, which is due to their great Learning and Character. If in any thing I have made Mistakes of my own, (as I cannot be so vain as to think I have made none) every Intelligent Reader may make himself Judge, and correct them with Ingenuity and Candor. All I can say, is, That I have been as careful to avoid Mistakes as I could, in so Critical and Curious a Subject; and I hope there will not be found so many, but that this Essay *may prove Useful both to the Learned and Unlearned; to instruct the one, who cannot read these Things in their Originals; and refresh the Memories of the other, who may know many things, that they cannot always readily have recourse to. Or, if it be of no use to greater Proficients, it may at least be some Help to Young Students and New Beginners, and both provoke them to the Study of antient Learning, and a little prepare them for their Entrance upon it. Besides, I considered, there were some who might have a good Inclination toward the Study of these things, who yet have neither Ability to purchase, nor Time and Opportunity to read over many antient Fathers and Councils: And to such, a Work of this Nature composed ready to their Hands, might be of considerable Use, to acquaint them with the State and Practice of the Primitive Church, when they have no better Opportunities to be informed about it. If in any of these Respects, these Collections (which were designed for the Honour of the antient Church, and the Benefit of the Present,) may prove serviceable toward those Ends, I shall not think my Time and Pains ill bestowed.*

THE

THE

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Sect. 1. *This Poſition proved firſt from their general Declarations againſt giving religious Worſhip to any Creature.* Sect. 2. Secondly, *from their denying the Worſhip of Saints and Angels in particular, and condemning it as Idolatry.* Sect. 3. Thirdly, *from their charging the Practice of it upon Hereticks and Heathens only.* p. 574

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Sect. 1. *This proved,* Firſt, *from plain Teſtimonies of the Ancients aſſerting it.* Sect. 2. Secondly, *from the People's joining in Pſalmody and Prayer, and making their proper* Reſponſes *in the* Liturgy. Sect. 3. Thirdly, *from the frequent Exhortations of the Fathers to the People, to hear, and read, and pray with Underſtanding.* Sect. 4. Fourthly, *from the References made by the Fathers in their Sermons to the Prayers and Leſſons in the Service of the Church.* Sect. 5. Fifthly, *from the Scriptures being tranſlated into all Languages from the firſt Foundation of Churches.* Sect. 6. Sixthly, *from the Uſe of the Order of Interpreters in the Church.* Sect. 7. Seventhly, *from the Cuſtom of having Bibles laid in Churches, for the People to read in private.* Sect. 8. Eighthly, *from the general Allowance granted to all Men to have, and read the Scriptures in their Mother Tongue. Which Privilege was never infringed by any but the Heathen Perſecutors.* Sect. 9. *From the Liberty granted to Children and* Catechumens *to join in publick Prayers, and read the Scriptures.* Sect. 10. *From the Form and Tenour of the Ordination of Readers in the Church.* p. 579

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CHAP. IX.

Of frequent Communion, and the Times of Celebrating it in the antient Church.

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AFter theſe Collections were printed off, I had occaſion to make one Remark upon a Word uſed in the 1ſt Book, Chap. 2. Sect. 17. which becauſe I have no Opportunity to mention elſewhere; the Reader may pleaſe to take it in this Place. The Name *Piloſiotæ*, which I ſay the *Origenians* uſed as a Term of Reproach for the Catholicks, ought rather to be read *Peluſiotæ*, from πήλος, *Lutum*; in which Senſe it ſignifies Earthly, Senſual, Carnally-minded Men, which were the Names the *Origenians* beſtowed upon the Orthodox, becauſe they had not the ſame Apprehenſions of Spiritual and Heavenly Bodies as they had. St. *Jerom* gives this Explication in expreſs Terms, in a Paſſage which has lately occurr'd to my Obſervation, where he uſes [*] the *Greek* Word πηλωσιώτας, which explains his Meaning in other Places, and puts the Matter beyond all Diſpute. So that though *Baronius* from ſome Copies reads it *Piloſiotæ*, yet the true reading is *Peluſiotæ*, as the Paſſage cited in the Margin does evince.

[*] *Hieron. Com. in Jerom.* 29. p. 407. *Quæ cum audiunt Diſcipuli ejus (Origenis) & Grunnianæ Familiæ Stercora, putant ſe Divina audire Myſteria: Noſque quòd iſta contemnimus, quaſi pro brutis habent animantibus, & vocant* πηλωσιώτας, *eò quod in Luto iſtius corporis conſtituti, non poſſimus ſentere cœleſtia.*

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK I.

Of the ſeveral NAMES and ORDERS of Men in the CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſeveral Titles and Appellations of Chriſtians, which they owned, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by.

SECT. I. *Chriſtians at firſt called* Jeſſeans, *and* Therapeutæ, Πιστοὶ, ἐκλεκτοὶ, &c.

WHEN Chriſtianity was firſt planted in the World, they who embraced it were commonly known among themſelves by the Names of Diſciples, Believers, Elect, Saints, and Brethren; before they aſſumed the Title and Appellation of Chriſtians. *Epiphanius* [a] ſays they were alſo called Ἰεσσαῖοι, *Jeſſeans*; either from *Jeſſe* the Father of *David*, or, which is more probable, from the Name of the Lord *Jeſus*. He adds, that *Philo* ſpeaks of them under this Appellation, in his Book περὶ Ἰεσσαίων; which he affirms to be no other but Chriſtians, who went by that Name in *Ægypt*, whilſt St. *Mark* preached the Goſpel at *Alexandria*. This Book of *Philo*'s is now extant under another Title; περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ, *Of the Contemplative Life:* And ſo it is cited by *Euſebius* [b]; who is alſo of Opinion, that it is nothing but a Deſcription of the Chriſtians in *Ægypt*, whom he calls *Therapeutæ*; which ſignifies either Worſhippers of the True God, or Spiritual Phyſicians, who undertook to cure Men's Minds of all vicious and corrupt Affections. But whether this Name was invented by *Philo*, as moſt proper to expreſs their ways of living, or was then the common Name of Believers in *Ægypt*, before the Name *Chriſtian* was ſpread over all the World, *Euſebius* does not undertake to determine: However, he concludes it was a Name given to the Chriſtians; and St. *Jerom* [c] is ſo poſitive in it, that for this Reaſon he gives *Philo* a Place in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers; telling us, that he wrote a Book concerning the firſt Church of St. *Mark* at *Alexandria*.

SOME Learned Criticks of the laſt Age, call this whole Matter [d] into Queſtion: But their Arguments are anſwered by others [e] as Learned; and therefore I ſhall enter no farther into this Diſpute, but refer the Reader, that is curious, thither for Satisfaction. That which I here take notice of farther, is only this; That theſe

[a] Epiphan. Hær. 29. n. 4. [b]. Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib. 2. c. 17. [c] Hieron de Scriptor. c. 21. [d] Scaliger & Valeſius in Euſeb. Lib. 2. c. 17. Dallæus de Jejun. & Quadrageſ. Lib. 2. c. 4. [e] Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vind. Lib. 3. c. 5. n. 4.

Names, *Therapeutæ* and *Jeſſæi*, were ſcarce ever uſed in After-Ages; but the other Names, Ἅγιοι, Πιστοὶ, Ἐκλεκτοὶ, Saints, Believers, Elect, *&c.* occur frequently in Eccleſiaſtical Writers; and ſignify not any ſelect Number of Chriſtians, (as now the Words, Saints and Elect, are often uſed to ſignify only the Predeſtinate;) but all Chriſtians in general, who were enter'd into the Communion of the Church by the Waters of Baptiſm. For ſo *Theodoret* [*f*] and others explain the Word Ἅγιοι, Saints, to be ſuch as were vouchſafed the Honour and Privilege of Baptiſm.

SECT. II. *Of the Technical Names,* ΙΧΘΥΣ *and* Piſciculi.

AND upon this Account, becauſe the Chriſtian Life took its Original from the Waters of Baptiſm, and depended upon the Obſervance of the Covenant made therein, the Chriſtians were wont to pleaſe themſelves with the Artificial Name *Piſciculi*, Fiſhes; to denote, as *Tertullian* [*g*] words it, that they were regenerate, or born again into Chriſt's Religion by Water, and could not be ſaved but by continuing therein. And this Name was the rather choſen by them, becauſe the Initial Letters of our Saviour's Names and Titles in *Greek*, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτὴρ, *Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, our Saviour*, Technically put together, make up the Name ΙΧΘΥΣ; which ſignifies a Fiſh, and is alluded to both by *Tertullian*, and [*h*] *Optatus*.

SECT. III. *Chriſtians why called* Gnoſtici.

SOMETIMES Chriſtians alſo ſtile themſelves by the Name of *Gnoſticks*, Γνωστικοὶ, Men of Underſtanding and Knowledge; becauſe the Chriſtian Religion was the trueſt Wiſdom, and the Knowledge of the moſt Divine and Heavenly things. This Name was aped and abuſed by a perverſe ſort of Hereticks, who are commonly known and diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Gnoſticks*, becauſe of their great Pretences to Knowledge and Science falſly ſo called. Yet this did not hinder but that the Chriſtians ſometimes laid claim to it, as having indeed the only juſt and proper Right to make uſe of it. For which Reaſon, *Clemens Alexandrinus* [*i*] in all his Writings, gives the Chriſtian Philoſopher the Appellation of Γνωστικός. *Athanaſius* [*k*] calls the *Aſceticks* of *Ægypt*, who were of the Contemplative Life, by the ſame Name, Γνωστικοί: And *Socrates* tells us, *Evagrius Ponticus* wrote a Book for the Uſe of theſe *Aſceticks*, which he entituled, *The Gnoſtick, i. e.* Rules for the Contemplative Life; ſome Fragments of which are yet extant in *Socrates* [*l*], and ſome others publiſhed by *Cotelerius*, in his Monuments of the *Greek* Church. In one of theſe Fragments, there is mention made of a Monk, who is ſtiled Μοναχὸς τῆ Παρεμβολῆς, τῶν Γνωστικῶν ὁ δοκιμώτατος; which the firſt Tranſlators of *Socrates* not underſtanding, render, *A Monk of great Renown, of the Sect of the* Gnoſticks; as if he had been one of the *Gnoſtick* Hereticks; whereas, it means no more than a Monk of the Contemplative Life, who inhabited in a Village called the *Parembole*, not far from *Alexandria*; being one of thoſe *Aſceticks*, whom *Evagrius* and all the reſt call by the then known Name of Chriſtian *Gnoſticks*. See *Valeſius*'s Note upon *Socrates*.

SECT. IV. *Sometimes called* Theophori *&* Chriſtophori.

ANOTHER Name which frequently occurs in the Writings of the Ancients, is that of Θεοφόροι which ſignifies *Temples of God*, and is as old as *Ignatius*, who uſually gave himſelf this Title; as appears, both from the Inſcriptions of his Epiſtles, each of which begins, Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος; as alſo from the ancient Acts of his Martyrdom, where [*m*] the Reaſon of the Name is explained in his Dialogue with *Trajan*; who hearing him ſtile himſelf *Theophorus*, asked what that Name meant? To which *Ignatius* replied, That it meant one that carried Chriſt in his Heart. Doſt thou then, ſaid *Trajan*, carry him that was crucify'd in thy Heart? *Ignatius* anſwered, Yes: For it is written, *I will dwell in them, and walk in them. Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* indeed gives another Reaſon, why *Ignatius* was called *Theophorus*; becauſe he was the Child whom our Saviour took, and ſet in the midſt of his Diſciples, laying his Hands upon him; and therefore the Apoſtles would never preſume to Ordain him again by Impoſition of Hands after Chriſt. But as Biſhop *Pearſon* [*n*] and others have obſerved, this was a meer Invention of the modern *Greeks*, from whom *Anaſtaſius* took it without farther Enquiry. Much more ridiculous and abſurd, is the Reaſon which is aſſigned by *Vincentius* [*o*] *Bellovacenſis* and ſome others; That *Ignatius* was ſo called, becauſe the Name of Jeſus Chriſt was found written in Golden Letters in his Heart. Both theſe Fancies are ſufficiently refelled by the Genuine Acts of his Martyrdom; which give a more Rational Account of the Name, and ſuch as plainly intimates that it was no peculiar Title of *Ignatius*, but common to him with all other Chriſtians: As indeed Biſhop *Pearſon* does abundantly prove from ſeveral Paſſages of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Palladius*, *Eulogius*, *Theodoret*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Photius*, *Maximus*, and others. Particularly *Clemens* [*p*] aſſigns the ſame Reaſon of the Name, as *Ignatius* does; That the

[*f*] Theodor. Com. in Philip. 1. i. [*g*] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 1. Nos Piſciculi ſecundum ἰχθὺν noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum in aqua naſcimur; nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo ſalvi ſumus. [*h*] Optat. cont. Parmen. Lib. 3. p. 62. Hic eſt Piſcis qui in Baptiſmate per invocationem Fontalibus undis inſeritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat. à Piſce etiam Piſcina vocitetur. Cujus Piſcis nomen, ſecundum Appellationem Græcam in uno nomine per ſingulas Literas turbam ſanctorum nominum continet, ἰχθὺς, quod eſt latinè, Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius Salvator. [*i*] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 294. Strom. 2. p. 383. Strom. 6. p. 665. Strom. 7. p. 748. [*k*] Athan. ap. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. 4. c. 23. [*l*] Socrat. ibid. [*m*] Acta Ignat. ap. Grabe Spicil. T. 2. p. 10. [*n*] Pearſon Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 12. p. 397. Cave's *Life of* Ignatius. Grabe Spicil. T. 2. p. 2. [*o*] Vincent. Specul. Lib. 10. c. 7. [*p*] Clem. Strom. Lib. 7. p. 748.

Chriſtian

Christian is therefore called Θεοφορῶν and Θεοφεράμμων, because as the Apostle says, he is *the Temple of God*. We sometimes also meet with the Name *Christophori* in the same Sense; as in the Epistle of *Phileas*, Bishop of *Thumis*, recorded by *Eusebius*; where speaking of the Martyrs of his own time, he gives them the Title of χριστοφόροις μάρτυσι, [q] because they were Temples of Christ, and acted by his Holy Spirit.

SECT. V. *And sometimes, but very rarely,* Christi.

St. *Ambrose*, in one place, gives them the Name of *Christi*, in a qualify'd Sense; alluding to the Signification of the Word *Christus* in Scripture; where it sometimes signifies any one that is anointed with Oyl, or receives any Commission from God by a Spiritual Unction. In which Sense, every Christian is the Lord's Anointed. And therefore he says, it is no Injury [r] for the Servant to bear the Character of the Lord, nor for the Soldier to be called by the Name of his General; forasmuch as God himself hath said, *Touch not mine anointed*, or my *Christs*; *Christos meos*, as now the Vulgar Translation reads it, (*Psal.* 105. 15.) And St. *Jerom* also, who in his Notes upon the Place [s] observes, That all Men are called *Christs*, who are anointed with the Holy Ghost; as the Ancient Patriarchs before the Law, who had no other Unction. Yet we do not find that the Christians generally took this Name upon them, but rather reserved it to their Lord, as his peculiar Name and Title.

SECT. VI. *Christians great Enemies to all Party-Names, and Human Appellations.*

YET it is very observable, That in all the Names they chose, there was still some peculiar Relation to Christ and God, from whom they would be named, and not from any Mortal Man, how great or eminent soever. Party-Names, and Human Appellations, they ever professed to abhor. We take not our Denomination from Men, says *Chrysostom*; [t] We have no Leaders, as the Followers of *Marcion*, or *Manichæus*, or *Arius*. No, says *Epiphanius* [u], The Church was never called so much as by the Name of any Apostle: We never heard of *Petrians*, or *Paulians*, or *Bartholomæans*, or *Thaddæans*; but only of Christians, from Christ. I honour *Peter*, says another Father [w], but I am not called a *Petrian*; I honour *Paul*, but I am not called a *Paulian*; I cannot bear to be named from any Man, who am the Creature of God. They observe, that this was only the Property of Sects and Heresies, to take Party-Names, and denominate themselves from their Leaders. The great and venerable Name of Christians was neglected by them, whilst they prophanely divided themselves into Human Appellations; as *Gregory Nyssen* [x] and *Nazianzen* complain. Thus *Basil* observes [y] how the *Marcionites* and *Valentinians* rejected the Name of *Christians*, to be called after the Names of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, their Leaders. *Optatus* [z] and St. *Austin* [a] bring the same Charge against the *Donatists*. *Optatus* says, it was the usual Question of *Donatus* to all Foreigners; *Quid apud vos agitur de Parte mea?* How go the Affairs of my Party among you? And the Bishops who were his Followers, were used to subscribe themselves, *Ex Parte Donati*. *Epiphanius* observes the same of the *Audians*, [b] *Colluthians*, and *Arians*: And he tells us more particularly of *Meletius* and his Followers, [c] That having formed a Schism, they left the old Name of the Catholick Church, and stiled themselves by a distinguishing Character, *The Church of the Martyrs*; with an invidious Design, to cast a Reproach upon all others that were not of their Party. In like manner, as the *Arians* stiled themselves *Lucianists* [d] and *Conlucianists*, pretending to follow the Doctrine of *Lucian* the Martyr.

BUT the Church of Christ still kept to the Name of *Christian*. This was the Name they gloried in as most expressive of their Unity and Relation to Christ. *Eusebius* [e] records a memorable Story out of the Epistle of the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vienna*, in *France*; concerning one *Sanctus* a Deacon of the Church of *Vienna*, who suffer'd in the Persecution under *Antonine*; That being put to the Rack, and examined by the Magistrates concerning his Name, his Country, his City, his Quality, whether he were bond or free; his Answer to all their Questions was, *I am a Christian*: This, he said, was to him both Name, and City, and Kindred, and every thing. Nor could the Heathen with all their Skill extort any other Answer from him. St. *Chrysostom* [f] gives the like Account of the Behaviour of *Lucian* the Martyr before his Persecutors; and there are some other Instances of the same Nature, by which we may judge how great a Veneration they had for the Name Christian.

SECT. VII. *Of the Name Catholick, and its Antiquity.*

The Importunity of Hereticks made them add another Name to this, *viz.* that of Catholick; which was as it were their Sirname, or Characteristick, to distinguish them from all Sects, who though they had Party-Names, yet sometimes sheltered themselves under the common Name of Christians. This we learn from *Pacian*'s Epistle [g] to *Sempronian* the *No-*

[q] Euseb. Lib. 8. c. 10. [r] Ambros. de Obit. Valentin. T. 3. p. 12. Nec injuriam putes, Characteri Domini inscribuntur & Servuli, & nomine Imperatoris signantur Milites. Denique & ipse Dominus dixit, Nolite tangere Christos meos. [s] Hieron. Com. in Psal. 104. Ecce ante Legem Patriarchæ non uncti Regali unguento, Christi dicuntur. Christi autem sunt, qui Spiritu Sancto unguntur. [t] Chrysost. Hom. 33. in Act. [u] Epiphan. Hær. 42. Marcionit. Item. Hær. 10. [w] Greg. Naz. Orat. 31. p. 506. *See also* Athan. Orat. 2. contra Arian. Greg. Nyss. de Perfect. Christ. T. 3. p. 276. [x] Nyss. contra Apollin. T. 3. p. 261. Naz. Orat. ad Episcop. [y] Basil. Com. in Psal. 48. p. 245. [z] Optat. Lib. 3. p. 66. [a] Aug. Ep. 68. ad Januar. [b] Epiph. Hær. 70. Audianor. Id. Hær. 69. Arian. [c] Epiph. Hær. 68. Meletian. [d] Theodor. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 1. c. 5. Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. [e] Euseb. Lib. 5. c. 1. [f] Chrysost. Homil. 46. in Lucian. T. 1. p. 602. [g] Pacian. Ep. 1. ad Sempronian. Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus Cognomen. Illud me nuncupat, Istud ostendit.

vatian

vatian Heretick, who demanding of him the Reaſon why Chriſtians called themſelves Catholicks; He anſwers, that it was to diſcern them from Hereticks, who went by the Name of Chriſtians. *Chriſtian* is my Name, ſays he, and *Catholick* my Sirname: The one is my Title, the other my Character or Mark of Diſtinction. Hereticks commonly confined Religion, either to a particular Region, or ſome ſelect Party of Men, and therefore had no Pretence to ſtile themſelves Catholicks: But the Church of Chriſt had a juſt Title to this Name, being called Catholick (as *Optatus* [*h*] obſerves) becauſe it was univerſally diffuſed over all the World. And in this Senſe the Name is as ancient almoſt as the Church it ſelf. For we meet with it in the Paſſion of *Polycarp* [*i*] in *Euſebius*, in *Clemens* [*k*] *Alexandrinus*, and *Ignatius* [*l*]. And ſo great a Regard had they for this Name, that they would own none to be Chriſtians, who did not profeſs themſelves to be of the Catholick Church. As we may ſee in the [*m*] Acts of *Pionius* the Martyr, who being asked by *Polemo* the Judge, Of what Church he was? Anſwered, I am of the Catholick Church: For Chriſt has no other.

SECT. VIII. *In what Senſe the Name* Eccleſiaſticks *given to all Chriſtians.*

I muſt here obſerve farther, that the Name of *Eccleſiaſticks* was ſometimes attributed to all Chriſtians in general. For though this was a peculiar Name of the Clergy, as contradiſtinct from the Laity in the Chriſtian Church; yet when Chriſtians in general are ſpoken of, in Oppoſition to *Jews*, Infidels and Hereticks, then they have all the Name of *Eccleſiaſticks*, or Men of the Church; as being neither of the *Jewiſh* Synagogues, nor of the Heathen Temples, nor Heretical Conventicles, but Members of the Church of Chriſt. In this Senſe ἀνδρὲς ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ is often uſed by [*n*] *Euſebius* and *Cyril* [*o*] of *Jeruſalem*. And *Valeſius* [*p*] obſerves the ſame in *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Jerome* and others.

SECT. IX. *The Chriſtian Religion called* Δόγμα, *and Chriſtians* ὁι τῦ Δόγματος.

Sometimes alſo we find the Word Δόγμα put abſolutely to ſignify the Chriſtian Religion; as *Chryſoſtom* [*q*] and *Theodoret* [*r*] ſay, St. *Paul* himſelf uſes the Word in his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, 2. 15. And *Eſtius* [*s*] aſſures us it was the common Interpretation of all Ancient Expoſitors, both *Greek* and *Latin*, upon that Place. And hence it was that Chriſtians were called ſometimes ὁι τῦ Δόγματος, Men of the Faith, meaning the Faith of Chriſt. As in the Reſcript of *Aurelian* the Emperor againſt *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, recorded by [*t*] *Euſebius*, the Biſhops of *Italy* and *Rome* are ſtiled Ἐπίσκοποι τῦ δόγματος, Biſhops of the Faith, that is, the Chriſtian Faith.

SECT. X. *Chriſtians called* Jews *by the Heathen.*

The Heathens alſo were uſed to confound the Names of *Jews* and *Chriſtians* together; Whence in Heathen Authors the Name of *Jews* by miſtake is often given to the Chriſtians. Thus *Dio* in the Life of *Domitian* [*u*] ſpeaking of *Acilius Glabrio*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, ſays he was accuſed of Atheiſm, and put to Death for turning to the *Jews* Religion: Which, as *Baronius* [*w*] and others obſerve, muſt mean the Chriſtian Religion, for which he was a Martyr. So when *Suetonius* [*x*] ſays, that *Claudius* expelled the *Jews* from *Rome*, becauſe they grew tumultuous by the Inſtigations of *Chreſtus*; 'tis generally concluded by Learned [*y*] Men, that under the Name of *Jews* he alſo comprehends the *Chriſtians*. In like manner when *Spartian* [*z*] ſays of *Caracalla*'s Playfellow, that he was of the *Jewiſh* Religion, he doubtleſs means the *Chriſtian:* Forasmuch as *Tertullian* [*a*] tells us that *Caracalla* himſelf was nurſed by a Chriſtian.

SECT. XI. *Chriſt by the Heathens commonly called* Chreſtus, *and Chriſtians,* Chreſtians.

The Heathens committed another miſtake in the Pronunciation of our Saviour's Name, whom they generally called *Chreſtus* inſtead of *Chriſtus*; and his Followers *Chreſtians* for *Chriſtians:* Which is taken notice of by *Juſtin Martyr* [*b*], *Tertullian* [*c*], *Lactantius* [*d*], and ſome others: who correct their Miſtake, tho' they have no great Quarrel with them upon this Account; for both Names are of good Signification. *Chriſtus* is the ſame with the *Hebrew* Meſſias, and ſignifies a Perſon anointed to be a Prieſt or King; and *Chreſtus* being the ſame with the *Greek* Χρηστὸς, implies Sweetneſs and Goodneſs. Whence *Tertullian* [*e*] tells them, that they were unpardonable for proſecuting Chriſtians merely for their Name, becauſe both Names were Innocent and of excellent Signification.

The Chriſtians therefore did not wholly reject this Name, though it was none of their own Impoſing. As neither did they refuſe to be called *Jews*, in that Senſe as the Scripture uſes the Word, to diſtinguiſh the People of God from *the Synagogue of Satan*, Rev. 2. 9. Though to avoid the Subtilties of the *Ebionites* and *Nazarens*, who were for blending the Ceremonies of the Law with the Faith of the Goſpel, they rather choſe to avoid that Name, and ſtuck to the Name of Chriſtians.

[*h*] Optat. Lib. 2. p. 46. Cum inde dicta ſit Catholica, quod ſit Rationalis & ubique diffuſa. [*i*] Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 15. [*k*] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. [*l*] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. [*m*] Act. Pionii ap. Baron. an 254. n. 9. Cujus, inquit Polemo, es Eccleſiæ? Reſpondit Pionius, Catholicæ: Nulla enim eſt alia apud Chriſtum. [*n*] Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 7. lib. 5. cap. 27. [*o*] Cyril Catech. 15. n. 4. [*p*] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 25. [*q*] Chryſ. Hom. 5. in Epheſ. [*r*] Theod. Com. in Epheſ. 2. 15. [*s*] Eſt. Com. in Eph. 2. 14. [*t*] Euſeb. l. 7. c. 30. [*u*] Dio in Domit. [*w*] Baron. an. 94. n. 1. [*x*] Sueton. Claud. c. 26. Judæos Impulſore Chreſto aſſidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. [*y*] Hotting Hiſt. Eccl. T. 1. p. 37. Baſnag. Exerc. in Baron. p. 139. Selden. de Synedr. Lib. 1. c. 8. *who cites* Lipſius, Petavius, *and many others.* [*z*] Spartian. in Caracal. c. 1. [*a*] Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 4. Lacte Chriſtiano educatus. [*b*] Juſt. M. Apol. 2. [*c*] Tertul. Apol. c. 3. [*d*] Lact. lib. 4. c. 7. [*e*] Tertul. ibid. Chriſtianus quantum interpretatio eſt, de Unctione deducitur. Sed & cum perperam Chreſtianus pronunciatur à vobis (nam nec Nominis certa eſt notitia penes vos) de ſuavitate vel benignitate compoſitum eſt. Oditur ergo in hominibus innocuis etiam nomen innocuum.

CHAP. II.

Of the Names of Reproach which the Jews, *Infidels, and Hereticks caſt upon the Chriſtians.*

SECT. I. *Chriſtians called* Nazarens *by the* Jews *and* Heathens;

BESIDES the Names already ſpoken of, there were ſome other reproachful Names caſt upon them by their Adverſaries, which it will not be improper here to mention. The firſt of theſe was *Nazarens*, a Name of Reproach given them firſt by the *Jews*, by whom they are ſtiled the Sect of the *Nazarens*, Acts 24. 5. There was indeed a particular Hereſy, who call'd themſelves Ναζωραῖοι: And *Epiphanius* [f] thinks the *Jews* had a more eſpecial Spite at them, becauſe they were a ſort of *Jewiſh* Apoſtates, who kept Circumciſion and the Moſaical Rites together with the Chriſtian Religion: And therefore, he ſays, they were uſed to Curſe and Anathematize them Three times a-day, Morning, Noon and Evening, when they met in their Synagogues to pray, in this direful Form of Execration, ἐπικατάρασαι ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ναζωραίους, *Send thy Curſe, O God, upon the* Nazarens. But St. *Jerom* [g] ſays this was levelled at Chriſtians in general, whom they thus anathematized under the Name of *Nazarens*. And this ſeems moſt probable, becauſe as both St. *Jerom* [h] and *Epiphanius* himſelf [i] obſerves, the *Jews* termed all Chriſtians by way of Reproach, *Nazarens*. And the *Gentiles* took it from the *Jews*, as appears from that of *Datianus* the Prætor in *Prudentius*, [k] where ſpeaking to the Chriſtians, he gives them the Name of *Nazarens*. Some [l] think the Chriſtians at firſt were very free to own this Name, and eſteemed it no Reproach, till ſuch time as the Hereſy of the *Nazarens* broke out, and then in Deteſtation of that Hereſy they forſook that Name, and called themſelves *Chriſtians*, *Acts* 11. 26. But whether this be ſaid according to the exact Rules of Chronology, I leave thoſe that are better skilled to determine.

SECT. II. *And* Galilæans:

ANOTHER Name of Reproach was that of *Galilæans*, which was *Julian*'s ordinary Stile, whenever he ſpake of *Chriſt* or Chriſtians. Thus in his Dialogue with old *Maris* a blind Chriſtian Biſhop, mentioned by *Sozomen* [m] he told him by way of Scoff, *Thy* Galilæan *God will not cure thee*. And again, in his Epiſtle [n] to *Arſacius* High-Prieſt of *Galatia*, The *Galilæans* maintain their own Poor and ours alſo. The like may be obſerved in *Socrates* [o], *Theodoret* [p], *Chryſoſtom* [q], and *Gregory Nazianzen* [r], who adds, That he not only called them *Galilæans* himſelf, but made a Law that no one ſhould call them by any other Name; thinking thereby to aboliſh the Name of Chriſtians.

SECT. III. *Alſo Atheiſts;*

THEY alſo called them Atheiſts, and their Religion the Atheiſm, or Impiety, becauſe they derided the Worſhip of the Heathen Gods. *Dio* [s] ſays, *Acilius Glabrio* was put to Death for Atheiſm, meaning the Chriſtian Religion. And the Chriſtian Apologiſts, *Athenagoras* [t], *Juſtin Martyr* [u], *Arnobius* [w], and others, reckon this among the Crimes which the Heathens uſually lay to their Charge. *Euſebius* ſays [x] the Name was become ſo common, that when the Perſecuting Magiſtrates would oblige a Chriſtian to renounce his Religion, they bad him abjure it in this Form, by ſaying among other things, αἶρε τὰς Ἀθέους, *Confuſion to the Atheiſts*, *Away with the Impious*, meaning the Chriſtians.

SECT. IV. *And* Greeks *and Impoſtors.*

TO this they added the Name of *Greeks* and Impoſtors. Which is noted by St. *Jerom* [y] who ſays, Whereſoever they ſaw a Chriſtian, they would preſently cry out, ὁ γραικὸς ἀπατεὼν, Behold a *Grecian* Impoſtor! This was the Character which the *Jews* gave our Saviour, ὁ πλάνος, That Deceiver, *Mat.* 27. 63. And *Juſtin* [z] *Martyr* ſays, they endeavoured to propagate it to Poſterity, ſending their Apoſtles or Emiſſaries from *Jeruſalem* to all the Synagogues in the World, to bid them beware of a certain Impious, Lawleſs Sect, lately riſen up under one *Jeſus* a *Galilæan* Impoſtor. Hence *Lucian* [a] took occaſion in his Blaſphemous Raillery to ſtile him the Crucifyed Sophiſter. And *Celſus* [b] commonly gives him and his Followers the Name of γόητας, Deceivers. So *Aſclepiades* the Judge in *Prudentius*, [c] compliments them with the Appellation of Sophiſters; And *Ulpian* [d] pro-

[f] Epiphan. Hær 22. n. 9. [g] Hieron. Com. in Eſa. 49. T. 5. p. 178. Ter per ſingulos dies ſub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in Synagogis ſuis. [h] Id. de Loc. Hebr. T. 3. p. 289. Nos apud veteres, quaſi opprobrio Nazaræi decebamur, quos nunc Chriſtianos vocant. [i] Epiphan. ibid. [k] Prudent. περὶ στεφανῶν. Carm. 5. de S. Vincent.

Vos Nazareni aſſiſtite,
Rudemq; ritum ſpernite. Id. Hymno 9. de Rom. Mart.

[l] Junius Parallel. lib. 1. c. 8. Godwyn *Jew. Rites.* lib. 1. c. 8. [m] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 4. [n] Ap. Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16. [o] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 12. [p] Theodor. lib. 3. c. 7. & 21. [q] Chryſ. Hom. 63. Tom. 5. [r] Naz. 1. Invectiv. [s] Dio in Domitian. [t] Athen. Legat. pro Chriſt. [u] Juſt. Apol. 1. p. 47. [w] Arnob. lib. 1. [x] Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 15. [y] Hieron. Ep. 10. ad Furiam. Ubicunque viderint Chriſtianum, ſtatim illud de Trivio, ὁ γραικὸς ἀπατεὼν, vocant Impoſtorem. [z] Juſtin. Dial. Tryph. p. 335. [a] Lucian. Peregrin. [b] Celſ. ap. Orig. lib. 1. p. 6. [c] Prudent. περὶ στεφ. Carm. 9. de Romano Mart. Quis hos Sophiſtas error invexit novus? &c.

[d] Digeſt. lib. 50. Tit. 13. c. 1. Si incantavit, ſi inprecatus eſt, ſi (ut vulgari verbo Impoſtorum utar) exorciſavit.

ſcribes them in a Law by the Name of Impoſtors.

The Reaſon why they added the Name of *Greek* to that of Impoſtors, was (as Learned Men [e] conjecture) becauſe many of the Chriſtian Philoſophers took upon them the *Grecian* or Philoſophick Habit, which was the Φιλόσοφον or *Pallium:* Whence the *Greeks* were called *Palliati*, as the *Romans* were called *Togati*, or *Gens Togata*, from their proper Habit, which was the *Toga*. Now it being ſome Offence to the *Romans* to ſee the Chriſtians quit the *Roman* Gown, to wear the *Grecian* Cloak; they thence took occaſion to mock and deride them with the ſcurrilous Names of *Greeks*, and *Grecian* Impoſtors. *Tertullian*'s Book *de Pallio* was written to ſhew the ſpiteful Malice of this fooliſh Objection.

SECT. V. *Magicians.* BUT the Heathens went one ſtep farther in their Malice: and becauſe our Saviour and his Followers did many Miracles, which they imputed to Evil Arts and the Power of Magick; they therefore generally declaimed againſt them as Magicians, and under that Character expoſed them to the Fury of the Vulgar. *Celſus* [f] and others pretended that our Saviour ſtudied Magick in *Egypt:* And St. *Auſtin* [g] ſays, it was generally believed among the Heathen, that he wrote ſome Books about Magick too, which he delivered to *Peter* and *Paul* for the uſe of his Diſciples. Hence it was that *Suetonius* [h] ſpeaking in the Language of his Party, calls the Chriſtians *Genus hominum Superſtitionis Maleficæ*, The Men of the Magical Superſtition. As *Aſclepiades* the Judge in *Prudentius* [i] ſtiles St. *Romanus* the Martyr, Arch-Magician. And St. *Ambroſe* obſerves in the Paſſion of St. *Agnes* [k] how the People cryed out againſt her, Away with the Sorcereſs! Away with the Enchanter! Nothing being more common, than to term all Chriſtians, eſpecially ſuch as wrought Miracles, [l] by the odious Name of Sorcerers and Magicians.

SECT. VI. *The New Superſtition.* THE New Superſtition was another Name of Reproach for the Chriſtian Religion. *Suetonius* gives it that Title [m], and *Pliny* and *Tacitus* add to it [n] the Opprobrious Terms of wicked and unreaſonable Superſtition. By which Name alſo *Nero* triumphed over it, in his Trophies which he ſet up at *Rome*, when he had haraſſed the Chriſtians with a moſt ſevere Perſecution. He gloried that he had purged the Country of Robbers, and thoſe that obtruded and inculcated the new Superſtition [o] upon Mankind. By this, there can be no doubt he meant the Chriſtians, whoſe Religion is called the Superſtition in other Inſcriptions of the like nature. See that of *Dioclefian* cited in *Baronius*, *An.* 304. from *Occo. Superſtitione Chriſtianorum ubique deleta, &c.*

Not much unlike this was that other Name which *Porphyry* [p] and ſome others give it, when they call it the Barbarous, New, and Strange Religion. In the Acts of the Famous Martyrs of *Lyons*, who ſuffered under *Antoninus Pius*, the Heathens ſcornfully inſult it with this Character. For having burnt the Martyrs to Aſhes, and ſcattered their Remains into the River *Rhone*, they ſaid, they did it to cut off their Hopes of a Reſurrection, upon the ſtrength of which they ſought to obtrude [q] the New and Strange Religion upon Mankind. But now let us ſee whether they will riſe again, and whether their God can help and deliver them out of our Hands.

SECT. VII. *Chriſtians, why called* Sibyllifts. *Celſus* gives them the Name of *Sibyllifts* [r], becauſe the Chriſtians in their Diſputes with the Heathens, ſometimes made uſe of the Authority of *Sibylla* their own Propheteſs againſt them; whoſe Writings they urged with ſo much Advantage to the Chriſtian Cauſe, and Prejudice to the Heathen, that *Juſtin Martyr* [s] ſays, the *Roman* Governors made it Death for any one to read them, or *Hyſtaſpes*, or the Writings of the Prophets.

SECT. VIII. Biathanati. THEY alſo reproached them with the Appellation of Βιαθάνατοι, *Self-Murderers*, becauſe they readily offered themſelves up to Martyrdom, and chearfully underwent any violent Death, which the Heathens could inflict upon them. With what Eagerneſs they courted Death, we learn not only from the Chriſtian [t] Writers themſelves, but from the Teſtimonies of the Heathens [u] concerning them. *Lucian* [w] ſays they not only deſpiſed Death, but many of them voluntarily offered themſelves to it, out of a Perſuaſion that they ſhould be made Immortal, and live for ever. This he reckons Folly, and therefore gives them the Name of Κακοδαίμονες, the Miſerable Wretches that threw away their Lives. In which Senſe *Porphyry* [x] alſo ſtiles the Chriſtian Religion, Βάρβαρον τόλμημα, *The Barbarous Boldneſs*. As

[e] Kortholt. de Morib. Chriſtian. c. 3. p. 23. Baron. an. 56. n. 11. [f] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 2. Arnobius lib. 1. pag. 36. [g] Aug. de Conſenſu Evang. lib. 1. c. 9. [h] Sueton. Neron. c. 16. [i] Prudent. περὶ στεφ. Hymn. 9. de S. Romano. Quouſque tandem ſummus hic nobis Magus illudit? [k] Ambr. Serm. 90. in S. Agnen. Tolle Magam! Tolle Maleficam! [l] *See* Kortholt de Morib. Chriſt. c. 4. [m] Sueton. Nero. c. 16. [n] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Nihil aliud inveni, quam Superſtitionem Pravam & Immodicam. Tacit. Annal. 15. c. 44. Exitiabilis ſuperſtitio. [o] Inſcript. Antiq. ad Calcem. Sueton. Oxon. NERONI. CLAUD. CAIS. AUG. PONT. MAX. OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB. ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM. GENERI. HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. PURGAT. [p] Ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 19. Βάρβαρον τόλμημα. [q] Act. Mart. Lugd. ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 1. Θρησκείαν ξένην καὶ καινήν. [r] Origen. c. Celſ. lib. 5. p. 272. [s] Juſt. Apol. 2. p. 82. [t] *See theſe Collected in* Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 9. p. 384. [u] Arrius Antonin. ap. Tertul. ad Scap. c. 4. Tiberian. in Joh. Malela Chronic. [w] Lucian. de Mort. Peregrin. [x] Porphyr. ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 19.

Arrius

Arrius Antoninus [y] terms the Profeſſors of it, ὦ δαλοὶ, *The Stupid Wretches*, that had ſuch a mind to die; And the Heathen in *Minucius* [z], *Homines deplorate ac deſperatæ Factionis*, The Men of the Forlorn and Deſperate Faction. All which agrees with the Name *Biathanati*, or *Biæothanati*, as *Baronius* [a] underſtands it. Though it may ſignify not only Self-Murderers, but (as a Learned Critick [b] notes) Men that expect to live after Death. In which Senſe the Heathens probably might uſe it likewiſe, to ridicule the Chriſtian Doctrine of the Reſurrection; on which, they knew, all their fearleſs and undaunted Courage was founded. For ſo the ſame Heathen in *Minucius* endeavours to expoſe at once both their Reſolution and their Belief: O Strange Folly, and incredible Madneſs! ſays he; they deſpiſe all preſent Torments, and yet fear thoſe that are Future and Uncertain: They are afraid of dying after Death, but in the mean time do not fear to die. So vainly do they flatter themſelves, and allay their Fears, with the hopes of ſome reviving Comforts after Death. For one of theſe Reaſons then they gave them the Name of *Biothanati*, which Word expreſly occurs in ſome of the Acts of the ancient Martyrs. *Baronius* obſerves [c] out of *Bede*'s Martyrology, that when the ſeven Sons of *Symphoroſa* were martyred under *Hadrian*, their Bodies were all caſt into one Pit together, which the Temple-Prieſts named from them, *Ad ſeptem Biothanatos*, The Grave of the Seven *Biothanati*.

SECT. IX. Parabolarii, *and* Deſperati.

FOR the ſame Reaſon they gave them the Names of *Parabolarii* and *Deſperati*, The Bold and Deſperate Men. The *Parabolarii* or *Parabolani* among the *Romans*, were thoſe bold adventurous Men, who hired out themſelves to fight with wild Beaſts upon the Stage or Amphitheatre, whence they had alſo the Name of *Beſtiarii*, and *Confectores*. Now becauſe the Chriſtians were put to fight for their Lives in the ſame manner, and they rather choſe to do it than deny their Religion, they therefore got the Name of *Paraboli*, and *Parabolani*: Which though it was intended as a Name of Reproach and Mockery, yet the Chriſtians were not unwilling to take it to themſelves, being one of the trueſt Characters that the Heathens ever gave them. And therefore they ſometimes gave themſelves this Name by way of Alluſion to the *Roman Paraboli*, as in the Paſſion [*] of *Abdo* and *Senne* in the time of *Valerian*, the Martyrs who were expoſed to be devoured by Wild Beaſts in the Amphitheatre, are ſaid to enter, *Ut audaciſſimi Parabolani*, as moſt reſolute Champions, that deſpiſed their own Lives for their Religion's ſake. But the other Name of *Deſperati* they rejected as a Calumny, retorting it back upon their Adverſaries, who more juſtly deſerved it. Thoſe, ſays *Lactantius* [d], who ſet a Value upon their Faith, and will not deny their God, they firſt torment and butcher them with all their might, and then call them *Deſperado's*, becauſe they will not ſpare their own Bodies: As if any thing could be more Deſperate, than to torture and tear in pieces thoſe whom you cannot but know to be Innocent.

SECT. X. Sarmentitii, *and* Semaxii.

Tertullian mentions another Name, which was likewiſe occaſioned by their Sufferings. The Martyrs which were burnt alive, were uſually tied to a Board or Stake of about Six Foot long, which the *Romans* called *Semaxis*; and then they were ſurrounded or covered with Faggots of ſmall Wood, which they called *Sarmenta*. From this their Puniſhment, the Heathen who turned every thing into Mockery, gave all Chriſtians the diſpiteful Name of *Sarmentitii* and *Semaxii* [e].

SECT. XI. Lucifugax Natio.

THE Heathen in *Minucius* [f] takes occaſion alſo to reproach them under the Name of the Sculking Generation, or the Men that loved to prate in Corners and the Dark. The ground of which ſcurrilous Reflection was only this, That they were forced to hold their Religious Aſſemblies in the Night to avoid the Fury of the Perſecutions. Which *Celſus* [g] himſelf owns, though otherwiſe prone enough to load them with hard Names and odious Reflections.

SECT. XII. Plautina Proſapia, *and* Piſtores.

THE ſame Heathen in *Minucius* gives them one ſcurrilous Name more, which it is not very eaſy to gueſs the meaning of. He calls them *Plautinians* [h], *Homines Plautinæ Proſapiæ*. *Rigaltius* [i] takes it for a Ridicule upon the Poverty and Simplicity of the Chriſtians, whom the Heathens commonly repreſented as a Company of poor ignorant Mechanicks, Bakers, Taylors, and the like; Men of the ſame Quality with *Plautus*, who as St. *Jerom* [k] obſerves, was ſo poor, that in a time of Famine he was forced to hire out himſelf to a Baker to grind at his Mill, during which time he wrote three of his Plays in the Intervals of his Labour. Such ſort of Men *Cæcilius* ſays the Chriſtians were; and therefore he ſtiles *Octavius* in the Dialogue, *Homo Plautinæ Proſapiæ, & Piſtorum præcipuus*, A *Plautinian*, a chief Man among the Illiterate Bakers, but no Philoſopher. The ſame Reflection is often made by *Celſus*. You ſhall ſee, ſays he [l], Weavers,

[y] Tertul. ibid. [z] Minuc. Octav. pag. 25. [a] Baron. an. 138. n. 5. [b] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſiaſt. T. 1. p. 690. [c] Baron. an. 138. n. 6. [*] Acta Abdon. & Sennes ap. Suicer. [d] Lact. Inſtit. lib. 5. c. 9. Deſperatos vocant, quia corpori ſuo minime parcunt, &c. [e] Tertul. Apol. c. 50. Licet nunc Sarmentitios & Semaxios appelletis, quia ad Stipitem dimidii Axis revincti, Sarmentorum ambitu exurimur. [f] Minuc. Octav. p. 25. Latebroſa & Lucifugax Natio, in publicum muta in angulis garrula. [g] Origen. c. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 5. [h] Minuc. p. 37. Quid ad hæc audet Octavius homo Plautinæ Proſapiæ, ut Piſtorum præcipuus ita poſtremus Philoſophorum? [i] Rigalt. in Loc. [k] Hieron. Chronic. an. 1. Olymp. 145. [l] Origen. c. Celſ. lib. 3. p. 144.

Tay-

Taylors, Fullers, and the moſt Illiterate and Ruſtick Fellows, who dare not ſpeak a Word before Wiſe Men, when they can get a Company of Children and ſilly Women together, ſet up to teach ſtrange Paradoxes amongſt them. This is one of their Rules, ſays he again [n], Let no Man that is Learned, Wiſe, or Prudent, come among us; but if any be Unlearned, or a Child, or an Idiot, let him freely come; ſo they openly declare, that none but Fools and Sots, and ſuch as want Senſe, Slaves, Women and Children, are fit Diſciples for the God they worſhip.

SECT. XIII. *With what Names the Hereticks reproached the Orthodox Chriſtians.*

NOR was it only the Heathens that thus reviled them, but commonly every perverſe Sect among the Chriſtians had ſome reproachful Name to caſt upon them. The *Novatian* Party called them *Cornelians* [o], becauſe they communicated with *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, rather than with *Novatianus* his Antagoniſt. They alſo termed them *Apoſtaticks*, *Capitolins*, *Synedrians*, becauſe [p] they charitably decreed in their Synods to receive Apoſtates, and ſuch as went to the *Capitol* to Sacrifice, into their Communion again upon their ſincere Repentance. The *Neſtorians* [q] termed the Orthodox *Cyrillians*; and the *Arians* [r] called them *Euſtathians* and *Paulinians*, from *Euſtathius* and *Paulinus* Biſhops of *Antioch*. As alſo *Homoouſians*, becauſe they kept to the Doctrine of the ὁμοούσιον, which declared the Son of God to be of the ſame Subſtance with the Father. The Author of the *Opus Imperfectum* on St. *Matthew*, under the Name of *Chryſoſtom* [s] ſtiles them expreſly, *Hæreſis Homoouſianorum*, The Hereſy of the *Homoouſians*. And ſo *Serapion* in his Conflict with *Arnobius* [t] calls them *Homoouſianates*, which the Printed Copy reads corruptly *Homuncionates*, which was a Name for the *Neſtorians*.

SECT. XIV. *Chriſtians called* Pſychici *by the* Montaniſts.

The *Cataphrygians* or *Montaniſts* commonly called the Orthodox Ψυχικοὺς, Carnal; becauſe they rejected the Prophecies and pretended Inſpirations of *Montanus*, and would not receive his Rigid Laws about Faſting, nor abſtain from Second Marriages, and obſerve Four *Lents* in a Year, *&c.* This was *Tertullian*'s ordinary Compliment to the Chriſtians in all his Books [u] written after he was fallen into the Errors of *Montanus*. He calls his own Party *The Spiritual*, and the Orthodox the *Carnal:* And ſome of his Books [w] are expreſly entituled, *Adverſus Pſychicos*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [x] obſerves, the ſame Reproach was alſo uſed by other Hereticks beſide the *Montaniſts*. And it appears from *Irenæus*, that this was an ancient Calumny of the *Valentinians*, who ſtiled themſelves the Spiritual and the Perfect, and the Orthodox the Secular and Carnal, [y] who had need of Abſtinence and Good Works, which were not neceſſary for them that were Perfect.

SECT. XV. Allegoriſts *by the* Millenaries.

THE *Millenaries* ſtiled them *Allegoriſts*, becauſe they expounded the Prophecy of the Saints Reigning a Thouſand Years with Chriſt, *Rev.* xx. 4. to a Myſtical and Allegorical Senſe. Whence *Euſebius* [z] obſerves of *Nepos* the *Egyptian* Biſhop, who wrote for the *Millennium*, that he entituled his Book, Ἔλεγχος Ἀλληγοριστῶν, A Confutation of the *Allegoriſts*.

SECT. XVI. Chronitæ *by the* Aetians; Simplices *by the* Manichees; Anthropolatræ *by the* Apollinarians.

Aetius the *Arian* gives them the abuſive Name of Χρονῖται; by which he ſeems to intimate, that their Religion was but Temporary, and would ſhortly have an end; when as the Character was much more applicable to the *Arians* themſelves, whoſe Faith was ſo lately ſprung up in the World; as the Author of the Dialogues *de Trinitate*, under the Name of *Athanaſius*, who confutes *Aetius*, [a] juſtly retorts upon him.

The *Manichees*, as they gave themſelves the moſt Glorious Names of *Electi*, *Macarii*, *Catharиſtæ*, mentioned by [b] St. *Auſtin*; ſo they reproached the Catholicks with the moſt contemptible Name of *Simplices*, Idiots; which is the Term that *Manichæus* himſelf uſed in his Diſpute [c] with *Archelaus* the *Meſopotamian* Biſhop, ſtiling the Chriſtian Teachers, *Simpliciorum Magiſtros*, Guides of the Simple; becauſe they could not reliſh his Execrable Doctrine concerning Two Principles of Good and Evil.

The *Apollinarians* were no leſs injurious to the Catholicks, in fixing on them the odious Name of *Anthropolatræ*, Man-Worſhippers; becauſe they maintained that Chriſt was a Perfect Man, and had a Reaſonable Soul and Body, of the ſame Nature with ours; which *Apollinarius* denied. *Gregory Nazianzen* [d] takes notice of this Abuſe, and ſharply replies to it; telling the *Apollinarians*, that they themſelves much better deſerved the Name of *Sarcolatræ*, Fleſh-Worſhippers: For if Chriſt had no Human Soul, they muſt be concluded to worſhip his Fleſh only.

SECT. XVII. Philofarcæ, *and* Peluſiotæ, *&c. by the* Origenians.

THE *Origenians*, who denied the Truth of the Reſurrection, and aſſerted that Men ſhould have only Aerial and Spiritual Bodies in the next World, made Jeſts upon the Catholicks, becauſe they maintain'd the contrary, That our Bodies ſhould be the ſame Individual Bodies, and of the ſame Nature that they are now, with

[n] Ibid. p. 137. [o] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. [p] Pacian. Ep. 2. ad Sempronian. [q] Ep. Legat. Schiſmat. ad ſuos in Epheſo in Act. Con. Epheſ. Con. T. 3. p. 746. [r] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 21. [s] Opus Imperf. Hom. 48. [t] Conflict. Arnob. & Serap. ad calcem Irenæi. p. 519. [u] Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 1. Nos quidem agnitio Paracleti disjunxit à Pſychicis. Id. de Monogam. c. 1. Hæretici nuptias auferunt, Pſychici ingerunt. *See alſo* c. 11. *and* 16. [w] De Jejuniis adv. Pſychicos. De Pudicitia, *&c.* [x] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib 4. p. 511. [y] Iren. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 29 Nobis quidem, quos Pſychicos vocant, & de ſeculo eſſe dicunt, neceſſariam continemiam, *&c.* [z] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 24. [a] Athan. Dial. 2. de Trinit. T. 2. p. 193. [b] Aug. de Hær. c. 46. [c] Archel. Diſp. adv. Manichæum ad calcem Sozomen. Ed. Valeſ. p. 197. [d] Naz. Ep. 1. ad Cledon.

Fleſh

Flesh and Bones, and all the Members in the same Form and Structure, only alter'd in Quality, not in Substance. For this they gave them the opprobrious Names of *Simplices* and *Philosarcæ* [e] Idiots, and Lovers of the Flesh; *Carnei*, *Animales*, *Jumenta*, Carnal, Sensual, Animals; *Lutei*, Earthy; *Pelusiotes* [f], which is a Term of the same Importance, from the *Greek* Word *Lutum*, as St. *Jerom* himself [*] explains it. So that though *Baronius* from some Copies reads this Name, *Pilosiotæ*, yet the true Reading is *Pelusiotæ*, as the Passage cited in the Margin plainly evinces.

SECT. XVIII. *The Synagogue of Antichrist and Satan, by the Luciferians.*

BUT of all others the *Luciferians* gave the Church the rudest Language; stiling her the Brothel-house, and Synagogue of *Antichrist* and *Satan*; because she allow'd those Bishops to retain their Honour and Places, who were cajoled by the *Arians* to subscribe the fraudulent Confession of the Council of *Ariminum*. The *Luciferian* in St. *Jerom* runs out in this manner against the Church; and St. *Jerom* says, he spake but the sense of the whole Party, for this was the ordinary Stile [g] and Language of all the rest.

These are some of those Reproachful Names, which Hereticks, concurring with *Jews* and Infidels, endeavoured to fasten upon the Christian Church; which I should not so much as have mentioned, but that they serve to give some Light to Antiquity, and therefore were not wholly to be passed over in a Treatise of this Nature.

CHAP. III.

Of the several Orders of Men in the Christian Church.

SECT. I. *Three sorts of Members of the Christian Church, the Ἡγούμενοι, Πιστοὶ, and Κατηχούμενοι.*

HAVING given an Account of the several Names of Christians, I proceed now to speak of the Persons, and several Orders of Men in the Christian Church. Some divide them into Three Ranks, others into Four, others into Five; which yet come much to the same account, when they are compared together. *Eusebius* reckons but Three Orders, *viz.* the Ἡγούμενοι, Πιστοὶ, and Κατηχούμενοι. Rulers, Believers, and Catechumen. There are in every Church, says he, Three Orders of Men, [h] One of the Rulers or Guides, and Two of those that are subject to them: For the People are divided into Two Classes; the Πιστοὶ, Believers, and the Unbaptized, by whom he means the Catechumens. St. *Jerom* [i] makes Five Orders; but then he divides the Clergy into Three Orders, to make up the Number; reckoning them thus, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Believers, and Catechumens. In which Account he follows *Origen*, who [k] makes Five Degrees subordinate to one another in the Church; saying, Every one shall be punished according to the Difference of his Degree. If a Bishop or President of the Church sins, he shall have the greater Punishment. A Catechumen will deserve Mercy, in comparison of a Believer; and a Layman, in comparison of a Deacon; and a Deacon, in comparison of a Presbyter. Here are plainly St. *Jerom*'s Five Orders; first Bishops, under the Name of Presidents of the Church; then Presbyters; after them Deacons; then Believers or Laymen; and last of all the Catechumens.

SECT. II. *Believers here strictly taken for the Laity that were baptized.*

IN all which Accounts, these Four Things are proper to be remarked. 1. That the Name, Believers, Πιστοὶ, and *Fideles*, is here taken in a more strict Sense only for One Order of Christians, The Believing or Baptized Laity, in Contradistinction to the Clergy and the Catechumens, the Two other Orders of Men in the Church. And in this Sense the Words Πιστοὶ and *Fideles* are commonly used in the ancient Liturgies [l] and Canons, to distinguish those that were baptized, and allowed to partake of the Holy Mysteries, from the Catechumens. Whence came that ancient Di-

[e] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. T. 2. p. 171. Nos Simplices & Philosarcas dicere, quod eadem Ossa, & Sanguis, & Caro, id est, Vultus & Membra, totiusque Compago corporis resurgat in novissima die. [f] Id. Ep. 65. ad Pammach. & Ocean. de Error. Orig. p. 192. Pelusiotas nos appellant, & Luteos, Animalesque & Carneos, quod non recipiamus ea quæ Spiritus sunt. [*] Id. Com. in Jerem. 29. p. 407. Quæ cum audiunt Discipuli ejus (Origenis) & Grunnianæ Familiæ Stercora, putant se Divina audire Mysteria: Nosque qui ista contemnimus, quasi pro brutis habent animantibus, & vocant πηλσιώτας, eo quod in Luto istius Corporis constituti, non possimus sentire cœlestia. [g] Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. T. 2. p. 135. Asserebat universum mundum esse Diaboli: Et, ut jam familiare est eis dicere, factum de Ecclesia Lupanar —— Quod Antichristi magis Synagoga, quàm Ecclesia Christi debeat nuncupari. [h] Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 323. Τεία καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν τάγματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων, δύο δὲ τὰ τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων. [i] Hieron. Com. in Esai. 19. p. 64. Quinque Ecclesiæ Ordines, Episcopos, Presbyteros, Diaconos, Fideles, Catechumenos. [k] Origen. Hom. 5. in Ezek. Pro modo graduum unusquisque torquebitur. Majorem pœnam habet, qui Ecclesiæ præsidet & delinquit. Annon magis misericordiam promeretur ad comparationem Fidelis, Catechumenus? Non magis venia dignus est Laicus, si ad Diaconum conferatur? Et rursus comparatione Presbyteri Diaconus veniam plus meretur. [l] *See* Con. Nic. Can. 11. Con. Eliber. c. 12, 46, 51. Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 34. Cyril. Hierosol. Præf. Catech. n. 2.

ſtinction of the Service of the Church into the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and *Miſſa* [m] *Fidelium*; of which more in its proper Place.

SECT. III. *Catechumens owned as Imperfect Members of the Church.*

2*dly*, WE may hence obſerve, that the Catechumens, though but imperfect Chriſtians, were in ſome meaſure owned to be within the Pale of the Church. Foraſmuch as *Euſebius*, *Origen*, and St. *Jerom*, reckon them one of the Three Orders of the Church. And the Councils of *Eliberis* [n] and *Conſtantinople* [o] give them expreſly the Name of Chriſtians. Tho' as St. *Auſtin* [p] ſays, They were not yet Sons, but Servants: They belonged to the Houſe of God, but were not yet admitted to all the Privileges of it; being only Chriſtians at large, and not in the moſt ſtrict and proper Acceptation.

SECT. IV. *Hereticks not reckoned among Chriſtians.*

AND yet this is more than can be ſaid of Hereticks properly ſo called. For we may obſerve, 3*dly*, That in the forementioned Diviſion, Hereticks come into no Account among Chriſtians. They were not eſteemed of, either as Catechumens, or Believers, but as mere *Jews*, or Pagans; neither having the true Faith, nor being willing to learn it. *Tertullian* [q] ſays in general, If they be Hereticks, they cannot be Chriſtians. And St. *Jerom* [r] diſputing with a *Luciferian*, ſays the ſame in expreſs Terms, That Hereticks are no Chriſtians; nor to be ſpoken of, but as we would do of Heathens. *Lactantius* [s] ſpecifies in the *Montaniſts*, *Novatians*, *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, *Anthropians*, *Arians*, ſaying, That they are no Chriſtians, who forſaking the Name of Chriſt, call themſelves by other Denominations. *Athanaſius* [t] and *Hilary* [u] ſay the ſame of the *Arians*, That they are not Chriſtians. *Conſtantine* [w] therefore enacted it into a Law, That they ſhould not be called Chriſtians, but *Porphyrians*; from *Porphyry* that infamous Heathen, whoſe Practice they ſo much reſembled in their impious Blaſphemies and Reproaches of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion. And in Imitation of this, *Theodoſius* [x] Junior made another Law to the ſame Effect, againſt *Neſtorius* and his Followers; That they ſhould not abuſe the Name of Chriſtians; but be called *Simonians*, from *Simon Magus* the Arch Heretick. To which we may add that Decree of the General Council of *Sardica*, in their Synodical Epiſtle [y] againſt the *Arians*; where they require all Catholicks, not only to deny the *Arian* Biſhops the Title of Biſhops, but even that of Chriſtians. All which evidently proves, that the Ancients put a manifeſt Difference betwixt thoſe who were Apoſtates from the Faith, and thoſe who as yet had never made any ſolemn Profeſſion of their Faith in Baptiſm: They allowed the Catechumens the Name of Chriſtians, becauſe they were Candidates of Heaven; but they judged Hereticks unworthy of that Name, becauſe they corrupted the common Faith of Chriſtians, and denied the Lord, by whoſe Name they were called.

SECT. V. *Penitents and* Energumens *rank'd in the ſame Claſs with Catechumens.*

4*thly*, WE may obſerve in the laſt place, that there were no Chriſtians, but what might be reduced to ſome one or other of the Three forementioned Orders; For the Penitents, and *Energumens*, as they called thoſe that were poſſeſſed with Evil Spirits, may be ranked among the Catechumens, being commonly treated and diſciplined by the Church in the ſame manner as they were, and placed in the ſame Claſs with them; and the Monks and other Aſceticks may be ranked under the common Head of Believers, though they had ſome peculiar Marks of Diſtinction in the Church. Yet I ſhall not confine my ſelf to ſpeak of all thoſe preciſely in this Order, and under theſe Heads, but give each a diſtinct and proper Place in this Diſcourſe; ſpeaking here only of Believers in general, as they ſtood diſtinguiſhed from the Catechumens and the Clergy of the Church, and treating of the reſt as occaſion ſhall require in the following parts of this Diſcourſe.

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[m] Con. Carth. 4. c. 84. Con. Valent. Hiſpan. c. 1. [n] Con. Elib. Can. 39. [o] Con. Conſt. 1. Can. 7. [p] Aug. Tract. 11. in Joh. T. 9. p. 41. Quod ſignum Crucis in fronte habent Catechumeni, jam de Domo magna ſunt, ſed fiant ex ſervis Filii. Non enim nihil ſunt, quia ad magnam Domum pertinent. [q] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 37. Si Hæretici ſunt, Chriſtiani eſſe non poſſunt. [r] Hieron. Dial. c. Lucif. T. 2. p. 135. Hæretici Chriſtiani non ſunt —— Igitur præfixum inter nos habemus, de Hæretico ſic loquendum ſicut de Gentili. [s] Lact. Inſtit. lib. 4. c. 30. [t] Athan. Orat. 2. adv. Arian. T. 1. p. 316. Ἀρειανοὶ ὄντες, οὐκ εἰσὶ χριστιανοί. [u] Hilar. ad Conſt. lib. 1. p. 98. Chriſtianus ſum, non Arianus. [w] Conſt. Imp. Ep. ad Epiſc. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9. [x] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæret. c. 66. Damnato portentoſæ Superſtitionis. Auctore Neſtorio, nota congrui nominis ejus inuratur Gregalibus, ne Chriſtianorum, Appellatione abutantur: Sed quemadmodum Ariani Lege divæ memoriæ Conſtantini ob ſimilitudinem impietatis Porfyriani à Porfyrio nuncupantur; ſic ubique participes nefariæ Sectæ Neſtorii Simoniani vocentur. *See the ſame in the Acts of the General Council of* Epheſus, Part. 3. c. 45. Con. Tom. 3. p. 1209.
[y] Con. Sardic. Ep. Synod. ap. Theod. lib. 2. c. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

A more particular Account of the Πιστοὶ, or Believers; Their Titles of Honour and Privileges above the Catechumens.

SECT. I. *Believers otherwise called φωτιζόμενοι, the Illuminate.*

THE Πιστοὶ, or *Fideles*, being such as were baptized, and thereby made compleat and perfect Christians, were upon that account dignified with several Titles of Honour and Marks of Distinction above the Catchumens. They were hence called φωτιζόμενοι, The Illuminate: So the Council of *Laodicea* [z] terms those that were newly Baptized, προσφάτως φωτισθέντας. And *Jobius* [a] in *Photius*, οἱ φωτιζόμενοι. As St. *Paul* himself in the Epistle to the *Hebrews* twice uses the word Illuminate for Baptized, in the Opinion of most [b] Interpreters. The Reason of the Name is given by *Justin Martyr*, who says [c] they were so called, because their Understandings were enlightned by the Knowledge that was consequent to Baptism. For all the Mysteries of Religion were unveiled to the Baptized, which were kept secret from the Catechumens: And sometimes also Baptism was attended with extraordinary Illuminations of the Holy Ghost, as in those whom St. *Paul* caused to be Baptized at *Ephesus:* Act. xix. 6. *They spake with Tongues and prophesied.*

SECT. II. *And οἱ μεμυημένοι, the Initiated.*

2. THEY were hence also stiled οἱ μεμυημένοι, which the *Latins* call *Initiati*, the Initiated, that is, Admitted to the Use of the Sacred Offices, and Knowledge of the Sacred Mysteries of the Christian Religion. Hence came that Form of Speaking, so frequently used by St. *Chrysostom* and other ancient Writers [d] when they touched upon any Doctrines or Mysteries which the Catechumens understood not, Ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, The Initiated know what is spoken. St. *Ambrose* writes a Book to these [e] *Initiati*. *Isidore* [f] of *Pelusium*, and *Hesychius* [g] call them μυσαὶ, and others μυσαγώγητοι: Whence the Catechumens have the contrary Names, Ἄμυσοι, Ἀμύητοι, and Ἀμυσαγώγητοι; The Uninitiated, or Unbaptized.

SECT. III. *And τέλειοι, The Perfect.*

3. BELIEVERS were otherwise called τέλειοι and τελεσμύρσι, The Perfect; because they were Consummate Christians, who had a Right to participate of the Holy Eucharist; the τὸ τέλειον, as it is frequently called in the Canons [h] of the Ancient Councils; where ὁπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐλθεῖν, and τῶ τελείω μετέχειν, always signify Participation of the Holy Eucharist, that Sacred Mystery that unites us to Christ, and gives us the most Consummate Perfection that we are capable of in this World.

SECT. IV. Chari Dei, Filii Dei, Ἅγιοι, &c.

4. *Tertullian* adds to these the Name of *Chari Dei*, The Favourites of Heaven; because their Prayers and Intercessions were powerful with God, to obtain Pardon for others, that should address Heaven by them. Therefore, in his Instructions to the Penitents, he bids them, *Charis Dei adgeniculari*, fall down at the Feet of those Favourites, and commend their Suit to all the Brethren, desiring them to intercede with God for them. *Tertul. de Pœnit.* c. 9.

All these Names (and many others that might be added, which are obvious to every Reader, such as Saints, and Sons of God, *&c.*) were peculiar Titles of Honour and Respect given only to those who were πιστοὶ, or Believers.

SECT. V. *The Privileges of the* Fideles. 1. *To partake of the Eucharist;*

AND hence it was, that correspondent to these Names, the *Fideles* had their peculiar Privileges in the Church above the Catechumens. For, First, it was their sole Prerogative to partake of the Lord's Table, and communicate with one another in the Symbols of Christ's Body and Blood at the Altar. Hither none came, but such as were first initiated by Baptism. Whence the Custom was, before they went to celebrate the Eucharist, for a Deacon to proclaim Ἅγια Ἁγίοις, Holy Things for Holy Men: Ye Catechumens go forth, [i] as the Author of the Constitutions, and St. *Chrysostom* and some others word it.

SECT. VI. *2. To join in all the Prayers of the Church:*

2. ANOTHER of their Prerogatives above Catechumens, was, to stay and join with the Minister in all the Prayers of the Church; which the Catechumens were not allowed to do. For in the Ancient Service of the Church, there were no Prayers preceding the Communion Office; but only such as particularly related, either to the several Classes of Penitents, or the *Energumeni*, that is, Persons possessed with Evil Spirits, or the Catechumens themselves. When these Prayers were ended, the Catechumens and all others were commanded to withdraw, and then began the Communion-Service at the Altar; where none were admitted so much as to be

[z] Con. Laodic. Can. 3. [a] Phot. Cod. 222. p. 595. & 598. [b] *See* Grot. Hammond. Estius in Heb. 6. 4. & 10. 32. [c] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 94. [d] Casaubon Exerc. 16. in Baron. p. 399. *observes this Phrase to occur no less than 50 times in St.* Chrysostom *and St.* Austin. [e] Ambrose De his qui initiantur Mysteriis. [f] Isidor. Lib. 4. Ep. 162. Ἴσασιν οἱ μυσαὶ τὸ λεγόμενον. [g] Hesych. Voce μυσαὶ. [h] Con. Ancyran. Can. 4, 5, 6, &c. [i] Constit. Apost. Lib. 8. c. 8. & 12. Chrysost. Hom. in Parab. de Filio Prodig. Tom. 6. μή τις τῶν κατηχεμένων, &c.

Spectators,

Spectators, ſave thoſe who were to Communicate in the Euchariſt. For to join in Prayers and Participation of the Euchariſt, were then Privileges of the ſame Perſons; and no one was qualify'd for the Prayers of the Church, that was not qualify'd for the Communion.

SECT. VII.

3. The Uſe of the Lord's Prayer another Prerogative of the Πιστοὶ: Whence it was call'd εὐχὴ πιστῶν. The Prayer of Believers.

3. MORE particularly, the Uſe of the Lord's Prayer, was the ſole Prerogative of the Πιστοὶ, or Believers. For then it was no Crime, or Argument of Weakneſs, or Want of the Spirit, to uſe it; but an Honour and Privilege of the moſt Conſummate and Perfect Chriſtians. The Catechumens were not allow'd to ſay, *Our Father*, till they had firſt made themſelves Sons by Regeneration in the Waters of Baptiſm. This is expreſly ſaid by St. *Chryſoſtom* [k], St. *Auſtin* [l], *Theodoret* [m] and ſeveral others. And for this Reaſon, *Chryſoſtom* [n] calls it εὐχὴ πιστῶν; and St *Auſtin* [o], *Oratio Fidelium*, The Prayer of the Regenerate, or Believers; becauſe it was their Privilege and Birth-right: It was given to them as their Property, he [p] ſays, and therefore they made uſe of it; having a Right to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, who were born again to ſuch a Father, by Water and the Holy Ghoſt.

SECT. VIII.

4. They were admitted to hear Diſcourſes upon the moſt profound Myſteries of Religion.

4. LASTLY, They were admitted to be Auditors of all Diſcourſes made in the Church, even thoſe that treated of the moſt abſtruſe Points and profound Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion; which the Catechumens were ſtrictly prohibited from hearing. The Catechumens were allowed to hear the Scriptures, and the ordinary popular Diſcourſes that were made upon them; which was no more than what ſome Councils [q] allow even to *Jews* and *Gentiles:* For in thoſe Diſcourſes they never treated plainly of their Myſteries, but in ſuch a covert way, as the Catechumens could not underſtand them. But when the Catechumens were diſmiſſed, then they diſcourſed more openly of their Myſteries before the *Fideles*, whoſe Privilege it was to be the ſole Auditors of ſuch Diſcourſes. This we learn from St. *Ambroſe*; [r] who ſays, His common Diſcourſes to the Unbaptized, were only upon Points of Morality; but when they were Baptized, then was the time to open to them the Myſteries and Sacraments of Religion: To have diſcourſed to them of thoſe Things before, had been more like Expoſing Myſteries, than Explaining them. St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, in one of his Sermons [s] to the newly Baptized: Having now diſmiſſed the Catechumens, ſays he, we have retained you only to be our Hearers: Becauſe, beſide thoſe Things which belong to all Chriſtians in common, we are now to diſcourſe more particularly of the Heavenly Myſteries, or Sacraments; which none are qualify'd to hear, but ſuch as by God's Gift are made Partakers of them. And therefore ye ought to hear them with the greater Reverence, by how much more ſublime thoſe Doctrines are, which are committed only to the Baptized and Believing Auditors, than thoſe which the Catechumens alſo are wont to hear. *Theodoret* [t] takes notice of the ſame Diſtinction made in their Diſcourſes, according to the Difference of their Auditors; ſaying, We diſcourſe obſcurely of Divine Myſteries before the Unbaptized; but when they are departed, we ſpeak plainly to the Baptized. From all which it is evident, that the *Fideles* were ſingled out, as the only proper Auditors fit to hear Diſcourſes upon the ſublime Doctrines and Myſteries of Religion. And in theſe and the like Privileges, conſiſted their Prerogative above the Catechumens.

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[k] Chryſoſt. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. [l] Aug. Hom. 29. de Verb. Apoſt. [m] Theodor. Epit. Div. Dogm. c. 24. [n] Chryſoſt. Hom. 10. in Coloſ. p. 1385. [o] Aug. Enchirid. c. 71. [p] Aug. Com. in Pſal. 142. Orabant utique jam Fideles, jam Apoſtoli. Nam iſta Oratio Dominica magis Fidelibus datur. Id. Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 71. De quotidianis, brevibus levibuſq; peccatis —— quotidiana Oratio Fidelium ſatisfacit. Eorum eſt enim dicere, Pater noſter qui es in Cœlis; qui jam Patri tali regenerati ſunt, ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto. [q] Con. Carthag. 4. Can. 14. Ut Epiſcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Eccleſiam, & audire Verbum Dei, ſive Gentilem, ſive Hæreticum, ſive Judæum, uſque ad Miſſam Catechumenorum. [r] Ambroſ. de his qui Myſteriis initiantur, c. 1. De Moralibus quotidianum Sermonem habuimus —— Nunc de Myſteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipſam Sacramentorum rationem edere, quam ante Baptiſmum ſi putaſſemus inſinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidiſſe potius quam ediciſſe æſtimaremur. [s] Aug. Serm. 1. ad Neophytos in Append. T. 10. p. 845. Dimiſſis jam Catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus: Quia præter illa, quæ omnes Chriſtianos convenit in commune ſervare, ſpecialiter de cœleſtibus Myſteriis locuturi ſumus, quæ audire non poſſunt, niſi qui eo donante jam Domino perceperunt. Tanto ergo majore reverentia debetis audire quæ dicimus, quanto majore iſta ſunt, quæ ſolis Baptizatis & Fidelibus Auditoribus committuntur; quàm illa quæ etiam Catechumeni audire conſueverunt. [t] Theod. Quæſt. 15. in Num.

CHAP. V.

Of the Distinction betwixt the Laity and Clergy; and of the Antiquity of that Distinction.

SECT. I. *The* Fideles *otherwise called* Laici, *to distinguish them from the Clergy.*

WE have hitherto considered the Great Body of the Christian Church, the *Fideles*, as opposed to the Catechumens: We are now to view them in another Relation, as contradistinct to the Clergy: in which Relation they went by other Names; such as those of *Laici*, Laymen; Βιωτικοὶ, Seculars; Ἰδιῶται, Private Men. The most common and ancient Name, was that of *Laici*; which every where occurs in the Writings of *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and *Tertullian*, and others of the Third Century: Which is a thing so evident, that the greatest Enemies of this Distinction, *Rigaltius* [*u*], *Salmasius*, and *Selden*, do not pretend to dispute it; but only say, There was originally no such Distinction in the Church; but that it is a Novelty, and owing to the Ambition of the Clergy of the Third Century, in which *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* lived.

SECT. II. *The Antiquity of this Distinction proved against* Rigaltius, Salmasius, *and* Selden.

THIS Accusation reflects highly upon St. *Cyprian*, and other Holy Martyrs his Cotemporaries; who were as far from the Ambition that is charged upon them, as the Authors are from Truth, that bring the Charge. For indeed the Distinction was none of their inventing; but derived from the *Jewish* Church, and adopted into the Christian by the Apostles themselves. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [*w*] speaking of St. *John*, says, That after his Return from Banishment in the Isle of *Patmos*, he settled at *Ephesus*; whence being often invited to visit the Neighbouring Regions, he Ordained them Bishops, and set apart such Men for the Clergy, as were signify'd to him by the Holy Ghost. Whence it appears, that the Name Κλῆρος, Clergy, was always a peculiar Title of those that were set apart for the Ministry and Service of God. And that this Distinction came from the *Jewish* Church, is evident from what *Clemens Romanus* [*x*] says of the *Jewish* Oeconomy; That as the High-Priest had his Office assigned him, and the Priests also their proper Station, and the *Levites* their peculiar Service; so Laymen in like manner were under the Obligation of Precepts proper for Laymen. These Instances evidently prove, that a Distinction was always observed in these Names, Laity and Clergy, from the first Foundation of the Christian Church.

SECT. III. *An Objection from* 1 Pet. 5. 3. *answered.*

THERE is but one Objection of any moment against this: Which is taken from the Words of St. *Peter*; where he bids the Elders of the Church not lord it over God's Heritage. The Original is, μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων; which (as some Learned [*y*] Criticks observe) may as well signify the Possessions of the Church, as the People. But admit that it means the People; this is no more than is said of the People of *Israel*, who are called God's κλῆρος, and λαὸς ἔγκληρος, his Inheritance, or his Clergy; *Deut.* 4. 20. 9. 29. as both the *Jews* and Christians were, in opposition to the Heathen: Notwithstanding which, God had his peculiar Κλῆρος among his own People, who were his Lot or Inheritance, and distinguished by that Name from the *Laici*, or remaining Body of the People. As we have observed before in the Name Πιστοὶ, *Fideles*, or Believers; all Persons within the Pale of the Church were called Believers, in opposition to Infidels and Pagans; but when they would distinguish one Order of Men in the Church from another, then the Name Believers was given peculiarly to such as were Baptized, and the rest were called Catechumens: So here, all Christian People are God's Κλῆρος, his Lot, his Inheritance, or his Clergy: But when his Ministers are to be distinguished from the rest of the People in the Church, then the Name *Clerici*, or Clergy, was their appropriate Title, and the Name of the other, Laymen.

SECT. IV. *A Distinction in the Offices of Laity and Clergy always observed.*

AND this Observation will help to set another sort of Persons right, who confound not only the Name, but the Offices of Laity and Clergy together; and plead that originally there was no Distinction between them. The Name of Priesthood, indeed, is sometimes given in common to the whole Body of Christian People; 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. *Rev.* 1. 6. but so it was to the Jewish People, *Exod.* 19. 6. *Ye shall be unto me a Kingdom of Priests, and an Holy Nation.* Yet every one knows, that the Offices of the Priests and *Levites* among the *Jews*, were very distinct from those of the common People, not by Usurpation, but by God's Appointment. And so it was among Christians, from the first Foundation of the Church. Where-ever any Number of Converts were made, as soon as they were capable of being formed into an Organical

[*u*] Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 3. [*w*] Clem. Alexand. Quis Dives salvetur. ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 185. & ap. Eusb. Lib. 3. c. 23. Κλήρῳ ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῷ Θεῷ πνεύματι σημαινομένῳ. [*x*] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 40. ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται. [*y*] Dodwel. Differt. 1. in Cyprian.

Church; a Biſhop, or a Presbyter, with a Deacon, was ordained to miniſter to them, as *Epiphanius* [z] delivers from the ancient Hiſtories of the Church. The ſame may be obſerved in the forementioned Paſſage of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where he ſays St. *John* ordained Biſhops and other Clergy, in the Churches which he regulated, by the Direction of the Holy Ghoſt. Hence it is that *Ignatius* ſo frequently in all his Epiſtles charges the People to do nothing without the Biſhops [a], Presbyters and Deacons. *Tertullian* [b] ſays it was cuſtomary among Hereticks to confound the Offices of Clergy and Laity together: They made one a Biſhop to-day, and an other to-morrow; to-day a Deacon, and to-morrow a Reader; to-day a Presbyter, and to-morrow a Layman. For Laymen among them performed the Offices of the Prieſthood. But this was not the Cuſtom of the Catholick Church. For as St. *Jerom* [c] obſerves, they reckoned that to be no Church, which had no Prieſts. They were of no eſteem with them, who were both Laymen and Biſhops together. And by this we may judge how ingenuouſly they deal with St. *Jerom* and *Tertullian*, who alledge their Authorities to prove that every Chriſtian is as much a Prieſt as another. St. *Jerom* indeed ſays [d] there is a Laical Prieſthood; but then he explains himſelf to mean no more by that, than Chriſtian Baptiſm, whereby we are made Kings and Prieſts to God. And *Tertullian* [e] grants no other Prieſthood to Laymen, ſave that they may baptize in caſe of abſolute Neceſſity, when none of the Eccleſiaſtical Order can be had; which was according to the Principles and Practice of the Primitive Church; but does by no means confound the Offices of Laity and Clergy together, unleſs any one can think Caſes Ordinary and Extraordinary all one. The ancient Hiſtorians [f] *Socrates* and *Ruffin* tell us, that *Frumentius* and *Ædeſius*, two young Men, who had no external Call or Commiſſion to preach the Goſpel, being carried Captive into *India*, converted the Nation, and ſettled ſeveral Churches among them. And the ſame *Socrates* [g] and *Theodoret* ſay, that the *Iberians* were firſt converted by a Captive Woman, who made the King and Queen of the Nation Preachers of the Goſpel to their People. Yet a Man would argue very weakly, that ſhould hence conclude, that therefore there was no Diſtinction betwixt Clergy and Laity in the Primitive Church; or that Laymen might Preach without a Call, and Women Ordain Miniſters of the Goſpel. The Author of the Comments upon St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, under the Name [h] of St. *Ambroſe*, ſeems to ſay indeed, that at firſt all Chriſt's Diſciples were Clergy, and had all a general Commiſſion to preach the Goſpel and Baptize: But that was in order to Convert the World, and before any Multitude of People were gathered, or Churches founded, wherein to make a Diſtinction. But as ſoon as the Church began to ſpread it ſelf over the World, and ſufficient Numbers were Converted to form themſelves into a Regular Society, then Rulers and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers were appointed among them, and a Diſtinction made, that no one, no, not of the Clergy themſelves, might preſume to meddle with any Office not committed to him, and to which he knew himſelf not Ordained. So that for ought that appears to the contrary, we may conclude, that the Names and Offices of Laymen and Clergy were always diſtinct from one another, from the firſt Foundation of Chriſtian Churches.

SECT. V. *Laymen alſo called* Βιωτικοὶ, *Seculars.*

THE Laymen were diſtinguiſhed alſo by the Name of Βιωτικοὶ, Seculars, from Βίος, which ſignifies a Secular Life. And by this Title they are diſcerned not only from the Clergy, but alſo from the Aſceticks and thoſe of a more retired Life, who bid adieu to the World, and disburdened themſelves of all Secular Cares and Buſineſs. Thus St. *Chryſoſtom* [i] exhorting all Men to read the Scriptures, ſays, Let no Man think to excuſe himſelf by ſaying, I am a Secular, οὐκ ἐμὸν βιωτικὸς, it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to thoſe that have retired from the World, and have taken up their abode in the Tops of the Mountains. And in another place commenting on thoſe Words of St. *Paul*, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers:* he ſays, This Command is given to the Clergy, and to the Monks, and not to the Seculars [ii] only. And ſo they are ſtiled in the Author [k] who goes under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr*, and others.

SECT. VI. *And* ἰδιῶται, *Private Men.*

IN ſome Writers they are termed ἰδιῶται, Private Men, as being only in a Private Capacity, and not acting as Publick Miniſters. So it was another Name to diſtinguiſh them from the Clergy who were in the Publick Office and Em-

[z] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 5. [a] Ignat. Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 6, & 7. Ep. ad. Trall. n. 2. Ep. ad Philad. n. 7.
[b] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 41. Alius hodie Epiſcopus, cras alius: Hodie Diaconus, qui cras Lector: Hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus. Nam & Laicis ſacerdotalia munera injungunt. [c] Hieron. Dial. c. Lucifer. T. 2. p. 145. Eccleſia non eſt quæ non habet Sacerdotes. Ibid. Omiſſis paucis homunculis, qui ipſi ſibi & Laici ſunt & Epiſcopi. [d] Hieron. ibid. p. 136. Sacerdotium Laici, id eſt, Baptiſma. Scriptum eſt enim, Regnum & Sacerdotes nos fecit, &c. [e] Tertul. Exhort. ad Caſt. c. 7. Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes ſumus? Scriptum eſt, Regnum quoque nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri ſuo fecit. —— Ubi Eccleſiaſtici Ordinis eſt Conſeſſus, & offert & tinguit Sacerdos, qui eſt ibi, ſolus. Sed ubi tres, Eccleſia eſt; licet Laici. [f] Ruffin. Lib. 1. c. 9. Socrat. Lib. 1. c. 19.
[g] Socrat. Lib. 1. c. 20. Ἀμφότεροι κήρυκες τοῦ γένους, &c. Theodor. Lib. 1. c. 23. [h] Ambroſ. ſive Hilar. Diacon. Com. in Eph. 4. p. 248. Ut creſceret Plebs & multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia conceſſum eſt & evangelizare, & baptizare, & Scripturas in Eccleſia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loco circumplexa eſt Eccleſia, Conventicula conſtituta ſunt, & Rectores & cætera Officia in Eccleſiis ſunt ordinata, ut nullus de Clero auderet, qui ordinatus non eſſet, præſumere Officium quod ſciret non ſibi creditum.
[i] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Laz. T. 5. [ii] Chryſ. Hom. 23. in Rom. ταῦτα διατάττεται ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον. [k] Juſt. M. Reſp. ad Quæſt. 19. τῷ βιωτικῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, &c.

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ployment of the Church. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*l*] and *Theodoret* [*m*] ſay the Word ἰδιώτης is ſo uſed by St. *Paul* himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 14. 16. which we tranſlate, Unlearned; but they ſay, it ſignifies no more than a Layman, or one in a Private Capacity, whether Learned or Unlearned, who is not a Publick Miniſter of the Church. And ſo *Origen* alſo uſes the Name ἰδιώτης, not for Perſons Unlearned, but for Laymen, who had Power as well as other Chriſtians to caſt out Devils in the Name of Chriſt [*n*]. And *Syneſius* oppoſes the Names, ἰδιώτης and ἱερεὺς, to one another, making [*o*] the one to denote thoſe who miniſtred in the Sacred Service of the Church; and the other, thoſe who had no ſuch Office, but ſerved God only in a private Capacity, as Laymen. Whence alſo ſpeaking of ſome Clergymen who deſerved to be Degraded, he ſays, [*p*] they were to be treated publickly by all, ὡς ἁπλοῦς ἰδιώτας, as meer Private Men, that is, no longer as Clergymen, but Laymen. Whence we may collect, that this was a common Name for all ſuch as had no Publick Office or Miniſtry in the Church.

SECT. VII. *What Perſons properly called* Clerici.

ON the other hand, all Perſons who had any publick Employment in the Church, were called by the common Name of *Clerici*; which Name at firſt was given only to the Three Superior Orders of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, becauſe there were then no other Orders in the Church. But in the Third Century many Inferior Orders were appointed, as ſubſervient to the Deacons Office, ſuch as Sub-Deacons, Acolythiſts, Readers, *&c.* And then thoſe alſo had the common Name of *Clerici* too, having no farther Concern with Secular Affairs, but wholly attending the Service of the Church. St. *Cyprian* always gives theſe the Name of *Clerici* [*q*]: As where he ſpeaks of *Optatus* a Sub-Deacon, and *Saturus* a Reader, he ſtiles them both *Clerici*. The Ordination of ſuch he [*r*] calls *Ordinationes Clericæ*. And hence the Letters which he had Occaſion to ſend to foreign Parts by their Hands, had the Name of *Literæ* [*s*] *Clericæ*. *Lucian* the Martyr, and *Cyprian*'s Cotemporary, ſpeaks in the ſame Stile concerning Exorciſts [*t*] and Readers.

The Council of *Nice* it ſelf [*u*] gives the Appellation of Κληρος, to others beſides Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons. And the Third Council of *Carthage*, made a Canon [*w*] on purpoſe to confirm the Title to them.

SECT. VIII. *The Name* Clerici *ſometimes appropriate to the Inferior Orders.*

YEA, the ſame Council [*x*] ſeems rather to appropriate the Name *Clerici* to the Inferior Orders, by way of Diſtinction from the Superior, firſt naming Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and then the *Clerici*, or Clerks; that is, the Inferior Orders. And the ſame is done by St. *Ambroſe* [*y*] and *Hilary* [*z*] under his Name, more expreſly, who ſpeak of the *Clerici* as diſtinct from the Deacons. As alſo *Epiphanius* [*a*], who ſpeaking of thoſe that lapſed in *Egypt* in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, he ſays, ſome of them were Soldiers, ſome Clerks of divers Orders, ſome Presbyters, and ſome Deacons. Where the *Clerici* are ſpoken of as diſtinct from Presbyters and Deacons. And ſo in the Council of *Laodicea* [*b*] and many other Places.

SECT. IX. *The Reaſon of the Name* Clerici.

AS to the Reaſon of the Name *Clerici* and *Clerus*, St. *Jerom* [*c*] rightly obſerves, that it comes from the *Greek* Κλῆρος, which ſignifies a Lot; and thence he ſays, God's Miniſters were called *Clerici*, either becauſe they are the Lot and Portion of the Lord, or becauſe the Lord is their Lot, that is, their Inheritance. Others [*d*] think ſome regard was had to the ancient Cuſtom of chuſing Perſons into Sacred Offices by Lot, both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*; which is not improbable, though that Cuſtom never generally prevailed among Chriſtians, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

SECT. X. *All the Clergy called* Canonici.

THERE is another Name for the Clergy, very commonly to be met with in the ancient Councils, which is that of *Canonici*, a Name derived from the *Greek* Word Κανὼν, which ſignifies among other things, the Roll or Catalogue of every Church, wherein the Names of all the Eccleſiaſticks were written, and which was as it were the Rule of knowing to what Church they belonged. In this Senſe the Word Κανὼν is often uſed by the Council [*e*] of *Nice*. The Council of *Antioch* [*f*] calls it ἁγιος Κανὼν, the Sacred Roll; the Apoſtolical Canons, καταλογος ἱερατικὸς [*g*], the Catalogue of the Clergy. Which is the ſame that *Sidonius Apollinaris*

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. 14. ἰδιώτην δὲ λαικὸν λέγει. [*m*] Theod. Com. in 1 Cor. 14. 16. ἰδιώτην καλεῖ τὸν ἐν τῷ λαικῷ τάγματι τεταγμένον [*n*] Orig. c. Celſ. Lib. 7. p. 334. [*o*] Syneſ. Ep. 54. ad Theoph. p. 144. [*p*] Syneſ. Ep. 67. p. 259. [*q*] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Ed. Ox. Quoniam oportuit me per Clericos ſcribere, &c. feciſſe me ſciatis Lectorem Saturum, & Hypodiaconum Optatum. [*r*] Id. Ep. 33. al. 38. [*s*] *See* Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 23. [*t*] Lucian. Ep. 17. al. 23. ap. Cypr. Præſente de Clero, & Exorciſta & Lectore, Lucianus ſcripſit. [*u*] Con. Nic. Can. 3. [*w*] Con. Carth. 3. can. 21. Clericorum nomen etiam Lectores & Pſalmiſtæ & Oſtiarii retineant. [*x*] Con. Carth. 3. t. 15. Placuit ut Epiſcopi, & Presbyteri, & Diaconi, vel Clerici non ſint Conductores. [*y*] Ambr. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 3. Aliud eſt quod ab Epiſcopo requirit Deus, aliud quod à Presbytero, & aliud quod à Diacono, & aliud quod à Clerico, & aliud quod à Laico. [*z*] Pſeud. Ambr. in Eph. 4. Nunc neque Diaconi in Populo prædicant; neque Clerici vel Laici baptizant. [*a*] Epiphan. Her. 68. Melet. [*b*] Con. Laodic. can. 20. [*c*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad. Nepot. Cleros græcè, Sors Latinè appellatur: propterea vocantur Clerici, vel quia de Sorte ſunt Domini, vel quia ipſe Dominus Sors, id eſt, Pars Clericorum eſt. [*d*] Dodwel. Diſſert. 1. in Cypr. §. 51. [*e*] Con. Nic. Can. 16, 17, 19. [*f*] Con. Antioch. c. 1. [*g*] Can. Apoſtol. c. 13, 14, 15, 50, &c.

[*b*] calls

[*h*] calls *Albus*; and the Council of *Agde* [*i*] by the Name of *Matricula*; and St. *Auſtin* [*k*], *Tabula Clericorum*. Now becauſe the Names of all the Clergy were enrolled in this Catalogue or Canon, they were hence called *Canonici*. As in St. *Cyril* [*l*] κανονικῶν παρεσία ſignifies the Preſence of the Clergy. And κανονικοὶ ψαλταὶ in the Council of *Laodicea* [*m*] ſignifies ſuch of the Clergy as were ordered to ſing in the Church. And ſo generally in the Councils of *Nice* [*n*] and *Antioch*, οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι, is put to denote the Clergy of the Church. And upon the ſame Account all others, whoſe Names were ſet down in the Churches Books, to entitle them to receive Maintenance from the Church, were called by the ſame Name, *Canonici*, ſuch as the Monks, Virgins, Widows, &c. whom St. *Baſil* [*o*] ſpeaks of under this Name, as *Balſamon* and *Zonaras* underſtand him.

SECT. XI. *And* Τάξις τῦ Βήματος, *the Order of the Sanctuary.*

I paſs over many other Names of the Clergy, which are obvious to every Reader; ſuch as that of Eccleſiaſticks, and ἱερατικοὶ, or τάξις ἱερατικὴ, the Holy Order, &c. and ſhall but take notice of one more, which rarely occurs any where but in *Gregory Nazianzen*, who gives the Clergy, eſpecially the ſuperior Clergy, the Name of Τάξις τῦ Βήματος, the Order of the Sanctuary [*p*]. Which Name was given them from their Privilege of entering into that Part of the Church where the Altar ſtood, which (as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of Churches) was called Βῆμα or ἱερατεῖον, The Sanctuary. Hither none might come but the Clergy, who were therefore called the Order of the Sanctuary. Whence in the ſame Author [*q*] τῷ ῥήματι προσάγειν ſignifies to give a Man Ordination, or make him a Clergyman: And ὁ ἀπὸ βήματος, is one of the Sacred Order [*r*], or one of the Clergy.

[*h*] Sidon. Lib. 6. Ep. 8. Nomen Lectorum Albus nuper excepit. [*i*] Con. Agathenſ. can. 2. Reſcripti in Matricula gradum ſuum dignitatemque ſuſcipiant. [*k*] Aug. Hom. 50. de Diverſis. T. 10. p. 523. Delebo eum de Tabula Clericorum. [*l*] Cyril. Præf. Catech. n. 3. [*m*] Con. Laodic. can. 15. [*n*] Con. Antioch. can. 2. & 6. Con. Nic. can. 16, & 17. [*o*] Baſil. Ep. Canonic. c. 6. [*p*] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Baſil. p. 336. [*q*] Id. Orat. 19. de Fun Patr. [*r*] Naz. Orat. 19. p. 310, & 311. Orat. 20. p. 351.

BOOK

BOOK II.

Of the ſeveral Orders of the Clergy in the Primitive Church.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of Biſhops: And that they were a diſtinct Order from Presbyters in the Primitive Church.

SECT. I. *What the Ancients mean by different Orders of Biſhops and Presbyters.*

WE have hitherto conſidered the Clergy in general, as diſtinct from the Laity, and come now to examine by what Names or Offices they were diſtinguiſhed from one another. And here the moſt ancient Diſtinction that occurs, is, that of the Superior Clergy into the Three diſtinct Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. That there were no other Orders in the Church but theſe Three at firſt, will be evidenced in its proper Place, when I come to give an Account of the firſt Riſe and Original of the Inferior Orders; and that Deacons were always a Sacred and Standing Order, will be proved likewiſe when I ſpeak particularly of them: Here then it remains that our Enquiry be made only into the Diſtinction betwixt the Orders of Biſhops and Presbyters. And this, ſo far as concerns Matter of Fact, and the Practice of the Church (which is the thing I have undertaken to give an Account of) will be moſt fairly and fully reſolved, by conſidering only theſe three Things. 1. That the Ancient Writers of the Church always ſpeak of theſe as diſtinct Orders. 2. That they derive the Original of Biſhops from Divine Authority, and Apoſtolical Conſtitution. 3. That they give us particular Accounts and Catalogues of ſuch Biſhops as were firſt Settled and Conſecrated, in the new-founded Churches, by the Hands of the Apoſtles.

But before I proceed to the Proof of theſe things, I muſt premiſe one Particular, to avoid all Ambiguity; That I take the Word *Order* in that Senſe as the Ancients uſe it, and not as many of the Schoolmen do, who for Reaſons of their own diſtinguiſh between Order and Juriſdiction, and make Biſhops and Presbyters to be one and the ſame Order, only differing in Power and Juriſdiction. This Diſtinction was unknown to the Ancients; among whom the words, Order, Degree, Office, Power and Juriſdiction, when they ſpeak of the Superiority of Biſhops above Presbyters, mean but one and the ſame thing, *viz.* The Power of the Supreme Governors of the Church, conferred upon them in their Ordination, over Presbyters, who are to do nothing but in Subordination to them. St. *Jerom*, who will be allowed to ſpeak the Senſe of the Ancients, makes no Difference in theſe Words, *Ordo*, *Gradus*, *Officium*, but uſes them promiſcuouſly to ſignify the Power and Juriſdiction of Biſhops above Presbyters and the whole Church, which is, properly ſpeaking, the very Eſſence of their Order. Therefore ſometimes he calls them different Orders, as in his Book againſt *Jovinian* [*s*] where he ſays, that both in the Old and New Teſtament the High-Prieſts are one Order, the Prieſts another, and the *Levites* another. So in his Epiſtles [*t*] to *Ruſticus*, and *Fabiola* [*u*], where he joins *Ordo* and *Gradus* together. In other places he uſes the Word *Gradus* only. As in his Epiſtle to *Euſtochium* [*w*] he calls Presbyters Prieſts of the Inferior Degree: And in his Epiſtle to *Heliodore* [*x*], Deacons the Third Degree: And in his Comment upon *Micah* [*y*], Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, the Degrees in the Church. At other times he expreſſes his meaning by the Word Offices. As where [*z*] he ſays, That Biſhop, Presbyter and Deacon are not Names of Men's Merit, but of their Offices. So that it is all one according to St. *Jerom*, whether we ſay the Order, or the Degree, or the Office, or the Power and Juriſdiction of a Biſhop: For all theſe are intended to expreſs the

[*s*] Hieron. cont. Jovin. Lib. 2. p. 89. In veteri Teſtamento & in Novo alium Ordinem Pontifex tenet, alium Sacerdotes, alium Levitæ. [*t*] Id. Ep. ad Ruſtic. T. 1. p. 46. Singuli Eccleſiarum Epiſcopi, ſinguli Archipresbyteri, ſinguli Archidiaconi, & omnis Ordo Eccleſiaſticus ſuis Rectoribus nititur. [*u*] Id. ad Fabiol. de 42. Manſion. Iſrael. T. 3. p. 44. Ipſos ſecundi Ordinis intelligimus Præceptores, Luca Evangeliſta teſtante, Duodecim fuiſſe Apoſtolos, & ſeptuaginta Diſcipulos minoris Gradus. [*w*] Ep. 27. ad Euſtoch Aderant Hieroſolymarum & aliarum Urbium Epiſcopi, & Sacerdotum Inferioris Gradus, & Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo. [*x*] Ep. 1. ad Heliodor. Non minorem in Tertio Gradu adhibuit diligentiam, &c. [*y*] Com. in Mic. 7. p. 162. Non hoc dico, quod iſtiuſmodi Gradibus in Eccleſia non debeatis eſſe ſubjecti. [*z*] Cont. Jovin. Lib. 1. p. 41. Epiſcopus, Presbyter, & Diaconus non ſunt Meritorum nomina, ſed Officiorum—— Si Diaconus ſanctior Epiſcopo ſuo fuerit, non ex eo quod inferior Gradu eſt, apud Chriſtum deterior eſt.

ſame thing, *viz.* The Authority of Biſhops over their Presbyters and the whole Church. And in this Senſe I uſe the Word *Order*, in this Diſcourſe, to expreſs the Opinion of the Ancients, concerning the different Powers of Biſhops and Presbyters in the Church.

SECT. II. *The Order of Biſhops always owned to be Superior to that of Presbyters.*

Now that there was ſuch a Diſtinction always obſerved in the Church, is evident, 1ſt, From the Teſtimony of the moſt Ancient Writers; who ſpeak of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as diſtinct Degrees in the Church, and the two latter as Subordinate to the firſt. The Teſtimonies of *Ignatius* to this purpoſe [a] are ſo full and evident, that nothing was ever pretended to be ſaid againſt them, ſave only that they are not the Genuine Remains of that Ancient Author; which has been ſo often conſidered and replied to by Learned [b] Men, that there is no Pretence left to favour ſuch an Imagination. The Citations are too numerous to be here inſerted at large, and therefore I ſhall only give the Reader a Specimen in one ſingle Teſtimony, by which he may judge of all the reſt. In his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians*, he exhorts them [c] to do all things in Unity, under the Biſhop preſiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Apoſtolical Senate, and the Deacons to whom is committed the Miniſtry and Service of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Author of the Acts of the Martyrdom of *Ignatius* [d], lately publiſhed from an Ancient *Greek* Copy, ſpeaks exactly in the ſame manner, of theſe Three Orders, when he ſays, That as *Ignatius* was on his Journey to *Rome*, all the Cities and Churches of *Aſia* ſent to ſalute him by their Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Not long after theſe Authors, lived *Pius* Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe Authority I cite, becauſe *Blondel* [e] allows it to be Genuine. This Author in his Epiſtle to *Juſtus* of *Vienna*, gives him the Title of Biſhop [f], and ſpeaks of Presbyters and Deacons under him. In the beginning of the next Age we have the Teſtimonies of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian*, all agreeing in the ſame thing, that there were then in their own Times the different Orders of Biſhops and Presbyters in the Church. There are here in the Church, ſays *Clemens* [g] the different Degrees or Progreſſions of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in imitation of the Angelical Glory. *Origen* takes notice of this Diſtinction above ten times [h] in his Works, which thoſe that pleaſe may read at large in Biſhop *Pearſon*. I ſhall only recite Two Paſſages, one out of his Homilies upon St. *Luke*, written whilſt he was a Layman, where he ſays, That [i] Digamy excludes Men from all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities: For one that is Twice Married can neither be made Biſhop, Presbyter, nor Deacon. Here he calls them different Dignities; in the other [k] Place he calls them different Degrees, ſaying, Every one ſhall be puniſhed according to his Degree: If the Supreme Governor of the Church offends, he ſhall have the greater Puniſhment. A Layman will deſerve Mercy in compariſon of a Deacon, and a Deacon in compariſon of a Presbyter. So that Biſhops, in his Opinion, were then a Degree above Presbyters and Deacons. *Tertullian* frequently [l] mentions the ſame Diſtinction, but more eſpecially in his Book *de Baptiſmo*, where he ſays [m] The Right of Baptizing belongs to the Chief Prieſt, who is the Biſhop; and after him to Presbyters and Deacons, yet not without the Authority of the Biſhop, for the Honour of the Church, in the Preſervation of which conſiſts the Church's Peace.

Theſe Allegations are ſufficient Evidences, as to Matter of Fact, and the Practice of the Church in the Three firſt Ages, that there was then an Order of Chief Prieſts, or Biſhops, ſuperior to Presbyters, ſettled and allowed in the Chriſtian Church.

SECT. III. *The Order of Biſhops of Apoſtolical Inſtitution.*

If we proceed a little farther into this Enquiry, and examine from what Original this Appointment came, whether from Eccleſiaſtical or Apoſtolical Inſtitution; which is another Queſtion concerning Matter of Fact, that will in ſome meaſure determine the Right alſo: The ſame Authors, with the unanimous Conſent of all others, declare, That it was no Human Invention, but an Original Settlement of the Apoſtles themſelves, which they made by Divine Appointment. The Order of Biſhops, ſays *Tertullian*, [n] when it is traced up to its Original, will be found to have St. *John* for one of its Authors. This agrees exactly with what *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o] has recorded of him, That when he was ſettled at *Epheſus*, he went about the neighbouring Regions, Ordaining Biſhops, and ſetting apart ſuch Men for the Clergy, as were ſignified to him by the Holy Ghoſt. Theſe were thoſe *Aſiatick* Biſhops that St. *Je-*

[a] Ignat. Ep. ad Epheſ. n. 2, 3, 4. Ep. ad Philad. n. 4, 7, 10. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8, & 12. Ep. ad Trall. n. 2, 7, 12, 13. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 6. [b] Pearſon Vind. Ignat. Uſſer de Epiſt. Ignat. Voſſ. Epiſt. ad Rivet. Coteler. Præf. & Not. in Ignat. Bull. Defenſ. Fid. Nic. Sect. 3. n. 6. p. 290, &c. [c] Ignat. Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 6. [d] Martyr. Ignat. ap. Grabe Spicil. Sæcul. 2. T. 1. p. 11. [e] Blondel. Apol. p. 18. [f] Pius Ep. 2. ad Juſt. Vien. Tu vero apud Senatoriam Viennam —— Colobio Epiſcoporum veſtitus, &c. Presbyteri & Diaconi te obſervent. [g] Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 6. p. 667. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν περιοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων. &c. Id. Pædag. Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 264. [h] Origen. Hom. 2. in Num. Hom. 2. in Cantic. Hom. 6. in Eſai. Hom. 5, & 16. in Ezek. Con. in Mat. 19, & 21. De Orat. ap. Pearſon. Vindic. Ignat. Part. 1. c. 11. p. 320. [i] Orig. Hom. 17. in Luc. Ab Eccleſiaſticis Dignitatibus non ſolum Fornicatio ſed & Nuptiæ repellunt. Neque enim Epiſcopus, nec Presbyter, nec Diaconus, nec Vidua poſſunt eſſe Digami. [k] Orig. Hom. 5. in Ezek. Pro modo Graduum unuſquiſque torquebitur, &c. [l] Tertul. de Monogam. c. 11. De Fuga. c. 11. De Præſcript. c. 41. [m] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi quidem jus habet ſummus Sacerdos, qui eſt Epiſcopus: Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen ſine Epiſcopi auctoritate, propter Eccleſiæ honorem; quo ſalvo ſalva Pax eſt. [n] Tertull. adv. Marcion. Lib. 4. c. 5. Ordo Epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus, in Joannem ſtabit Auctorem. [o] Clem. Alex. Quis dives Salvetur. ap. Combefiſ. Auctar. Noviſſim. p. 185. & ap. Euſeb. Lib. 3. c. 23.

rom

rom [p] ſpeaks of, who ſays that at their requeſt St. *John* wrote his Goſpel againſt the Hereſies of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*. Whence it follows, that according to this Account, the Order of Biſhops was ſettled before the Canon of Scripture was concluded. Whence *Clemens* of *Alexandria* [q] farther obſerves, That there are many Precepts in Scripture appertaining to particular ſorts of Perſons, ſome to Presbyters, ſome to Deacons, and ſome to Biſhops alſo. *Irenæus* declares himſelf of the ſame Opinion, that there were Biſhops as well as Presbyters in the Apoſtles Days. For the Aſſembly of *Miletus*, he ſays, [r] was compoſed of Biſhops and Presbyters, that were of *Epheſus*, and the neighbouring Cities of *Aſia*. And therefore agreeably to that Hypotheſis, he always derives the Succeſſion of Biſhops and their Original from the Apoſtles. As where he ſays [s] that *Hyginus* Biſhop of *Rome* was the Ninth in order of Epiſcopal Succeſſion from the Apoſtles [t]. And in another Place [u] giving an exact Catalogue of the 12 Biſhops of *Rome* that governed ſucceſſively in that See to his own time, he ſays of *Linus* the firſt of them, that he was ordained Biſhop immediately by the Apoſtles, upon the firſt Foundation of the Church; and of *Eleutherius* the laſt of them, that he was the Twelfth Biſhop from the Apoſtles. *Tertullian* [w] inſiſts much upon the ſame Argument, and makes a Challenge to all ſorts of Hereticks upon it: Let them ſhew us the Original of their Churches, and give us a Catalogue of their Biſhops in an exact Succeſſion from Firſt to Laſt, whereby it may appear, that their firſt Biſhop had either ſome Apoſtle, or ſome Apoſtolical Man, living in the time of the Apoſtles, for his Author or immediate Predeceſſor. For thus it is that Apoſtolical Churches make their Reckoning. The Church of *Smyrna* counts up to *Polycarp* ordained by St. *John*; The Church of *Rome* to *Clemens* ordained by St. *Peter*; And ſo all other Churches in like manner exhibit their firſt Biſhops ordained by the Apoſtles, by whom the Apoſtolical Seed was propagated and conveyed to others. This implies that the Apoſtles, as they founded Churches, ſettled Biſhops in them; and that this might be proved from the Records and Archives of every Church, the moſt of which were probably then remaining, when *Tertullian* made this Challenge to all Hereticks, and appealed to theſe Original Records in behalf of the Catholick Church.

SECT. IV.

A Liſt or Catalogue of ſuch Biſhops as were firſt Ordained by the Apoſtles.

AN Exact and Authentick Catalogue of theſe firſt Foundations, would be a very uſeful and entertaining thing: But at this Diſtance of Time, it is impoſſible to gratifie the World with any ſuch Curioſity, whatever Pains ſhould be taken about it. Yet there are ſome ſcatter'd Remains and Fragments to be collected out of the Ancient Writers, which will ſufficiently anſwer our preſent Deſign; which is, to evidence that the Apoſtles ſettled Biſhops in all Churches upon their firſt Plantation.

To begin with the Church of *Rome*: We have already heard *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* declaring, that the Apoſtles Ordained a Biſhop there. And the ſame is aſſerted by St. *Chryſoſtom* [x], and *Euſebius* [y], and *Ruffin* [z], and St. *Jerom* [a], and *Optatus* [b], and *Epiphanius* [c], and St. *Auſtin*; who ſays, [d] If the Order of Biſhops ſucceeding one another be of any Conſideration, we take the ſureſt and ſoundeſt way, who begin to number from St. *Peter*: For *Linus* ſucceeded *Peter*; and *Clemens*, *Linus*; and *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, &c.

'Tis true, there is a little difference in the Account which theſe Authors give of the Succeſſion; for ſome reckon *Linus* firſt, then *Anacletus*, then *Clemens*: Others begin with *Clemens*, and reckon him the firſt in Order from St. *Peter*. But this is eaſily reconciled by learned [e] Men; who make it appear, that *Linus* and *Anacletus* died whilſt St. *Peter* lived; and that *Clemens* was Ordained their Succeſſor by St. *Peter* alſo. So that we have Two or Three Perſons, by this Account, Ordained ſucceſſively Biſhops of *Rome* by the Hands of the Apoſtles.

Next, for the Church of *Jeruſalem*; it is unanimouſly deliver'd by all Ancient Writers, that *James* the Lord's Brother was the Firſt Biſhop thereof. St. *Jerom* [f] ſays, He was Ordained by the Apoſtles immediately after our Lord's Crucifixion. *Epiphanius* [g] calls him therefore the Firſt Biſhop; the Firſt who had an Epiſcopal Chair, the Firſt to whom Chriſt committed

[p] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccleſ. in Joanne. Noviſſimus omnium ſcripſit Evangelium, rogatus ab Aſiæ Epiſcopis. [q] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 264. [r] Iren. lib. 3. c. 14. In Mileto convocatis Epiſcopis & Presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheſo & à reliquis proximis Civitatibus. [s] Id. lib. 1. c. 28. Hyginus nonum locum Epiſcopatus per ſucceſſionem ab Apoſtolis habuit. [t] Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 11. *cites the ſame out of* Irenæus. [u] Iren. lib. 3. c. 3. Fundantes & inſtruentes beati Apoſtoli Eccleſiam, Lino Epiſcoparum adminiſtrandæ Eccleſiæ tradiderunt. *Cited alſo by* Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 6. [w] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 32. Edant Origines Eccleſiarum ſuarum: Evolvant ordinem Epiſcoporum ſuorum, ita per ſucceſſiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Epiſcopus aliquem ex Apoſtolis, vel Apoſtolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apoſtolis perſeveraverint, habuerit Auctorem & Anteceſſorem. Hoc enim modo Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ cenſus ſuos deferunt: Sicut Smyrnæorum Eccleſia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: Sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit: Proinde utique & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apoſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos, Apoſtolici ſeminis Traduces habent. *See alſo* c. 36. ibid. Polycrat. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 24. Cyprian. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 104. Cum Fabiani Locus, id eſt, Locus Petri, & gradus Cathedræ ſacerdotalis vacaret. Id. Ep. 27. al. 33. ed. Oxon. [x] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in 2 Tim. [y] Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 4. [z] Ruffin. ap. Hieron. Apol. 2. p. 219. [a] Hieron. Catal. Script. in Clemen. [b] Optat. lib. 2. p. 48. [c] Epiph. Hær. 27. [d] Aug. Ep. 165. Si Ordo Epiſcoporum ſibi ſuccedentium conſiderandus eſt; quanto certius & vere ſalubriter ab ipſo Petro numeramus? —— Petro enim ſucceſſit Linus, Lino Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, *&c.* [e] Cotel. Not. in Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 46. Pearſon de Succeſſ. Rom. Pontif. Differt. 2. c. 2. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Vol. 1. in Clem. [f] Hieron. Catal. Script. c. 3. Poſt Paſſionem Domini, ſtatim ab Apoſtolis Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus ordinatus. Id. Com. in Gal. 1. p. 165. Hic Jacobus primus Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus fuit. [g] Epiphan. Hær. 78. Antidicomar. n. 7. Id. Hær. 29. Nazor. n. 3. Hær. 66. Manich. n. 19.

his own Throne upon Earth. *Chryſoſtom* [*h*] ſays, He was made Biſhop by Chriſt himſelf: The Author [*i*] of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions; both by Chriſt, and the Apoſtles. In like manner, *Euſebius* [*k*] always ſpeaks of him under that Character, as Firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, Ordained by the Apoſtles. So *Hegeſippus* [*l*], *Clemens* [*m*] *Alexandrinus*, and *Dionyſius* [*n*] Biſhop of *Corinth*, all cited by *Euſebius*. To whom we may add St. *Auſtin* [*o*], who ſtiles *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* St. *James*'s Succeſſor, and Poſſeſſor of the Chair wherein he ſat as firſt Biſhop of the Place. And it is remarkable, what *Clemens*, one of the ancienteſt of theſe Writers ſays, That this was deſigned as a peculiar Honour to St. *James*, in regard that he was the Brother of Chriſt: For tho' our Saviour uſually gave the Preference to *Peter* and *John*, and *James* his Brother; yet none of thoſe contended about this Honour, but choſe this *James*, ſirnamed *Juſtus*, to be Biſhop of the Place; where he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr.

Some time after his Death, as *Euſebius* [*p*] relates from Ancient Tradition, the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord, as many as were yet in being, met together with our Saviour's Kinſmen (ſeveral of which were then alive) to conſult about chuſing a Succeſſor in St. *James*'s room; and they unanimouſly agreed upon *Simeon*, Son of *Cleopas*, our Saviour's Couſin according to the Fleſh; thinking him the moſt fit and worthy Perſon to ſit upon the Epiſcopal Throne. The ſame is aſſerted by *Euſebius* in other [*q*] Places, and the Author [*r*] of the Conſtitutions under the Name of *Clemens Romanus*.

From *Jeruſalem*, if we paſs to *Antioch*, there again we find *Euodius* firſt, and after him *Ignatius*, Ordained Biſhops by the Hands of the Apoſtles. *Baronius* [*s*] and ſome others fancy, that they ſat both at the ſame time; the one as Biſhop of the *Jews*, and the other of the *Gentiles*: But *Euſebius* [*t*] ſays expreſly, that *Euodius* was the firſt, and *Ignatius* the ſecond, after *Euodius* was dead. And it is agreed by all Ancient Writers, that they were both conſecrated before St. *Peter*'s Death. Of *Euodius* there can be no queſtion made, if it appears that *Ignatius* was ordained by the Apoſtles in his room. Now this is moſt expreſly ſaid by *Theodoret* [*u*], That he received the Gift of the High-Prieſthood, ἀρχιερωσύνης χάριν from the Hand of the Great *Peter*. In like manner, *Chryſoſtom* in his Encomium [*w*] upon him, ſays, He does not only admire him, becauſe he was thought worthy of ſo high a Degree; but that he was Ordained to it by thoſe Holy Men, and had the Hands of the Bleſſed Apoſtles laid upon his Sacred Head. The ſame is ſaid in effect by *Athanaſius* [*x*], when he calls him the firſt Biſhop of *Antioch* after the Apoſtles; and *Origen* [*y*] who calls him the ſecond after St. *Peter*; and *Jerom* [*z*], the third: For tho' they count differently, yet they mean the ſame thing; That *Ignatius* was Ordained Succeſſor to *Euodius* while the Apoſtles lived, and ſo might be called either ſecond or third after the Apoſtles, according as St. *Peter* and *Euodius* were included, or excluded out of the Number.

From *Antioch* let us go to *Smyrna*; where we ſhall find *Polycarp*, another Apoſtolical Biſhop, Ordained by the Apoſtles. St *Jerom* aſcribes his Ordination [*a*] to St. *John*, whoſe Diſciple he was. *Irenæus* ſays, he himſelf knew him; and therefore could not miſtake in what he relates of him; which is, That he was Ordained Biſhop by the [*b*] Apoſtles. *Tertullian* [*c*] and *Euſebius* [*d*] witneſs the ſame; the one ſaying, that he was Ordained by St. *John*; and the other, by thoſe that had ſeen the Lord.

Papias was another Diſciple of St. *John*, [*e*] as both *Irenæus* and St. *Jerom* witneſs: And he was cotemporary with *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, and Biſhop of *Hierapolis* about the ſame time: that is, in the beginning of the Second Century. So that it is probable, he was another of thoſe Biſhops which St. *John* Ordained in *Aſia*, tho' we have no expreſs Teſtimony to prove it.

But it is aſſerted by all Ancient Writers, That *Timothy* was Ordained Biſhop of *Epheſus* by St. *Paul*. *Euſebius* [*f*], *Chryſoſtom* [*g*], *Epiphanius* [*h*], *Jerom* [*i*], *Hilary* the Deacon [*k*], and the Author of the Paſſion of *Timothy* in *Photius* [*l*], unanimouſly atteſt it. And *Theodoret* [*m*] affirms moreover, That he was Biſhop, under the Title of an Apoſtle.

Moſt of the ſame Authors agree in the ſame Evidence for *Titus* [*n*], That he was made Biſhop of *Crete* by St. *Paul* alſo. And *Chryſoſtom* [*o*] with *Euſebius*, ſeems to give both him and *Timothy* the Power of Metropolitans; of which more hereafter.

Others ſay, that *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* was made firſt Biſhop of *Athens*. *Euſebius* [*p*] more

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 38. in 1 Cor. 15. [*i*] Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 35. [*k*] Euſeb. Lib. 2. c. 23. Lib. 3. c. 5, & 7. Lib. 7. c. 19. [*l*] Hegeſip. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 2. c. 23. [*m*] Clem. Hypotypoſ. Lib. 6. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 2. c. 1. [*n*] Dionyſ. Ep. ad Athenienſ. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 4. c. 23. [*o*] Aug. contra Creſcon. Lib. 2. c. 37. Hieroſolymitanam Eccleſiam primus Apoſtolus Jacobus Epiſcopatu ſuo rexit. Id. cont. Liter. Petil. Lib. 2. c. 51. Cathedra Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ, in qua Jacobus ſedit, & in qua hodie Joannes ſedet. *See alſo* Cyril. Catechiſm. 4. n. 17. Catech. 14. n. 13. [*p*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. c. 11. [*q*] Idem Chronic. [*r*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 46. [*s*] Baron. an. 45. n. 14. an. 71. n. 11. Halloix Vit. Ignat. c. 2. p. 394. [*t*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. c. 22. [*u*] Theod. Dial. 1. T. 5. p. 33. [*w*] Chryſoſt. Hom. 42. in Ignat. Tom. 1. p. 563. Ed. Front. Duc. [*x*] Athan. de Synod. Arim. T. 1. p. 922. [*y*] Orig. Hom. 6. in Luc. Ignatium dico Epiſcopum Antiochiæ poſt Petrum Secundum. [*z*] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. in Ignat. Tertius poſt Petrum Apoſtolum Epiſcopus. [*a*] Hieron. Catal. Script. c. 17. Polycarpus Joannis Apoſtoli Diſcipulus, ab eo Smyrnæ Epiſcopus ordinatus. [*b*] Iren. Lib. 3. c. 3. Ab Apoſtolis in Aſia, in ea quæ eſt Smyrnis Eccleſia, conſtitutus Epiſcopus, quem & nos vidimus in prima noſtra ætate. [*c*] Tertul. de Præſcrip. c. 32. [*d*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. c. 36. & Lib. 4. c. 14. [*e*] Iren. Lib. 5. c. 33. Papias Joannis Auditor, Polycarpi Contubernalis. Hieron. Ep. 29. ad Theodor. It. de Scriptor. [*f*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. c. 4. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. in Philip. [*h*] Epiph. Hær. 75. Aerian. [*i*] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. in Timotheo. [*k*] Pſeudo-Ambroſ. Præf. in Tim. It. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. [*l*] Phot. Cod. 254. [*m*] Theodor. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. 1. [*n*] Euſeb. & Chryſoſt. loc. cit. Hieron. de ſcriptor. in Tito. Pſeudo-Ambroſ. Præf. in Tit. Theodor. loc. cit. [*o*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. in Tit. It. Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. [*p*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. c. 4. It. Lib. 4. c. 23.

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than once mentions an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, a very ancient Writer of the Second Century, wherein this is expreſly aſſerted. So that he muſt be Ordained, either by St. *Paul* himſelf, as *Suidas* and others [q] think, or by ſome other Apoſtle. 'Tis generally agreed, that this *Dionyſius* died ſome time before St. *John*, and was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by *Publius*, and he by *Quadratus*, whom St. *Jerom* [r] calls a Diſciple of the Apoſtles; which, in all probability, refers to his being tutor'd by St. *John*. Now if *Quadratus* himſelf was St. *John*'s Diſciple, (as he might be, who was Biſhop in the time of the Emperor *Hadrian*, to whom he preſented his Apology;) then there might be Three Biſhops ſucceſſively at *Athens*, all trained up by the Apoſtles, and Two of them conſecrated by their Hands, or at leaſt with their Conſent and Approbation.

I ſhall end this Catalogue of Primitive Biſhops, with what *Theodoret* [s] ſays of *Epaphroditus*; That as *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete* under the Name of Apoſtles, ſo *Epaphroditus* was Biſhop of *Philippi* under the ſame Title; which was then the common Name of all that were properly Biſhops: Of which I ſay no more in this Place, becauſe I give a more particular Account of it in the following Chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſeveral Titles of Honour given to Biſhops in the Primitive Church.

SECT. I. *All Biſhops at firſt called Apoſtles.*

FOR farther Confirmation of what has been aſſerted in the foregoing Chapter, it will not be amiſs here to ſubjoin next a ſhort Account of the ſeveral Titles of Honour which were given to Biſhops in the Primitive Church. The moſt Ancient of theſe, is the Title of Apoſtles; which, in a large and ſecondary Senſe, is thought by many to have been the Original Name for Biſhops, before the Name Biſhop was appropriated to their Order. For at firſt they ſuppoſe, the Names Biſhop and Presbyter, to have been common Names for all of the Firſt and Second Order; during which time, the appropriate Name for Biſhops, to diſtinguiſh them from mere Presbyters, was that of Apoſtles. Thus *Theodoret* [t] ſays expreſly, The ſame Perſons were anciently called promiſcuouſly both Biſhops and Presbyters, whilſt thoſe who are now called Biſhops, were called Apoſtles. But ſhortly after, the Name of Apoſtles was appropriated to ſuch only as were Apoſtles indeed; and then the Name Biſhop was given to thoſe who before were called Apoſtles. Thus, he ſays, *Epaphroditus* was the Apoſtle of the *Philippians*, and *Titus* the Apoſtle of the *Cretians*, and *Timothy* the Apoſtle of the *Aſiaticks*. And this he repeats [u] in ſeveral other Places of his Writings.

The Author under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [w] aſſerts the ſame thing; That all Biſhops were called Apoſtles at firſt. And therefore, he ſays, [x] that St. *Paul*, to diſtinguiſh himſelf from ſuch Apoſtles, calls himſelf an Apoſtle, not of Man, nor ſent by Man to Preach, as thoſe others were, who were choſen and ſent by the Apoſtles to confirm the Churches. *Amalarius* [y] cites another Paſſage out of this ſame Author, which ſpeaks more fully to the purpoſe: They, ſays he, who are now called Biſhops, were originally called Apoſtles: But the Holy Apoſtles being dead, they who were ordained after them to govern the Churches, could not arrive to the Excellency of thoſe Firſt; nor had they the Teſtimony of Miracles, but were in many other reſpects inferior to them: Therefore they thought it not decent to aſſume to themſelves the Name of Apoſtles; but dividing the Names, they left to Presbyters the Name of the Presbytery, and they themſelves were called Biſhops.

This is what thoſe Authors infer from the Identity of the Names, Biſhop and Presbyter, in the firſt Age: They do not thence argue (as ſome who abuſe their Authority have done ſince) that therefore Biſhops and Presbyters were all one; but they think that Biſhops were then diſtinguiſhed by a more appropriate Name, and more expreſſive of their Superiority, which was that of Secondary Apoſtles.

SECT. II. *After that, Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.*

AFTERWARD Biſhops thought it Honour enough for them to be ſtiled the Apoſtles Succeſſors. As *Cyprian* [z], and *Firmilian* [a], and the Biſhops in the Council [b] of *Carthage* call themſelves and others. And St. *Jerom* [c] ſpeaks of them in the ſame Stile, ſaying, Whereſoever a Biſhop is, whether at *Rome*, or *Eugubium*; at *Conſtanti-*

[q] Suidas in Voce Dionyſ. Maxim. Prolog. ad Oper. Dionyſii. [r] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 19. Quadratus Apoſtolorum Diſcipulus, Publio Athenarum Epiſcopo ob Chriſti fidem Martyrio coronato, in locum ejus ſubſtituitur. [s] Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. 1. [t] Theodor. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. 1. [u] Theodor. Com. in Phil. 1. 1. It. in Phil. 2. 25. [w] Ambroſ. Com. in Eph. 4. Apoſtoli Epiſcopi ſunt. [x] Id. Com. in Gal. 1. 1. [y] Amalar. de Offic. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. c. 13. Qui nunc Epiſcopi nominantur, illi tunc Apoſtoli dicebantur, &c. [z] Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 66. ad Florent. Qui Apoſtolis vicaria Ordinatione ſuccedunt. Id. Ep. 42. al. 45. ad Cornel. Laborare debemus, ut unitatem à Domino, & per Apoſtolos nobis Succeſſoribus traditam, obtinere curemus. [a] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 225. [b] Con. Carthag. ap. Cypr. in Suffragio Clari à Maſcula. [c] Hieron. Epiſt. 85. ad Evagr. It. in Pſal. 44. 16.

nople, or at *Rhegium*; at *Alexandria*, or at *Tanis*; they are all of equal Merit, their Prieſthood is the ſame; they are all Succeſſors to the Apoſtles. And both he and St. *Auſtin* [d] draw that of the Pſalmiſt to this Senſe; *Inſtead of thy Fathers thou ſhalt have Children, whom thou may'ſt make Princes in all Lands:* They ſay, Biſhops are the Sons of the Apoſtles, and Princes and Fathers in the Church.

SECT. III. *Whence every Biſhop's See called* Sedes Apoſtolica.

AND hence it was that anciently every Biſhop's See was dignify'd with the Title of *Sedes Apoſtolica*, an Apoſtolical See; which in thoſe days was no peculiar Title of the Biſhop of *Rome*, but given to all Biſhops in general, as deriving their Original, and counting their Succeſſion from the Apoſtles. The Catholick Church, ſays St. *Auſtin*, [e] is propagated and diffuſed over all the World by the Apoſtolical Sees, and the Succeſſion of Biſhops in them. 'Tis plain, this is not ſpoken only of the Biſhop of *Rome*, but of all other Biſhops whatſoever. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [f] uſes the ſame Expreſſion, in ſpeaking of a private *French* Biſhop, who ſat five and forty Years, he ſays, in his Apoſtolical See. And *Paulinus* [g] makes no more but the uſual Compliment to *Alipius*, when he tells him, That God had deſervedly placed him in an Apoſtolical See with the Princes of his People.

SECT. IV. *Biſhops called Princes of the People.*

WHERE we muſt alſo note, that *Paulinus* ſpeaks in the uſual Phraſe and Stile of thoſe ancient Times, when he calls Biſhops Princes of the People. For that was another uſual Title that was given them; as appears from *Optatus* [h], and ſeveral Paſſages in St. *Jerom* [i]; who, to diſtinguiſh them from Secular Princes, uſually ſtiles them *Principes Eccleſiæ*, [k] Princes of the Church; applying to them that Prophecy of *Iſaiah* 60. 17. which according to his Tranſlation, is, *I will make thy Princes Peace, and thy Biſhops Righteouſneſs:* Upon which he [l] has this Note; That the Majeſty of the Holy Scripture is to be admired, in that it calls thoſe who were to be Biſhops in future Ages, by the Name of Princes. In the *Greek* Writers they are ſtiled ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησῶν, Governors and Princes likewiſe; as frequently in [m] *Euſebius*, *Origen* [n], *Chryſoſtom* [o], and many others.

SECT. V. Præpoſiti, προεστῶτες, πρόεδροι, ἔφοροι.

IN the ſame Senſe, *Cyprian* [p], and *Tertullian* [q] commonly call them Preſidents, or Provoſts of the Church; which *Euſebius* [r] and *Juſtin* [s] *Martyr* call προεστῶτες, and ſometimes πρόεδροι [t], and others ἔφοροι [u], Inſpectors; all which are proper Characters of Biſhops, who have the Care, Preſidency, and Inſpection of the Church.

SECT. VI. Principes Sacerdotum, Pontifices Maximi, Summi Sacerdotes, *&c.*

AND becauſe this Preſidency was not only over the People, but alſo over the Clergy; they were dignify'd upon that account with the diſtinguiſhing Characters of *Summi Sacerdotes*, *Pontifices Maximi*, and *Principes Sacerdotum*, Chief Prieſts, and Princes of the Clergy. The Author under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [w] gives the Biſhop expreſly the Title of Chief Prieſt, and Prince of the Prieſts. And ſo frequently, the Name *Summus Sacerdos* is uſed by St. *Jerom*: As, where ſpeaking of himſelf, he ſays, In the Opinion of all Men he was thought worthy of the High-Prieſthood; he explains [x] himſelf to a mean Biſhoprick. And in another place [y]; The Proſperity of the Church depends upon the Honour of the Chief Prieſt. The ſame Title is given to all Biſhops, by the Author [z] of the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament under the Name of St. *Auſtin*. *Sidonius* [a] calls them *Summi Pontifices*; where he ſpeaks only of the Biſhops of *France*. And therefore, when *Tertullian* [b] gives the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* to the Biſhop of *Rome*, he does him no greater Honour, than in thoſe days was done to every Biſhop in the World: And ſome think he meant not the Biſhop of *Rome* in particular, but comprehended all others under that Title. As it is certain the Council of *Agde* does, when it orders [c] every Metropolitan to call his Suffragans, *ad Ordinationem ſummi Pontificis*; which means not, to the Ordination of the Pope of *Rome*, but to the Ordination of any *French* Biſhop within the Metropolitan's Province or Juriſdiction. For then, as we have ſeen, *Summus Pontifex* was the ordinary Title of every Biſhop whatſoever.

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[d] Aug. Com. in Pſal. 44. 16. p. 169. Pro Apoſtolis nati ſunt Filii tibi, conſtituit ſunt Epiſcopi.—— Ipſa Eccleſia Patres illos appellat. [e] Aug. Ep. 42. ad. Fratres Madaurenſ. Chriſtiana Societas per ſedes Apoſtolorum & ſucceſſiones Epiſcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur. [f] Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. ad Lup. Tricaſſin. In Apoſtolica ſede novem jam decurſa Quinquennia. [g] Paulin. Ep. 45. ad Alypium. Cum Principibus populi ſui ſede Apoſtolica meritò collocavit Dominus. *See alſo* Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 36. Ipſæ adhuc Cathedræ Apoſtolorum ſuis Locis præſidentur. —— Habes Corinthum. ——— Habes Philippos, *&c.* [h] Optat. lib. 1. p. 39. Ipſi Apices & Principes omnium Epiſcopi. [i] Hieron. Com. in Eſa. 3. [k] Hieron. Com. in Pſal. 44. Principes Eccleſiæ, id eſt, Epiſcopi. Id. Com. in Eſa. 5. & Tit. 1. [l] Hieron. Com. in Eſa. 60. Scripturæ S. admiranda Majeſtas, quod Principes futuros Eccleſiæ Epiſcopos nominavit. [m] Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 28. lib. 8. c. 1. & 3. It. de Martyr. Paleſt. c. 1. [n] Origen. Hom. 11. in Jerem. Cont. Celſ. lib. 3. p. 129. [o] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib 3. c. 15. Id. Hom. 3. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 48. [p] Cypr. Ep. 3, 9, 13, 27, 81. Ed. Oxon. Præpoſiti. [q] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Ad Uxor. lib. 1. c. 7. De Cor. Mil. c. 3. [r] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 3, 8, 10. lib. 7. c. 13. lib. 8. c. 6. [s] Juſt. Apol. 2. Chryſoſt. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. [t] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 2. It. de Martyr. Palæſt. c. 2. [u] Philoſtorg. Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 6. [w] Ambroſ. Com. in Eph. 4. In Epiſcopo omnes Ordines ſunt, quia Primus Sacerdos eſt, hoc eſt Princeps Sacerdotum. [x] Hieron. Ep. 99. ad Aſellam. Omnium pene judicio dignus ſummo Sacerdotio decernebat. [y] Id. Dial. c. Lucifer. p. 139. Eccleſiæ ſalus in ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet. [z] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & N. Teſt. c. 101. Quid eſt Epiſcopus niſi primus Presbyter, id eſt, ſummus Sacerdos? [a] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 11. lib. 7. Ep. 5. [b] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 1. [c] Con. Agathenſ. c. 35.

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SECT. VII. *Every Bishop anciently called* Papa, *Father, or Pope.*

AND so was the Name of *Papa*, tho' now it is become the pretended Prerogative and sole Privilege of the Bishop of *Rome*. Some Historians [d] indeed are so vain as to assert confidently, That *Cyril* of *Alexandria* was the first Bishop in those Parts who had the Honour of being called *Papa*, and that because he was Pope *Celestine*'s Legate in the Council of *Ephesus*. The *Arabick* Writers, *Homaidius*, and *Abubacrus Habasides*, cited by *Echellensis* and Bishop *Pearson* [e], deliver a quite contrary Story; That the Name was first given to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and thence carried to *Rome*: Which seems to be said, in answer to the *Romish* Pretences. But the Truth of the Matter is, That it was no peculiar Privilege of one Patriarch or other, but the common Title of all Bishops, who were called Fathers [f] of the Church, and Fathers [g] of the Clergy; and *Papa* means no more. Therefore *Tertullian*, in his Book *de Pudicitia*, c. 13. speaking indefinitely of any Christian Bishop, who absolves Penitents, gives him the Name of *Benedictus Papa*. Or if we suppose, as some do, that he speaks particularly of the Bishop of *Rome*; yet there is nothing singular in it: For at the same time, *Dionysius*, Presbyter of *Alexandria*, speaking of *Heraclas* his Bishop, gives him the very same Title [h], The Blessed Pope *Heraclas*. And *Arius* himself [i], in one of his Epistles, speaks of his Bishop *Alexander* in the same stile. St. *Jerom* gives the Title [k] to *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Paulinus*: And writing often to St. *Austin*, he always inscribes [l] his Epistles, *Beatissimo Papæ Augustino*. So among *Cyprian*'s Epistles, those that are written to him are usually inscribed [m] in the same manner, *Cypriano Papæ*. And the Clergy of *Rome* themselves [n] give him the Title of *Benedictus Papa*, and *Beatissimus* and *Glorioſissimus Papa Cyprianus*. It were easy to add many other Testimonies out of *Epiphanius*, and *Constantine*'s Epistles, and the *Theodosian* Code, and especially *Sidonius Apollinaris* [o], who always gives the *French* Bishops the Stile of *Dominus Papa*. But in so plain a Case I need not insist any longer, especially since a Learned *Romanist* [p] has undertaken to prove, out of Authors as late as *Photius* and *Gregory* of *Tours*, That *Papa* was the common Name of all Bishops for several Ages: Who also notes out of *Balsamon*, That this Name was sometimes given to the Inferior Clergy; who were called *Papæ Pisinni*, Little Fathers; and their Tonsure or Crown thence called παπαλήτρα, The Tonsure of the Fathers. In comparison of whom, *Balsamon* [q] calls Presbyters and the *Chorepiscopi*, *Protopapæ* and *Protopapades*, Chief-Fathers; speaking in the Language of his own Times, when the *Chorepiscopi* and Presbyters were become all one.

SECT. VIII. Pater Patrum, *and* Episcopus Episcoporum.

BUT Bishops had still a more Honourable Title than that of *Papa*: For they were commonly called *Patres Patrum*, and *Episcopi Episcoporum*, Fathers of Fathers, and Bishops of Bishops. The first that had this Title was *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; which made the Counterfeit Author under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* [r] inscribe an Epistle (as directed to him) with this Title; *Clemens Jacobo Domino, Episcopo Episcoporum*, &c. To which *Sidonius Apollinaris* [s] alludes plainly, when writing to *Lupus* an eminent *French* Bishop, he tells him, He was Father of Fathers, and Bishop of Bishops, and another *James* of his Age. By this we understand what *Tertullian* [t] means, when speaking ironically of the Catholick Bishops, who admitted Adulterers into Communion again upon their Repentance, he says, I hear there is a Decree published, and that a peremptory one; The Chief Pontiff, the Bishop of Bishops saith, I forgive the Sins of Adultery and Fornication, to all those that repent of them. Some [u] take this for a peculiar Character of the Bishop of *Rome*; and I will not deny, but that *Tertullian* might intend more especially to reflect upon him: But yet there is nothing singular in the Title, which did not belong to other Bishops as well as him; as appears from what has been already cited out of *Sidonius*. To which we may add the Testimony of *Athanasius* [w], who stiles *Hosius*, The Father of Bishops: And *Gregory Nazianzen* [x] gives the same Title to his own Father, as St. *Jerom* [y] does to *Epiphanius*, stiling him the Father of all Bishops. *Cotelerius* [z] observes, that *Gregory Nyssen* is called πατὴρ πατέρων, Father of Fathers, by the Second Council of *Nice*; and others [a] say, *Theodosius* the Emperor gave *Chrysostom* the same Honourable Title after Death. As to the Reason of these Names, it is probable some Bishops might have

[d] Nicephorus *is cited and chastised by* Savaro *for this*. Vid. Savaro Not. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. [e] Pearson Vind. Ignat. Part 1. c. 11. p. 330. [f] Aug. Com. in Psal. 44. p. 169. Ipsa Ecclesia Patres illos appellat. Chrysost. Hom. 3. ad Popul. Antioch. T. 1. p. 43. [g] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theoph. Episcopi contenti sint Honore suo: Patres se sciant esse, non Dominos. Id. Ep. 2. & 3. ad Nepotian. Com. in Psal. 44. &c. [h] Dionys. Ep. ad Philemon. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 7. Παρὰ τῷ μακαρίᾳ Πάπα ἐμῶν Ἡρακλᾷ. [i] Arius Ep. ad Euseb. Nicom. ap. Theod. lib. 1. c. 5. & ap. Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. [k] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. p. 163. [l] Id. Ep. 17, 18, 25, 30. inter Epist. Augustini. [m] Cypr. Ep. 23, 31, 36. Edit. Oxon. [n] Ep. S Cleri Rom. ad Cler. Carthag. ibid. Didicimus feceſſiſſe Benedictum Papam Cyprianum. Ep. 30. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. Beatissime ac Glorioſiſſime Papa. [o] Sidon. lib. 6. Epist. 1. Domino Papæ Lupo. Lib. 6. Ep. 2. Papæ Pragmatio. Lib. 6. Ep. 3. Domino Papæ Leontio. *And so for* 12 *Epistles together.* [p] Savaro Comment. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. p. 379. [q] Balsam. Com. in Can. Apost. c. 59. It. in Con. Antioch. Can. 10. [r] Pseudo-Clem. Ep. 1. ad Jacob. [s] Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. Tu Pater Patrum, & Episcopus Episcoporum, & alter Sæculi tui Jacobus. [t] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 1. Audio etiam Edictum esse propositum, & quidem peremptorium, Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum dicit, Ego & Mechiæ & Fornicationis delicta Pœnitentia defunctis dimitto. [u] Baron. an. 142. n. 4. an. 216. n. 4. Georg. Ambianas Observ. in Tertul. T. 3. p. 633. [w] Athan. Epist. ad solit. Vit. agentes. T. 1. p. 837. [x] Naz. Orat. 19. de Fun. Patr. p. 314. [y] Hieron. Ep. 61. p. 167. [z] Coteler. Not. in Ep. Clem. p. 605. [a] Nicephor. lib. 14. c. 43.

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them upon the account of Perſonal Merit; and others from the Eminency of their Sees; as the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to whom *Balſamon* [b] gives the Title of *Pater Patrum*, many Ages after: But there was a more general Reaſon why all Biſhops ſhould be called ſo, as may be collected from [c] *Epiphanius*; who ſays, That the Order of Biſhops, was an Order that begat Fathers to the Church; that is, Biſhops made Biſhops by Ordination; whereas Presbyters could only beget Sons, by the Power which they had of Baptizing. And therefore, tho' we ſometimes find Presbyters called Fathers, yet we no where find the Title of *Pater Patrum* given to any of their Order. Yet I muſt here alſo obſerve, that ſeveral of theſe Titles were never kindly received among the *African* Fathers; becauſe the Biſhops of *Rome* began to abuſe them, to eſtabliſh an uſurped Authority over their Neighbours. Therefore, in Two *African* Councils held at *Carthage*, the one under [d] *Cyprian*, the other [e] in St. *Auſtin*'s time, theſe Titles, *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, *Princeps Sacerdotum*, and *Summus Sacerdos*, were diſcountenanc'd and forbid, inſomuch that the Primates themſelves were not allowed to uſe them. But of this more hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of Metropolitans.

SECT. IX. *Biſhops ſometimes called Patriarchs.*

Gregory Nazianzen in his Rhetorical way uſually gives Biſhops the Title of Patriarchs; by which he means not Patriarchs in the proper Senſe, as the Word came afterward to be uſed in the Church, to ſignify Biſhops of the larger Sees, who had Primates and Metropolitans under them: but any Biſhops whatſoever, that were Heads of their own Family; that is, the Church ſubject to them. Thus he ſtiles his own Father Patriarch, [f] though he was but Biſhop of *Nazianzum*, a very ſmall City in *Cappadocia*, under *Cæſarea* the Metropolis. And in his Oration [g] before the Council of *Conſtantinople* he gives the ſame Title to all other Biſhops, complaining of the *Arian* Cruelties againſt them: Have we not had, ſays he, our ancient Biſhops, or to ſpeak more properly, our Patriarchs publickly murder'd by them? In another place complaining of the corrupt Promotions and Practices of ſome Biſhops of his Age, he thus takes his leave of them [h], *Velete*; *Inſolentes eſtote: Patriarchatus per ſortes inter vos diſtribuite.* Farewel; Go on in your Inſolence: Divide the Patriarchial Dignities among you: Tranſlate yourſelves from See to See: Set up ſome, pull down others. Where it is evident he ſpeaks not of Patriarchs properly ſo called, but only of ſome Ambitious Spirits among the Biſhops, who turned all things into Confuſion, and did what they pleaſed with the Preferments of the Church. *Gregory Nyſſen* uſes the ſame Term for Biſhops, in his Funeral Oration upon *Meletius*, which he made in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, where he gives all the Biſhops then in Council the Title of Patriarchs: Behold [i] theſe Patriarchs, All theſe are the Sons of our *Jacob*; meaning *Meletius*, whom he calls *Jacob* for his Age, and the reſt Patriarchs, in alluſion to the Twelve Patriarchs who were *Jacob's* Children. Thus Biſhops were commonly ſtiled, till ſuch times as the Name Patriarch became the appropriate Title of the moſt eminent Biſhops, ſuch as *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, &c. And even ſome Ages after that, *de Marca* [k] obſerves, that *Ithalaricus* and the reſt of the *Gothiſh* Kings in *Italy* gave the Name of Patriarchs to all Biſhops within their Dominions.

SECT. X. *And Vicars of Chriſt.*

IT muſt not here be forgotten, that all Biſhops anciently were ſtiled alſo Vicars of Chriſt, and had as much Intereſt in that Name as he that has ſince laid ſo much Claim to the Title. The Author of the Queſtions [l] under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, ſays expreſly, That every Biſhop is the Vicar of God. *Cyprian* ſays the ſame in ſeveral of his Epiſtles [m], that every Biſhop is *Vice Chriſti*, Chriſt's Vicar or Vicegerent. And this is his meaning in that noted Paſſage to *Cornelius*, where [n] he ſays, All Hereſies and Schiſms take their Original from hence, that Men do not ſubmit to God's Prieſt, and conſider that there ought to be but one Biſhop in a Church at a time, and one Judge as the Vicar of Chriſt. This is ſpoken of every Individual Biſhop throughout the World, as *Rigaltius* [o] freely owns; and they groſly miſtake *Cyprian*'s Meaning, and abuſe his Authority, who apply it only to the Biſhop of *Rome*. St. *Baſil* [p] extends the Title to all Biſhops; and ſo does the Author under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [q], who is ſuppoſed to be *Hilary*, a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*; which would have been an unpardonable Overſight in him, had it not been then the Cuſtom of the World to give all others this Title as well as the Biſhop of *Rome*.

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[b] Balſam. Reſp. ad Interrogat. Marci ap. Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. T. 1. lib. 5. p. 362. Κύριε Μάρκε πατέρων πατὴρ ὑπάρχων &c. [c] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. Πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις. Πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. [d] Con. Carthag. ap. Cypr. p. 229. Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum Epiſcopum ſe Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut Tyrannico terrore ad oblequendi neceſſitatem Collegas ſuos adigit. [e] Con. Carth. 3. c. 26. Ut Primæ ſedis Epiſcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid hujuſmodi, ſed tantum Primæ ſedis Epiſcopus.

[f] Naz. Orat. 19. p. 312. Or. 20. de Laud. Baſil. p. 342. Orat. 41. p. 675. [g] Orat. 32. p. 525. [h] Naz. Cygn. Carm. de Epiſcopis T. 2. p. 308. [i] Greg. Nyſſ. Orat. de Fun. Melet. T. 3. p. 589. [k] Marca Diſſert. de Primatib. n. 20. p. 112.

[l] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. c. 127. Antiſtitem Dei puriorem cæteris eſſe oportet. —— Eſt enim Vicarius ejus.

[m] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. Ille Sacerdos Vice Chriſti vere fungitur, qui id quod Chriſtus fecit imitatur. [n] Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. p. 129. Neque enim aliunde Hæreſes obortæ ſunt, aut nata ſunt ſchiſmata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Eccleſia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex Vice Chriſti cogitatur. [o] Rigalt. in Loc. Ecce autem Epiſcopos ævo jam Cypriani vicarios Chriſti. [p] Baſil. Conſtit. Monach. c. 22. T. 2. p. 792. [q] Ambr. Com. in 1 Cor. 11. 10. Epiſcopus Perſonam habet Chriſti. —— Vicarius Domini eſt, &c. *The Author of the Conſtitutions*, lib. 2. c. 26. *ſtiles the Biſhop* Θεὸν ἐπίγειον.

SECT. XI. *And Angels of the Churches.*

I shall but take notice of one Title more given to Bishops, which is that of Angels of the Churches; a Name which some Authors [r] suppose to be used by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 11. 10. where he says, Women ought to be covered in the Church because of the Angels; that is, Bishops, says *Hilary* the Deacon, in the place last mentioned. And so the same Author understands that of St. *John*, *Rev.* 1. 20. *the seven Stars are the Angels* [s] *of the seven Churches.* Which is also the Interpretation of St. *Austin* [t] and *Epiphanius* [u], who say that by Angels we are not there to understand the Celestial Angels (as *Origen* thought, who assigns a Guardian Angel [w] to every Church) but the Bishops or Governors of those Seven Churches. Hence in After-Ages Bishops were called Angels of the Churches: As *Socrates* [x] terms *Seraphion*, who was Bishop of *Thmuis*, The Angel of the Church of *Thmuis:* And the Author of the short Notes [y] upon *Timothy*, under the Name of St. *Jerom*, says of every Bishop, That he is the Angel of God Almighty. In this Sense Dr. *Hammond* [z] observes out of a *Saxon* MS. that in our own Language anciently Bishops were called God's *Bydels*, that is, Messengers or Officers, as he explains it from Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Glossary, in the word *Bedellus.* And thus much of those ancient Titles of Honour, which were given to all Bishops indifferently in the Primitive Church.

CHAP. III.

Of the Offices of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters.

SECT. I. *A threefold difference between Bishops and Presbyters in the Discharge of their Office and Function.*

I Come now to consider the Episcopal Office and Function it self: Where, to do Justice to Antiquity, it is necessary for me to observe a Threefold Distinction between Bishops and Presbyters in the discharge of Ecclesiastical Offices. For 1*st*, In the common Offices, which were ordinarily intrusted in the Hands of Presbyters, such as Preaching, Baptizing, Administring the Eucharist, *&c.* there was this obvious difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter; that the one acted by an Absolute and Independent Power, the other in Dependance upon, and Subordination to his Bishop; by whose Authority and Directions under God he was to be Governed, and do nothing without his Consent or against it: So that though there was no difference in the things that were done, yet there was an Essential Difference in the Power of doing them. This is an Observation not commonly made, but it is of very great use, both for Establishing the just Bounds of Episcopal and Presbyterial Power, and clearing the Practice of the Primitive Church. 2*dly*, Some Offices were never intrusted in the hands of Presbyters; nor allowed, if performed by them; such as the Ordination of Bishops, Presbyters, *&c.* 3*dly*, Bishops always retained the Power of calling their Presbyters to an Account, and Censuring them for their Misdemeanors in the discharge of their Office; which Presbyters could not do by their Bishop, being always subject and subordinate to him as their Superior. These things cleared and set in a fair Light will give us a just Account of the Office of a Bishop, as distinct from that of a Presbyter in the Primitive Church.

SECT. II. 1. *In the common Offices which might be performed by Both; the Bishop acted by an Independent Power, but Presbyters in Dependance upon and Subordination to him.*

First then we are to observe, that in such ordinary and common Offices as might be performed by both, Bishops and Presbyters acted by a different Power; the Bishop was the Absolute, Independent Minister of the Church, and did whatever he did by his own Authority solely inherent in himself; but the Presbyters were only his Assistants, authorised to perform such Offices as he intrusted them with, or gave them Commission and Directions to perform, which they still did by his Authority, and in Dependance upon, and Subordination to him as their Superior; and might do nothing against his Will, or Independent of him. This is clear from many Passages in *Ignatius*, *Cyprian*, and the Canons of the ancient Councils, which all agree in this, That nothing is to be done without the Bishop; that is, without his Knowledge, without his Consent, Directions or Approbation. Thus [a] *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*: Let no one perform any Ecclesiastical Office without the Bishop. Which he explains both there and elsewhere [b] to mean, without his Authority and Permission. So in the Council [c] of *Laodicea* it is expressed the same way: The Presbyters shall do nothing without the Consent of the Bishop. The Council [d] of

[r] Ambrosiaster, ibid. Angelos Episcopos dicit, sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Joannis. [s] Pseudo-Ambros. in 1 Cor. 11. 10. [t] Aug. Ep. 162. Divina voce laudatur sub Angeli nomine Præpositus Ecclesiæ. [u] Epiph. Hær. 25. Nicolait. [w] Orig. Hom. 20. in Num. T. 1. p. 251. *So also* Andreas Cæsarien. Ἄγγελοι φύλακες. Com. in Apoc. 1. 20. [x] Socrat. Lib. 4. c. 23. [y] Hieron. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. [z] Ham. Annot. on Rev. 1. 20. [a] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. Μηδὲὶς χωρὶς τῦ ἐπισκόπυ τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [b] Id. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 4. Μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης συ γινέσθω. [c] Con. Laodic. Can. 56. Ἄνευ γνώμης τῦ ἐπισκόπυ. [d] Con. Arelat. 1. can. 19. Ut Presbyteri sine Conscientia Episcoporum nihil faciant.

Arles and *Toledo* [e] say, without his Privity or Knowledge. And the Apostolical Canons [f] give a Reason for all this, Because the Bishop is the Man to whom the Lord's People are committed, and he must give an Account of their Souls.

SECT. III. *This specified in the Offices of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.*

THIS Rule they particularly apply to the Offices of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. A Presbyter might ordinarily administer both these Sacraments; but not against the Will of his Bishop, or in Opposition and Contradiction to him, but by his Consent and Authority, in a due Subordination to him as his Superior. It is not lawful, says [g] *Ignatius*, either to baptize or celebrate the Eucharist without the Bishop: But that which he allows, is well-pleasing to God. He does not say, that none but a Bishop might administer these Sacraments, but that none was to do it without his Allowance and Approbation. And that is plainly the meaning of [h] *Tertullian* and St. *Jerom* [i] when they say, that Presbyters and Deacons have no Power to baptize, without the Command and Authority of the Bishop or Chief Priest; and that this is for the Honour of the Church, and the Preservation of Peace and Unity. St. *Ambrose* [ii] asserts the same, that though Presbyters do baptize, yet they derive their Authority from their Superior.

SECT. IV. *And in the Office of Preaching.*

THE like Observation may be made upon the Office of Preaching. This [k] was in the first place the Bishops Office, which they commonly discharged themselves, especially in the *African* Churches. Which is the Reason we so often meet with the Phrase, *Tractante Episcopo*, the Bishops Preaching, in the Writings [l] of St. *Cyprian*: For then it was so much the Office and Custom of Bishops to Preach, that no Presbyter was permitted to preach in their Presence, till the time of St. *Austin*, who whilst he was a Presbyter was authorized by *Valerius* his Bishop to preach before him: But that, as *Possidius* [m] the Writer of his Life observes, was so contrary to the Use and Custom of the *African* Churches, that many Bishops were highly offended at it, and spake against it; till the Consequence proved that such a Permission was of good Use and Service to the Church; and then several other Bishops granted their Presbyters Power and Privilege to preach before them. So that it was then a Favour for Presbyters to preach in the Presence of their Bishops, and wholly at the Bishops Discretion whether they would permit them or not; and when they did preach, it was *Potestate accepta*, by the Power and Authority of the Bishops that appointed them. In the Eastern Churches Presbyters were more commonly employed to preach, as *Possidius* [n] observes, when he says *Valerius* brought the Custom into *Africk* from their Example: And St. *Jerom* intimates as much, when he complains [o] of it as an ill Custom only in some Churches to forbid Presbyters to preach. *Chrysostom* preached several of his elaborate Discourses at *Antioch* whilst he was but a Presbyter, and so did *Atticus* [p] at *Constantinople*: And the same is observed to have been granted to the Presbyters [q] of *Alexandria*, and *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia* [r] and *Cyprus*, and other places. But still it was but a Grant of the Bishops, and Presbyters did it by their Authority and Commission: And whenever Bishops saw just Reason to forbid them, they had Power to limit or withdraw their Commission again: As both *Socrates* [s] and *Sozomen* [t] testify, who say that at *Alexandria* Presbyters were forbidden to preach, from the time that *Arius* raised a Disturbance in the Church. Thus we see what Power Bishops anciently challenged and exercised over Presbyters in the common and ordinary Offices of the Church: Particularly for Preaching, Bishops always esteemed it their Office, as much as any other. Such a vast difference was there between the Practice of the Primitive Church and the Bishops of *Rome* in After-Ages! When, as *Blondel* observes out of *Surius*, there was a time when the Bishops of *Rome* were not known to preach for Five hundred Years together: Insomuch that when *Pius Quintus* made a Sermon, it was looked upon as a Prodigy, and was indeed a greater Rarity than the *Sæculares Ludi* were in Old *Rome*. See *Blondel* Apolog. p. 58. and *Surius Comment. Rer. in Orbe gestar.*

SECT. V. *2. The Office and Power of Ordination never intrusted in the hands of Presbyters.*

BUT to return to the Bishops of the Primitive Church. There were other Offices, which they very rarely intrusted in the hands of Presbyters; and if ever they granted them Commission to perform them, it was only in Cases of great Necessity: Such were the Offices of Reconciling Penitents, Confirmation of *Neophites*, Consecration of Churches, Virgins and Widows, with some others of the like nature; of which I shall

[e] Con. Tolet. 1. Can. 20. Sine Conscientia Episcopi nihil penitus Presbyteri agere præsumant. [f] Can. Apost. c. 39. [g] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. [h] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi jus quidem habet summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus: Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi; non tamen sine Episcopi Auctoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem, quo salvo salva Pax est. [i] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. p. 139. Inde venit, ut sine Jussione Episcopi, neque Presbyter neque Diaconus jus habeant baptisandi. [ii] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 3. c. 1. Licet Presbyteri fecerint, tamen Exordium Ministerii a summo est Sacerdote. [k] Vid. Can. Apost. c. 58. [l] Cypr. Ep. 52, 56, 83. Ed. Oxon. It. Pontius Vit. Cypr. ibid. [m] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 5. Eidem Presbytero Potestatem dedit coram se in Ecclesia Evangelium prædicandi, ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem ac consuetudinem Africanarum Ecclesiarum. Unde etiam ei nonnulli Episcopi detrahebant.—— Postea bono præcedente exemplo, accepta ab Episcopis Potestate, Presbyteri nonnulli coram Episcopis populo tractare cœperunt verbum Dei. [n] Ille in Orientalibus Ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens, obtrectantium non curabat Linguas, &c. Possid. ibid. [o] Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam Ecclesiis tacere Presbyteros, & præsentibus Episcopis non loqui, &c. [p] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 2. [q] Theodor. Lib. 1. c. 2. [r] Socrat. Lib. 5. c. 22. [s] Socrat. ibid. [t] Sozom. Lib. 7. c. 17.

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ſpeak nothing more particularly here now, becauſe they will come more properly under Conſideration in other Places. But there was one Office which they never intruſted in the hands of Presbyters, nor ever gave them any Commiſſion to perform; which was the Office of Ordaining the Superior Clergy, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. The utmoſt that Presbyters could pretend to in this matter, was to lay on their hands together with the Biſhop in the Ordination of a Presbyter, whilſt the Biſhop by his Prayer performed the Office of Conſecration. Thus much is allowed them by one of the Councils [*u*] of *Carthage*, which yet expreſly reſerves the Benediction or Ordination-Prayer to the Biſhop only. In the Ordination of Biſhops they had no concern at all; which was always performed by a Synod of Biſhops, as ſhall be ſhewed more particularly when we come to ſpeak of the Rites and Cuſtoms obſerved in their Ordinations. Here in this place it will be ſufficient to prove in general, that the Power of Ordinations was the Prerogative of Biſhops, and that they never communicated this Privilege to any Preſbyters. St. *Jerom*'s [*uu*] Teſtimony is irrefragable Evidence in this Caſe. For in the ſame place where he ſets off the Office of Presbyters to the beſt advantage, he ſtill excepts the Power of Ordination. What is it, ſays he, that a Biſhop does more than a Presbyter, ſetting aſide the Buſineſs of Ordination? St. *Chryſoſtom* [*w*] ſpeaks much after the ſame manner, where he advances the Power of Presbyters to the higheſt. Biſhops and Presbyters, ſays he, differ not much from one another. For Presbyters are admitted to preach and govern the Church: And the ſame Qualifications that the Apoſtle requires in Biſhops, are required in Presbyters alſo. For Biſhops are Superior to them only in the Power of Ordination, and have that one thing more than they. In another place [*x*] he proves that *Timothy* was a Biſhop, becauſe the Apoſtle ſpeaks of his Power to ordain, bidding him lay hands ſuddenly on no Man. And he adds both there and elſewhere [*y*] that the Presbytery which ordained *Timothy* was a Synod of Biſhops, becauſe meer Presbyters had no Power to ordain a Biſhop. I might here produce all thoſe Canons of the ancient Councils, which ſpeak of Biſhops Ordaining [*z*], but never of Presbyters; which Rule was ſo preciſely obſerved in the Primitive Church, that *Novatian* himſelf would not preſume to break it, but ſent for Three Biſhops [*a*] from the fartheſt Corners of *Italy*, rather than want a Canonical Number of Biſhops to ordain him. I only add that Obſervation of *Epiphanius* [*aa*], grounded upon the general Practice of the Church, That the Order of Biſhops begets Fathers to the Church, which the Order of Preſbyters cannot do, but only begets Sons by the Regeneration of Baptiſm.

I know, ſome urge the Authority of St. *Jerom* [*b*] to prove that the Presbyters of *Alexandria* ordained their own Biſhop, from the days of St. *Mark* to the time of *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*; and others think the ſame Words prove that he had no new Ordination at all: But they both miſtake St. *Jerom*'s Meaning, who ſpeaks not of the Ordination of the Biſhop, but of his Election; who was choſen by the Presbyters, out of their own Body, and by them placed upon the Biſhop's Throne; which in thoſe days was no more than a Token of his Election, and was ſometimes done by the People; but the Ordination came after that, and was always reſerved for the Provincial Biſhops to perform, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

SECT. VI. *Ordinations by Presbyters diſannulled by the Church.*

BUT it may be enquired, what was the Practice of the Church in caſe any Presbyters took upon them to ordain? Were their Ordinations allowed to ſtand good or not? I anſwer, They were commonly reverſed and diſannulled. As in the known Caſe of *Iſchyras* [*c*] who was depoſed by the Synod of *Alexandria*, becauſe *Colluthus* who ordained him, was no more than a Presbyter, though pretending to be a Biſhop: And in the caſe of thoſe Presbyters who were reduced to the Quality of Laymen by the Council [*d*] of *Sardica*, becauſe *Eutychianus* and *Muſæus* who ordained them, were only pretended Biſhops. The Council of *Sevil* in *Spain* [*e*] went a little farther: They depoſed a Presbyter and two Deacons, becauſe the Biſhop only laid his hands upon them, whilſt a Presbyter pronounced the Bleſſing or Conſecration-Prayer over them. And ſome other Inſtances might be added of the like Nature, which ſhew that then they did not allow Biſhops ſo much as to delegate or commiſſion Presbyters to ordain in their Name, but reſerved this entirely to the Epiſcopal Function.

SECT. VII. *Some Allegations to the contrary examined.*

THE common Pleas which ſome urge to the contrary, derogate nothing from the Truth of this Obſervation. For whereas it is

[*u*] Con. Carth. 4. can. 3. Presbyter cum ordinatur, Epiſcopo eum benedicente, & manum ſuper caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri, qui præſentes ſunt, manus ſuas juxta manum Epiſcopi ſuper caput illius teneant. [*uu*] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Quid enim facit, excepta Ordinatione, Epiſcopus, quod Presbyter non facit? [*w*] Chryſ. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. 2. 8. [*x*] Id. Hom. 1. in Philip. 1. [*y*] Hom. 13. in 1 Tim. 4. 14. ὁ γὰρ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνουν. [*z*] *See* Con. Nic. c. 19. Con. Antioch. c. 9. Con. Chalced c. 2, & 6. Con. Carth. 3. c. 45. Can. Apoſt. c. 1. [*a*] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabium ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 23. [*aa*] Epiph. Hær. 75. Aerian. [*b*] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Alexandriæ à Marco Evangeliſta uſque ad Heraclam & Dionyſium Epiſcopus, Presbyteri ſemper unum ex ſe electum, in excelſiori gradu collocatum Epiſcopum nominabant; quomodo ſi Exercitus Imperatorem faciat. [*c*] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 732. Epiſt. Cler. Mareot. ibid. p. 784. [*d*] Con. Sard. Can. 20. [*e*] Con. Hiſpal. 2. Can 5. Relatum eſt nobis de quibuſdam Clericis, quorum dum unus ad Presbyterum, duo ad Levitarum miniſterium ſacrarentur, Epiſcopus oculorum dolore detentus fertur manum ſuam ſuper eos tantum impoſuiſſe, & Presbyter quidam illis contra Eccleſiaſticum ordinem Benedictionem dediſſe, &c. Hi gradum Sacerdotii vel Levitici ordinis, quem perverſe adepti ſunt, amittunt.

ſaid,

ſaid, *1ſt*, That the *Chorepiſcopi* were only Preſbyters, and yet had Power to ordain: That ſeems to be a plain miſtake; for all the *Chorepiſcopi* of the Ancient Church were Real Biſhops, tho' Subordinate to other Biſhops; as I ſhall ſhew more particularly hereafter, when I come to ſpeak of their Order. 2. It is ſaid, That the City-Presbyters had Power to ordain by the Biſhop's Licenſe; and that this was eſtabliſhed by Canon in the Council of [*f*] *Ancyra*. But this is grounded only upon a very ambiguous Senſe, if not a corrupt Reading of that Canon. For all the old Tranſlators render it much otherwiſe, That the City-Presbyters ſhall do nothing [*g*] without the Licenſe and Authority of the Biſhop, in any Part of the Paroch or Dioceſe belonging to his Juriſdiction. Which agrees with what I have cited before out of the Council of *Laodicea*, and ſeveral other Canons, which make Presbyters dependent upon their Biſhops in the ordinary Exerciſe of their Function. (See before §. 2. of this Chapter.) And ſome *Greek* Copies [*h*] read it, ὂν ἐπέρᾳ παροικίᾳ, which ſeems to ſignify that Presbyters ſhall not officiate in another Dioceſe without Letters Dimiſſory from their own Biſhop.

3. It is urged further, that *Novatus*, a Presbyter of *Carthage*, ordained *Feliciſſimus* a Deacon. But this ſeems to be no more than procuring him to be ordained by ſome Biſhop. For *Cyprian* ſays he made *Novatian* [*i*] Biſhop of *Rome* after the ſame manner as he had done *Feliciſſimus* Deacon at *Carthage*. But now it is certain he did not ordain *Novatian*, but only was inſtrumental in procuring three obſcure *Italian* Biſhops to come and ordain him. And in that Senſe he might ordain *Feliciſſimus* too. But admit it were otherwiſe, it was only a Schiſmatical Act, condemned by *Cyprian* and the whole Church.

4. 'Tis pleaded out of *Caſſian*, That *Paphnutius* an *Egyptian* Abbot, ordained one *Daniel* a Presbyter. But if *Caſſian*'s Words be rightly conſidered, he ſays no ſuch thing, but only [*k*] that *Paphnutius* firſt promoted him to be made a Deacon before ſeveral of his Seniors, and then intending to make him his Succeſſor, he alſo preferred him to the Dignity of a Presbyter. Which Preference or Promotion does not at all exclude the Biſhop's Ordination. It may reaſonably ſignify the Abbot's Choice, which he had power to make; but it cannot ſo reaſonably be interpreted that he ordained him; ſince this was contrary to the Rules and Practice of the Church: And conſidering where and when *Paphnutius* lived, in the midſt of *Egypt*, among an hundred Biſhops, in the Fifth Century, it is not likely he would tranſgreſs the Canons in ſo plain a Caſe. Therefore I cannot ſubſcribe to a Learned Man [*l*], who ſays, Nothing is more plain and evident, than that here a Presbyter ordained a Preſbyter, which we no where read was pronounced Null by *Theophilus* then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, nor any others at that time. I conceive the contrary was rather evident to them, and therefore they had no Reaſon to pronounce it Null, knowing it to be a juſt and regular Ordination.

5. I remember but one Inſtance more in Ancient Church-Hiſtory (for Modern Inſtances I wholly paſs by) that ſeems to make any thing for the Ordination of Presbyters; and that is in the Anſwer given by Pope *Leo* to a Queſtion put to him by *Ruſticus Narbonenſis*, Whether the Ordination of certain Perſons might ſtand good, who were only ordained by ſome *Pſeudo-Epiſcopi*, Falſe Biſhops, who had no Legal and Canonical Right to their Places? To this he anſwers, [*m*] That if the Lawful Biſhops of thoſe Churches gave their Conſent to their Ordination, it might be eſteemed valid and allowed; otherwiſe to be diſannulled. But here it is to be conſidered that theſe *Pſeudo-Epiſcopi* were in ſome Senſe Biſhops, as being ordained, though illegally, to their Places: For they ſeem to be ſuch as had Schiſmatically intruded themſelves into other Men's Sees, or at leaſt obtained them by ſome corrupt and irregular Practices. Now the Church did not always reſcind and cancel the Acts of ſuch Biſhops, but uſed a Liberty either to reverſe and diſannul the Ordinations made by them, or otherwiſe to confirm and ratify them, as ſhe ſaw occaſion. Therefore though the General Council [*n*] of *Conſtantinople* depoſed all ſuch as were ordained by *Maximus*, who had ſimonically intruded himſelf into *Gregory Nazianzen*'s See at *Conſtantinople*; yet the *Novatian* Clergy were admitted by the Council of *Nice*, [*o*] though ordained by Schiſmatical Biſhops; and the *African* Councils [*p*] allowed the Ordinations of the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, though they had long continued in Schiſm, and given Schiſmatical Orders to others alſo. Which ſhews that the Primitive Church made ſome difference between Orders conferred by Schiſmatical Biſhops, and thoſe conferred by mere Presbyters. I enquire not now into the Grounds and Reaſons of this, but only relate the Church's Practice. From which upon the whole matter it appears, that this was another Difference betwixt Biſhops and Preſbyters, that the one had Power to ordain, but the other were never authoriſed or commiſſioned to do it.

[*f*] Con. Ancyr. can. 13. [*g*] Id. ex Verſione Dionyſii Exigui: Sed nec Presbyteris Civitatis, ſine Præcepto Epiſcopi, amplius aliquid imperare, nec ſine authoritate Literarum ejus in unaquaque Parochia aliquid agere. [*h*] Cod. Can. edit. Ehinger. [*i*] Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. ad Cornel. p. 97. ed. Oxon. Quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora & graviora commiſit. Qui iſtic adverſus Eccleſiam Diaconum fecerat, illic Epiſcopum fecit. [*k*] Caſſian. Collat. 4. c. 1. A beato Paphnutio ſolitudinis ejuſdem Presbytero, & quidem cum multis junior eſſet ætate, ad Diaconii eſt prælatus Officium. —— Optanſque ſibimet ſucceſſorem digniſſimum providere, ſuperſtes eum Presbyterii honore provexit. —— [*l*] Stilling. Irenic. Par. 2. c. 7. n. 8. p. 380. [*m*] Leo Ep. 92. ad Ruſtic. c. 1. Si qui autem Clerici ab iſtis Pſeudo-epiſcopis in eis Eccleſiis ordinati ſunt, quæ ad proprios Epiſcopos pertinebant, & Ordinatio eorum cum Conſenſu & Judicio Præſidentium facta eſt, poteſt rata haberi, &c. [*n*] Con. Conſtant. can. 4. [*o*] Con. Nic. c. 8. [*p*] Collat. Carthag. 1. Die, c. 16.

SECT. VIII. *A 3d Difference between Bishops and Presbyters: Presbyters accountable to their Bishops, not Bishops to their Presbyters.*

3. BESIDES this, there was a Third Difference between Bishops and Presbyters in point of Jurisdiction: Bishops always retained to themselves the Power of calling Presbyters to an Account, and Censuring them for their Miscarriages in the Discharge of their Office; but Presbyters had no Power to censure their Bishops, or set up an Independent Power in opposition to their Authority and Jurisdiction. When *Felicissimus* and *Augendus* set up a separate Communion at *Carthage* against *Cyprian*, threatning to excommunicate all that communicated with him, *Cyprian* gave Orders to his Deputies (being himself then in Banishment) to execute first their own Sentence upon them, and let them for their Contempt of him and the Church [q] feel the Power of Excommunication; which was accordingly done by his Delegates, as appears from their Answer [r] to him. In another place, writing to *Rogatian* a Bishop, who made Complaint to *Cyprian* and the Synod, of an unruly Deacon; he tells him, It was his singular Modesty to refer the Case to them, when he might by vertue of his own Episcopal Authority himself have punished the [s] Delinquent; against whom, if he persisted in his Contempt, he should use the Power which belonged to his Order, and either depose or suspend him. Nothing can be more plain and evident, than that in *Cyprian*'s time all Bishops were invested with this Power of Censuring Delinquents among the Clergy. And any one that looks into the Councils of the following Age, will find nothing more common, than Canons, which both suppose and confirm this Power. As when the Apostolical Canons say [w], That no Presbyter, or Deacon, excommunicated by his own Bishop, should be received by any other: That supposes all Bishops to have Power to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon their Clergy. The like may be seen in the Canons of the Council of *Nice* [x] which allows an Appeal in such a Case to a Provincial Synod; and the Council of *Sardica* [y], which orders the Metropolitan to hear and redress the Grievance: So also in the Councils of *Antioch* [z], *Chalcedon* [a], and many others.

SECT. IX. *Yet Bishop's Power not Arbitrary, but limited by Canon in various Respects.*

YET it must be own'd, that according to the Discipline and Custom of those Times, Bishops seldom did any thing of this nature, without the Advice and Consent of their Presbyters, who were their Assessors, and (as it were) the Ecclesiastical Senate and Council of the Church: Of which I shall give a more particular Account, when I come to speak of the Honour and Privileges of the Order of Presbyters. And here it is to be further noted out of the preceding Canons, That if any Clergyman thought himself injur'd by his Bishop, he had Liberty to appeal [b] either to the Metropolitan, or a Provincial Synod: And in some Places, the better to avoid Arbitrary Power, the Canons provided, That no Bishop should proceed to censure a Presbyter, or Deacon, without the Concurrence of some Neighbouring Bishops to join with him in the Sentence. The first Council of *Carthage* [c] requires Three to censure a Deacon, and Six to censure a Presbyter. The Second Council of *Carthage* [d] requires the same Number, according to all correct Editions of it: For *Crab*'s Edition is palpably false; and yet *Blondel* [e] lays hold of that Corruption, to prove that Presbyters and Deacons were to be Judges of their own Bishop; which make the Canons speak mere Nonsense, and appoints the Bishop to judge himself also. The true Reading of the Canon is this: The Criminal Cause of a Bishop shall be heard by Twelve Bishops; the Cause of a Presbyter, by Six; the Cause of a Deacon, by Three joined with his own Bishop. This obliges every Bishop to take other Bishops into Commission with him in Criminal Causes, but does not authorize Presbyters and Deacons to sit as Judges upon their own Bishop. Which may be farther evidenced from another Canon [f] of the next Council of *Carthage*; which speaks of a Legal Number of Bishops to judge a Presbyter, or Deacon; and assigns Six for a Presbyter, and Three for a Deacon, as the former Canons appointed. But for the Inferior Clergy, there was no such Restraint laid upon the Bishop, that I can find; but he alone, by the same Canon [g], is allowed to hear their Causes, and end them. Only they had Liberty to appeal, as all others, in case of Injury done them, to the Metropolitan, or a Provincial Synod; which the *Nicene* Council [h], and many others, appoint to be held once or twice a Year for that very purpose; That if any Clergyman chanced to be unjustly censured by the Passion of his Bishop, he might have re-

[q] Cypr. Ep. 38. al. 41. p. 80. Cum Felicissimus comminatus sit, non communicaturos in Monte (al. Morte) secum, qui nobis communicarent: Accipiat sententiam quam prior dixit; ut abstentum a se nobis sciat. [r] Ep. 39. al. 42. ad Cypr. Abstinuimus Communicatione Felicissimum & Augendum, &c.

[s] Cypr. Ep. 65. al. 3. ad Rogatian. Tu quidem pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut malles de eo nobis conqueri, cum pro Episcopatus vigore & Cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari —— Quod si ultra te contumeliis suis provocaverit, fungeris circa eum Potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas. *See also* Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. Ed. Oxon.

[w] Canon. Apost. c. 33. [x] Con. Nic. Can. 5. [y] Con. Sard. Can. 13, 14. [z] Con. Antioc. Can. 3, & 4. [a] Chalced. Can. 9. [b] *See for the Liberty of Appeals*: Con. Carthag. 2. c. 8. Carthag. 4. c. 29, & 66. Antioch. c. 12. Vasion. c. 5. Venetic. Can. 9. [c] Con. Carthag. 1. Can. 11. Si quis aliquam Causam habuerit, à tribus vicinis Episcopis, si Diaconus est, arguatur: Presbyter à sex. [d] Con. Carth. 2. Can. 10. Placet ut Causa criminalis Episcopi à duodecim Episcopis audiatur: Causa Presbyteri à sex; Causa vero Diaconi a tribus cum propric Episcopo. [e] Blondel. Apol. p. 137. *And* Crab *thus reads it corruptly*: Episcopus à duodecim Episcopis audiatur, & à sex Presbyteris, & à tribus Diaconibus cum proprio suo Episcopo. c [f] Con. Carth. 3. c. 8. Si Presbyteri vel Diaconi fuerint a cusati, adjuncto sibi ex vicinis locis Legitimo numero Collegarum —— in Presbyteri nomine sex, in Diaconi tribus, ipsorum Causas discutiant. [g] Ibid. c. 8. Reliquorum Clericorum Causas solus Episcopus loci agnoscat & finiat. [h] Con. Nic. Can. 5.

course to a Superior Court, and there have Justice done him. This is the true State and Account of the Power of Bishops over their Clergy, as near as I can collect it out of the Genuine Records of the Ancient Church.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Power of Bishops over the Laity, Monks, Subordinate Magistrates, and all Persons within their Diocese: And of their Office in disposing of the Revenues of the Church.

SECT. I. *No Exemptions from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop in the Primitive Church.*

THE next thing to be considered, is, The Power of Bishops over the People; which, upon Enquiry, will be found to extend it self over all Persons, of what Rank or Quality soever, within their Diocese, or the Bounds and Limits of their Jurisdiction. The Extent of Dioceses themselves, and the Reasons why some were much greater than others, I do not here consider; but reserve that for a more proper Place, to be treated of when we come to speak of Churches. What I observe in this place, is, That all Orders of Men within the Diocese, were subject to the Bishop: For, Privileges to exempt Men from the Jurisdiction of their Diocesan, were Things unknown to former Ages. *Ignatius* makes bold to say [*i*], That as he that honours his Bishop, is honoured of God; so he that does any thing covertly in Opposition to him, is the Servant of Satan. And *Cyprian* defines the Church [*k*] to be a People united to its Bishop, a Flock adhering to its Pastor. Whence the Church may be said to be in the Bishop, and the Bishop in the Church; and if any are not with their Bishop, they are not in the Church.

SECT. II. *All Monks subject to the Bishop of the Diocese where they lived.*

PARTICULARLY, we may observe of all Asceticks, and Monks, and Hermits; That the Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, subjected them to the Bishop of the Place where they lived. For Ecclesiastical Laws, we have Two Canons in the Council of *Chalcedon* [*l*] to this purpose; the first of which prescribes, That all Monks, whether in City or Country, shall be subject to the Bishop, and concern themselves in no Business (Sacred or Civil) out of their own Monastery; except they have his License and Permission, upon urgent Occasion so to do. And if any withdraw themselves from his Obedience, the other Canon pronounces Excommunication against them. The same Injunctions may be read in the Councils of *Orleans* [*m*], *Agde* [*n*], *Lerida* [*o*], and others; which subject the Abbots as well as Monks to the Bishop's Care and Correction. *Justinian* confirms all this by a Law in the Code; which says [*p*], All Monasteries are to be reckoned under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Territories where they are; and that the Abbots themselves are part of their Care. In one of his Novels [*q*], the Election of Abbots is put into the Bishop's Hands. And by other Laws [*r*], no new Cells, or Monasteries, were to be erected, but by the Consent and License of the Bishop, to whose Jurisdiction they belonged. It is therefore a very just Reflection, which *Bede*, and some others [*s*] from him, make upon the State of the *Scottish* Church; That Things were in a very unusual and preposterous Order, when instead of Abbots being subject to the Bishops, the Bishops were subject to a single Abbot. This was *Ordini inusitato*, as *Bede* [*t*] rightly observes: For there was no such Practice allowed in the Primitive Church.

SECT. III. *As also all subordinate Magistrates in matters of Spiritual Jurisdiction.*

IN those days, the Authority of Bishops was so highly esteemed, and venerable in the Eyes of all Men, that even the Subordinate Magistrates themselves were subject to their Spiritual Discipline and Correction. The Prefects and Governors of Cities and Provinces, were obliged to take their Communicatory Letters along with them to the Bishop of the Place, whither the Government sent them; and whilst they continued in their Office there, they were to be under the Bishop's Care; who, if they transgressed against the publick Discipline of the Church, was authorised by the Imperial Laws to punish them with Excommunication. This we learn from a Canon of the first Council of *Arles* [*u*]; which was called by *Constantine* himself, who ratify'd its Canons, and gave them as

[*i*] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 9. ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπε τι πράσσων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. [*k*] Cypr. Epist. 69. al. 66. ad Pupian. p. 168. Ecclesia Plebs Sacerdoti unita, & Pastori suo Grex adhærens. Unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo; Et si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in Ecclesia non esse, &c. [*l*] Con. Chalced. Can. 4. & 8. [*m*] Con. Aurel. 1. c. 21. [*n*] Agathens. Can. 38. [*o*] Ilerdens. c. 3. [*p*] Cod. Just. Lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episcop. Leg. 40. [*q*] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 9. [*r*] Con. Chalced. Can. 4. Con. Agath. c. 58. [*s*] Pearson Vind. Ignat. Part. 1. c. 11. p. 333. [*t*] Bed. Hist. Gent. Anglor. Lib. 3. c. 4. Cujus juri & omnis Provincia, & ipsi etiam Episcopi Ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti. [*u*] Con. Arelat. 2. c. 7. De Præsidibus —— ita placuit, ut cum promoti fuerint, Literas accipiant Ecclesiasticas Communicatorias. Ita tamen ut in quibuscunque locis gesserint, ab Episcopo ejusdem loci Cura de illis agatur; ut cum cœperint contra Disciplinam publicam agere, tunc demum a Communione excludantur. Similiter & de his fiat, qui Rempublicam agere volunt.

it

it were the Force of Imperial Sanctions. And by Virtue of this Power, they ſometimes unſheathed the Spiritual Sword againſt Impious and Prophane Magiſtrates, and cut them off from all Communion with the Church. Of which we have an Inſtance in *Syneſius* Biſhop of *Ptolemais* [w] excommunicating *Andronicus* the Governor, for his Cruelties and Blaſphemies; and many other ſuch Examples, which will be mentioned when we come to treat particularly of the Diſcipline of the Church. As to what concerns the Biſhops Power to inſpect and examine the Acts and Decrees of Subordinate Magiſtrates; *Socrates* [x] aſſures us it was practiſed by *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in reference to *Oreſtes* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* of *Egypt*; tho', as he intimates, it was ſome Grievance to him to be under his Inſpection.

SECT. IV. *Of the Diſtinction between Temporal and Spiritual Juriſdiction; Biſhops Power wholly confined to the latter.*

BUT it muſt be owned and ſpoken to the Glory of thoſe Primitive Biſhops, that they challenged no Power, as of Right belonging to them, but only that which was Spiritual. They did not as yet lay claim to both Swords, much leſs endeavour to wreſt the Temporal Sword out of the Magiſtrates Hand, and dethrone Princes under pretence of Excommunication. The ancient Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves, always profeſſed Obedience and Subjection to the Emperor's Laws: Which I ſhall not ſtand here to prove, ſince it has ſo frequently and ſo ſubſtantially been done by ſeveral of our Learned [y] Writers: And it is confeſſed by the more Ingenuous of the *Romiſh* Writers [z] themſelves, That *Gregory* the VIIth was the firſt Pope that pretended to depoſe Chriſtian Princes. The ancient Biſhops of the Church laid no Claim to a Coercive Power over the Bodies or Eſtates of Men; but if ever they had occaſion to make uſe of it, they applied themſelves to the Secular Magiſtrate, for his Aſſiſtance. As in the Caſe of *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, who kept poſſeſſion of the Biſhop's Houſe, after he was depoſed from his Biſhoprick by the Council of *Antioch*. The Fathers in that Council having no Power to remove him, petitioned the Emperor *Aurelian* [a] againſt him; who tho' an Heathen, gave Judgement on their ſide, and ordered his Officers to ſee his Sentence put in Execution. And thus the Caſe ſtood, as to the Power of Biſhops, for ſome Ages after under Chriſtian Emperors: Inſomuch that *Socrates* [b] notes it as a very ſingular thing in *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, That he undertook by his own Power to ſhut up the *Novatian* Churches, ſeizing upon their Plate and Sacred Utenſils, and depriving their Biſhop *Theopemptus* of his Subſtance. This was done παρὰ τὴν ἱερατικῆς τάξεως, beyond any ordinary Power that Biſhops were then inveſted with: And tho' in After-ages they attained to this Power, yet it was not by any inherent Right of their Order, but by the Favour and Indulgence of Secular Princes. It muſt here alſo be farther noted, That it was ever eſteemed diſhonourable for Biſhops ſo much as to petition the Secular Power againſt the Life of any Man, whom they had condemned by Spiritual Cenſures. And therefore, when *Ithacius* and ſome other *Spaniſh* Biſhops prevailed with *Maximus* to ſlay the Heretick *Priſcillian*, St. *Martin* and many other pious Biſhops petitioned againſt it, ſaying, It was was enough to expel Hereticks [c] from the Churches: And when they could not prevail, they ſhewed their Reſentments of the Fact againſt the Author of it, refuſing to admit *Ithacius* the Sanguinary Biſhop to their Communion. So great a Concern had thoſe Holy Men to keep within the Bounds of their Spiritual Juriſdiction.

SECT. V. *An Account of the Literæ Formatæ, and the Biſhops Prerogative in granting them to all Perſons.*

AND it may be obſerved, that the Authority of Biſhops was never greater in the World, than when they concerned themſelves only in the Exerciſe of their own proper Spiritual Power. For then they had an univerſal Reſpect paid them by all ſorts of Men; inſomuch that no Chriſtian would pretend to travel, without taking Letters of Credence with him from his own Biſhop, if he meant to communicate with the Chriſtian Church in a Foreign Country. Such was the admirable Unity of the Church Catholick in thoſe days, and the bleſſed Harmony and Conſent of her Biſhops among one another! Theſe Letters were of divers ſorts, according to the different Occaſions or Quality of the Perſons that carried them. They are generally reduced to Three Kinds; The *Epiſtolæ Commendatoriæ*, *Communicatoriæ*, and *Dimiſſoriæ*. The firſt were ſuch as were granted only to Perſons of Quality, or elſe Perſons whoſe Reputation had been called in Queſtion, or to the Clergy who had occaſion to travel into Foreign Countries. The Second ſort were granted to all who were in the Peace and Communion of the Church; whence they were alſo called *Pacificæ*, and *Eccleſiaſticæ*, and ſometimes *Canonicæ*. The Third ſort were ſuch as were only given to the Clergy, when they were to remove from their own Dioceſe, and ſettle in another; and they were to teſtify that they had their Biſhop's Leave to depart; whence they were called *Dimiſſoriæ*, and ſometimes *Pacificæ* likewiſe. All theſe went under the general Name of *Formatæ*; becauſe they were written in a peculiar Form, with ſome particular Marks and Characters, which ſerved as ſpecial Signatures to diſtinguiſh them from Coun-

[w] Syneſ. Ep. 58. ad Epiſcopos, p. 198. [x] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 13. [y] *See Biſhop* Morton's *Grand Impoſt. of the Church of* Rome, c. 11. Joh. Roſſenſ. de Poteſt. Papæ in Temporal. Lib. 2. c. 2. [z] Otho Friſingenſ. Chron. Lib. 6. c. 35. Greg. Tholoſan. de Repub. Lib. 26. c. 5. [a] Euſeb. Lib. 7. c. 30. [b] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 7. [c] Sulp. Sever. Lib. 2. p. 119. Maximum orare, ut Sanguine Infelicium abſtineret: Satis ſuperque ſufficere, ut Epiſcopali ſententia Hæretici judicati Eccleſiis pellerentur.

terfeits,

terfeits. I shall not stand now to give any further account of them here, but only observe that it was the Bishop's sole Prerogative to grant them; and none might presume to do it, at least without his Authority and Commission. The Council of *Antioch* [d] allows Country-Bishops to write them; but expresly forbids Presbyters the Privilege. And whereas in Times of Persecution, some Confessors who were of great Esteem in the Church, would take upon them to grant such Letters by their own Authority, and in their own Names; the Councils of [e] *Arles*, and *Eliberis* [f], forbad them to do it; and ordered all Persons who had such Letters, to take new Communicatory Letters from the Bishop. *Baronius* [g] and the common Editors of the Councils, who follow him, mistake these Letters for the Libels which the Confessors were used to grant to the *Lapsi*, to have them admitted into the Communion of the Church again: But *Albaspiny* [h] corrects this Mistake; and rightly observes, That those Councils speak not of such Libels as were given to the *Lapsi*, but of such as were given to all Christians, who had occasion to travel into Foreign Countries; which it belonged to the Bishops to grant, and not to the Confessors, whatever Authority they might otherwise have obtained by their honourable Confession of Christ in time of Persecution. The Council of *Eliberis* [i] takes notice of another Abuse of this nature, and corrects it; which was, That some Women of famous Renown in the Church, Clergymens Wives, as *Albaspiny* thinks, or rather the Wives of Bishops, would presume both to grant and receive such Letters by their own Authority: All which the Council orders to be sunk, as being dangerous to the Discipline and Communion of the Church, and an Encroachment upon the Bishops Power, to whom alone it belonged to grant them. For by all ancient Canons, this Privilege is reserved entirely to Bishops, and this set their Authority very high in the Church: For no one, either Clergy or Laity, could communicate in any Church beside his own, without these Testimonials from his Bishop; as may be seen in the Councils of *Carthage* [k], and *Agde* [l], and many others.

SECT. VI. *Of the Bishops Power in Disposing of the Revenues of the Church.*

I have but one thing more to observe concerning the Power of Bishops over the Church; and that is, their Authority and Concern in Disposing of the Revenues of the Church. I intend not here to enter upon the Discourse of Ecclesiastical Revenues, (which has its proper Place in this Work hereafter) but only to suggest now, That it was part of the Bishops Office and Care, to see them managed and disposed of to the best Advantage. The Councils of *Antioch* [m], and *Gangra* [n], have several Canons to this purpose; That all the Incomes and Oblations of the Church shall be dispensed at the Will and Discretion of the Bishop; to whom the People, and the Souls of Men are committed. Those called the Apostolical [o] Canons, and Constitutions [p], speak of the same Power. And *Cyprian* [q] notes, That all who received Maintenance from the Church, had it, *Episcopo dispensante*, by the Order and Appointment of the Bishop. He did not indeed always dispense with his own Hands, but by proper Assistants, such as his Archdeacon, and the *Oeconomus*; which some Canons [r] order to be one of the Clergy of every Church: But these Officers were only Stewards under him, both of his appointing, as St. *Jerom* [s] observes, and also accountable to him as the Supreme Governor of the Church. Whence *Possidius* takes notice of the Practice of St. *Austin*; that tho' neither Seal nor Keys was ever seen in his Hand, but some of his Clergy were always his Administrators; yet he had his certain Times to audit their Accounts: So that all was still his Act, tho' administred and dispensed by the Hands of others. And this was agreeable to the Primitive Rule and Practice of the Apostles, to whose Care and Custody the Peoples Oblations, and Things consecrated to God, were committed: They chose Deacons to be their Assistants, as Bishops did afterwards; still retaining Power in their own Hands to direct and regulate them in the Disposal of the Publick Charity, as Prime Stewards of God's Revenue, and chief Masters of his Household.

[d] Con. Antioch. Can. 8. [e] Con. Arelat. 1. c. 9. De his, qui Confessorum Literas offerunt, placuit, ut sublatis eis Literis, alias accipiant Communicatorias. [f] Con. Elib. c. 25. [g] Baron. an. 142. Loaysa Not. in Con. Elib. c. 25. [h] Albasp. Not. in Con. Elib. c. 25. [i] Con. Elib. c. 81. [k] Con. Carth. 1. Can. 7. Clericus vel Laicus non communicet in aliena Plebe sine Literis Episcopi sui. [l] Agath. Can. 53. Epaun. c. 6. Laodic. c. 41. Milevit. c. 20. Con. Antioch. c. 7. [m] Con. Antioch. c. 24. & 25. [n] Con. Gangr. c. 7. & 8. [o] Canon. Apost. c. 31. & 38. [p] Constit. Apostol. L. 2. c. 25. [q] Cypr. Ep. 38. al. 41. Just. Mart. Apol. 2. [r] Con. Chalced. c. 26. [s] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Sciat Episcopus, cui commissa est Ecclesia, quem Dispensationi Pauperum, Curæque præficiat.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Office of Biſhops, in relation to the whole Catholick Church.

SECT. I. *In what ſenſe every Biſhop ſuppoſed to be Biſhop of the whole Catholick Church.*

WE have hitherto conſidered the Office and Power of Biſhops over the Clergy and People of their own particular Churches: But there is yet a more eminent Branch of their Paſtoral Office and Care behind, which is, their Superintendency over the whole Catholick Church; in which every Biſhop was ſuppoſed to have an equal Share; not as to what concerned External Polity and Government, but the Prime Eſſential Part of Religion, the Preſervation of the Chriſtian Faith. Whenever the Faith was in danger of being ſubverted by Hereſy, or deſtroyed by Perſecution, then every Biſhop thought it part of his Duty and Office to put to his helping Hand, and labour as much for any other Diocele as his own. Dioceſes were but Limits of Convenience, for the Preſervation of Order in times of Peace: But the Faith was a more univerſal thing; and when War was made upon that, then the whole World was but one Dioceſe, and the whole Church but one Flock; and every Paſtor thought himſelf obliged to feed his great Maſter's Sheep, according to his Power, whatever Part of the World they were ſcattered in. In this ſenſe, every Biſhop was an univerſal Paſtor, and Biſhop of the whole World; as having a common Care and Concern for the whole Church of Chriſt. This is what St. *Auſtin* [*t*] told *Boniface* Biſhop of *Rome*; That the Paſtoral Care was common to all thoſe who had the Office of Biſhop; and tho' he was a little higher advanced toward the Top of Chriſt's Watch-tower, yet all others had an equal Concern in it. St. *Cyprian* teſtifies [*u*] for the Practice of his own time, That all Biſhops were ſo united in one Body, that if any of the Body broached any Hereſy, or began to lay waſte and tear the Flock of Chriſt, all the reſt immediately came in to its Reſcue: For though they were many Paſtors, yet they had but one Flock to feed; and every one was obliged to take care of all the Sheep of Chriſt, which he had purchaſed with his Blood. In this ſenſe *Gregory Nazianzen* [*w*] ſays of *Cyprian*, That he was an univerſal Biſhop; That he preſided not only over the Church of *Carthage* and *Africk*, but over all the Regions of the *Weſt*, and over the *Eaſt*, and *South*, and *Northern* Parts of the World alſo. He ſays the ſame of *Athanaſius* [*x*]; That in being made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, he was made Biſhop of the whole World. Which agrees with St. *Baſil*'s Obſervation [*y*] concerning him; That he had the Care of all Churches, as much as that which was peculiarly committed to him. *Chryſoſtom* [*z*] in like manner ſtiles *Timothy* Biſhop of the Univerſe: And in compliance with this Cuſtomary Character, the Author under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* [*zz*], gives St. *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* the Title of Governor of all Churches, as well as that of *Jeruſalem*. *Chryſoſtom* [*a*] ſays, St. *Paul* had the whole World committed to his Care, and every City under the Sun; That he was the Teacher [*b*] of the Univerſe, and preſided [*c*] over all Churches: Which he repeats in many Places of his Writings. Nor was this Prerogative ſo peculiar to the Apoſtles, but that every Biſhop (in ſome meaſure) had a Right and Title to the ſame Character.

SECT. II. *In what Reſpect the whole World but one Dioceſe, and but one Biſhoprick in the Church.*

HENCE came that current Notion, ſo frequently to be met with in *Cyprian*, of but one Biſhoprick in the Church; wherein every ſingle Biſhop had his Share in ſuch a manner, as to have an equal Concern in the whole: *Epiſcopatus unus eſt, cujus à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur.* [*d*] There is but one Biſhoprick in the Church: and every Biſhop has an undivided Portion in it. He does not ſay, it was a Monarchy, in the Hands of any ſingle Biſhop; but a diffuſive Power, that lay in the whole College of Biſhops, [*e*] every one of which had a Title to feed the whole Church of God, and drive away Hereſy out of any Part of it. In this Senſe, the Biſhop of *Eugubium*'s Power extended as far as the Biſhop of *Rome*'s; The Biſhop of *Rhegium* was as much Biſhop of the whole Church, as *Conſtantinople*; and *Tanis* equal to *Alexandria*: For in St. *Jerom*'s [*f*] Language, they were all *Ejuſdem Meriti*, and *ejuſdem Sacerdotii*; of the ſame Merit, and equal in their Prieſthood, which was but

[*t*] Aug. cont. Epiſt. Pelag in Præfat. ad Bonifac. Communis eſt nobis omnibus, qui fungimur Epiſcopatus Officio (quamvis ipſe in eo celſiore faſtigio præmineas) Specula Paſtoralis.
[*u*] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Steph. p. 178. Iccirco copioſum Corpus eſt Sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque Unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut ſi quis ex Collegio noſtro Hæreſin facere, & gregem Chriſti lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri —— Nam etſi Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen Gregem paſcimus, & Oves univerſas, quas Chriſtus Sanguine ſuo & Paſſione quæſivit, colligere & fovere debemus. [*w*] Greg. Naz. Orat. 18. in Laud. Cypr. [*x*] Naz. in Laud. Athan. Or. 21. p. 377. τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἐπισασίαν πισδ'ξ. [*y*] Baſil. Ep. 52. ad Athanaſ. [*z*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. adv. Jud. T. 1. p. 542. τὴν τὴ οἰκουμένης πρεσβυσίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένον. [*zz*] Pſeudo-Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. ap. Coteler. Patr. Apoſt. T. 1. p. 611. Clemens Jacobo —— Regenti Hebræorum ſanctam Eccleſiam in Hieroſolymis; ſed & omnes Eccleſias, quæ ubique Dei Providentia fundatæ ſunt. [*a*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. in illud, Salutate Priſcillam. T. 5. p. 241. τὴν οἰκυμένην ἅπασ ἐγκεχειρισμένον, &c. [*b*] Id. Hom. 6. in Terræmotum & Lazar. T. 5. p. 107. τὴ οἰκυμένης διδάσκαλον. [*c*] Id. Hom. 17. in Priſcillam. p. 248. [*d*] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 108. [*e*] Id. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 112. Epiſcopatus unus, Epiſcoporum multorum concordi numeroſitate diffuſus, &c. *In the ſame Epiſtle, he often mentions the* Collegium Sacerdotale. It. Epiſt. 59. & 68. [*f*] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr.

one. In Things that did not appertain to the Faith, they were not to meddle with other Men's Dioceſes, but only to mind the Buſineſs of their own: But when the Faith or Welfare of the Church lay at ſtake, and Religion was manifeſtly invaded; then, by this Rule of there being but one Epiſcopacy, every other Biſhoprick was as much their Dioceſe as their own; And no Human Laws or Canon could tie up their Hands from performing ſuch Acts of their Epiſcopal Office in any part of the World, as they thought neceſſary for the Preſervation of Religion.

SECT. III. *Some particular Inſtances of Private Biſhops acting as Biſhops of the whole Univerſal Church.*

FOR the better underſtanding the Church's Practice in this Point, I ſhall illuſtrate it in two or three particular Inſtances. It was a Rule in the Primitive Church, That no Biſhop ſhould Ordain in another's Dioceſe, without his Leave: And tho' this was a ſort of Confinement of the Epiſcopal Power to a ſingle Dioceſe, yet for Order ſake it was generally obſerved. But then it might happen, that in ſome Caſes there might be a Neceſſity to do otherwiſe: As in caſe the Biſhop of any Dioceſe was turned Heretick, and would Ordain none but Heretical Clergy, and perſecute and drive away the Orthodox: In that Caſe, any Catholick Biſhop, as being a Biſhop of the Univerſal Church, was authoriſed to Ordain Orthodox Men in ſuch a Dioceſe, tho' contrary to the common Rule; becauſe this was evidently for the Preſervation of the Faith, which is the Supreme Rule of all; and therefore that other Rule muſt give way to this ſuperior Obligation. Upon this account, when the Church was in danger of being over-run with *Arianiſm*, the great *Athanaſius* as he returned from his Exile, made no Scruple to Ordain in ſeveral Cities [*g*] as he went along, tho' they were not in his own Dioceſe. And the famous *Euſebius* of *Samoſata* did the like, in the Times of the *Arian* Perſecution under *Valens*. *Theodoret* [*h*] ſays, He went about all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Paleſtine*, in a Soldier's Habit; Ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and ſetting in Order whatever he found wanting in the Churches. He Ordained Biſhops alſo in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and other Places; whoſe Names *Theodoret* [*i*] has recorded. Now all this was contrary to the common Rules, but the Neceſſities of the Church required it; and That gave them Authority in ſuch a Caſe to exert their Power, and act as Biſhops of the whole Catholick Church. *Epiphanius* made uſe of the ſame Power and Privilege in a like Caſe; Ordaining *Paulinianus*, St. *Jerom*'s Brother, firſt Deacon, and then Presbyter, in a Monaſtery out of his own Dioceſe in *Paleſtine*; againſt which, when ſome of his Adverſaries objected, that it was done contrary to Canon; he vindicated [*k*] his Practice upon the Strength of this Principle; That in Caſes of preſſing Neceſſity, ſuch as this was, where the Intereſt of God was to be ſerved, every Biſhop had Power to act in any part of the Church: For though all Biſhops had their particular Churches to officiate in, and were not ordinarily to exceed their own Bounds; yet the Love of Chriſt was a Rule above all: And therefore Men were not barely to conſider the thing that was done, but the Circumſtances of the Action, the Time, the Manner, the Perſons for whoſe ſake, and the End for which it was done. Thus *Epiphanius* apologizes for the Exerciſe of his Epiſcopal Power in the Dioceſe of another Man. Now from all this it appears, that every Biſhop was as much an Univerſal Biſhop, and had as much the Care of the whole Church, as the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf; there being no Acts of the Epiſcopal Office, which they could not perform in any part of the World, when need required, without a Diſpenſation, as well as he. All that he enjoyed above others, was only the Rights of a Metropolitan, or a Patriarch, and thoſe confined by the Canons to a certain Diſtrict; of which more hereafter in their proper place.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Independency of Biſhops, eſpecially in the Cyprianick *Age, and in the* African *Churches.*

SECT. I. *What meant by the Independency of Biſhops one of another, and their abſolute Power in their own Church.*

THERE is one thing more muſt be taken notice of, whilſt we are conſidering the proper Office of Biſhops, which is the Abſolute Power of every Biſhop in his own Church, Independent of all others. For the right underſtanding the juſt Limits of this

[*g*] Socrat. Lib. 2. c. 24. [*h*] Theod. Lib. 4. c. 13. [*i*] Theod. Lib. 5. c. 4. [*k*] Epiphan. Ep. ad Joan. Hieroſol. Ob Dei timorem hoc ſumus facere compulſi: Maximè cum nulla ſit diverſitas in Sacerdotio Dei, & ubi utilitati Dei providetur. Nam etſi ſinguli Eccleſiarum Epiſcopi habent ſub ſe Eccleſias, quibus cura videntur impendere, & nemo ſuper alienam menſuram extenditur; tamen præponitur omnibus Charitas Chriſti, in qua nulla ſimulatio eſt: nec conſiderandum quid factum ſit, ſed quo Tempore, & quo Modo, & in quibus, & quare factum ſit.

Power,

Power, we are to distinguish between the Substantial and the Ritual Part of Religion. For it was in the latter chiefly that Bishops had an absolute Power in their own Church, being at Liberty to use what indifferent Rites they thought fit in their own Church, without being accountable for their Practice to any other. In matters of Faith indeed, when they corrupted the Truth by Heretical Doctrines, or introduced any Rituals that were destructive of it, there they were obnoxious to the Censure of all other Bishops; and every individual of the whole Catholick College of Bishops (as has been noted in the last Chapter) was authorised to oppose them: But in such indifferent Rites as were Lawful to be used in the Church, every Bishop was allowed to chuse for himself, and his own Church, such as he thought fit and expedient in his own Wisdom and Discretion.

SECT. II. *All Bishops had Liberty to form their own Liturgies.*

THUS for Instance, though there was but one Form of Worship throughout the whole Church, as to what concerned the Substance of Christian Worship; yet every Bishop was at Liberty to form his own Liturgy in what Method and Words he thought proper, only keeping to the Analogy of Faith and sound Doctrine. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* observes of St. *Basil*, that among other good Services which he did for the Church of *Cæsarea*, whilst he was but a Presbyter in it, one was [*m*] the composing of Forms of Prayer, which by the Consent and Authority of his Bishop *Eusebius* were used by the Church. And this is thought not improbably by some [*n*] to be the first Draught of that Liturgy, which bears his Name to this day. The Church of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, where St. *Basil* was born, had a Liturgy peculiar to themselves, which St. *Basil* [*o*] speaks of in one of his Epistles. *Chrysostom*'s Liturgy, which he composed for the Church of *Constantinople*, differed from these. The *Ambrosian* Form differed from the *Roman*, and the *Roman* from others. The *Africans* had peculiar Forms of their own, differing from the *Roman*, as appears from some Passages cited by *Victorinus Afer* and *Fulgentius*, out of the *African* Liturgies, which Cardinal *Bona* [*p*] owns are not to be found in the *Roman*.

SECT. III. *And express the same Creed in different Forms.*

THE like Observation may be made upon the Creeds used in divers Churches. There was but one Rule of *Faith*, as *Tertullian* [*q*] calls it, and that fixt and unalterable, as to the Substance, throughout the whole Church. Yet there were different ways of Expressing it, as appears from the several Forms still extant, which differ something from one another. Those in [*r*] *Irenæus*, in [*s*] *Cyprian*, and *Tertullian* [*t*], are not exactly in the same Method nor Form of Words. The Creed of *Eusebius* [*u*] and his Church of *Cæsarea* differed from that of *Jerusalem*; upon which *Cyril* [*w*] comments; And that of *Cyril*'s from that in St. *James*'s [*x*] Liturgy. And to omit abundance more that might here be mentioned, the Creed of *Aquileia* recited by *Ruffin* [*y*] differs from the *Roman* Creed, which is that we commonly call the Apostles Creed. Now the Reason of all this Difference could be no other but this, that all Bishops had Power to frame the Creeds of their own Churches, and express them in such Terms as suited best their own Convenience, and to meet with the Heresies they were most in danger from: As *Ruffin* observes that the Words *Invisible* and *Impassible* were added to the first Article in the Creed of *Aquileia*, in Opposition to the *Patripassim* or *Sabellian* Hereticks, who asserted that the Father was Visible and Passible in Human Flesh, as well as the Son. And it is evident the Bishops of other Churches used the same Liberty, as they saw Occasion.

SECT. IV. *And appoint particular Days of Fasting in their own Churches.*

IT were easy to confirm this Observation by many other Instances of the like Nature; but I shall only name one more, which is the Power every Bishop had to appoint particular Days of Fasting in his own Church. This we learn from St. *Austin*'s Answer to *Casulanus* about the *Saturday* Fast. *Casulanus* was very much troubled and perplexed about it, because he observed in *Africk* some Churches keep it a Fast, and others a Festival; nay sometimes in the same Church Men were divided in their Practice, and one part dined on that Day, whilst another fasted. Now to remove *Casulanus* his Scruple, St. *Austin* gives him [*z*] this Answer: That the best way in this case was to follow those who were the Rulers of every Church. Therefore if he would take his Advice, he should never resist his Bishop in this Matter, but do as he did without Doubt or Scruple. Which plainly implies, That it was then in every Bishop's Power to Order or not Order this Fast in his own Church, as he saw most convenient.

SECT. V. *The Independency of Bishops most conspicuous in the* African *Churches.*

AND indeed these Privileges of Bishops, and their Absolute and Independent Power in all such Matters, were no where more fully reserved to them, than in the *African* Churches, from the time of *Cyprian*,

[*m*] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 340. ἐυχῶν διατάξεις, καὶ ἐυλογιάς τε βήματος. [*n*] Billius Not. in Loc. Cave Hist. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 194. [*o*] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. [*p*] Bona Rer. Liturgic. Lib. 1. c. 7. n. 3. [*q*] Tertul. de veland. Virg. c. 1. Regula Fidei una omnium est, sola immobilis & irreformabilis, &c. [*r*] Iren. Lib. 1. c. 2. [*s*] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Episc. Numid. p. 190. It. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum. p. 183. ed. Oxon. [*t*] Tertul. Ibid. [*u*] Euseb. Ep. ad Cæsarien. ap. Socrat. Lib. 1. c. 8. [*w*] Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. 4. [*x*] Liturg. Jacobi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 7. [*y*] Ruffin. in Symbol. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Invisibilem & Impassibilem. [*z*] Aug. Ep. 86. ad Casulan. Mos eorum mihi sequendus videtur, quibus eorum Populorum Congregatio regenda commissa est. Quapropter si Consilio meo acquiescis: Episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, & quod facit ipse, sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare.

who

who frequently makes mention of this Independent Power; which extended not only to meer Rituals, but to ſeveral momentous Points of Diſcipline; ſuch as the Caſe of Rebaptizing Hereticks, admitting Adulterers to the Communion of the Church again, and the Queſtion about the Validity of *Clinick* Baptiſm. In theſe Points *Cyprian*'s Opinion and Practice differed from others of his Fellow-Biſhops: But yet he aſſumed no Power of Cenſuring thoſe that acted differently from what he did, nor ſeparated from their Communion upon it; but left every one to give an Account of his own Practice to God the Judge of all. For the Caſe of Re-baptizing ſuch as were baptized by Hereticks, he was intirely for it, as is ſufficiently known to all: But he was not ſo Zealous for it, as to exerciſe any Judicial Power of Depoſing or Excommunicating thoſe who practiſed otherwiſe; but declares he left every Biſhop to his Liberty, to act according to his Judgment, and anſwer for what he did to God alone. To this purpoſe he expreſſes himſelf in his Letter to Pope [*a*] *Stephen*, and that to [*b*] *Jubaianus*; but moſt fully in his Speech delivered at the opening of the great Council of *Carthage*, which met to conſider this very Queſtion. Let us every one now, ſays he, give our Opinion of this Matter; [*bb*] Judging no Man, nor Repelling any from our Communion, that ſhall think otherwiſe. For no one of us makes himſelf Biſhop of Biſhops, or compels his Collegues by Tyrannical Terror to a Neceſſity of Complying; foraſmuch as every Biſhop, according to the Liberty and Power that is granted him, is free to act as he ſees fit; and can no more be judged by others, than he can judge them. But let us all expect the Judgment of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who only hath Power both to inveſt us with the Government of his Church, and to paſs Sentence upon our Actions. Thus far *Cyprian* in full and open Council declares for the Independent Power of every Biſhop, tacitly reflecting upon the Biſhop of *Rome*, who pretended to excommunicate thoſe who differed in Opinion and Practice from him, which *Cyprian* condemns as a Tyrannical way of proceeding.

FOR the next Point, that is, the Caſe of admitting Adulterers to Communion again, *Cyprian* ſays his Predeceſſors in *Africk* were divided upon the Queſtion; but they did not divide Communion upon it: For though ſome Biſhops admitted Adulterers to Penance, and others refuſed to do it, yet they did not Cenſure each others Practice, but preſerved Peace and Concord among [*c*] themſelves, leaving every one to anſwer to God for his Actions. I know indeed ſome Learned Perſons [*d*] interpret this Liberty of the *African* Biſhops ſo, as to make it mean no more than a Liberty to follow their own Judgment, till ſuch times as the Church ſhould determine the Matter in Diſpute, by making ſome Publick Decree about it: But I muſt own, I cannot but think *Cyprian* meant ſomething more, becauſe he pleads for the ſame Liberty even after the Decrees of a Plenary Council; as we have ſeen in his Preface to the Council of *Carthage*.

As to the Third Queſtion, about the Validity of *Clinick* Baptiſm, that is, whether Perſons who were only ſprinkled with Water in their Beds in time of Sickneſs, and not immerſed or waſhed all over the Body in Baptiſm, were to be looked upon as compleat Chriſtians; *Cyprian* for his own part reſolves it in the Affirmative: But yet, if any Biſhops were otherwiſe perſuaded, that it was not Lawful Baptiſm, and upon that ground gave ſuch Perſons a new Immerſion, he profeſſes [*e*] that he preſcribes to none, but leaves every one to act according to his own Judgment and Diſcretion. This was that ancient Liberty of the *Cyprianick* Age, of which I have diſcourſed a little more particularly in this place, becauſe it ſhews us what was then the uncontеſted Power and Privilege of every Biſhop in the *African* Church, which is not ſo commonly underſtood in theſe latter Ages.

[*a*] Cypr. Ep. 72. ad Steph. p. 197. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut Legem damus, cum habeat in Eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ arbitrium liberum unuſquiſque præpoſitus, rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus. [*b*] Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 210. [*bb*] Con. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 229. Supereſt ut de hac ipſa re ſinguli quid ſentiamus, proferamus; neminem judicantes, aut à jure Communionis aliquem, ſi diverſum ſenſerit, amoventes. Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum Epiſcopum ſe Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut Tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem Collegas ſuos adigit; quando habeat omnis Epiſcopus pro licentia Libertatis & Poteſtatis ſuæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non poſſit, quam nec ipſe poteſt judicare. Sed exſpectemus univerſi Judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus & ſolus habet poteſtatem & præponendi nos in Eccleſiæ ſuæ Gubernatione, & de actu noſtro judicandi. [*c*] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 110. [*d*] *Biſhop* Fell, Not. in Loc. citat. [*e*] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum. p. 186. Qua in parte nemini verecundia & modeſtia noſtra præjudicat, quo minus unuſquiſque quod putat, ſentiat, & quod ſenſerit, faciat. It. p. 188. Nemini præſcribentes, quo minus ſtatuat quod putat unuſquiſque præpoſitus; actus ſui rationem Domino redditurus.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Power of Biſhops in Hearing and Determining Secular Cauſes.

SECT. I. *Biſhops commonly choſen Arbitrators of Mens Differences in the Primitive Church*

WE have hitherto conſidered ſuch Offices of the Epiſcopal Function, as belonged to all Biſhops by the Laws of God and the Canons of the Church: Beſides theſe there was one Office more impoſed upon them by Cuſtom, and the Laws of the State; which was the Hearing and Determining Secular Cauſes, upon the continual Applications and Addreſſes that People made to them. For ſuch was the Singular Character and Repute of Biſhops, and ſuch the entire Confidence Men generally repoſed in them for their Integrity and Juſtice, that they were commonly appealed to, as the beſt Arbitrators of Men's Differences, and the moſt Impartial Judges of the common Diſputes that happened among them. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [*f*] often refers to this Cuſtom: And *Syneſius* calls it [*g*] part of his own Epiſcopal Office and Function. St. *Ambroſe* teſtifies for himſelf [*h*] that he was uſed to be appealed to upon ſuch Occaſions; and St. *Auſtin* [*i*] ſays of him, that he was often ſo much employed in hearing Cauſes, that he had ſcarce time for other Buſineſs. And this was St. *Auſtin*'s Caſe alſo, who frequently complains of the Burden [*k*] that lay upon him in this reſpect. For not only *Chriſtians*, but Men of all Sects applied to him: Inſomuch that as *Poſſidius* [*l*] notes in his Life, he often ſpent all the Morning, and ſometimes the whold Day Faſting and Hearing their Cauſes; which though it was a great Fatigue to him, yet he was willing to bear it, becauſe it gave him frequent Opportunities of inſtilling the Principles of Truth and Virtue into the Minds of the Parties that applied themſelves to him.

SECT. II. *The Original of this Cuſtom What meant by the Word ἐξουθενημένοι in St. Paul, 1 Cor. 6. 4.*

AND it is to be obſerved, that though there be no expreſs Text in the New Teſtament that commands Biſhops to be Judges in Secular Cauſes, yet St. *Auſtin* was of Opinion, that St. *Paul* in prohibiting Men to go to Law before the Unbelievers, did virtually lay this Obligation upon them. For he ſays once and again [*m*] that it was the Apoſtle that inſtituted Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and laid the Burden of Secular Cauſes upon them. By which he means, that the Apoſtle gave a general Direction to Chriſtians to chuſe Arbitrators among themſelves; and that Cuſtom determined this Office particularly to the Biſhops, as the beſt qualified by their Wiſdom and Probity to diſcharge it. And this is very agreeable to St. *Paul*'s meaning, 1 *Cor.* 6. 4. as ſome very Learned and Judicious Criticks [*n*] underſtand him. For though all the common Tranſlations render the Words, ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Perſons that are leaſt eſteemed in the Church: Yet Dr. *Lightfoot* obſerves, that they may as well ſignify Perſons of the greateſt Eſteem. For the Original Word, ἐξουθενημένους, ſignifies only private Judges, or Arbitrators of Men's own chuſing, ſuch as were in uſe among the *Jews*, who called them יחידים, & *non-Authentici*, not becauſe they were of the Meaneſt and moſt Contemptible of the People, but becauſe they were the loweſt Rank of Judges, and not ſettled as a ſtanding Court by the *Sanhedrim*, but choſen by the Litigants themſelves to arbitrate their Cauſes. Such Private Judges the Apoſtle directs the Chriſtians to chuſe in the Church, and refer their Controverſies to them: Which is not any Injunction to chuſe Judges out of the pooreſt and meaneſt, and moſt ignorant of the People, but rather the contrary, Perſons that were well qualified by their Wiſdom and Authority, to take upon them to be Judges, and end Controverſies among their Brethren. Now becauſe none were thought better qualified in theſe Reſpects than Biſhops, the Office of Judging upon that account was commonly impoſed upon them, and they in Decency and Charity could not well refuſe it. This ſeems to be the true Original of this part of the Epiſcopal Office and Function.

SECT. III. *This Power of Biſhops confirmed by the Imperial Laws.*

BUT what was thus begun by Cuſtom, while the Civil Governours were Heathens, was afterward confirmed and eſtabliſhed by Law, when the Emperors became Chriſtians. *Euſebius* [*o*] ſays, *Conſtantine* made a Law to confirm all ſuch Deciſions of Biſhops in their Conſiſtories, and that no Secular Judges ſhould have any Power to reverſe or diſannul them; Foraſmuch as the Prieſts of God were to be preferred before any other Judge. And *Sozomen* [*p*] adds, that he gave leave to all Litigants to refer their Cauſes to the Determination of Biſhops, whoſe Sentence ſhould ſtand good, and be as Authentick as if it had been the Deciſion of the Emperor himſelf: And that the Governors of every Province and their Officers ſhould be obliged to put their Decrees in Execution. There is a Law now added at the end of the *Theodoſian Code*, which ſome take for this very Law of *Conſtantine* mentioned by theſe Authors. *Selden* himſelf

[*f*] Sidon. Lib. 3. Ep. 12. Lib. 6. Ep. 2, & 4. [*g*] Syneſ. Ep. 105. p. 399. [*h*] Ambroſ. Ep. 24. ad Marcellum. [*i*] Aug. Confeſſ. Lib. 6. c. 3. [*k*] Aug. Ep. 110. & 147. It. de Opere Monach. c. 29. [*l*] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 19. [*m*] Aug. Ser. 24. in Pſal. 118. Conſtituit talibus Cauſis Eccleſiaſticos Apoſtolus Cognitores, in Foro prohibens jurgare Chriſtianos. Id. de Oper. Monach. c. 29. Quibus nos moleſtiis affixit Apoſtolus, *&c.* [*n*] Lightfoot, & Lud. de Dieu in 1 Cor. 6. 4. [*o*] Euſeb. de vit. Conſtant. Lib. 4. c. 27. [*p*] Sozom. Lib. 1. c. 9.

reckons [q] it a genuine Piece; but I think *Gothofred*'s Arguments are ſtronger to prove it ſpurious. For it grants Biſhops ſuch a Power, as neither *Euſebius* nor *Sozomen* mention, and all other Laws contradict: *viz.* That if either of the contending Parties, the Poſſeſſor [r] or the Plaintiff, was minded to bring the Cauſe before a Biſhop, either when it was before a Secular Court, or when it was determined, he might do it, though the other Party was againſt it. Whereas all Laws and Hiſtory are againſt this Practice: For no Cauſe was to be brought before a Biſhop, except both Parties agreed by way of Com-promiſe to take him for their Arbitrator. In this Caſe the Biſhop's Sentence was Valid, and to be executed by the Secular Power, but not otherwiſe. So that either this was not the Genuine Law of *Conſtantine*, to which *Euſebius* and *Sozomen* refer, or elſe it was revoked and contradicted by all others. *Gothofred* produces a great many contrary Laws: I ſhall content my ſelf with a ſingle Inſtance.

SECT. IV. *Yet not allowed in Criminal Cauſes; nor in any Cauſes, but when the Litigants both agreed to take them for Arbitrators.*

IN the *Juſtinian Code* [s] we have two Laws of the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius* about the ſame Matter, which may ſerve to explain the Law of *Conſtantine*. For there any Biſhops are allowed to judge, and their Judgment is ordered to be Final, ſo as no Appeal ſhould be made from it; and the Officers of the Secular Judges are appointed to execute the Biſhops Sentence: But then there are theſe Two Limitations expreſly put: 1ſt, That they ſhall only have Power to judge, when both Parties agree by Conſent to refer their Cauſes to their Arbitration. And, 2dly, where Cauſes are purely Civil, and not Criminal Cauſes, where perhaps Life and Death might be concerned. For in ſuch Cauſes the Clergy were prohibited by the Canons [t] of the Church, as well as the Laws of the State, from being concerned as Judges. Therefore Biſhops never ſuffered any Criminal Cauſes to come before them, except ſuch as were to be puniſhed with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.

SECT. V. *Biſhops ſometimes made their Presbyters, and ſometimes Laymen their Subſtitutes in this Affair.*

BUT they had commonly Civil Cauſes more than enough flowing in upon them. So that they were forced ſometimes to let part of this Care devolve upon ſome other Perſon, whoſe Integrity and Prudence they could confide in. This was commonly one of their Clergy, a Preſbyter or a Principal Deacon. St. *Auſtin*, when he found the Burden of this Affair begin to preſs too hard upon him, ſubſtituted *Eradius* his Presbyter [u] in his room. And the Council of *Tarragone* ſpeaks not only of Presbyters but [w] Deacons alſo, who were deputed to hear Secular Cauſes. And *Socrates* ſays, [x] *Sylvanus* Biſhop of *Troas* took the Power wholly out of the Hands of his Clergy, becauſe he had found ſome of them faulty in making an unlawful Gain of the Cauſes that were brought before them; for which Reaſon he never deputed any one of them to be Judge, but made ſome Layman his Delegate, whom he knew to be a Man of Integrity, and ſtrict Lover of Juſtice. I leave the Learned to enquire, whether Lay-Chancellors in the Church had not their firſt Riſe and Original from ſome ſuch Occaſion as this, whilſt Biſhops deputed Laymen to hear Secular Cauſes in their Name, ſtill reſerving the proper Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Power entirely to themſelves.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Privilege of Biſhops to intercede for Criminals.

SECT. I. *Of the great Power and Intereſt of Biſhops in Interceding to the Secular Magiſtrates.*

I Have obſerved in the foregoing Chapter, that Biſhops were never allowed to be Judges in Capital or Criminal Cauſes, becauſe they were not to be concerned in Blood: They were to be ſo far from having any thing to do in the Death of any Man, that Cuſtom made it almoſt a piece of their Office and Duty to ſave Men from Death, by Interceding to the Secular Magiſtrates for Criminals that were condemned to die. St. *Ambroſe* often made uſe of this Privilege, as the Author of his Life obſerves; frequently addreſſing himſelf to [y] *Macedonius*, and *Stilico* [z], and other great Miniſters of the Age, in behalf of poor Delinquents, to obtain Pardon for them. St. *Auſtin* did the ſame for the *Circumcellions*, when they were convicted and

[q] Selden Uxor. Hebr. Lib. 3. c. 28. p. 564. [r] Extravag. de Elect. Judicii Epiſcop. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. T. 4. p. 303. Quicunque Litem habens, ſive Poſſeſſor, ſive Petitor erit, inter initia Litis, vel decurſis temporum curriculis, ſive cum negotium peroratur, ſive cum jam cœperit promi ſententia, Judicium eligit ſacroſanctæ Legis Antiſtitis, ilico ſine aliqua dubitatione, etiamſi alia Pars refragatur, ad Epiſcopum cum ſermone Litigantium dirigatur. Vid. Gothofred. Comment. in Loc.

[s] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 1. Tit. 4. Leg. 7. Si qui ex Conſenſu apud Sacræ Legis Antiſtitem litigare voluerint, non vetabuntur. Sed experientur illius in Civili duntaxat negotio, more Arbitri ſponte reſidentis Judicium. Ibid. Leg. 8. Epiſcopale judicium ratum ſit omnibus, qui ſe audiri à Sacerdotibus elegerint; eamque eorum Judicationi adhibendam eſſe reverentiam jubemus, quam veſtris deferri neceſſe eſt Potestatibus, à quibus non licet provocare, &c.

[t] Concil. Tarracon. can. 4. Habeant Licentiam Judicandi, exceptis Criminalibus Negotiis. [u] Aug. Ep. 110. [w] Con. Tarracon. c. 4. Nullus Epiſcoporum, Presbyterorum, vel Clericorum, Die Dominico propoſitum cujuſcunque cauſæ negotium audeat judicare. [x] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 37. [y] Paulin. vit. Ambroſ. p. 8. [z] Ibid. p. 12.

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condemned for Murdering ſome of the Catholick Clergy: He wrote two Pathetick Letters [a] to the *African* Magiſtrates, *Marcellinus Comes*, and *Apringius*, deſiring that their Lives might be ſpared, and that they might only be puniſhed with cloſe Cuſtody and Confinement, where they might be ſet to Work, and have time allowed them for Repentance. The Council [b] of *Sardica* ſeems to ſpeak of it as the Duty of all Biſhops to intercede for ſuch as implored the Mercy of the Church, when they were Condemned to be Tranſported or Baniſhed, or any the like Puniſhment. And the Cuſtom was become ſo general, that it began to be conſidered as a Condition in the Election of a Biſhop, whether he were qualified to diſcharge this part of his Office as well as others. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [c] inſtances in ſuch a Caſe, where it was made an Objection by the People againſt the Election of a certain Biſhop, that being a Man of a Monkiſh and retired Life, he was fitter to be an Abbot than a Biſhop: He might intercede, they ſaid, indeed with the heavenly Judge for their Souls, but he was not qualified to intercede with the earthly Judges for their Bodies. He was not a Man of Addreſs, which they then thought neceſſary to diſcharge this part of the Office of a Biſhop. They might perhaps judge wrong, as thoſe in St. *Jerom* [d] did, who pretended that Clergymen ought to give ſplendid Entertainments to the Secular Judges, that they might gain an Intereſt in them: whom St. *Jerom* juſtly reproves, telling them, that any Judge would pay a greater Reverence to a Pious and Sober Clergyman, than to a Wealthy one, and would reſpect him more for his Holineſs than his Riches. However, this ſhews what was then the common Cuſtom, and how great an Intereſt Biſhops generally had in the Secular Magiſtrate, who ſeldom rejected any Petitions of this Nature. *Socrates* notes, that even ſome of the *Novatian* Biſhops enjoyed this Privilege, as *Paulus* [e] of *Conſtantinople*, and *Leontius* [f] of *Rome*, at whoſe Interceſſion *Theodoſius* the Emperor pardoned *Symmachus*, who had been guilty of Treaſon, in making a Panegyrick upon *Maximus* the Tyrant, but was after his Death fled for Sanctuary to a Chriſtian Church.

SECT. II. *The Reaſons why Biſhops interceded for ſome Criminals, and not others.*

WE may here obſerve that Crimes in themſelves of a very heinous Nature, ſuch as Treaſon and Murder, were ſometimes pardoned at their Requeſt: But we are not to imagine that Biſhops at any time turned Patrons for Criminals, to the Obſtruction of Publick Juſtice (which would have been to have cut the Sinews of Government) but only in ſuch Caſes, where Pardon would manifeſtly be for the Benefit and Honour both of the Church and Commonwealth; or elſe where the Crimes themſelves had ſome ſuch alleviating Circumſtances, as might incline a compaſſionate Judge to grant a Pardon. As when St. *Ambroſe* interceded with *Stilico* for the Pardon of ſome poor deluded Wretches, whom *Stilico*'s own Servant by Forgery had drawn into an Error. Their Ignorance might reaſonably be pleaded in their behalf. And when St. *Auſtin* petitioned for favour to be ſhewed to the *Circumcellions*, it was, he thought, for the Honour of the Church, to free her from the Suſpicion and Charge of Revenge and Cruelty, which the *Donatiſts* were ſo ready to caſt upon her. And therefore he deſired *Apringius* [g] the Proconſul, to ſpare them for the ſake of Chriſt and his Church, as well as to give them time to ſee their Error, and repent of it.

SECT. III. *They never interceded in Civil Matters, and Pecuniary Cauſes.*

IT muſt farther be noted from St. *Ambroſe*, that Biſhops, though they themſelves were ſometimes choſen Judges in Civil Cauſes; yet never interceded for any Man in ſuch Cauſes to the Secular Judges. And he gives a very good Reaſon [h] for it: Becauſe, in pecuniary Cauſes, where Two Parties are concern'd, a Biſhop could not intercede for one Party, but the other would be injured, and have Reaſon to think he loſt his Cauſe by the Intereſt and Favour of the Interceſſor inclining to the adverſe Party. For which Reaſon, there are no Examples of their Interceding in ſuch Caſes.

[a] Aug. Ep. 159, & 160. [b] Con. Sardic. Can. 7. [c] Sidon. Lib. 7. Ep. 9. p. 443. Hic qui nominatur, inquiunt, non Epiſcopi, ſed potius Abbatis complet officium: Et intercedere magis pro Animabus apud Cœleſtem, quam pro Corporibus apud Terrenum Judicem poteſt. [d] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. p. 15. Quod ſi obtenderis te facere hæc, ut roges pro miſeris atque ſubjectis: Judex Seculi plus deferet Clerico Continenti, quam Diviti, & magis ſanctitatem tuam venerabitur quam opes. [e] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 17. [f] Id. Lib. 5. cap. 14. [g] Aug. Ep. 160. Illi impio ferro fuderunt Sanguinem Chriſtianum: Tu ab eorum Sanguine etiam Juridicum gladium cohibe propter Chriſtum ——— Tu inimicis Eccleſiæ Viventibus relaxa ſpatium pœnitendi. [h] Ambroſ. de Offic. Lib. 3. c. 9. In Cauſis Pecuniariis intervenire non eſt Sacerdotis, &c.

CHAP. IX.

Of ſome particular Honours and Inſtances of Reſpect ſhewed to Biſhops, by all Perſons in general.

SECT. I. *Of the ancient Cuſtom of Bowing the Head, to receive the Benediction of Biſhops.*

THERE are ſeveral other Privileges belonging to Biſhops, in common with the reſt of the Clergy; ſuch as their Exemption from Burdenſome Offices, and ſome ſort of Taxes, and the Cognizance of the Secular Courts in ſome Caſes; of which I ſhall ſay nothing particularly here, becauſe they will be conſider'd when we treat of the Privileges of the Clergy in general. But there are two or three Cuſtoms, which argued a particular Reſpect paid to Biſhops, and therefore I muſt not here wholly paſs them over. One of theſe was the ancient Cuſtom of Bowing the Head before them, to receive their Bleſſing: A Cuſtom ſo univerſally prevailing, that the Emperors themſelves did not refuſe to comply with it: As may appear from that Diſcourſe of *Hilary* [*i*] to *Conſtantius*; where he tells him, He entertained the Biſhop with a Kiſs, with which Chriſt was betrayed; and bowed his Head to receive their Benediction, whilſt he trampled on their Faith. This plainly refers to the Cuſtom we are ſpeaking of. And by it we may underſtand the meaning of *Theodoret*, when he ſays [*k*], The Emperor *Valentinian* gave Orders to the Biſhops, who were met to make choice of the Biſhop of *Milan*; That they ſhould place ſuch an one on the Biſhop's Throne, of that Eminency for Life and Doctrine, that the Emperors themſelves might not be aſhamed to bow their Heads to him. The ſame Cuſtom is more plainly hinted by St. *Chryſoſtom*, in one of his Homilies [*l*] to the People of *Antioch*; where ſpeaking of *Flavian* their Biſhop, who was gone to the Emperor to procure a Pardon for them; he ſays, *Flavian* was a Prince, and a more Honourable Prince than the other: Foraſmuch as the Sacred Laws made the Emperor ſubmit his Head to the Hands of the Biſhop. He ſpeaks of no other Submiſſion, but only this, in receiving the Biſhop's Benediction. For in other reſpects, the Prieſts in thoſe Days were always ſubject to the Emperors. He that would ſee more Proofs of this Cuſtom, may conſult *Valeſius*, who [*m*] has collected a great many Paſſages out of other Authors relating to it. I ſhall only add here that Reſcript of *Honorius* and *Valentinian*, which ſays, Biſhops were the Perſons to whom all the World bow'd the Head; *Quibus omnis terra caput inclinat.*

SECT. II. *Of Kiſſing their Hands.*

SUCH another Cuſtomary Reſpect was paid them, by Kiſſing their Hand; which ſeems to have accompany'd the former Ceremony: For St. *Ambroſe* [*n*] joins them both together, ſaying, That Kings and Princes did not diſdain to bend and bow their Necks to the Knees of the Prieſts, and kiſs their Hands; thinking themſelves protected by their Prayers. *Paulinus* ſays [*o*], the People paid this Reſpect commonly to St. *Ambroſe*. And *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſays [*p*], At his firſt coming to the City, the whole Multitude went out to meet him, and as many as could come near him, laid hold on his Feet, and kiſſed his Hands. They that pleaſe to ſee more of this Cuſtom, may conſult *Sidonius* [*q*] *Apollinaris*, and *Savaro*'s Learned Notes [*r*] upon him; who cites *Ennodius*, and ſeveral other Authors to the ſame purpoſe.

SECT. III. *The Cuſtom, of Singing* Hoſanna's *to them ſometimes uſed, but not approved.*

St. *Jerom* mentions another Cuſtom, which he condemns, as [*s*] doing too great an Honour to mere Mortal Men; which was, The People's Singing *Hoſanna's* to their Biſhops, as the Multitude did to our Saviour at his Entrance into *Jeruſalem*. *Valeſius* [*t*] cites a Paſſage out of *Antonius*'s Itinerary to the ſame purpoſe; where the Form of Words is, *Bleſſed be ye of the Lord, and bleſſed be your Coming*; Hoſanna *in the Higheſt*. Some alſo underſtand *Hegeſippus* [*u*] in the ſame Senſe; where ſpeaking of the Preaching of *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, he ſays, The People that were converted by his Diſcourſe, cried out, *Hoſanna to the Son of David*. *Scaliger* underſtands this as ſpoken to *James* himſelf: But others [*w*] take it for a Doxology, or Acclamation to Chriſt, whom they glorify'd upon the Teſtimony that *James* had given him: And this ſeems to be the truer Senſe of that place; however, in the other Acceptation there is nothing contrary to Cuſtom in it, as appears from what

[*i*] Hilar. adv. Conſtant. p. 95. Oſculo Sacerdotes excipis, quo & Chriſtus eſt proditus: Caput Benedictioni ſummittis, ut Fidem calces. [*k*] Theod. Lib. 4. c. 6. ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνωμεν κεφαλάς. [*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 48. [*m*] Valeſ. Not. in Theod. Lib. 4. c. 6. [*n*] Ambroſ. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 2. Quippe cum videas Regum colla & Principum ſubmitti gentibus Sacerdotum, & exoſculatis eorum dexteris, Orationibus eorum credant ſe communiri. [*o*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 2, & 3. [*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 45. in Melet. T. 1. p. 593. [*q*] Sidon. Lib. 7. Ep. 11. Sancti Gallicini manu oſculata. Id. Lib. 7. Ep. 11. [*r*] Savaro Not. in Sidon. Lib. 8. Epiſt. 11. p. 532. [*s*] Hieron. in Mat. 21. T. 9. p. 62. Videant ergo Epiſcopi, & quantumlibet Sancti homines, cum quanto periculo dici iſta ſibi patiantur, &c. [*t*] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. Lib. 2. c. 23. [*u*] Hegeſip. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 2. c. 23. Πολλῶν δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῷ Ιακώβῳ, καὶ λεγόντων, ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. [*w*] Grabe Spicileg. Sæc. 2. p. 207. *tranſlates it thus*: Multi hoc Jacobi Teſtimonio confirmati glorificabant (Jeſum) dicentes, Hoſanna Filio David.

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has been ſaid. I do not inſiſt upon what St. *Jerom* in another place ſays [x] farther of this Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; That he was a Man of ſuch celebrated Fame among the People, for his great Sanctity, that they ambitiouſly ſtrove to touch the Hem of his Garment: For this Honour was not paid him as a Biſhop, but as a moſt Holy Man; who was indeed, according to the Character given him by *Hegeſippus* and *Epiphanius*, a Man of ſingular Abſtinence and Piety, and one of the Miracles of the Age he lived in. So that this was a ſingular Honour done to him, for his ſingular Holineſs and Virtue.

SECT. IV. *What meant by the* Corona Sacerdotalis, *and the Form of Saluting Biſhops* per Coronam.

BUT to proceed with the common Honours paid to Biſhops. Another Inſtance of Reſpect, may be obſerved in the uſual Forms of Addreſſing them: For when Men ſpake to them, they commonly prefaced their Diſcourſe with ſome Title of Honour, ſuch as that of *Precor Coronam*, and *Per Coronam veſtram*; which we may *Engliſh*, Your Honour and Dignity; literally, Your Crown. This Form often occurrs in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Ennodius*, St. *Jerom* [y] and others. St. *Auſtin* ſays, Both the Catholicks [z] and *Donatiſts* uſed it, when they ſpake to the Biſhops of either Party; giving them very reſpectful Titles, and intreating, or rather adjuring them *Per Coronam*, that they would hear and determine their Secular Cauſes.

SECT. V. *Whether Biſhops anciently wore a Mitre, or any the like Ornament.*

THE Uſe of this Form of Speech then is plain, but the Reaſon of it is not ſo evident. *Savaro* [a] and ſome others fancy it reſpected the Ancient Figure of the Clerical Tonſure; by which the Hair was cut into a Round from the Crown of the Head downwards. Others think it came from the Ornament which Biſhops wore upon their Head; and that they will needs have to be a Crown or Mitre. Whereas, it does not appear that Biſhops had any ſuch Ornament in thoſe Days. I know indeed, both *Valeſius* [b] and *Petavius* [c] are very confident, that all Biſhops (from the very firſt) had an appendant Badge of Honour on their Foreheads, which they ſay was the ſame with the *Petalum*, or Golden Plate, which the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſts wore: And it cannot be denied, but that as ancient an Author as *Polycrates* [d], mentioned both by *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* ſays, That St. *John* was a Prieſt, wearing a *Petalum:* And *Epiphanius* [e] ſays the ſame of *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. But this was not ſpoken of them as Chriſtian Biſhops, but on Preſumption of their having been *Jewiſh* Prieſts, and of the Family of *Aaron*. *Valeſius* himſelf cites a MS. Paſſion of St. *Mark*, which ſets the ſame Ornament on his Head, and gives this very Reaſon for it: It is reported, ſays he, that St. *Mark*, according to the Rites of the Carnal Sacrifice, wore the Chief Prieſt's *Petalum* among the *Jews:* which gives us plainly to [f] underſtand, ſays that Author, that he was one of the Tribe of *Levi*, and of the Family of *Aaron*. So he did not take this for the Ornament of a Chriſtian Biſhop, but a *Jewiſh* Prieſt; and that opens the way for us to underſtand what the other Authors meant by it, however *Valeſius* chanced not to obſerve it. Now if it cannot be proved, that Biſhops anciently wore any ſuch Ornament as this, it will much leſs follow that they wore a Royal Crown, or Mitre, as *Spondanus* [g] aſſerts they did, and thence deduces the Cuſtom of addreſſing them *Per Coronam*; therein deſerting his great Maſter *Baronius*, who aſſigns another Reaſon for it. After all, it ſeems moſt probable, that it was no more than a Metaphorical Expreſſion, uſed to denote the Honour and Dignity of the Epiſcopal Order: Tho' I do not deny that the Clerical Tonſure was ſometimes called *Corona*; but that was not peculiar to Biſhops, but common to all the Clergy.

SECT. VI. *Of the Titles* Ἁγιώτατοι, Sanctiſſimi, *&c.*

IT will not be improper to add, while we are upon this Point, that it was uſual in Men's Addreſſes to Biſhops, or in ſpeaking of them, to mention their Names with ſome Additional Title of Reſpect, ſuch as Θεοφιλέστατοι, and Ἁγιώτατοι, moſt Dear to God, and moſt Holy Fathers: Which Titles occur frequently in the Emperor's Reſcripts in the Civil [h] Law, and were of ſuch common Uſe in thoſe Times, that *Socrates* (when he comes to the Sixth Book of his Hiſtory, which treats of his own times) thinks himſelf obliged to make ſome Apology [i] for not giving the Biſhops that were then living theſe Titles. Which I the rather note, becauſe of the Vanity of ſome, who reckon the Title, Moſt Holy Father, the Pope's ſole prerogative; and to correct the Malice of others, who will not allow a Proteſtant Biſhop to receive that Title, without the Suſpicion and Imputation of Popery. As if St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom* had been to blame, becauſe the one wrote, and the other received Epiſtles always thus inſcribed; *Domino vere Sancto, & Beatiſſimo Papæ Auguſti-*

[x] Hieron. Com. in Gal. 1. Jacobus Epiſcopus Hieroſolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Juſtus; Vir tantæ ſanctitatis & rumoris in populo, ut Fimbriam veſtimenti ejus certatim cuperent attingere. [y] Sidon. Lib. 6. Ep. 3. Auctoritas Coronæ tuæ, *&c.* Id. Lib. 7. Ep. 8. ad Euphron. De minimis rebus Coronam tuam maximiſque conſulerem. Ennod. Lib. 4. Ep. 29. ad Symmac. Lib. 5. Ep. 17. ad Marcellinum. Lib. 9. Ep. 27. ad Aurelian. Hieron. Ep. 26. ad Auguſt. inter Epiſt. Aug. Precor Coronam tuam. [z] Aug. Ep. 147. ad Proculeian. Epiſc. partis Donati. Honorant nos veſtri, honorant vos noſtri. Per Coronam noſtram nos adjurant veſtri; per Coronam veſtram, vos adjurant noſtri. [a] Savaro Not. in Sidon. Lib. 6. Ep. 3. Baron. an. 58. n. 134. [b] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. Lib. 5. c. 24. [c] Petav. Not. in Epiph. Hær. 78. n. 14. [d] Polycrat. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 5. c. 24. [e] Epiphan. Hær. 29. n. 2. It. 78. n. 14. [f] Auctor MS. Paſſion. S. Marc. ap. Valeſ. ibid. B. Marcum juxta ritum carnalis Sacrificii, Pontificalis apicis Petalum in populo geſtaſſe Judæorum, illuſtrium virorum Syngraphæ declarant: Ex quo manifeſtè datur intelligi, de ſtirpe eum Levitica, imo Pontificis Aaron ſacræ Succeſſionis Originem habuiſſe. [g] Spondan. Epitom. Baron. an. 58. n. 54. [h] Juſtin. Novel. 8, 40, 42, 67, 86, *&c.* Concil. Chalced. Act. 10. [i] Socrat. Procem. ad Lib. 6.

no. See St. *Auſtin*'s Epiſt. 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21. where St. *Jerom* and others give him thoſe honourable Titles.

SECT. VII. *Biſhops diſtinguiſhed by their Throne in the Church.*

THERE is one thing more that muſt not be omitted, becauſe it was the common Honour and Privilege of all Biſhops, to be diſtinguiſhed in the Church by a Chair, or Seat, which was commonly called their Throne. Thus [k] *Euſebius* calls the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*'s Seat, Θρόνον Αποστολικὸν, the Apoſtolical Throne; becauſe St. *James*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, firſt ſat in it. And for the ſame Reaſon, *Gregory Nazianzen* [l] calls the Biſhop of *Alexandria*'s Seat, the Throne of St. *Mark*. It was otherwiſe called Βῆμα, and Θρόνος ὑψηλὸς, the High Throne; becauſe it was exalted ſomething higher than the Seats of the Presbyters, which were on each ſide of it, and were called the Second Thrones; as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of Presbyters. All that I ſhall obſerve farther here concerning this Throne of the Biſhop, is, That tho' it be ſometimes called the High and Lofty Throne, eſpecially by thoſe Writers [m] who ſpeak in a Rhetorical Strain; yet that is only meant comparatively, in reſpect of the lower Seats of Presbyters: For otherwiſe, it was a Fault in any Biſhop to build himſelf a Pompous and Splendid Throne, in Imitation of the State and Grandeur of the Secular Magiſtrates. This was one of the Crimes which the Council of *Antioch* [n], in their Synodical Epiſtle againſt *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, laid to his Charge, That he built himſelf an high and ſtately Tribunal, not as a Diſciple of Chriſt, but as one of the Rulers of the World; making a *Secretum* to it, in Imitation of the Secular Magiſtrates; whoſe Tribunals had a Place railed out from the reſt, and ſeparated by a Veil, which they called the *Secretum*; and the Ambitious Biſhop gave his the ſame Name; by which and ſome other ſuch like Practices, he raiſed the Envy and Hatred of the Heathens againſt the Chriſtians, as they there complain of him. It was then the great Care of the Chriſtian Church, to obſerve a *Decorum* in the Honours which ſhe beſtowed upon her Biſhops; that they might be ſuch as might ſet them above Contempt, but keep them below Envy; make them Venerable, but not miniſter to Vanity, or the outward Pomp and Oſtentation of Secular Greatneſs.

CHAP. X.

Of the Age, and ſome particular Qualifications required in ſuch as were to be Ordained Biſhops.

SECT. I. *Biſhops not to be Ordained under 30 Years of Age, except they were Men of extraordinary worth.*

THOSE Qualifications of Biſhops, which were common to them with the reſt of the Clergy, ſhall be ſpoken of hereafter: Here I ſhall only take notice of a few that were more peculiar to them. Such as, firſt, their Age; which by the Canons was required to be at leaſt Thirty Years. The Council of *Neocæſarea* [o] requires Thirty in Presbyters; which is a certain Argument that the ſame Age was requiſite in a Biſhop. The Council of *Agde* [p] more expreſly limits their Age to that time; requiring all Metropolitans to inſiſt upon it in their Ordination. The Reaſons given by theſe Councils are; Becauſe our Saviour himſelf did not begin to teach before he was Thirty Years old; and becauſe that is the perfect Age of Man. Therefore, tho' a Man was otherwiſe never ſo well qualify'd, the Council of *Neocæſarea* ſays, he ſhall wait, and not be Ordained ſo much as Presbyter before that time. But whether this Rule was always obſerved from the days of the Apoſtles, may be queſtioned: For there is no ſuch Rule given by the Apoſtles in Scripture. That which goes under their Name in the Conſtitutions [q], requires a Biſhop to be fifty Years Old before he is Ordained; except he be a Man of ſingular Merit and Worth, which may compenſate for the want of Years. This ſhews, that the Cuſtom of the Church varied in this Matter; and that Perſons of extraordinary Qualifications were not always ty'd to be of ſuch an Age. *Timothy* was Ordained young; as may be collected from what the Apoſtle ſays to him, 1 *Tim.* 4. 12. *Let no Man deſpiſe thy Youth.* The Hiſtory of the Church affords many other ſuch Inſtances. *Euſebius* [r] ſays, *Gregory Thaumaturgus* and his Brother *Athenodorus* were both Ordained Biſhops very young; ἔτι νέους ἄμφω. St. *Ambroſe* [s] ſays the ſame of *Acholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*; That he was young in Years, but of mature Age in reſpect of his Virtues. And *Socrates* [t] gives the like Account of *Paulus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. *Theodoret* [u] obſerves alſo of *Athanaſius*, That he was but young when

[k] Euſeb. Lib. 7. c. 19, & 32. [l] Naz. Orat. 21. in laud. Athanaſ. T. 1. p. 377. [m] Naz. Somnium de Eccl. Anaſtaſ. Sublimi Throno inſidere mihi videbar. Id. Orat. 20. in Laud. Baſil. p. 342. ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν τ ὁμοκοσμῆς θρόνον. &c. [n] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. c. 30. [o] Con. Neocæſ. Can. 11. [p] Concil. Agathen. c. 17. Presbyterum vel Epiſcopum ante Triginta annos, id eſt, antequam ad viri perfecti ætatem perveniat, nullus Metropolitanorum ordinare præſumat. *See alſo* Con. Tolet. 4. c. 18, & 19. [q] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 1. [r] Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 30. [s] Ambr. Ep. 60. ad Anyſium. Benedictus proceſſus Juventutis ipſius, in qua ad ſummum electus eſt Sacerdotium, maturo jam probatus virtutum ſtipendio. [t] Socrat. Lib. 2. c. 6. Ἀνδρὶ νέον μὲν τ ἡλικίαν, πρεσβυτικὸτα δ ταῖς φρεσίν, [u] Theod. Lib. 1. c. 26. νέῳ μὲν ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν.

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he attended his Bishop *Alexander* at the Council of *Nice*; and yet within Five Months after, he was chosen his Successor at *Alexandria*. Which probably was before he was Thirty Years old: For the Council of *Nice* was not above 20 Years after the Persecution under *Maximian*; and yet *Athanasius* was so young, as not to remember the beginning of that Persecution, *Anno* 303. but only as he heard it from his Fathers. For when he speaks of it, he says [w], He learn'd of his Parents, that the Persecution was raised by *Maximian*, Grandfather to *Constantius*. So that if we compute from that time, we can hardly suppose him to be 30 Years old, when he was Ordained Bishop, *Anno* 326. 'Tis agreed by all Authors [x], That *Remigius* Bishop of *Rhemes* was but 22 Years old when he was Ordained, *Anno* 471. and *Cotelerius* [y], after *Nicephorus*, says, St. *Eleutherius*, an *Illyrican* Bishop, was consecrated at twenty. *Ignatius* gives a plain Intimation, That *Damas* Bishop of the *Magnesians*, was but a very young Bishop; tho' he does not expresly mention his Age. He calls his [z] Ordination, νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, a youthful Ordination; and therefore cautions the People not to despise him for his Age, but to reverence and give place to him in the Lord. *Salmasius* [a] and *Ludovicus Capellus* miserably pervert this Passage, and force a Sense upon it, which the Author never so much as dreamt of: They will needs have it, that by the Words νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, *Ignatius* means the Novelty of Episcopacy in general, that it was but a new and late Institution: Which is not only contrary to the whole Tenor and Design of all *Ignatius*'s Epistles, but to the plain Sense of this Passage in particular; which speaks nothing of the Institution of Episcopacy, but of the Age of this Bishop, who was but young when he was Ordained.

Now from all this it appears, That tho' there was a Rule in the Church, requiring Bishops to be 30 Years old when they were Ordained; yet it was frequently dispensed with, either in Cases of Necessity, or in order to promote Persons of more extraordinary Worth and singular Qualifications. Yet such Dispensations, as qualify Boys of Eleven or Twelve Years old to be made Bishops, are no where to be met with in the Primitive Church; tho' the History of the Papacy affords frequent Instances of such Promotions, as those that please may see in a Catalogue of them, collected by Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Mason*, two [b] Learned Writers of our Church.

SECT. II. *Bishops to be chosen out of the Clergy of the Church to which they were Ordained.*

BUT to return to the Bishops of the Primitive Church: Another Qualification in a Bishop, anciently very much insisted on, was, That he should be one of the Clergy of the same Church, over which he was to be made Bishop. For Strangers, who were unknown to the People, were not reckoned qualify'd by the Canons. This is plainly imply'd by *Cyprian* [c], when he says, The Bishop was to be chosen in the Presence of the People; who had perfect Knowledge of every Man's Life and Actions, by their Conversation among them. St. *Jerom* observes, That this was the constant Custom of *Alexandria* [d], from St. *Mark*, to *Dionysius* and *Heraclas*, for the Presbyters of the Church to chuse a Bishop out of their own Body. And therefore *Julius* [e] makes it a strong Objection against *Gregory*, whom the *Arians* obtruded on the Church of *Alexandria* in the room of *Athanasius*; That he was a perfect Stranger to the Place; neither baptized there, nor known to any: Whereas, the Ordination of a Bishop ought not to be so Uncanonical; but he should be Ordained by the Bishops of the Province in his own Church, and be ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἱερατείας, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς κλήρου, one of the Clergy of the Church to which he was Ordained. The ancient Bishops of *Rome* were all of the same mind, so long as they thought themselves obliged to walk by the Laws of the Church: For *Celestin* [f], and *Hilary* [g], and *Leo* [h], insist upon the same thing, as the common Rule and Canon of the Church. And we find a Law as late as *Charles* the Great, and *Ludovicus Pius*, to the same purpose. For in one of their Capitulars [i] it is ordered, That Bishops shall be chosen out of their own Diocese, by the Election of the Clergy and the People. Tho', as *Baluzius* [k] notes, this Law did not extend to very many Dioceses: For by this time, the *French* Kings had the Disposal of all Bishopricks in their Dominions, (except some few Churches, which by special Privilege retained the old way of Electing:) And they did not bind themselves to nominate Bishops always out of the Clergy of that Church which was vacant, but used their Liberty to chuse them out of any other; as now it is become the Privilege and Custom of Kings and Princes almost in all Nations: Which is the Occasion of the Difference betwixt the Ancient and Modern Practice in this Particular. For while the ancient way of Elections continued, the General Rule was for every Church to make choice of one of her own Clergy to be her Bishop, and not a Stranger.

SECT. III. *Some Exceptions to this Rule.*

YET in some extraordinary Cases this Rule admitted of Legal Exceptions; particularly in

[w] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. T. 1. p. 853. [x] Hincmar. Vit. Remig. Baron. an. 471. p. 298. [y] Coteler. Not. in Const. Apost. Lib. 2. c. 1. Niceph. Lib. 3. c. 29. [z] Ignat. Ep ad Magnes. n. 3. [a] Vid. Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. Præf. ad Lector. [b] Vid. Rainoldi Apolog. Thes. n. 26. Mason *of the Consecrat. of Bishops*. Lib. 1. c. 5. [c] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hispan. p. 172. Episcopus deligatur Plebe præsente quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus Conversatione perspexit. [d] Hieron. Epist. 85. ad Evagr. Alexandriæ à Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori Gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant. [e] Jul. Ep. ad Oriental. ap. Athan. Apol. 2. T. 1. p. 749. [f] Cælestin. Ep. 2. ad Episc. Narbon. c. 4, & 5. [g] Hilar. Pap. Epist. 1. ad Ascan. Tarracon. c. 3. [h] Leo Ep. 84. ad Anastas. c. 6. [i] Capitular. Karoli & Ludov. Lib. 1. c. 84. Episcopi per Electionem Cleri & Populi, secundum Statuta Canonum, de propria Diœcesi eligantur. [k] Baluz. Not. ad Concilia Gall. Narbon. p. 34. It. Not. ad Gratian. Dist. 63. c. 34. p. 47.

these

theſe Three Caſes: 1. When it was found for the Benefit of the Church to tranſlate Biſhops from one See to another. In this Caſe though the Biſhop was a Stranger, yet his Tranſlation being Canonical, was reckoned no Violation of this Law. 2. When the Church could not unanimouſly agree upon one in their own Body, then to pacify their Heats and end their Controverſies, the Emperor or a Council propoſed one of another Church to their Choice, or promoted him by their own Authority. Upon this ground *Nectarius*, *Chryſoſtom*, and *Neſtorius*, all Strangers, were made Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*. It was to end the Diſputes that aroſe in the Church, which was divided in their Elections, as *Socrates* [*l*] and *Sozomen* give an account of them. 3. Sometimes Men's extraordinary Merit gave them Preference, though Strangers, before all the Members of the Church to which they were choſen. As St. *Ambroſe* [*m*] obſerves of *Euſebius Vercellenſis*, that he was choſen, *poſthabitis Civibus*, before all that were Citizens or bred in the Place, though none of the Electors had ever ſeen him before, but only heard of his Fame and Character: And there are many other Inſtances of the like Nature. But excepting ſome ſuch Caſes as theſe, the Rule was generally obſerved, to chuſe no one Biſhop of any Place, who was not known to the People, and a Member of the ſame Church before.

SECT. IV. *Biſhops to go thro' the Inferior Orders of the Church.*

ANOTHER Qualification required in a Biſhop was, that he ſhould ariſe gradually to his Honour, and not come to the Throne *per Saltum*; but firſt paſs through ſome, if not all the Inferior Orders of the Church. The Council of *Sardica* has a Canon [*n*] very full to this purpoſe: If any Rich Man or Pleader at the Law deſire to be made a Biſhop, he ſhall not be ordained till he has firſt gone through the Offices of Reader, Deacon, and Presbyter: That behaving himſelf worthily in each of theſe Offices, he may aſcend gradually to the Height of the Epiſcopal Function: And in every one of theſe Degrees he ſhall continue ſome conſiderable time, that his Faith, and good Converſation, and Conſtancy, and Moderation may be known. The ſame Rule is preſcribed by the Council of *Bracara* [*o*] and ſome others. And that it was the Ancient Practice of the Church, appears from what *Cyprian* ſays [*p*] of *Cornelius*, that he was not made Biſhop of *Rome* all of a ſudden, but went gradually through all the Offices of the Church, till his Merits advanced him to the Epiſcopal Throne. *Theodoret* [*q*] commends *Athanaſius* upon the ſame Account; and *Gregory Nazianzen* [*r*] ſpeaks it to the Honour of St. *Baſil*, with ſome Reflection on ſeveral Biſhops of his Age, that he did not as ſoon as he was Baptized leap into a Biſhoprick, as ſome other Ambitious Perſons did, but riſe to his Honour by Degrees. He adds, that in Military Affairs this Rule was generally obſerved; every great General is firſt a common Soldier, then a Captain, then a Commander: And it would be happy for the Church, ſays he, if Matters were always ſo ordered in it. By this time it ſeems this Rule was frequently tranſgreſſed, without any Reaſon or Neceſſity; but only by the Ambition of ſome who affected the Office of Biſhop, yet were not willing to undergo the Inferior Offices that were preparative to it.

SECT. V. *Deacons might be ordained Biſhops, tho' never ordained Presbyters.*

BUT I muſt obſerve, that it was not always neceſſarily required that a Man ſhould be ordained Presbyter firſt in order to be made a Biſhop: For Deacons were as commonly made Biſhops as any other. *Cæcilian* was no more than Archdeacon [*s*] of *Carthage*, when he was ordained Biſhop, as we learn from *Optatus*. And both *Theodoret* [*t*] and *Epiphanius* [*u*] ſay, that *Athanaſius* was but a Deacon, when he was made Biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Liberatus* obſerves the ſame [*w*] of *Peter Moggus* and *Eſaias*, two other Biſhops of *Alexandria*: As alſo of *Agapetus* [*x*] and *Vigilius*, Biſhops of *Rome*. *Socrates* [*y*] and *Theodoret* [*z*] relate the ſame of *Felix* Biſhop of *Rome*, who was ordained in the Place of *Liberius*. *Euſebius* [*a*] takes notice of one of his own Name, a Deacon of *Alexandria*, who was made Biſhop of *Laodicea*. And *Socrates* [*b*] ſays, *Chryſoſtom* made *Heraclides*, one of his own Deacons, Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and *Serapion* Biſhop of *Heraclea*. And that this was a general Practice, and agreeable to Canon, appears alſo from a Letter of Pope *Leo*, where ſpeaking of the Election of a Metropolitan, he ſays [*c*] he ought to be choſen either out of the Presbyters, or out of the Deacons of the Church.

SECT. VI. *Biſhops in Caſes of Neceſſity choſen out of the Inferior Orders.*

SOMETIMES in Caſes of Neceſſity Biſhops were choſen out of the Inferior Orders, Subdeacons, Readers, *&c.* *Liberatus* ſays, *Silverius*, who was Competitor with *Vigilius* for the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, was but a [*d*] Subdeacon. And St. *Auſtin* himſelf, when he erected his new Biſhoprick at *Fuſſala*, being diſappointed of the Perſon whom he intended to have had conſecrated Biſhop, offered one *Antonius* a Reader to the Primate to be ordained Biſhop in his room; and the Primate without any Scruple immediately ordained him; though as

[*l*] Socrat. Lib. 6. c. 2. Lib. 7. c. 29. Sozom. Lib. 8. c. 2. [*m*] Ambroſ. Ep. 82. ad Eccl. Vercel. [*n*] Concil. Sardic. Can. 10. [*o*] Concil. Bracar. 1. c. 39. Per ſingulos Gradus eruditus, ad Sacerdotium veniat. [*p*] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 103. Non iſte ad Epiſcopatum ſubitò pervenit, ſed per omnia Eccleſiaſtica Officia promotus, & in divinis Adminiſtrationibus Dominum ſæpe promeritus, ad Sacerdotii ſublime faſtigium cunctis Religionis Gradibus aſcendit. [*q*] Theod. Lib. 1. c. 25. [*r*] Naz. Orat. 20. in laud. Baſil. p. 335. [*s*] Optat. Lib. 1. p. 41. [*t*] Theodor. Lib. 1. c. 25. [*u*] Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. [*w*] Liberat. Breviar. c. 16, & 18. [*x*] Liberat. ibid. c. 21, & 22. [*y*] Socrat. Lib. 2. c. 37. [*z*] Theod. Lib. 2. c. 17. [*a*] Euſeb. Lib. 7. c. 11. [*b*] Socrat. Lib. 6. c. 11. Lib. 6. c. 4, & 17. [*c*] Leo. Ep. 84. c. 6. Ex Presbyteris ejuſdem Eccleſiæ, vel ex Diaconibus eligatur. [*d*] Liberat. Brev. c. 22.

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St. *Auſtin* [e] teſtifies, he was but a young Man, who had never ſhewed himſelf in any other Office of the Church beſide that of Reader.

SECT. VII. *And in ſome extraordinary Caſes ordained immediately from Laymen.*

THERE want not alſo ſeveral Inſtances of Perſons, who were ordained Biſhops immediately of Laymen, when God by his particular Providence ſeemed to point them out as the fitteſt Men in ſome certain Junctures, to be employed in his Service. Thus it was in the known Caſe of St. *Ambroſe*, who was but newly baptized, when he was ordained Biſhop, as both *Paulinus* [f] and all the Hiſtorians teſtify. When the People of *Milan* were ſo divided in the Election of a Biſhop, that the whole City was in an Uproar, he being Prætor of the Place, came in upon them to appeaſe the Tumult, as by vertue of his Office he thought himſelf obliged to do; and making an Eloquent Speech to them, it had a ſort of Miraculous Effect upon them: For they all immediately left off their Diſpute, and unanimouſly cried out, They would have *Ambroſe* to be their Biſhop. Which the Emperor underſtanding, and looking upon it as a Providential Call, he ordered him to be baptized (for he was yet but a Catechumen) and in a few Days after to be ordained their Biſhop. St. *Cyprian* was another Inſtance of the like Providential Diſpenſation. For *Pontius* [g] ſays in his Life, that he was choſen Biſhop by the Judgment of God and the Favour of the People, though he was but a *Neophite*, or newly baptized. *Socrates* [h] and *Sozomen* [i] ſay the ſame of *Nectarius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Succeſſor at *Conſtantinople*, that he was choſen Biſhop by the Second General Council, whilſt he had his Myſtical Garments on him, meaning thoſe White Garments which the newly Baptized were uſed to wear. *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Pontus*, St. *Baſil*'s Predeceſſor, was not Baptized, but only a Catechumen, when he was choſen Biſhop, as *Nazianzen* himſelf [k] informs us. And *Eucherius* was but a Monk, that is, a Layman, when he was choſen and ordained Biſhop of *Lions*, as *Baronius* [l] ſays, from *Hilarius Arelatenſis* in the Life of *Honoratus*. *Chryſoſtom* [m] ſeems to ſay the ſame of *Philogonius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, when he reports of him, that he was taken from the Court of Judicature, and carried from the Judges Bench to the Biſhops Throne, ἀπὸ βήματος δικαστικοῦ ἐπὶ βῆμα ἱερόν. In all theſe Inſtances there ſeems to have been the Hand of God and the Direction of Providence, which ſuperſedes all ordinary Rules and Canons: And therefore theſe Ordinations were never cenſured as Uncanonical or Irregular, though contrary to the Letter of a common Rule; becauſe the Rule it ſelf was to be underſtood with this Limitation and Exception, as one of the ancient Canons [n] explains it ſelf, and all others that relate to this Matter; ſaying, One that is newly converted from *Gentiliſm*, or a Vicious Life, ought not preſently to be advanced to a Biſhoprick: For it is not fit, that he who has yet given no Proof of himſelf, ſhould be made a Teacher of others; unleſs it be ſo ordered by the Grace and Appointment of God himſelf, ἐὰ μή πς κατ' θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γένοιτο. For in this Caſe there could be no Diſpute; the Will of God being Superior to all Human Canons whatſoever. And therefore though the ſame Limitation be not expreſs'd in other Canons, yet it is evident that they are always to be underſtood with this Exception. Upon which account it was not reckoned any Breach of Canon, to make a Layman Biſhop, when Providence ſeemed firſt to grant a Diſpenſation, by directing the Church to be unanimous in the Choice of ſuch a Perſon. They did not in ſuch caſes make a Layman receive one Order one day, and another the next, and ſo go through the ſeveral Orders in the compaſs of a Week, but made him Biſhop at once, when need required, without any other Ordination. The contrary Cuſtom is a Modern Practice, ſcarce ever heard of till the time of *Photius*, *Ann.* 858, who to avoid the Imputation of not coming gradually to his Biſhoprick, was on the firſt day made a Monk, on the 2d a Reader, on the 3d a Subdeacon, on the 4th a Deacon, on the 5th a Presbyter, and on the 6th a Patriarch, as *Nicetas David* [o] a Writer of that Age informs us in the Life of *Ignatius*. *Spalatenſis* [p] obſerves the ſame Practice to be continued in the *Romiſh* Church, under pretence of complying with the ancient Canons; though nothing can be more contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of them; which was, That Men ſhould continue ſome Years in every Order, to give ſome Proof of their Behaviour to the Church, and not paſs curſorily through all Orders in Five or Six Days time; which Practice, as it does not anſwer the End of the Canons, ſo it is altogether without Precedent in the Primitive Church.

[e] Aug. Ep. 261. ad Cæleſtin. [f] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 3. Ruffin. Lib. 2. c. 11. Theod. Lib. 4. c. 6. & 7. Socrat. Lib. 4. c. 30. Sozom. Lib. 6. c. 24. [g] Pont. Vit. Cypr. p. 2. Judicio Dei & Plebis favore ad Officium Sacerdotii & Epiſcopatus Gradum adhuc Neophytus, & ut putabatur Novellus electus eſt. [h] Socrat. Lib. 5. c. 8. [i] Sozom. Lib. 7. c. 8. τὴν μυσικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἠμφιέσμενον, &c. [k] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. T. 1. p. 308. [l] Baron. an 441. p. 9. [m] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de S. Philogon. T. 1. p. 397. [n] Canon. Apoſt. c. 80. [o] Nicet. Vit. Ignat. Concil. Tom. 8. p. 1199. [p] Spalat. de Repub. Lib. 3. c. 4. n. 19. p. 430.

CHAP. XI.

Of some particular Laws and Customs observed about the Ordination of Bishops.

SECT. I. *Bishopricks not to be void above Three Months.*

WHEN any Bishoprick became void by the Death or Cession of its Bishop, then forasmuch as Bishops were looked upon as a necessary constituent Part of the Church, all imaginable Care was taken to fill up the Vacancy with all convenient Speed. In the *African* Churches a Year was the utmost Limits that was allowed for a Vacancy; for if within that time a new Election was not made, he that was appointed Administrator of the Church during the Vacancy, whose Business it was to procure and hasten the Election, was to be turned out of his Office, and a new one put in his room, by a Canon of the 5th Council [q] of *Carthage*, which is also confirmed in the *African* [r] *Code*. But in other Places this was limited to a much shorter Time: For by a Canon [s] of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, every Metropolitan is obliged to ordain a new Bishop in the vacant See within the space of Three Months, under pain of Ecclesiastical Censure, unless some unavoidable Necessity forced him to defer it longer.

SECT. II. *In some Places a new Bishop was chosen before the old one was Buried.*

AT *Alexandria* the Custom was to proceed immediately to Election as soon as the Bishop was dead, and before he was interred. *Epiphanius* [t] hints at this Custom when he says, They were used to make no delay after the Decease of a Bishop, but chuse one presently, to preserve Peace among the People, that they might not run into Factions about the Choice of a Successor. But *Liberatus* [u] is a little more particular in describing the Circumstances of it: He says, it was customary for the Successor to watch over the Body of the Deceased Bishop, and to lay his Right Hand upon his Head, and to bury him with his own Hands, and then take the Pall of St. *Mark*, and put it upon himself, and so sit in his Throne. To these Authorities we may add that of *Socrates*, who [w] says, That *Cyril* of *Alexandria* was inthroned the third Day after the Death of *Theophilus:* And he intimates, that the same thing was practised in other Places: For *Proclus* Bishop of *Constantinople* [x] was inthroned before *Maximian* his Predecessor was interred, and after his Inthronement he performed the Funeral Office for him. And this was done at the Instance and Command of the Emperor *Theodosius*, that there might be no Dispute or Tumult raised in the Church about the Election of a Bishop.

SECT. III. *Some Instances of longer Vacancies in Times of Difficulty and Persecution.*

YET notwithstanding this Care and Diligence of the Church in filling up vacant Sees, it sometimes happened, that the Election of Bishops was deferred to a much longer Season. For in *Africk* at the time of the Collation of *Carthage* there were no less than Threescore Bishopricks void at once, which was above an Eighth part of the whole. For the whole Number of Bishops was but 466, whereof 286 were then present at the Conference, and 120 were absent by reason of Sickness or old Age; besides which, there were 60 Vacant Sees, which were unprovided of Bishops at that time, as the Catholicks told [y] the *Donatists*, who pretended to vie Numbers with them, though they were but 279. What was the particular Reason of so many Vacancies at that Juncture, is not said: but probably it might be the Difficulty of the Times, that Catholick Bishops could not there be placed, where the *Donatists* had gotten full Possession. Or perhaps it might be the Negligence of the People, who contented themselves with Administrators during the Vacancy, and would not admit of a new Bishop. The Council of *Macriana* mentioned by *Fulgentius Ferrandus* [z] takes notice of this Dilatory Practice in some Churches, and censures it by a Canon, which orders the Administrators, who were always some Neighbouring Bishops, to be removed; and condemns such Churches to continue without Administrators, till they sought for a Bishop of their own. Another Reason of long Vacancies in some Times and Places, was the difficult Circumstances the Churches lay under in time of Persecution. For the Bishops were the Men chiefly aimed at by the Persecutors: And therefore when one Bishop was Martyred, the Church sometimes was forced to defer the Ordination of another, either because it was scarce possible to go about it in such times of Exigency, or because she was unwilling to expose another Bishop immediately to the implacable Fury of a raging Adversary, and bring upon her self a more violent Storm of Per-

[q] Con. Carth. 5. Can. 8. [r] Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric. can. 75. [s] Con. Chalced. Can. 25. [t] Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 11. μὴ χρονίζειν μετὰ τελευτὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, &c. [u] Liberat. Breviar. c. 20. Consuetudo quidem est Alexandriæ, illum, qui defuncto succedit, excubias super defuncti corpus agere, manumque dexteram ejus capiti suo imponere, & sepulto manibus suis, accipere collo suo Beati Marci Pallium, & tunc legitime sedere. [w] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 7. [x] Id. Lib. 7. c. 40. [y] Aug. Brevic. Collat. primæ Diei, c. 14. Sane propter Cathedras quas Episcopis vacuas apud se esse dixerunt, responsum est a Catholicis, sexaginta esse quibus successores Episcopi nondum fuerant ordinati. [z] Ferrand. Brev. Canon. c. 23. ap. Justel. T. 1. p. 449. Ut Interventores Episcopi conveniant Plebis quæ Episcopum non habent, ut Episcopum accipiant; Quod si accipere neglexerint, remoto Interventore sic remaneant, quam diu sibi Episcopum quærant.

secution.

ſecution. The *Roman* [a] Clergy give this for their Reaſon to *Cyprian*, why after the Martyrdom of *Fabian* they did not immediately proceed to a new Election: The State of Affairs, and the Difficulty of the Times was ſuch as would not permit it. *Baronius* [b] reckons the time of this Vacancy a Year and Three Months, but others [c] who are more exact in the Calculation, make it a Year and Five Months: By either of which Accounts it was above a Year beyond the time limited by the Canons. But this was nothing in Compariſon of that long Vacancy of the Biſhoprick of *Carthage*, in the time of the *Arian* Perſecution under *Genſericus* and *Hunericus*, two Heretical Kings of the *Vandals*, which *Victor Uticenſis* [d] ſays was no leſs than 24 Years, during all which time the Church of *Carthage* had no Biſhop. But theſe were Difficulties upon the Church, and Matters of Force, not her Choice: For in times of Peace ſhe always acted otherwiſe, and did not think ſuch extraordinary Inſtances fit Precedents to be drawn into Example; much leſs to be drawn into Conſequence and argued upon, as ſome [e] have done, that therefore the Church may be without Biſhops, becauſe ſhe ſubſiſted in ſome extraordinary Vacancies without them, when ſhe could not have them: Which Argument would hold as well againſt any other Order as that of Biſhops, did but they who urge this Argument, rightly conſider it.

SECT. IV. *Three Biſhops required to the Ordination of a Biſhop.*

BUT to return to the Ordination of Biſhops: At the time appointed for Ordination, the Metropolitan was uſed to ſend forth his Circular Letters, and ſummon all the Biſhops of the Province to meet at the Place where the new Biſhop was to be ordained, and aſſiſt at his Conſecration. The Preſence of them all was required, if they could conveniently attend; if not, they were to ſend their Conſent in Writing: In which caſe Three Biſhops, with the Aſſiſtance or Conſent of the Metropolitan, were reckoned a ſufficient Canonical Number to perform the Ceremony of Conſecration. St. *Cyprian* [f] ſpeaks of it as the general Practice of the Church in his time, to have all the Biſhops of the Province preſent at any ſuch Ordination. And *Euſebius* [g] particularly takes notice of the Ordination of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who ſucceeded *Narciſſus*, that he was ordained μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμης, with the common Conſent of the Biſhops of his Province. The Council of *Chalcedon* [h] calls this a Canonical Ordination, when the Metropolitan with all or moſt of his Provincial Biſhops ordain the Biſhops of their own Province, as the Canons have appointed. And the General Council of *Conſtantinople* [i] juſtified the Ordinations of *Flavian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, as Canonical in this reſpect, becauſe they were ordained by the Biſhops of their Provinces Synodically met together. This was the ancient Rule of the Council of *Nice*, which requires the Aſſiſtance of all the Biſhops of the Province, if they could conveniently [k] attend the Ordination: But foraſmuch as that either through urgent Neceſſity, or by reaſon of their great Diſtance it might happen that all of them could not be preſent, it is added, That in that caſe Three Biſhops ſhould be ſufficient to ordain, provided the Metropolitan and the reſt ſent their Conſent in Writing. But under Three the Canons did not generally allow of. The firſt Council [l] of *Arles*, and the third of *Carthage* [m] require Three beſides the Metropolitan. And the ſecond Council of *Arles* [n] does not allow the Metropolitan to be one of the three, but ſaith expreſly, That he ſhall take the Aſſiſtance of Three Provincial Biſhops beſide himſelf, and not preſume to ordain a Biſhop without them. 'Tis true, thoſe called the Apoſtolical [o] Canons and Conſtitutions [p], allow the Ordination that is performed by Two Biſhops only: But this is contrary to all other Canons; which are ſo far from allowing Two Biſhops to ordain by themſelves, that the Council of *Orange* [q] orders both the Ordaining Biſhops and the Ordained to be depoſed: And the Council of *Riez* [r] actually depoſed *Armentarius* for this very thing, becauſe he had not Three Biſhops to ordain him. All Churches indeed did not puniſh ſuch Ordinations with the ſame Severity, but in all Places they were reckoned Uncanonical. When *Paulinus* ordained *Evagrius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Theodoret* [s] takes notice that this was done againſt the Laws of the Church, becauſe he was ordained by a ſingle Perſon, and without the Conſent of the Provincial Biſhops. And *Syneſius* [t] ſays the ſame of the Ordination of *Siderius* Biſhop of *Palæbiſca*, that it was Irregular, becauſe he neither had the Conſent of the Biſhop of *Alexandria* his Metropolitan, nor Three Biſhops to ordain him. It was to avoid this Cenſure of Irregularity, that *Novatian* when he ſet himſelf up to be Biſhop of *Rome* againſt

[a] Ep. 31. al. 30. ap. Cyprian. p. 58. Poſt exceſſum nobiliſſimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum eſt Epiſcopus propter rerum & temporum difficultates conſtitutus. [b] Baron. an. 253. n. 6. an. 254. n. 46. [c] Pearſon. Annal. Cypr. an. 250. n. 3. & an. 251. n. 6. [d] Victor. de Perſecut. Vandal. Lib. 2. [e] Blondel. Apol. [f] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hiſpan. p. 172. Quod apud nos quoque & fere per Provincias univerſas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam Plebem, cui Præpoſitus ordinatur, Epiſcopi ejuſdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, & Epiſcopus deligatur Plebe præſente, &c. [g] Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 11. [h] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. C. T. 4. p. 817. [i] Ep. Synod. ap. Theodor. Lib. 5. c. 9. [k] Con. Nic. Can. 4. Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι. [l] Con. Arelat. 1. c. 21. Si non potuerint ſeptem, ſine tribus Fratribus non præſumant ordinare. [m] Con. Carth. 3. Can. 39. Forma antiqua ſervabitur ut non minus quam tres ſufficiant, qui fuerint à Metropolitano directi ad ordinandum Epiſcopum. *See alſo* Con. Carth. 6. c. 4. [n] Con. Arelat. 2. c. 5. Nec Epiſcopus Metropolitanus ſine tribus Epiſcopis Comprovincialibus præſumat Epiſcopum ordinare. [o] Can. Apoſt. c. 1. Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν. [p] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 27. [q] Con. Arauſic. 1. Can. 21. [r] Con. Reienſ. Can. 1. Ordinationem quam Canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque vacuandam eſſe cenſuimus: In qua prætermiſſa trium præſentia, nec expectis Comprovincialium Literis, Metropolitani quoque Voluntate neglecta, prorſus nihil quod Epiſcopum faceret oſtenſum eſt. [s] Theod. Lib. 5. c. 23. [t] Syneſ. Ep. 67.

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Cornelius, ſent for three Biſhops out of the fartheſt Corner of *Italy* to come and [v] ordain him, leſt it ſhould be objected againſt him, that he had not a Canonical Ordination. And upon this Account, when *Pelagius* the Iſt was to be ordained Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe three Biſhops could not be procured, a Presbyter [u] was taken in to make up the Number. In all which the general Practice of the Church is very clearly ſeen and deſcribed.

SECT. V. *Yet Ordinations by one Biſhop allowed to be Valid, though not Canonical.*

YET it muſt be obſerved, that though this was the common Rule and Practice of the Church, yet it was not ſimply and abſolutely of the Eſſence of Ordination. For the Church many times admitted of the Ordinations of Biſhops that were conſecrated only by one or two Biſhops. The Council of *Orange* [w] which orders both the Ordaining Biſhops and the Ordained to be depoſed, in caſe Two Biſhops only ordained a Biſhop with his Conſent, decrees notwithſtanding, that if a Biſhop was ordained by any ſort of Violence againſt his Will, though only by Two Biſhops, in that caſe his Ordination ſhould ſtand good, becauſe he was Paſſive in the thing, and not conſenting to the Breach of the Canons. And without this Paſſivity, there are ſeveral Inſtances of Ordinations by Two Biſhops only, the Validity of which we do not find diſputed. *Pelagius* Biſhop of *Rome* was reckoned a true Biſhop, though as we have juſt now heard, he had but Two Biſhops and a Presbyter to ordain him. *Dioſcorus* of *Alexandria* was conſecrated likewiſe by Two Biſhops only, and thoſe under Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure; as we learn from an Epiſtle of the Biſhops of *Pontus* [x], at the end of the Council of *Chalcedon*: Yet neither that Council, nor any others ever queſtioned the Validity of his Ordination, unleſs perhaps thoſe *Pontick* Biſhops did, who call it *Nefandam atque imaginariam Ordinationem*. *Siderius* Biſhop of *Palæbiſca* was ordained by one Biſhop; yet *Athanaſius* not only allowed his Ordination, and confirmed it, but, finding him to be an uſeful Man, he afterwards advanced him, as *Syneſius* [y] ſays, to the Metropolitical See of *Ptolemais*. *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Antioch* ordained *Evagrius* his Succeſſor, without any other Biſhop to aſſiſt him: Which though it was done againſt Canon, yet *Theodoret* aſſures us [z], that both the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* owned *Evagrius* for a true Biſhop, and never in the leaſt queſtioned the Validity of his Ordination. And though they afterwards conſented to acknowledge *Flavian*, at the Inſtance of *Theodoſius*, to put an end to the Schiſm; yet they did it upon this Condition, that the Ordinations of ſuch as had been ordained by *Evagrius*, ſhould be reputed Valid alſo: As we learn from the Letters of Pope [a] *Innocent*, who lived not long after this Matter was tranſacted.

SECT. VI. *The Biſhop of* Rome *not privileged to ordain alone, any more than any other ſingle Biſhop.*

HENCE it appears, that the Ordination of a Biſhop made by any ſingle Biſhop was Valid, if the Church thought fit to allow it. Nor had the Biſhop of *Rome* any peculiar Privilege in this Matter above other Men, though ſome pretend to make a Diſtinction. There is indeed an ancient Canon alledged in the Collection of *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, out of the Council of *Zella*, and the Letters of *Siricius*, which ſeems to make a Reſerve in behalf of the Biſhop of *Rome*: For it ſays, [b] One Biſhop ſhall not ordain a Biſhop, the *Roman* Church excepted. But *Cotelerius* [c] ingenuouſly owns this to be a Corruption in the Text of *Ferrandus*, foiſted in by the Ignorance or Fraud of ſome Modern Tranſcriber, who confounded two Decrees of *Siricius* into one, and changed the Words, *Sedes Apoſtolica Primatis*, into *Sedes Apoſtolica Romana*. For in the Words of *Siricius* [d], there is no mention made at all of the *Roman* Church, but it is ſaid, That no one ſhall ordain without the Conſent of the Apoſtolical See; that is, the Primate or Metropolitan of the Province; and that one Biſhop alone ſhall not ordain a Biſhop, becauſe that is arrogant and aſſuming, and looks like giving an Ordination by Stealth, and is expreſly forbidden by the *Nicene* Council. So that in theſe Times the Biſhops of *Rome* were under the Direction of the Canons, and did not preſume to think they had any Privilege of Ordaining ſingly, above what was common to the reſt of their Order.

SECT. VII. *Every Biſhop to be ordained in his own Church.*

THE next thing to be taken notice of in this Affair, is, That every Biſhop, by the Laws and Cuſtom of the Church, was to be ordained in his own Church, in the Preſence of his own People. Which is plainly intimated by *Cyprian* [e] when he ſays, That to celebrate Ordinations aright, the neighbouring Biſhops of the Province were uſed to meet at the Church where the new Biſhop was to be ordained, and there proceed to his Election and Ordination.

[v] Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. ex Epiſt. Cornel. [u] Lib. Pontifical. Vit. Pelag. Dum non eſſent Epiſcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi ſunt duo Epiſcopi, Joannes de Peruſio, & Bonus de Ferentino, & Andreas Presbyter de Oſtia, & ordinaverunt eum. [w] Con. Arauſic. 1. c. 21. [x] Concil. Tom. 4. p. 960. Ordinationem ſuam a damnatis Epiſcopis, & hoc duobus, accepit, cum Regulæ Patrum —— vel tres Epiſcopos corporaliter adeſſe in hujuſmodi diſpenſationibus omnino proſpiciant. [y] Syneſ. Ep. 67. [z] Theod. Lib. 5. c. 23. [a] Innoc. Ep. 14. ad Bonifac. Eccleſia Antiochena ita Pacem poſtulavit & meruit, ut & Evagrianos ſuis Ordinibus ac Locis, intemerata Ordinatione, quam acceperant a memorato, ſuſciperet. [b] Ferrand. Brev. Canon. c. 6. Ut unus Epiſcopus Epiſcopum non ordinet, excepta Eccleſia Romana. Concilio Zellenſi. Ex Epiſtola Papæ Siricii. [c] Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 3. c. 20. [d] Siric. Ep. 4. c. 1. Ut extra conſcientiam ſedis Apoſtolicæ, hoc eſt, Primatis, nemo audeat ordinare. It. c. 2. Ne unus Epiſcopus Epiſcopum ordinare præſumat propter arrogantiam, ne furtivum præſtitum Beneficium videatur. Hoc enim & à Synoda Nicæna conſtitutum eſt atque definitum. [e] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hiſpan. p. 172. Ad Ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam Plebem, cui Præpoſitus ordinatur, Epiſcopi ejuſdem Provinciæ proximi quique, conveniant, &c.

And

And this was so generally the Practice of the whole Church, that Pope *Julius* [f] made it an Objection against *Gregory* of *Alexandria*, who was obtruded on the Church by the *Eusebian* Party in the room of *Athanasius*, that he was ordained at *Antioch*, and not in his own Church, but sent thither with a Band of Soldiers; whereas by the Ecclesiastical Canon he ought to have been ordained, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆ ἐκκλησίας, in the Church of *Alexandria* it self, and that by the Bishops of his own Province. This Rule was very nicely observed in the *African* Churches, where it was the constant Custom for the Primate (whose Office it was to ordain Bishops) to go to the Church where the new Bishop was to be settled, and ordain him there. Of this we have several Instances in St. *Austin*, who himself was ordained in his own Church at *Hippo* [g] by the Primate of *Numidia*: And having divided his Diocese, and erected a new Bishoprick at *Fussala*, and elected a Bishop, he sent for the Primate, though living [gg] at a great Distance, to come to the Place and ordain him there.

SECT. VIII. *The ancient Form of Ordination of Bishops.*

As to the Manner and Form of Ordaining a Bishop, it is thus briefly described by one of the Councils [h] of *Carthage*: When a Bishop is ordained, Two Bishops shall hold the Book of the Gospels over his Head, and whilst one pronounces the Blessing or Consecration Prayer, all the rest of the Bishops that are present, shall lay their Hands upon his Head. The Ceremony of laying the Gospels upon his Head seems to have been in use in all Churches. For the Author [i] of the Apostolical Constitutions (a *Greek* Writer who is supposed to relate the Customs of the 3d Century) makes mention of it, only with this Difference, that instead of Two Bishops, there Two Deacons are appointed to hold the Gospels open over his Head, whilst the Senior Bishop or Primate, with Two other Bishops assisting him, pronounces the Prayer of Consecration. This Ceremony of holding the Gospels over his Head, is also mentioned by St. *Chrysostom* [k] and the Author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy under the Name of *Dionysius*, who says it was a peculiar Ceremony used only in the Ordination of a Bishop.

SECT. IX. *A Form of Prayer used at their Consecration.*

THE Author of the Constitutions recites one of the ancient Forms of Prayer, the close of which is [l] in these Words: "Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, by thy "Christ the Communication of the Holy "Spirit; that he may have Power to remit "Sins according to thy Commandment, and to "confer Orders according to thy Appointment, "and to loose every Bond according to the "Power which thou gavest to the Apostles; "that he may please thee in Meekness and a "pure Heart, Constantly, Blameless, and with-"out Rebuke; and may offer unto Thee that "Pure Unbloody Sacrifice, which thou by "Christ hast appointed to be the Mystery or "Sacrament of the New Covenant, for a sweet-"smelling Savour, through Jesus Christ thy "Holy Son, our God and Saviour, by whom "be Glory, Honour and Worship to Thee, in "the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. *Amen.* It is not to be imagined that one and the same Form was used in all Churches: For every Bishop having Liberty to frame his own Liturgy, as there were different Liturgies in different Churches, so it is most reasonable to suppose the Primates or Metropolitans had different Forms of Consecration, though there are now no Remains of them in being, to give us any farther Information.

SECT. X. *Of their Enthronement.* Homiliæ Enthronisticæ, & Literæ Enthronisticæ.

THE Consecration being ended, the Bishops that were present conducted the new ordained Bishop to his Chair or Throne, and there placing him, they all saluted him with an Holy Kiss in the Lord. Then the Scriptures being read (according to Custom, as part of the daily Service) the new Bishop made a Discourse or Exposition upon them, which was usually called *Sermo Enthronisticus*, from the Time and Circumstances in which it was spoken. Such was that famous Homily of *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, mentioned by *Epiphanius* [m] and *Sozomen*, for which he was immediately sent into Banishment by *Constantius*. *Socrates* frequently takes notice of such Homilies made by Bishops [n] at their Instalment; and *Liberatus* [o] speaking of *Severus* of *Antioch*, mentions his Exposition made upon that Occasion, calling it, *Expositio in Inthronismo*. It was usual also for Bishops immediately after their Instalment, to send Letters to foreign Bishops, to give them an Account of their Faith and Orthodoxy, that they might receive Letters of Peace and Communion again from them; which Letters were therefore called, *Literæ Enthronisticæ*, or συλλαβαὶ ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, as *Evagrius* [p] terms them, speaking of the Circular Letters which *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch* wrote to the rest of the Patriarchs upon that Occasion. These were otherwise call'd Communicatory Letters, κοινωνικὰ συγγράμματα, as the Council of *Antioch*, that deposed *Paulus Samosatensis*, terms them: For the Fathers in that Council having ordained

[f] Jul. Ep. ad Oriental. ap. Athanas. Apol. 2. T. 1. p. 749. [g] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. [gg] Aug. Ep. 261. Propter quem ordinandum, sanctum senem, qui tunc Primatum Numidiæ gerebat, de longinquo ut veniret rogans, Literis impetravi. [h] Con. Carth. 4. c. 2. Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant & teneant Evangeliorum Codicem super Caput & verticem ejus, & uno super eum fundente Benedictionem, reliqui omnes Episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant. [i] Constit. Apost. Lib. 8. c. 4. [k] Chrys. de Laudib. Evang. *cited by* Habertus, p. 79. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. 5. par. 3. Sect. 1. p. 364. [l] Constit. Lib. 8. c. 5. [m] Epiphan. Hær. 73. Sozom. Lib. 4. c. 28. [n] Socrat. Lib. 2. c. 43. Lib. 7. c. 29. [o] Liberat. Breviar. c. 19. [p] Evagr. Lib. 4. c. 4.

Domnus in the room of *Paul*, gave notice thereof to all Churches, telling them that they ſignified it to them for this Reaſon, that they might write to *Domnus*, and receive κοινωνικὰ συγγράμματα [q] Communicatory Letters from him: Which, as *Valeſius* [r] rightly notes, do not mean there thoſe Letters of Communion which Biſhops were uſed to grant to Perſons travelling into Foreign Countries; but ſuch Letters as they wrote to each other upon their own Ordination, to teſtify their Communion mutually with one another. Theſe Letters are alſo called *Synodicæ* by *Liberatus* [s], who ſays, this Cuſtom of every new Biſhop's giving Intimation of his own Promotion to thoſe of his own Order, was ſo neceſſary, that the Omiſſion of it was interpreted a ſort of Refuſal to hold Communion with the reſt of the World, and a virtual Charge of Hereſy upon them.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Rule which prohibits Biſhops to be Ordained in ſmall Cities.

SECT. I. *The Reaſon of the Law againſt placing Biſhops in ſmall Cities.*

BEFORE I end this Diſcourſe about Biſhops, I muſt give an Account of Two Rules more reſpecting their Ordination. The firſt of which was; That Biſhops ſhould not be placed in ſmall Cities or Villages: Which Law was firſt made by the Council of *Sardica*, with a Deſign to keep up the Honour and Dignity of the Epiſcopal Order; as the Reaſon is given in the Canon made about it; which ſays, It ſhall not be lawful to place a Biſhop in a Village, or ſmall [t] City, where a ſingle Presbyter will be ſufficient: For in ſuch Places, there is no need to ſet a Biſhop; leſt the Name and Authority of Biſhops be brought into Contempt. Some add to this the Fifty ſeventh Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which forbids the placing of Biſhops in Villages, and in the Country, [u] appointing Viſitors to be conſtituted in their Room: But this Canon ſpeaks not of Abſolute Biſhops, but of the *Chorepiſcopi*, who were ſubject to other Biſhops, of which I ſhall treat particularly hereafter. However, there is no Diſpute about the *Sardican* Canon; for the Reaſon annexed explains its Meaning, that it prohibits univerſally the Ordination of Biſhops in ſmall Cities and Country Places.

SECT. II. *Some Exceptions to this Rule in* Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, Arabia, Aſia minor, *&c.*

BUT it may be obſerved that this Rule did never generally obtain: For both before and after the Council of *Sardica*, there were Biſhops both in ſmall Cities and Villages. *Nazianzum* was but a very ſmall City; *Socrates* [x] calls it πόλις ἐυτελὴς, a Little one: And upon the ſame account *Gregory Nazianzen* [y] ſtiles his own Father, who was Biſhop of it, μικροπολίτης, a Little Biſhop, and one of the Second Order. Yet he was no *Chorepiſcopus*, but as Abſolute a Biſhop in his own Dioceſe, as the Biſhop of *Rome* or *Alexandria*. *Geræ* near *Peluſium* was but a ſmall City, as *Sozomen* [a] notes; yet it was a Biſhop's See. *Theodoret* obſerves the ſame of *Dolicha*, where *Maris* was Biſhop [b], that it was but a very little City, πολίχνη σμικρὰ he calls it; And he ſays the like of *Cucuſus* [c] in *Armenia*, the Place whither *Chryſoſtom* was baniſhed: Yet as ſmall a City as it was, *Chryſoſtom* [d] found a Biſhop there, who treated him very civilly and reſpectfully in his Exile. *Syneſius* makes mention of the Biſhop of *Olbiæ* in one [e] of his Epiſtles, and at the ſame time tells us the Place was but a Village; for he calls the People δῆμον κωμήτης, a Country People. So he ſays in another [f] Epiſtle, that *Hydrax* and *Polæbiſca* had for ſome time each of them their own Biſhop; though they were but Villages of *Pentapolis*, formerly belonging to the Dioceſe of *Erythra*, to which they were ſome time after annexed again. In *Sozomen*'s Time among the *Arabians* and *Cyprians* it was an uſual thing to ordain Biſhops not only in Cities, but Villages; as alſo among the *Novatians* and *Montaniſts* in *Phrygia*: All which he affirms [g] upon his own Knowledge. Some think *Dracontius* was ſuch a Biſhop, becauſe *Athanaſius* [h] ſtiles his Biſhoprick χώρας ἐπισκοπὴν: But whether this means that he was an Abſolute Biſhop, or only a *Chorepiſcopus*, as others think, is not very eaſy to determine. As neither what kind of Biſhops thoſe were, which the Council of *Antioch* [i] in their Synodical Epiſtle againſt *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, calls Country Biſhops; for perhaps they might be only *Chorepiſcopi*, or Dependant Biſhops, as *Valeſius* conjectures. But this cannot be ſaid by thoſe mentioned by *Sozomen*, nor of the other Inſtances I have given out of *Syneſius*, and the reſt of the fore-cited Authors; from whoſe Teſti-

[q] Euſeb. Lib. 7. c. 30. [r] Valeſ. Not. in Loc. [s] Liberat. Breviar. c. 17. Quia Literas Synodicas non direxiſſet, &c. [t] Con Sardic. Can. 6. Μὴ ἔξεῖναι ἢ ἁπλῶς καθίσαν ἐπίσκοπον κώμη τινὶ ἢ βραχεῖ πόλει. [u] Concil. Laodic. c. 57. [x] Socrat. Lib. 4. c. 13, & 26. [y] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. T. 1. p. 310. [a] Sozom. Lib. 8. c. 19. πόλις μικρὰ. [b] Theod. Lib. 5. c. 4. [c] Theod. Lib. 2. c. 5. & Lib. 5. c. 34. [d] Chryſ. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum. [e] Syneſ. Ep. 76. [f] Id. Ep. 67. Κῶμαι ἢ αὐλαὶ πενταπόλεως. [g] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19. Ἔστιν ὅπη καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱερῶνται, ὡς καὶ ἀραβίοις καὶ κυπρίοις ἔγνων, &c. [h] Athanaſ. Epiſt. ad Dracont. T. 1. p. 954. [i] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 30. Ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀχρᾶν τε καὶ πόλεων.

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monies it plainly appears, that there were Biſhops in very ſmall Cities, and ſometimes in Villages, notwithſtanding the contrary Decree of the *Sardican* Council. It is alſo very obſervable, That in *Aſia Minor*, a Tract of Land not much larger than the Iſle of *Great-Britain*, (including but two Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire) there were almoſt Four Hundred Biſhops; as appears from the ancient *Notitia's* of the Church. Whence it may be collected, that *Cucuſus* and *Nazianzum* were not the only ſmall Cities in thoſe Parts; but that there were many other Cities and Dioceſes, of no very great Extent in ſuch a Number.

SECT. III. *Reaſons for Erecting Biſhopricks in ſmall Cities.*

ONE thing that contributed much to the Multiplication of Biſhopricks, and that cauſed them to be erected ſometimes in ſmall Places, was, That in the Primitive Church every Biſhop, with the Conſent of his Metropolitan, or the Approbation of a Provincial Council, had Power to divide his own Dioceſe, and Ordain a new Biſhop in ſome convenient Part of it, for the Good of the Church, whenever he found his Dioceſe too large, or the Places to lye at too great a Diſtance, or the Multitude of Converts to increaſe, and make the Care and Incumbrance of his Dioceſe become too great a Burden for him. This was the Reaſon why St. *Auſtin* [k] erected a new Biſhoprick at *Fuſſala* a Town in his own Dioceſe, about 40 Miles from *Hippo*. It was a Place where great Numbers had been converted from the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, and ſome remained to be converted ſtill: But the Place lying at ſo great a Diſtance, he could not beſtow that Care and Diligence, either in Ruling the one, or Regaining the other, which he thought neceſſary: And therefore he prevailed with the Primate of *Numidia*, to come and Ordain one *Antonius* to be Biſhop there. And this was conſonant to the Rules of the *African* Church; which allowed new Biſhopricks to be erected [l] in any Dioceſe where there was need, if the Biſhop of the Dioceſe and the Primate gave their Conſent to it; or, as *Ferrandus* [m] has it in his Collection, if the Biſhop, the Primate, and a Provincial Council, by their joint Conſent and Authority gave way to it. By vertue of theſe Canons, during the time of the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, many new Biſhopricks were erected in very ſmall Towns in *Africk*; as appears from the Acts of the Collation of *Carthage*; where the Catholicks and *Donatiſts* mutually charge each other with this Practice: That they divided ſingle Biſhopricks ſometimes into three or four; and made Biſhops in Country-Towns and Villages, to augment the Numbers of their Parties. Thus, in one place, we find *Petilian* the *Donatiſt* [n] complaining, That the Catholicks had made four Biſhops in the Dioceſe of *Januarius*, a *Donatiſt* Biſhop, to outdo them with Numbers. And, in another place, *Alypias* the Catholick orders it to be entred [o] upon Record, That a great many *Donatiſt* Biſhops there mentioned, were not Ordained in Cities, but only in Country-Towns or Villages. To which *Petilian* [p] replies, That the Catholicks did the ſame; Ordaining Biſhops in Country-Towns, and ſometimes in ſuch Places where they had no People: His meaning is, that in thoſe Places all the People were turned *Donatiſts*; And for that very Reaſon the Catholick Biſhops thought themſelves obliged to divide their Dioceſes, and Ordain new Biſhops in ſmall Towns; that they might outdo the *Donatiſts*, both in Number and Zeal, and more effectually labour in reducing the ſtraying People back again to their ancient Communion with the Catholick Church. This was the Practice of *Africk*, and this their Reaſon for Erecting ſo many ſmall Biſhopricks in thoſe Times of Exigency: They had always an eye to the Benefit and Edification of the Church.

Gregory Nazianzen highly commends St. *Baſil*'s Piety and Prudence for the like Practice. It happen'd in his time, that *Cappadocia* was divided into two Provinces, and *Tyana* made the Metropolis of the Second Province, in the Civil Account: This gave Occaſion to *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Tyana*, to lay claim to the Rights of a Metropolitan in the Church; which St. *Baſil* oppoſed, as injurious to his own Church of *Cæſarea*, which by ancient Cuſtom and Preſcription had been the Metropolis of the whole Province. But *Anthimus* proving a very contentious Adverſary, and raiſing great Diſturbance and Commotions about it, St. *Baſil* was willing to buy the Peace of the Church with the Loſs of his own Rights; ſo he voluntarily relinquiſhed his Juriſdiction over that Part of *Cappadocia*, which *Anthimus* laid claim to: And, to compenſate his own Loſs in ſome meaſure, he erected ſeveral New Biſhopricks in his own Province; as, at *Saſima*, and ſome other ſuch obſcure Places of that Region. Now, tho' this was done contrary to the Letter of a Canon, yet *Nazianzen* extols the Fact upon three Accounts. Firſt, Becauſe hereby a greater Care was taken [q] of Men's Souls. Secondly, By this means every

[k] Auguſtin. Epiſt. 261. ad Cæleſtin. Quod ab Hippone memoratum Caſtellum millibus Quadraginta ſejungitur, cum in eis regendis, & eorum Reliquiis licet exiguis colligendis —— me viderem latius quàm oportebat extendi, nec adhibendæ ſufficerem diligentiæ, quam certiſſima ratione adhiberi debere cernebam, Epiſcopum ibi ordinandum conſtituendumque curavi. [l] Concil. Carth. 2. c. 5. Si accedente tempore, creſcente Fide, Dei populus multiplicatus deſideravit proprium habere Rectorem, ejus videlicet voluntate, in cujus poteſtate eſt Diœceſis conſtituta, habeat Epiſcopum. It. Con. Carth. 3. c. 42. [m] Ferrand. Breviar. Canon. c. 13. Ut Epiſcopus non ordinetur in Diœceſi, quæ Epiſcopum nunquam habuit, niſi cum voluntate Epiſcopi ad quem ipſa Diœceſis pertinet, ex Concilio tamen plenario & Primatis Authoritate. [n] Collat. Carth. 1. c. 117. Petilianus Epiſcopus dixit, In une Plebe Januarii Collegæ noſtri præſentis, in una Diœceſi, quatuor ſunt conſtituti contra ipſum; ut numerus ſcilicet augeretur. [o] Ibid. c. 181. Alypius dixit, Scriptum ſit iſtos omnes in Villis vel in Fundis eſſe Epiſcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus Civitatibus. [p] Ibid. c. 182. Petilianus Epiſcopus dixit: Sic etiam tu multos habes per omnes agros diſperſos: Imo crebros ubi habes, ſane & ſine populis habes. [q] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Baſil. Tom. 1. p. 356.

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City had its own Revenues. And laſtly, The War between the two Metropolitans was ended. This, he ſays, was an admirable Policy, worthy the great and noble Soul of St. *Baſil*, who could turn a Diſpute ſo to the Benefit of the Church, and draw a conſiderable Advantage out of a Calamity, by making it an occaſion to guard and defend his Country with more Biſhops. Whence we may collect, that in *Nazianzen*'s Opinion, it is an Advantage to the Church to be well ſtock'd with Biſhops; and that it is no Diſhonour to her to have Biſhops in ſmall Towns, when Neceſſity and Reaſon require it.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Rule which forbids Two Biſhops to be Ordained in one City.

SECT. I. *The General Rule and Practice of the Church, to have but one Biſhop in a City.*

ANOTHER Rule generally obſerved in the Church, was, That in one City there ſhould be but one Biſhop, tho' it was large enough to admit of many Presbyters. In the time of *Cornelius*, there were Forty ſix Presbyters [r] in the Church of *Rome*, Seven Deacons, as many Sub-Deacons, and Ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy: And the Body of the People, at a moderate Computation, are reckon'd by ſome [s] to be about Fifty thouſand; by others [t], to be a far greater Number; yet there was but one Biſhop over all theſe. So that when *Novatian* got himſelf Ordained Biſhop of *Rome*, in Oppoſition to *Cornelius*; he was generally condemned over all the World, as tranſgreſſing the Rule of the Catholick Church. *Cyprian* [u] delivers it as a Maxim upon this Occaſion; That there ought to be but one Biſhop in a Church at a time, and one Judge as the Vicegerent of Chriſt. Therefore he ſays [w] *Novatian* was no Biſhop, ſince there could not be a Second after the Firſt; but he was an [x] Adulterer, and a Foreigner, an ambitious Uſurper of another Man's Church, who had been regularly Ordained before him. And ſo he was told not only by [y] *Cyprian*, but a whole *African* Council at once; who, in return to *Novatian*'s Communicatory Letter, which (according to Cuſtom) he wrote to them upon his Ordination, ſent him this plain and poſitive Anſwer: That he was an Alien; and that none of them could communicate with him, who had attempted to erect a Prophane Altar, and ſet up an Adulterous Chair, and offer Sacrilegious Sacrifice againſt *Cornelius* the true Biſhop; who had been Ordained by the Approbation of God, and the Suffrage of the Clergy and People. There were, indeed, ſome Confeſſors at *Rome*, who at firſt ſided with *Novatian*: but *Cyprian* [z] wrote a Remonſtrating Letter to them, wherein he ſoberly laid before them the Sinfulneſs of their Practice; And his Admonition wrought ſo effectually on ſome of the chief of them, that not long after they returned to *Cornelius*, and publickly confeſſed their Fault in theſe Words: We acknowledge our Error; We have been impoſed upon and deluded by treacherous and deceitful Words: For though we ſeemed to communicate with a Schiſmatical and Heretical Man, yet our Mind was always ſincerely in the Church. For we are not ignorant, [a] that as there is but one God, one Chriſt the Lord, and one Holy Spirit; ſo there ought to be but one Biſhop in a Catholick Church. *Pamelius* [b] and others, who take this for a Confeſſion of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Supremacy, betray either groſs Ignorance, or great Partiality for a Cauſe: For though this was ſpoken of a Biſhop of *Rome*, yet it was not peculiar to him, but the common caſe of Biſhops in all Churches. *Ignatius* and all the Writers after him, who have ſaid any thing of Biſhops, always ſpeak of a ſingle Biſhop in every Church: And tho' [c] *Origen* ſeems to ſay otherwiſe, that there were Two Biſhops in every Church; yet as he explains his own Notion, his Meaning is the ſame with all the reſt: For he ſays the one was Viſible, the other Inviſible; the one an Angel, the other a Man. So that his Teſtimony (tho' there be ſomething peculiar in his Notion) is a farther Confirmation of the Churches Practice.

The Writers of the following Ages do ſo frequently mention the ſame thing, that it would be as tedious, as it is needleſs to recite their [d]

[r] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabium ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43.
[s] *Biſhop* Burnet, *Letter* 4. p. 207. [t] Baſnag. Exerc. ad Annal. Baron. an. 44. p. 532. [u] Cypr. Epiſt. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. p. 129. Unus in Eccleſia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex Vice Chriſti. [w] Id. Epiſt. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 104. Cum poſt primum ſecundus eſſe non poſſit, quiſquis poſt unum qui ſolus eſſe debeat, factus eſt, non jam Secundus ille, ſed nullus eſt. [x] Ibid. p. 112. Niſi ſi Epiſcopus tibi videtur, qui Epiſcopo in Eccleſia à Sedecim Co-epiſcopis facto, Adulter atque Extraneus, Epiſcopus fieri à deſertoribus per ambitum nititur.
[y] Cypr. Ep. 67. al. 68. ad Steph. p. 177. Se foris eſſe cœpiſſe, nec poſſe à quoquam noſtrum ſibi communicari; qui, Epiſcopo Cornelio in Catholica Eccleſia de Dei judicio, & Cleri ac Plebis ſuffragio ordinato, profanum Altare erigere, Adulteram Cathedram collocare, & Sacrilega contra verum Sacerdotem Sacrificia offerre tentaverit. [z] Cypr. Ep. 44. al. 46. ad Nicoſtrat. & Maxim. [a] Cornel. Ep. 46. al. 49. ad Cyprian. Nec enim ignoramus unum Deum eſſe, unum Chriſtum Dominum, quem confeſſi ſumus, unum Spiritum Sanctum, unum Epiſcopum in Catholica Eccleſia eſſe debere. [b] Pamel. Not. in Loc. [c] Orig. Hom. 13. in Luc. Per ſingulas Eccleſias bini ſunt Epiſcopi, alius Viſibilis, alius Inviſibilis — Ego puto inveniri ſimul poſſe & Angelum & Hominem bonos (leg. Binos) Eccleſiæ Epiſcopos.
[d] *See* Chryſoſt. Epiſt. 125. ad Cyriac. & Hom. 1. in Philip. Jerom. Epiſt. 4. ad Ruſtic. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Com. in Tit. 2. Pſeudo Hieron. Com. in 1 Tim. c. 3. 12. Hilar. Diac. Com. in Phil. 1. 1. It. in 1 Cor. 12. 28. & 1 Tim. 3. 12. Pacian. Ep. 3. ad Sempronian. Socrat. Lib. 6. c. 22. Sozom. Lib. 4. c. 14, & 15. Theod. Lib. 3. c. 4.

Teſtimonies.

Teſtimonies. Therefore I ſhall only add theſe Two Things: Firſt, That the Council of *Nice* repeats and confirms this Ancient Rule. For in the Eighth Canon, which ſpeaks of the *Novatian* Biſhops that return to the Catholick Church, it is ſaid, that any Biſhop may admit them to officiate as Presbyters in the City, or as *Chorepiſcopi* in the Country, but not as City Biſhops, for this Reaſon, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν, That there may not be two Biſhops in one City. Secondly, That in Fact the People were generally poſſeſſed with the Opinion of the Abſolute Unlawfulneſs of having two Biſhops ſit together: Inſomuch that *Theodoret* tells [*b*] us, when *Conſtantius* propoſed to the *Roman* People to have *Liberius* and *Felix* ſit as Copartners, and govern the Church in common, they unanimouſly agreed to reject the Motion, crying out, One God, One Chriſt, One Biſhop.

SECT. II. *Yet two Biſhops ſometimes allowed by Compromiſe, to end a Diſpute, or cure an Inveterate Schiſm.*

YET it muſt be obſerv'd, that as the great End and Deſign of this Rule was to prevent Schiſm, and preſerve the Peace and Unity of the Church: So on the other hand when it manifeſtly appeared, that the allowing of two Biſhops in one City, in ſome certain Circumſtances and critical Junctures, was the only way to put an end to ſome long and inveterate Schiſm; in that caſe there were ſome Catholick Biſhops, who were willing to take a Partner into their Throne, and ſhare the Epiſcopal Power and Dignity between them. Thus *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch* made the Propoſal to *Paulinus* his Antagoniſt, who though he was of the ſame Faith, yet kept up a Church divided in Communion from him. I ſhall relate the Propoſal in the Words [*c*] of *Theodoret*. *Meletius*, ſays he, the meekeſt of Men, thus friendly and mildly addreſſed himſelf to *Paulinus:* Foraſmuch as the Lord hath committed to me the Care of theſe Sheep, and thou haſt received the Care of others, and all the Sheep agree in one common Faith, let us join our Flocks, my Friend, and diſpute no longer about Primacy and Government: But let us feed the Sheep in common, and beſtow a common Care upon them. [*d*] And if it be the Throne that creates the Diſpute, I will try to take away this Cauſe alſo. We will lay the Holy Goſpel upon the Seat, and then each of us take his Place on either ſide of it. And if I die firſt, you ſhall take the Government of the Flock alone: But if it be your Fate to die before me, then I will feed them according to my Power. Thus ſpake the Divine *Meletius*, ſays our Author, Lovingly and Meekly; but *Paulinus* would not acquieſce, nor hearken to him.

We meet with another ſuch Propoſal made to the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, by all the Catholick Biſhops of *Africk* Aſſembled together, at the opening of the famous Conference of *Carthage*. There they offered them freely before the Conference began, That if they would return to the Unity and Communion of the Church, upon due Conviction, they ſhould retain their [*e*] Epiſcopal Honour and Dignity ſtill: And becauſe this could not be done, as the Circumſtances and Caſe of the Church then were, without allowing two Biſhops for ſome time to be in the ſame City, it was farther propoſed, That every Catholick Biſhop ſhould take the other to be his Copartner, and ſhare the Honour with him; allowing him to ſit with him in his own Chair, as was uſual for Biſhops to treat their Fellow Biſhops, that were Strangers; and alſo granting him a Church of his own, where he might be capable of returning the like Civility: That ſo they might pay mutual Reſpect and Honour to each other, and take their turns to ſit higheſt in the Church, till ſuch times as one of them ſhould die; and then the Right of Succeſſion ſhould be always in a ſingle Biſhop, as it was before. And this, they ſay, was no new thing in *Africk*: For from the Beginning of the Schiſm, they that would recant their Error, and condemn their Separation, and return to the Unity of the Church, were by the Charity of the Catholicks always treated in the ſame courteous manner. From hence it is plain, that this had been the Practice of *Africk* for above one whole Century; and the preſent Biſhops propoſed to follow the Example of their Predeceſſors, in making this Conceſſion to the *Donatiſts*, in order to cloſe up and heal the Diviſions of the Church. But they add, That foraſmuch as this Method might not be acceptable to all Chriſtian People, who would be much better pleaſed to ſee only a ſingle Biſhop in every Church, and perhaps would not endure the Partnerſhip of two, which was an unuſual thing: They therefore propoſed in this Caſe, that both the Biſhops ſhould freely reſign, and ſuffer a ſingle Biſhop to be choſen by ſuch Biſhops as were ſingly poſſeſſed of other Churches. So that at once they teſtify both what was the uſual and ordinary Rule of the Church, to have but one Biſhop in a City, and alſo how far they were willing to have receded, in order to eſtabliſh the Peace and Unity of the Church in that extraordinary Juncture. I have been the more

[*b*] Theod. Lib. 2. c. 17. [*c*] Theod. Lib. 5. c. 3. [*d*] Εἰ ἐν ὁ μέσῳ θᾶκος ἡ ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ κἀ τοῦτην ἀφελάσω παρασομαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον προτεθήκως εὐαγγέλιον, ἑκατέρωθεν ἡμᾶς καθήσω παρεγύω. [*e*] Collat. Carth. 1. die, c. 16. Sic nobiſcum teneant Unitatem, ut non ſolum viam ſalutis inveniant, ſed nec Honorem Epiſcopatus amittant. —— Poterit quippe unuſquiſque noſtrum, Honoris ſibi ſocio copulato, viciſſim ſedere eminentius, ſicut Peregrino Epiſcopo juxta conſidente Colleg. Hoc cum alternis Baſilicis utriuſque conceditur, uterque ab alterutro Honore mutuo prævenitur: Quia ubi præceptio Charitatis dilataverit Corda, poſſeſſio Pacis non ſit auguſta, ut uno eorum defuncto, deinceps jam ſingulis ſinguli, priſtino more, ſuccedant. Nec novum aliquid fiet: Nam hoc ab ipſius Separationis Exordio, in eis qui damnato nefariæ diſceſſionis errore, unitatis dulcedinem vel ſero: ſapuerunt, Catholica Dilectio cuſtodivit. Aut ſi forte Chriſtiani Populi ſingulis delectantur Epiſcopis, & duorum Conſortium, inuſitata rerum facie, tolerare non poſſunt: Utrique de medio ſecedamus; & Eccleſiis in ſingulis, damnata ſchiſmatis cauſa in unitate pacifica conſtitutis, ab his qui ſinguli in Eccleſiis ſingulis invenientur, unitati factæ per longa neceſſaria ſinguli conſtituantur Epiſcopi.

easily tempted to recite this Passage at large, not only because it is a full Proof of all that has been asserted in this Chapter, but because it gives us such an Instance of a Noble, Self-denying Zeal, and Charity, as is scarce to be parallel'd in any History; and shews us the Admirable Spirit of those Holy Bishops, among whom St. *Austin* was a Leader.

SECT. III. *The Opinions of Learned Men concerning Two Bishops in a City in the Apostolick Age, one of the* Jews, *and the other of the* Gentiles.

SOME very Learned [a] Persons are farther of Opinion, that this Rule about one Bishop in a City, did not take place in the Apostolical Age: For they think that before the perfect Incorporation and Coalition of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* into one Body, there were Two Bishops in many Cities, one of the *Jews*, and another of the *Gentiles*. Thus they think it was at *Antioch*, where *Euodius* and *Ignatius* are said to be Bishops ordained by the Apostles; as also *Linus* and *Clemens* at *Rome*, the one ordained by St. *Peter* Bishop of the *Jews*, and the other by St. *Paul* Bishop of the *Gentiles*. *Epiphanius* seems to have been of this Opinion. For he says, [b] *Peter* and *Paul* were the first Bishops of *Rome*; and he makes it a question whether they did not ordain Two other Bishops to supply their Places in their Absence. In another place [c] he takes occasion to say, That *Alexandria* never had Two Bishops, as other Churches had; which Observation, Bishop *Pearson* thinks, ought to be extended to the Apostolical Ages; as implying, that St. *Mark* being the only Preacher of the Gospel at *Alexandria*, left but one Bishop his Successor; but in other Churches sometimes Two Apostles gathered Churches, and each of them left a Bishop in his Place. Yet this does not satisfy other Learned [d] Persons, who are of a different Judgment, and think that tho' the Apostles had occasion to Ordain two Bishops in some Cities, yet it was not upon the account of different Churches of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, but in the ordinary way of Succession: As *Ignatius* was Ordained at *Antioch* after the Death of *Euodius*, and *Clemens* at *Rome* after the Death of *Linus*. I shall not pretend to determine on which side the Right lies in so nice a Dispute, [e] but leave it to the Judicious Reader, and only say, that if the former Opinion prevails, it proves another Exception to the common Rule of having but one Bishop in a City; or rather shews what was the Practice of the Church before the Rule was made.

SECT. IV. *The Case of Coadjutors.*

To these we may add a third Exception in a Case that is more plain, which was that of the Coadjutors. These were such Bishops as were ordained to assist some other Bishops in case of Infirmity or Old Age, and were to be Subordinate to them as long as they lived, and succeed them when they died. Thus when *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was disabled by reason of his great Age, (being a hundred and twenty years old) *Alexander* was made his Coadjutor. *Eusebius* [f] and St. *Jerom* both say it was done by Revelation; but they do not mean, that *Narcissus* needed a Revelation to Authorize him to take a Coadjutor, but only to point out to him that particular Man: For *Alexander* was a Stranger, and a Bishop already in another Country, so that without a Revelation he could not have been judged qualified for this Office; but being once declared to be so, there was no scruple upon any other Account, but by the unanimous Consent [g] of all the Bishops in *Palestine*, he was chosen to take part with *Narcissus* in the Care and Government of the Church. *Valesius* [h] reckons this the first Instance of any Coadjutor to be met with in ancient History, but there are several Examples in the following Ages. *Theotecnus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* made *Anatolius* his Coadjutor, designing him to be his Successor; so that for some time they [i] both governed the same Church together: *Maximus* [k] is said by *Sozomen* to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*, together with *Macarius*. *Orion* Bishop of *Palæbisca*, being grown old, ordained *Siderius* his Coadjutor and Successor, as *Synesius* [l] informs us. So *Theodoret* [m] takes notice that *John* Bishop of *Apamea* had one *Stephen* for his Collegue. And St. *Ambrose* [n] mentions one *Senecio*, who was Coadjutor to *Bassus*. In the same manner *Gregory Nazianzen* was Bishop of *Nazianzum*, together with his aged Father. *Baronius* indeed [o] denies that ever he was Bishop of *Nazianzum*, but St. *Jerom* [p] and all the ancient Historians, *Socrates* [q], *Sozomen* [r], *Ruffin* [s], and *Theodoret* [t] expressly assert it; though some of them mistake in calling him his Father's Successor: For he was no otherwise Bishop of *Nazianzum*, but only as his Father's Coadjutor. He enter'd upon the Office with this Protestation, That he would not be obliged to continue Bishop there any longer than his Father lived, as he himself acquaints [u] us in his own Life, and other Places; so that after his Father's Death he actually Resigned, and getting *Eulalius* to be ordained in his room, he betook himself [w] to a private Life. All which evi-

[a] Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 13. p. 414. Hammond. Differt. 5. adv. Blondel. c. 1. [b] Epiphan. Hær. 27. Carpocrat. n. 6. [c] Idem. Hær. 68. Meletian. n. 6. [d] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. Lib. 7. c. 46. [e] *Bishop* Pearson *himself alter'd his Opinion. See his* Differt. 2. de Successione Rom. Pontif. c. 3. [f] Euseb. Lib. 6. c. 11. [g] Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Alexandro, Cunctis in Palæstina Episcopis in unum congregatis, adnitente quoque ipso vel maxime Narcisso, Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ cum eo gubernaculum suscepit. [h] Vales. Not. in Euseb. Lib. 6. c. 11. [i] Euseb. Lib. 7. c. 32. ἅμφω τὴν αὐτῆς πρόσηκε ἐκκλησίας. [k] Sozom. Lib. 2. c. 20. [l] Synes. Ep. 67. [m] Theod. Lib. 5. c. 4. [n] Ambr. 79. ad Theophil. Fratri nostro & Coepiscopo Basso in Consortium regendæ Ecclesiæ datus est Senecio. [o] Baron. an. 371. n. 6. [p] Hieron. de Script. Eccl. Gregorius primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenas Episcopus, &c. [q] Socrat. Lib. 4. c. 26. [r] Sozom. Lib. 6. c. 17. [s] Ruffin. Lib. 2. c. 9. [t] Theodor. Lib. 5. c. 8. [u] Naz. Carm. de Vita sua. It. Orat. 8. ad Patr. [w] Naz. Ep. 42. ad Greg. Nyss.

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dently proves that he was not his Father's Succeſſor, but only his Coadjutor. I will but add one Inſtance more of this Nature, which is the known Caſe of St. *Auſtin*, who was ordained Biſhop of *Hippo* whilſt *Valerius* was living, and ſat with him [x] for ſome time as his Coadjutor; which he did by the conſent of the Primate of *Carthage*, and the Primate of *Numidia*, who ordained him. *Poſſidius* ſays, he had ſome ſcruple upon him at firſt, becauſe he looked upon it as contrary to the Cuſtom of the Church: But being told, that it was a thing commonly practiſed both in the *African* and *Tranſmarine* Churches, he yielded with ſome Reluctancy to be ordained. Theſe Inſtances are evident Proof, that it was not thought contrary to the true ſenſe of the Canon, in caſe of Infirmity or old Age, to have Coadjutors in the Church: Though, 'tis true, St. *Auſtin* was of Opinion that his own Ordination was not Regular, when afterward he came to know the *Nicene* Canon, which he did not know before; and for this Reaſon he would not ordain [y] *Eradius* Biſhop whilſt he himſelf lived, though he had nominated him with the conſent of the Church to be his Succeſſor. But all Men did not underſtand the Canon in this ſtrict and rigorous Senſe that St. *Auſtin* did, as abſolutely forbidding two Biſhops to be in a Church at the ſame time in all Caſes whatſoever, but only when there was no juſt Reaſon, and the Neceſſities of the Church did not require it: But if there was a reaſonable Cauſe to have more Biſhops than one, as when a Biſhop was unable to execute his Office, or in any the like Caſe, the Canon did not oblige, as appears from the Inſtances that have been mentioned, and ſeveral others that might be added to them.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Chorepiſcopi, Πρεσβύτεροι, *and Suffragan Biſhops: And how theſe differed from one another.*

SECT. I. *Of the reaſon of the Name* Chorepiſcopi, *and the Miſtake of ſome about it.*

AS the Biſhops, when they were diſabled by old Age or Infirmity, ordained themſelves Coadjutors in the City: So when their Dioceſes were enlarged by the Converſion of *Pagans* in the Country and Villages at a great diſtance from the City-Church, they created themſelves another ſort of Aſſiſtants in the Country, whom they called *Chorepiſcopi*; who were ſo named, not becauſe they were *ex Choro Sacerdotum*, as a *Latin* Writer [z] by miſtake derives the Word, but becauſe they were τῆ χώρας ἐπίσκοποι, Country-Biſhops, as the Word properly ſignifies, and not Presbyters of the City Regions, as *Salmaſius* underſtands it.

SECT. II. *Three different Opinions about the Nature of this Order: 1ſt. That they were mere Presbyters.*

NOw though the Name does in ſome meaſure determine their Quality, yet great Diſpute has been among Learned Men concerning the Nature of this Order. Among the Schoolmen and Canoniſts 'tis a received Opinion, that they were only Presbyters; as they may be ſeen in *Turrian* [a], *Eſtius* [b], *Antonius Auguſtinus* [c] and *Gratian* [d], who are followed not only by *Salmaſius* [e], but by [f] *Spalatenſis*, [g] Dr. *Field*, and Dr. *Forbes* [h], the laſt of which brings ſeveral Arguments to prove that they were mere Presbyters, and never had any Epiſcopal Ordination.

SECT. III. *A 2d Opinion, that ſome of them were Presbyters, and ſome of them Biſhops.*

OTHERS think there were two ſorts of *Chorepiſcopi*, ſome that had Epiſcopal Ordination, and others that were ſimple Presbyters: Which is the Opinion of *Cabaſſutius* [i], *Peter de Marca* [k] and *Bellarmin* [l]. They all allow that in ſome Caſes it happen'd that the *Chorepiſcopi* were Biſhops, becauſe they were ordained Biſhops before they were made *Chorepiſcopi*. And thus much is certainly true: For in the Primitive Church, ſometimes Biſhops were ordained to a Place, but not received, either through the perverſeneſs of the People, or by reaſon of Perſecution, or the like Cauſe: And ſuch Biſhops (whom the ancient Writers [m] and Canons term χολῶντες and χολάζοντες ἐπίσκοποι, vacant Biſhops) not being permitted to Officiate in their own Church, were admitted to act as *Chorepiſcopi* under any other Biſhop that would entertain them. The Council of *Nice* [n] made the like Proviſion for ſuch of the *Novatian* Biſhops as would return to the Catholick Church; that the Biſhop of the Place ſhould admit them either to the Office of a City-Presbyter, or a *Chorepiſcopus*; that there might not be two Biſhops in one City. And ſo it was determined likewiſe by

[x] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. Paulin. Ep. 46. ad Roman. Aug. Ep. 34. & 110. [y] Aug. Ep. 110. Quod reprehenſum eſt in me, nolo reprehendi in Filio meo. Erit Presbyter ut eſt, quando Deus voluerit futurus Epiſcopus. [z] Raban. Maur. de Inſtit. Sacerd. Lib. 1. c. 5. Salmaſ. de Primat. c. 1. [a] Turrian. Not. in Can. 54. Con. Nic. Arabic. [b] Eſt. in 4. Sent. Diſt. 34. §. 30. [c] Ant. Auguſt. Epit. Jur. Can. Lib. 6. Tit. 1. c. 8, 11, 13. [d] Grat. Diſt. 6. c. 4, 5. [e] Walo Meſſalin. c. 5. p. 315. [f] Spalat. de Repub. Par. 1. Lib. 2. c. 9. n. 17, 18, 19. [g] Field *of the Church*, Lib. 5. c. 29. [h] Forb. Iren. Lib. c. 11. Prop. 14. p. 249. [i] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 8. p. 45. [k] Pet. de Marca de Concord. Lib. 2. c. 13. [l] Bellarm. de Cleric. Lib. 1. c. 17. [m] Socrat. H. E. Lib. 4. c. 7. Conc. Antioch. Can. 16. [n] Conc. Nic. can. 8.

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the ſame Council [o] in the Caſe of the *Meletian* Biſhops, that upon their return to the Unity of the Church, they ſhould be allow'd to officiate in Subordination to the Biſhops of the Catholick Church. Now it is plain that all ſuch *Chorepiſcopi* as theſe were properly Biſhops, becauſe they were originally ordained Biſhops before they came to act in the Quality of Country-Biſhops under others. But for all the reſt, *de Marca* thinks they were only Presbyters.

SECT. IV. *The 3d Opinion, that they were all Biſhops, the moſt probable.*

BOTH theſe Opinions (which differ little from one another) are rejected by Biſhop *Barlow* [p], Dr. *Hammond* [q], Dr. *Beverege* [r], Dr. *Cave* [s], and even by Mr. *Blondel* [t] himſelf, who though by ſome reckoned among thoſe of the contrary Opinion, has a long Diſſertation againſt *de Marca*, to prove that all the *Chorepiſcopi* mentioned in the ancient Councils were properly Biſhops. And there needs no fuller Proof of this than what *Athanaſius* ſays in his 2d Apology, where he puts a manifeſt Diſtinction betwixt Presbyters and the *Chorepiſcopi*. For ſpeaking of the irregular Promotion of *Iſchyras*, who was made Biſhop of the Region of *Mareotis* by the *Euſebian* Faction, he ſays, *Mareotis* was only a Region of *Alexandria*, and that all the Churches of that Precinct were immediately ſubject to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and never had either Biſhop or *Chorepiſcopus* [u] among them, but only Presbyters fixt each in their reſpective Villages or Churches. This, as *Blondel* [w] well obſerves, ſhews evidently that the *Chorepiſcopi* were not the ſame with Presbyters, however the Forger of the Decretal Epiſtles under the Name of Pope *Leo* and *Damaſus*, would have perſuaded the World to believe ſo.

SECT. V. *Some Objections againſt this anſwered.*

BUT why then does the Council of *Neocæſarea* [x] ſay that the *Chorepiſcopi* were only in imitation of the Seventy? I anſwer, becauſe they were ſubject to the City-Biſhops, as the 70 Elders were ſubject to *Moſes*, or the 70 Diſciples to the Apoſtles. For whatever the Council means by the Seventy, it cannot be proved thence that the *Chorepiſcopi* were mere Presbyters.

But it is ſaid, that they could not be Biſhops, becauſe the Ordination of Biſhops was to be performed by three Biſhops, with the conſent of the Metropolitan and the Provincial Biſhop; whereas the Council of *Antioch* [y] ſays, That a *Chorepiſcopus* was ordained by one Biſhop only, the Biſhop of the City to whoſe Juriſdiction he belonged. To this the Reply is eaſy, that this was one principal difference between the City-Biſhops and Country-Biſhops, who differed both in the manner of their Ordination, and in their Power: For the one was ſubordinate to the other: Therefore thoſe Canons which require three Biſhops to impoſe Hands in the Ordination of a Biſhop, ſpeak only of ſuch Biſhops as were to be Abſolute and Supreme Governors of their own Dioceſe, and not of ſuch who were ſubordinate to them, whom the City-Biſhops might ordain at their own Diſcretion, yet ſo as to ſtand accountable to a Provincial Synod.

SECT. VI. *The* Chorepiſcopi *allowed to ordain the Inferior Clergy, but not Presbyters or Deacons, without ſpecial Licenſe from the City Biſhop.*

THE Office of theſe *Chorepiſcopi* was to preſide over the Country-Clergy, and enquire into their Behaviour, and make report thereof to the City-Biſhop; as alſo to provide fit Perſons for the Inferior Service and Miniſtry of the Church. And to give them ſome Authority, they had certain Privileges conferred on them. As 1ſt, they might ordain Readers, Sub-Deacons, and Exorciſts for the uſe of the Country-Churches. St. *Baſil* [z] requires of his *Chorepiſcopi* that they ſhould firſt acquaint him with the Qualification of ſuch Perſons, and take his Licenſe to ordain them: But the Council of *Antioch* [a] gives them a General Commiſſion to ordain all under Presbyters and Deacons, without conſulting the City-Biſhop upon every ſuch Promotion: And for Presbyters and Deacons, they might ordain them too, but not μίχα τῷ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπῳ, without the ſpecial Leave of the City-Biſhop, under whoſe Juriſdiction both they and the Country were. And this is the meaning of the Council of *Ancyra*, [b] which ſays the *Chorepiſcopi* ſhall not have Power to ordain Presbyters or Deacons: Which we muſt interpret by the Explication given in the Council of *Antioch*, that they ſhould not be Authorized to do it without the particular Direction of the City-Biſhop, but by his Leave they might.

SECT. VII. *They had Power to confirm.*

2. THEY had Power to miniſter Confirmation to ſuch as were newly Baptized in Country-Churches. This is expreſly provided by the Council of *Riez* [c] in the Caſe of *Armentarius*, whom they reduced to the Quality of a *Chorepiſcopus*, but ſtill allowed him the Privilege of Confirming *Neophites*; which argues that Confirmation might then be adminiſtred by the Hands of the *Chorepiſcopi* in Country-Churches.

SECT. VIII. *And Power to grant Letters Dimiſſory to the Clergy.*

3. THEY had Power to grant Letters Dimiſſory, or as they were otherwiſe called, Canonical and Irenical Letters, to the Country-Clergy, who deſired to remove

[o] Conc. Nic. Ep. Synod. ap. Socrat. H. E. Lib. 1. c. 9. [p] Barlow's *Letter to Biſhop* Uſher, *in* Uſh. Let. 222. p. 520. [q] Ham. Diſſert. 3. cont. Blondel. c. 8. [r] Bevereg. Pandect. T. 2. Not. in Conc. Ancyr. can. 13. [s] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Par. 1. c. 8. p. 224. [t] Blondel. Apol. p. 95, &c. [u] Athan. Apol. 2. T. 1. p. 802. [w] Blondel. Apol. p. 127. Non unum cum Presbyteris Chorepiſcopus fuiſſe, ut eandem formam geſtaſſe, prout Decretalium ſuppoſitori ſomniare viſum eſt. (x) Conc. Neocæſar. can. 14. χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. [y] Concil. Antioch. can. 10. [z] Baſil. Epiſt. 181. [a] Conc. Antioch. can. 10. [b] Con. Ancyr. can. 14. [c] Conc. Reienſ. c. 3.

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from one Dioceſe to another. Thus I underſtand that Canon of the Council of *Antioch* [d] which ſays, Country-Presbyters ſhall not grant Canonical Letters, κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς, or ſend Letters to any Neighbour Biſhop; but the *Chorepiſcopi* may grant εἰρηνικὰς, Letters Dimiſſory, or Letters of Peace.

SECT. IX. *They had Power to officiate in the Preſence of the City-Biſhop.*

4. THEY had liberty to Officiate in the City-Church, in the Preſence of the Biſhop and Presbyters of the City, which Country-Presbyters had not. For ſo the Council of *Neocæſarea* determined in Two Canons to this Purpoſe [e]: "The Country-"Presbyters ſhall not offer the Oblation, nor "diſtribute the Bread and Wine in time of "Prayer in the City-Church, when the Biſhop "and Presbyters are preſent: But the Country-"Biſhops, being in Imitation of the Seventy, as "Fellow-Labourers, for their Care of the Poor, "are admitted to offer.

SECT. X. *And to Sit and Vote in Councils.*

5. THEY had the Privilege of Sitting and Voting in Synods and Councils: Of which there are ſeveral Inſtances ſtill remaining in the Acts of the ancient Councils. In the firſt *Nicene* Council [f] *Palladius* and *Selucius* ſubſcribe themſelves Chorepiſcopi of the Province of *Cœloſyria: Eudemon* Chorepiſcopus of the Province of *Cilicia: Gorgonius*, *Stephanus*, *Euphronius*, *Rhodon*, *Theophanes*, Chorepiſcopi of the Province of *Cappadocia: Heſychius*, *Theodore*, *Anatolius*, *Quintus*, *Aquila*, Chorepiſcopi of the Province of *Iſauria*: *Theuſtinus* and *Eulalius* of the Province of *Bithynia*: So again in the Council of *Neocæſarea* [g] *Stephanus* and *Rudus* or *Rhodon*, two of the ſame that were in the Council of *Nice*, ſubſcribed themſelves Chorepiſcopi of the Province of *Cappadocia*. And in the Council of *Epheſus* [h], *Cæſarius* Chorepiſcopus of *Alce*.

SECT. XI. *The Power of the* Chorepiſcopi *not the ſame in all Times and Places.*

BUT here I muſt obſerve, that the Power and Privileges of the *Chorepiſcopi* varied much, according to the Difference of Times and Places. For when the Synod of *Riez* in *France*, *Ann.* 439, had depoſed *Armentarius* from his Biſhoprick, becauſe he was Uncanonically ordained, they allowed him the Privilege of being a *Chorepiſcopus*, after the Example of the *Nicene* Fathers, but limited him as to the Exerciſe of his Power. For though they gave him Authority to Confirm *Neophytes*, and Conſecrate Virgins, and Celebrate the *Euchariſt* in any Country-Church with Preference to any Presbyter of the Region: Yet *1ſt* they denied him [i] the Privilege of Conſecrating the *Euchariſt* in the City-Church, which by the 13th Canon of the Council of *Neocæſarea* was allowed to other *Chorepiſcopi*. *2dly*, they confined him to a ſingle Church in the Exerciſe of his *Chorepiſcopal* Power; whereas others had Power over a whole Region. *3dly*, They forbad him to ordain any of the Inferior Clergy even in his own Church, which other *Chorepiſcopi* were allowed to do by the 13th Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*. And hence it appears, that as their Power was precarious and depending upon the Will of Councils and City-Biſhops, from whom they received it; ſo by this time their Authority began to ſink apace in the Church.

SECT. XII. *Their Power firſt ſtruck at by the Council of* Laodicea, *which ſet up* Περιοδευταὶ *in their room.*

THE Council of *Laodicea* gave them the firſt Blow, *An.* 360. For there it was decreed [k] that for the future no Biſhops ſhould be placed in Country Villages, but only Περιοδευταὶ, Itinerant or Viſiting Presbyters; and for ſuch Biſhops as were already Conſtituted, they ſhould do nothing without the Conſent and Direction of the City-Biſhop. In the Council of *Chalcedon* we meet with ſome ſuch Presbyters expreſly ſtiled Περιοδευταὶ, as *Alexander* [l] and *Valentinus* [m], each of which has the Title of Presbyter and Περιοδευτὴς. And ſo in the 5th General Council at *Conſtantinople* [n] one *Sergius* a Presbyter has the ſame Title of Περιοδευτὴς, Curator or Viſitor of the *Syrian* Churches: Yet ſtill the Order of the *Chorepiſcopi* was preſerved in many Places. For not only mention is made of them by *Gregory Nazianzen* [o] and St. *Baſil* in the 4th Century, but alſo by *Theodoret* [p] who ſpeaks of *Hypatius* and *Abramius*, his own *Chorepiſcopi*; and in the Council of *Chalcedon* in the 5th Century, we find the *Chorepiſcopi* ſitting and ſubſcribing in the Name of the Biſhops that ſent them. But this was ſome Diminution of their Power: For in former Councils they ſubſcribed in their own Names, as Learned Men [q] agree. But now their Power was ſinking, and it went on to decay and dwindle by degrees, till at laſt in the 9th Century, when the forged Decretals were ſet on foot, it was pretended that they were not true Biſhops, and ſo the Order by the Pope's Tyranny came to be laid aſide in the Weſtern Church.

SECT. XIII. *Of the Attempt to reſtore the* Chorepiſcopi *in* England, *under the Name of* Suffragan *Biſhops.*

SOME Attempt was made in *England*, at the beginning of the Reformation, to reſtore theſe under the Name of Suffragan Biſhops. For as our Hiſtories inform us, [r] by an Act of the 26th of *Henry* the VIIth, *An.* 1534, ſeveral Towns were appointed for Suffragan Sees, *viz. Thetford*, *Ipſwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Dover*, *Guilford*, *Southampton*, *Taunton*, *Shaftsbury*, *Molton*, *Marlborough*, *Bed-*

[d] Con. Antioch. can. 8. [e] Con. Neocæſ. Can. 13, & 14. [f] Con. Nic. 1. in Subſcription. [g] Con. Neocæſ. in Subſcription. [h] Con. Epheſ. Act. 1. [i] Conc. Reinſ. Can. 3. [k] Con. Laod. Can. 57. [l] Con. Chalced. Act. 4. [m] Ibid. Act. 16. [n] Con. CP. ſub Menna Act 1. p. 563. [o] Nazian. Ep. 88. Theodoro. Baſil. Ep. 181. [p] Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon. [q] Blondel. Apol. p. 131. Bevereg. Not. in Con Ancyr. c. 13. [r] Burnet. Hiſt. of Refor. Vol. 2. p. 157.

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ford, *Leiceſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Briſtol*, *Penreth*, *Bridgewater*, *Nottingham*, *Grantham*, *Hull*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, *Pereth*, *Barwick*, St. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, and the Iſle of *Wight*. Theſe Suffragans were to be conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, and two other Biſhops, and by the Act to have the ſame Epiſcopal Power, as Suffragans formerly had within this Realm: But none of them either to have or act any thing properly Epiſcopal, without the Conſent and Permiſſion of the Biſhop of the City, in whoſe Dioceſe he was placed and conſtituted. Now any one that compares this with the Account that I have given of the ancient *Chorepiſcopi*, will eaſily perceive that theſe Suffragans were much of the ſame Nature with them. But then I muſt obſerve that this was a new Name for them: For anciently Suffragan Biſhops were all the City-Biſhops of any Province under a Metropolitan, who were called his Suffragans, becauſe they met at his Command to give their Suffrage, Counſel or Advice in a Provincial Synod. And in this Senſe the Word was uſed in *England*, at that time when *Linwood* wrote his *Provinciale*, which was not above an hundred Years before the Reformation, *An.* 1430. in his Comment upon one of the Conſtitutions of *John Peckham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which begins with theſe Words, *Omnibus & Singulis Coepiſcopis Suffraganeis Noſtris:* To all and ſingular our Fellow-Biſhops and Suffragans: Upon this Word *Suffragans* he has this Note: [*s*] "They "were called Suffragans, becauſe they were "bound to give their Suffrage and Aſſiſtance "to the Archbiſhop, being ſummoned to take "part in his Care, though not in the Plenitude "of his Power." Whence it is plain that in his time, Suffragan Biſhops did not ſignifie *Chorepiſcopi*, or Rural Biſhops, but all the Biſhops of *England* under their Archbiſhops or Metropolitans. Thus it was alſo in other Churches: The Seventy Biſhops who were immediately ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as their Primate or Metropolitan, were called his Suffragans, becauſe they were frequently called to his Synods; as the reaſon of the Name is given in an ancient Vatican MS. cited by [*t*] *Baronius*.

SECT. XIV. *Suffragan Biſhops different from the* Chorepiſcopi *in the Primitive Church.*

SECT. XV. *The Suffragan Biſhops of the* Roman *Province called by a Technical Name,* Libra.

AND here it will not be amiſs to obſerve, whilſt we are ſpeaking of Suffragan Biſhops, that theſe 70 Biſhops, who were Suffragans to the Biſhop of *Rome*, were by a peculiar Technical Name called *Libra*; which Name was given them for no other Reaſon, but becauſe of their Number Seventy. For the *Roman Libra*, as Antiquaries [*u*] note, conſiſted of 70 *Solidi*, or ſo many Parts; and therefore the Number 70 in any other Things or Perſons, thence took the Name of *Libra*: As the 70 Witneſſes which are introduced depoſing againſt *Marcellinus*, in the Council of *Sinueſſa*, that they ſaw him Sacrifice, are by the Author of thoſe Acts [*w*] termed *Libra Occidua*, for no other Reaſon, as *Baronius* [*x*] conceives, but becauſe they were 70 in Number. And *Grotius* [*y*] gives the ſame Reaſon for affixing this Title on the 70 Biſhops, who were Aſſeſſors or Suffragans to the Biſhop of *Rome*; they were, as one might ſay, his *Libra*, or ordinary Provincial Council.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Interceſſores *and* Interventores *in the* African *Churches.*

SECT. I. *Why ſome Biſhops called Interceſſors in the* African *Churches.*

THERE is one Appellation more given to ſome Biſhops in the *African* Councils, which muſt here be taken Notice of, whilſt we are ſpeaking of Biſhops; which is the Name Interceſſor and Interventor; a Title given to ſome Biſhops upon the account of a Pro-tempore Office which was ſometimes committed to them. In the *African* Churches, and perhaps in others alſo, upon the Vacancy of a Biſhoprick, it was uſual for the Primate to appoint one of the Provincial Biſhops to be a ſort of Procurator of the Dioceſe, partly to take care of the vacant See, and partly to promote and procure the ſpeedy Election of a new Biſhop. And from this he had the Name of Interceſſor and Interventor.

SECT. II. *The Office of an Interceſſor not to laſt above a Year.*

THE Deſign of this Office was manifeſtly to promote the good of the Church, but it was liable to be abuſed two ways. For the Interceſſor by this means had a fair Opportunity given to ingratiate himſelf with the People, and promote his own Intereſt among them, inſtead of that of the Church; either by keeping the See void longer than was neceſſary; or if it was a Wealthier, or more Honourable Place than his own, by getting himſelf choſen into it. To obviate any ſuch Deſigns, the *A-*

[*s*] Linwood Provinc. Lib. 1. Tit. 2. c. 1. Suffraganeis. Sic dictis, quia Archiepiſcopo ſuffragari & aſſiſtere tenentur, *&c.*
[*t*] Baron. an. 1057. n. 23. Præter ſeptem Collaterales Epiſcopos erant alii Epiſcopi, qui dicuntur Suffraganei Romani Pontificis, nulli alii Primati vel Archiepiſcopo ſubjecti, qui frequenter ad Synodos vocarentur. [*u*] Brerewood de Ponder. & Pret. c. 15.
[*w*] Concil. Sinueſſ. ap. Crab. T. 1. p. 190. Hi omnes electi ſunt Viri, Libra Occidua, qui Teſtimonium perhibent, videntes Marcellinum thurificaſſe. [*x*] Baron. an. 302. n. 92. [*y*] Grot. in Luc. 10. 1. Romanis Epiſcopis jam olim 70 Epiſcopi Adſeſſores Libra dicti, quòd Libra Romana tot ſolidos contineret.

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frican Fathers in the Fifth Council of *Carthage* made a Decree, That no Interceſſor ſhould continue in his Office for above a Year; but if he did not procure a new Biſhop to be choſen within that time, another Interceſſor ſhould be ſent in his Room: And the more effectually to cut off all Abuſes, and prevent Corruption, they enacted it alſo into a Law [z] that no Interceſſor ſhould be capable of ſucceeding himſelf in the vacant See, whatever Motions or Solicitations were made by the People in his behalf. So extreamly cautious were theſe Holy *African* Fathers to prevent Abuſes in Matters of this Nature.

SECT. III. *No Interceſſor to be made Biſhop of the Place where he was conſtituted Interceſſor.*

CHAP. XVI.

Of Primates or Metropolitans.

SECT. I. *Some derive the Original of Metropolitans from Apoſtolical Conſtitution.*

THE ſame Reaſons which firſt brought in *Chorepiſcopi* and Coadjutors, as ſubordinate to Biſhops in every City-Church, made the Biſhops of every Province think it neceſſary to make one of themſelves Superior to all the reſt, and inveſt him with certain Powers and Privileges for the good of the Whole: Whom they therefore named their Primate or Metropolitan, that is, the Principal Biſhop of the Province. Biſhop *Uſher* [a] derives the Origin of this Settlement from Apoſtolical Conſtitution. So alſo Biſhop *Beverege* [b], Dr. *Hammond* [c], *Peter de Marca* and ſome others. And there are ſeveral Paſſages in *Euſebius* and *Chryſoſtom* which ſeem to favour this. For *Euſebius* [d] ſays, *Titus* had the Superintendency of all the Churches in *Crete:* And *Chryſoſtom* in like manner [e], That the Apoſtle committed to him the whole Iſland, and gave him power to cenſure all the Biſhops thercin. He ſays the ſame of *Timothy* [f], that he was entruſted with the Government of the Church in the whole Region or Province of *Aſia*. And it is certain the *Cyprian* Biſhops in the Council of *Epheſus* [g], pleaded the Privileges of their Metropolitan to be as ancient as the Apoſtles.

SECT. II. *Others from the Age next after the Apoſtles.*

BUT it may be doubted, whether the Apoſtles made any ſuch General Settlement of Metropolitans in every Province; And the Records of the Original of moſt Churches being loſt, it cannot be certainly proved they did. *De Marca* [h] thinks that though the Apoſtles gave a Model or Specimen in *Timothy* and *Titus*, yet they left it to following Ages to finiſh and compleat it. Dr. *Cave* ſays [i], it commenced not long after the Apoſtolick Age, when Sects and Schiſms began to break in apace, and Controverſies multiplying betwee. particular Biſhops, it was found neceſſary to pitch upon one in every Province, to whom the Umpirage of Caſes might be referred, and by whom all Common and Publick Affairs might be directed. Perhaps it took its Riſe from that common Reſpect and Deference, which was uſually paid by the reſt of the Biſhops, to the Biſhop of the Civil Metropolis in every Province; which advancing into a Cuſtom, was afterward made into a Canon by the Council of *Nice*.

SECT. III. *Confeſſed by all to have been long before the Council of* Nice.

THIS is certain, that the *Nicene* Council ſpeaks of Metropolitans as ſettled by ancient Cuſtom long before, when it uſhers in the Canon about them with, ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, Let ancient Cuſtoms [k] be continued; and then goes on to ſpeak of the Cuſtom in *Egypt*, which was for the Biſhop of *Alexandria* to have Power over all the Churches of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*: Which was Metropolitical, if not Patriarchal, Power. *Epiphanius* [l] mentions the ſame, ſpeaking of *Alexander* and *Peter*, Biſhops of *Alexandria* before the Council of *Nice*, he ſays, They had ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν, the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs throughout all *Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Mareotes*, *Libya*, *Ammoniaca*, *Mareotis* and *Pentapolis*. And *Athanaſius* [m] ſpeaking of *Dionyſius*, who was Biſhop of *Alexandria* above 60 Years before this Council, ſays, he alſo enjoyed this Power, having the Care of the Churches of *Pentapolis* and *Libya*, when *Sabellius* broached his Hereſie, and that he wrote Letters of Admonition to ſeveral Biſhops of thoſe Parts, who began to be infected with his Hereſie. Theſe are undeniable Evidences that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* were not firſt inveſted with Metropolitical Power by the Council of *Nice*, but only confirmed in thoſe Rights which by ancient Cuſtom and Preſcription they had long enjoyed. And this was alſo the Caſe of other Churches.

[z] Con. Carth. 5. Can. 8. Placuit, ut nulli Interceſſori licitum ſit, Cathedram cui Interceſſor datus eſt, quibuſlibet Populorum ſtudiis, vel Seditionibus retinere: Sed dare operam, ut intra annum eiſdem Epiſcopum provideat. Quod ſi neglexerit, anno expleto, Interventor alius tribuatur. [a] Uſſer. de Orig. Epiſc. & Metrop. [b] Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vind. Lib. 2. c. 5. n. 12. [c] Ham. Præf. to Titus. It. Diſſert. 4. cont. Blondel. c. 5.

[d] Euſeb. H. E. Lib. 3. c. 4. Τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλαχέναι. [e] Chryſ. Hom. 1. in Tit. νῆσον ὁλόκληρον —— ᾗ τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κείσιν ἐπέτρεψεν.

[f] Id. Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. [g] Con. Epheſ. Act. 7. [h] Marca de Concord. Lib. 6. c. 1. n. 9. [i] Cave. Ch. Gov. p. 92. [k] Con. Nicen. can. 6. [l] Epiphan. Hær. 68. n. 1. & Hær. 69. n. 3. [m] Athan. de Sentent. Dionyſ. T. 1. p. 552.

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The Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain* [n], ſpeaks of a *Primæ Cathedræ Epiſcopus*, a Primate or Biſhop of the firſt See: And thoſe called the Apoſtles Canons, (which were the Canons of the Greek Church in the 3d Century) mention a πρῶτος, or chief Biſhop in every Province, whom the reſt were to look upon as their Head [o], and do nothing without him. And it appears from ſeveral of *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles [p], that the Biſhop of *Carthage* had a Preſidency over all the other *African* Biſhops, and Power to ſend his Mandates among them. And St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of the Primate of *Numidia*, as well as the Primate of *Carthage*, before the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*: and ſays, They gave that for one Reaſon of their Schiſm [q], that the Primate of *Numidia* was not called to elect and conſecrate the Primate of *Carthage*. And therefore, as both the ſame St. *Auſtin* [r] and *Optatus* [s] take notice, the *Donatiſts* pretending that the Ordination of *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Carthage* was not valid, becauſe not performed by a Primate, ſent for *Secundus Tigiſitanus*, who was then Primate of *Numidia*, to ordain *Majorinus* in his room. Now as all this was tranſacted ſeveral Years before the Council of *Nice*, ſo it proves that Primates were in *Africk* antecedent to the Eſtabliſhment of that Council.

SECT. IV. *Proofs of* Metropolitans *in the 2d Century.*

IF we aſcend higher yet, and look into the 2d Century, there are ſome Foot-ſteps of the ſame Power, though not ſo evident as the former. *Lyons* in *France* was a Metropolis in the Civil Account, and *Irenæus* who was Biſhop of it, is ſaid to have the Superintendency of the *Gallican Paroeciæ*, or *Dioceſes*, as *Euſebius* [t] words it. *Philip* Biſhop of *Gortyna* in *Crete*, is ſtiled by *Dionyſius* [u] of *Corinth*, Biſhop of all the *Cretian* Churches. *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus* preſided [w] in Council over all the Biſhops of *Aſia*; *Palmas* Biſhop of *Amaſtris* over the Biſhops of *Pontus*, and *Theophilus* [x] of *Cæſarea* with *Narciſſus* of *Jeruſalem*, over the reſt of the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*.

Theſe are the common Proofs, which are ordinarily alledged in this Caſe. Yet I ſhall freely own, that the three laſt of them do not cogently prove the thing in Diſpute. For preſiding in Council does not neceſſarily infer Metropolitical Power; becauſe they might preſide as Senior Biſhops, as *Euſebius* ſays expreſly one of them did, *viz. Palmas* Biſhop of *Amaſtris*, ὡς ἀρχαιότατος καὶ πρωτέταχτο, He preſided as the moſt ancient Biſhop among them. Which ſeems to be noted by *Euſebius* not without good Reaſon; for *Heraclea*, and not *Amaſtris*, was the Civil Metropolis of *Pontus*. *Blondel* from this Paſſage concludes, That at this time the Senior Biſhops in all Places were the Metropolitans. But this does not ſufficiently appear to have been the Cuſtom any where elſe but in the *African* Churches, of which I ſhall preſently give an Account: For the other Inſtances that have been given, ſeem rather to make it evident, that the Biſhops of the Civil Metropoles were generally the Primates or Metropolitans in the Church alſo.

SECT. V. *By what Names* Metropolitans *were anciently called.*

'TIS true indeed, none of theſe are expreſly called *Metropolitans*: For that Name ſcarcely occurs in any ancient Record before the Council of *Nice*: But they were at firſt termed πρῶτοι, and κεφαλαί, chief Biſhops, and Heads of the Province, as the Apoſtolical Canon [y] ſtiles them. After-Ages gave them other Names, as that of Archbiſhops, at *Alexandria* [z] and other Places, till that Name became appropriate to the *Patriarchs*. The Council of *Sardica* [a] ſtiles them Ἔξαρχοι τ ἐπαρχίας, Exarchs of the Province. St. *Auſtin* ſometimes calls them *Principes* [b], Princes: And Pope *Hilary* [c] Monarchs. But theſe being Titles of Secular Grandeur, and ſavouring too much of abſolute Sovereignty and Dominion, were expreſly prohibited by the 3d Council of *Carthage*, which ordered, that no Superior Biſhop ſhould be called [d] High-Prieſt, or Prince of the Prieſts, but only *Primæ ſedis Epiſcopus*, Primate, or Senior Biſhop. Hence it was that thoſe Biſhops, who in other parts of the World were called Metropolitans, in *Africk* had commonly the Name of Primates; though we ſometimes meet with the Name Metropolitan [e] in the *African* Councils alſo.

SECT. VI. *Primates in* Africk *called* Senes, *becauſe the oldeſt Biſhop was always Metropolitan.*

BUT theſe Primates in *Africk* are frequently called *Patres* and *Senes*. As in the *African* Code *Xantippus* Primate of *Numidia*, is once and again [f] ſtiled *Senes Xantippus*. And St. *Auſtin* writing to him, inſcribes his Epiſtle [g] *Patri & Conſacerdoti Seni Xantippo*. And thus in many other Epiſtles [h] writing to the Primates, or ſpeaking of them, he gives them the Name of *Senes*. And there was a peculiar Reaſon for giving them this Name in *Africk*. For here the Primacy was not fixed, as in other Places, to the Civil Metropolis, but always went along with the oldeſt Biſhop of the Province, who ſucceeded to this Dignity by vertue of his Seniority, whatever Place he lived in. In other Parts of the World the Biſhop of the Civil Metropolis was commonly Metropolitan in the Church alſo. And ſo it was ordered

[n] Con. Eliber. an. 305. can. 58. [o] Can. Apoſt. c. 35. [p] Cypr. Ep. 42. ad Cornel. Per Provinciam noſtram hæc eadem Collegis ſingulis in notitiam perferentes, ab his quoque Fratres noſtros cum Literis dirigendos eſſe mandavimus. *See alſo* Ep. 40. ad Pleb. Carthag. Ep. 45. ad Cornel. [q] Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. 16. [r] Aug. cont. Parmen. Lib. 1. c. 3. Venientes cum Primate ſuo tunc Secundo Tigiſitano, *&c.* [s] Optat. Lib. 1. p. 41. [t] Euſeb. H. E. Lib. 5. c. 23. Τῶν κατ' Ἰλλίαν παροικιῶν, ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ὑπεσκόπει. [u] Dionyſ. Ep. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 4. c. 3. [w] Euſeb. Lib. 5. c. 24. [x] Euſeb. Lib. 5. c. 23. [y] Canon. Apoſt. c. 35. [z] Epiphan. Hær. 68, & 69. [a] Con. Sard. can. 6. [b] Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. 16. Non exſpectavit Cæcilianus, ut Princeps à Principe ordinaretur. [c] Hilar. Ep. ad Leont. Arelatenſ. ap. Baron. an. 462. In Provincia quæ ad Monarchiam tuam ſpectat, *&c.* [d] Con. Carth. 3. can. 26. Ut primæ ſedis Epiſcopus non appellatur Princeps Sacerdotum, aut ſummus Sacerdos, aut aliquid hujuſmodi, ſed tantum primæ ſedis Epiſcopus. [e] Con. Car. 3. can. 39. Carth. 4. can. 1. [f] Cod. can. Eccl. Afr. c. 91, & 101. [g] Aug. Ep. 236. [h] Aug. Ep. 149, 152, 235, 261, *&c.*

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to be by ſeveral Canons both by the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches. The Council of *Antioch* [i] bids all Biſhops obſerve, that the Biſhop of the Metropolis has the Care of the whole Province, becauſe all Men that have Buſineſs or Controverſies to be decided, reſort from all Parts to the Metropolis. And the Council of *Turin* [k] upon this foot determined a Diſpute about Primacy betwixt the Two Biſhops of *Arles* and *Vienna*; Decreeing that he that could prove his City to be the Metropolis, ſhould be the Primate of the whole Province. The Council of *Chalcedon* has Two Canons [l] appointing thoſe Cities to be Metropoles in the Church, which were ſo in the Civil Diviſion of the Empire. And the Council of *Trullo* [m] has one to the ſame purpoſe.

But in the *African* Churches it was otherwiſe: For they were governed by Rules and Canons of their own; and their Rule was, to let the Primacy remove from City to City, and ſtill go along with the Senior Biſhop, without any regard to the Civil Metropolis, except only at *Carthage*, where the Biſhop was a fixt and ſtanding Metropolitan for the Province of *Africa* properly ſo called. But in *Numidia* and *Mauritania* this Honour was moveable; as may appear from this one Inſtance. *Conſtantina* was the Civil Metropolis of *Numidia*, as we learn both from the ancient *Notitia* of the Empire, and one of the Canons [n] of the *African* Code, which expreſly ſtiles it ſo: Yet the Primacy was ſo far from being ſettled here, that we never ſo much as find that the Biſhop of *Conſtantina* was at any time the Primate; but in *Conſtantine*'s time *Secundus Tigiſitanus* [o] was Primate of *Numidia*; in St. *Auſtin*'s time *Megalius* Biſhop of *Calama* was Primate, who by vertue of his Office [p] ordained St. *Auſtin* Biſhop; afterwards *Xantippus* of *Tagaſta* [q] ſucceeded by vertue of his Seniority, whence he is always ſtiled in St. *Auſtin* [r], and the *African* Councils [s], *Senex Xantippus*. This is ſufficient to ſhew that the Primacy in *Africk* was not confined to the Civil Metropolis, but was always conferred upon the Senior Biſhop, whoſe Seniority was reckoned from the time of his Conſecration. Some there are who pretend to ſay, that theſe *African* Primates notwithſtanding this, were ſubject to the Biſhops of Civil Metropoles, who were properly the Metropolitans. But there is no ground for this Opinion, and it is juſtly exploded by *de Marca* [t] and others, who have occaſionally touched upon this Subject.

SECT. VII. *How African Biſhops might forfeit their Title to the Primacy.*

'Tis true indeed, by the *African* Diſcipline a Biſhop might loſe his Primogeniture, and ſo forfeit his Title to the Primacy; as is evident from a Paſſage in St. *Auſtin* [u], who ſpeaks of ſuch a Puniſhment inflicted upon one *Priſcus* a *Mauritanian* Biſhop, who for ſome Miſdemeanor was denied this Privilege, though he ſtill kept his Biſhoprick: But in ſuch Caſes the Primacy did not devolve to the Biſhop of the Civil Metropolis, but to the next in order, who could prove himſelf Senior by Conſecration.

SECT. VIII. *A Regiſter of Ordinations to be kept in the Primates Church. And all Biſhops to take place by Seniority, &c.*

AND becauſe Diſputes ſometimes aroſe about Seniority; to prevent theſe, ſeveral good Orders were made by the *African* Fathers relating to this Matter. As firſt, that a *Matricula*, or *Archivus*, as they called it, ſhould be kept both in the Primate's Church [w], and in the Metropolis of the Province, for Biſhops to prove the time of their Ordination by.

Then *2dly*, Every Biſhop was to have his Letters of Ordination ſubſcribed by his Ordainers, and dated with the Year and Day of his Conſecration [x]. Thirdly, all Biſhops were to take place according to Seniority, and ſo ſit and vote, and have their Names ſubſcribed in Council; which was a Rule not only in *Africk* [y], but in all other Churches, being enacted by ſeveral [z] Councils, and inſerted into the Civil Law [a] by *Juſtinian* the Emperor. But they were the more nice in obſerving this in *Africk*, where the Primacy went by Seniority, leſt the neglect of it ſhould have bred Confuſion among them. Inſomuch that St. *Auſtin* [b] blames *Victorinus*, (who pretended to be Primate of *Numidia*) only becauſe in his *Tractoria*, or Letter of Summons to a Provincial Council, he wrote the Names of the *Numidian* Biſhops in a confuſed Order, and put *Auſtin*'s Name before many of his Seniors: Which was a thing, he ſays, equally Injurious to them, and Invidious to himſelf. So cautious was he of doing any thing that might ſeem to entrench upon this Rule, for fear of breeding Confuſion in the Government of their Churches.

SECT. IX. *Three ſorts of Honorary Primates, beſides the Primate in Power.*

I muſt here take notice farther, that beſides the Primacy of Power, there was in moſt Provinces alſo a Primacy of Honour;

[i] Con. Antioch. can. 9. [k] Con. Taurin. can. 2. Qui ex iis comprobaverit ſuam Civitatem eſſe Metropolim, is totius Provinciæ honorem Primatus obtineat. [l] Con. Chalced. can. 12, & 16. [m] Con. Trull. can. 38. [n] Con. can. Eccl. Afr. c. 86. [o] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 1. c. 3. Ep. 68. ad Januar. [p] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. Adveniente ad Eccleſiam Hipponenſem tunc Primate Numidiæ Megalio Calamenſi Epiſcopo. [q] Con. Milev. 1. in Cod. Afr. can. 84. Xantippus Primæ Sedis Numidiæ Epiſcopos. Aug. Ep. 217. Collega noſter Xantippus, Tagaſtenſis dicit, quod eum Primatus ipſe contingat, *&c.* [r] Aug. Ep. 236. [s] Cod. can. Afr. c. 91, 101. [t] Marca Diſſert. de Primat. n. 3. Albaſpin. Not. in Optat. Lib. 1. p. 121. Stillingfleet Hiſt. *of* Separ. Par. 3. §. 9. p. 253. Fell Not. in Con. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 230. [u] Aug. Ep. 261. [w] Con. Milev. in Cod. Can. Afr. c. 86. [x] Con. Milev. can. 14. Placuit & quicunque ab Epiſcopus ordinantur, Literas accipiant ab Ordinatoribus ſuis, manu eorum ſubſcriptas, continentes Conſulem & Diem, ut nulla altercatio de Poſterioribus vel Anterioribus oriatur. [y] Con. Milev. c. 13. Poſteriores Anterioribus deferant, *&c.* Vit. Fulgentii cap. 20. Inter Epiſcopos, tempore Ordinationis inferior, ultimus ſedebat. [z] Con. Bracar. 1. can. 24. Con. Tolet. 4. can. 3. Secundum Ordinationis ſuæ tempora reſideant. [a] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 1. Tit. 4. c. 29. Epiſcopi tempore Ordinationis prælati, *&c.* [b] Aug. Ep. 217. ad Victorin.

whence ſome Biſhops had the Name and Title of Primates, who had not the Juriſdiction. And theſe were of three ſorts:

1. Primates Ævo.

1. The *Primate Ævo*, the oldeſt Biſhop in each Province next to the Metropolitan. Theſe had no Power above others, except when the Metropolitan was ſomeway diſabled, or unqualified for diſcharging his Office, by Irregularity or Suſpenſion: Then his Power of courſe devolv'd to the Senior Biſhop of the Province. And this, I conceive, was the reaſon why the Biſhop of *Amaſtris* [c] preſided in Council over the Biſhops of *Pontus*, when yet *Heraclea*, and not *Amaſtris*, was the Metropolis of the Province.

SECT. X.

2. *Titular Metropolitans.*

THE 2d ſort of Honorary Primates were the Titular Metropolitans, which were the Biſhops of ſuch Cities as had the Name and Title of Civil Metropoles beſtowed on them by ſome Emperor, without the Power and Privileges, which were ſtill retained to the ancient Metropolis of the Province. Thus *Marcian* the Emperor dignified the City *Chalcedon* with the Title of a Metropolis, and the Honour was confirmed to the Biſhop by the Council of *Chalcedon* [d] it ſelf, only with a *Salvo Jure* to the Rights of *Nicomedia* the old Metropolis: From that time therefore the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* ſtiled himſelf Metropolitan of *Bithynia*, as may be ſeen in the Acts [e] of the 6th General Council. The ſame Honour was done to the City and Biſhop of *Nice*, in the Council of *Chalcedon* [f] likewiſe. So that here were three Metropolitans in one Province, but one only had the Power; the Privileges of the other two were only Honorary, to Sit and Vote in Council next to their Metropolitan. Yet this gave ſuch Biſhops an Opportunity to exalt themſelves, and ſometimes they ſo far encroached upon the Rights of the firſt Metropolitan, as to draw off his Suffragans, and divide the Province with him. Thus it was with the Biſhop of *Nice*, who before the time of the 6th General Council had got a Synod of Suffragans under him. For ſo *Photius* ſubſcribed himſelf in that Council [g] Biſhop of *Nice*, and Metropolitan of *Bithynia* for himſelf, and the Synod that was under him.

SECT. XI.

3. *The Biſhops of ſome Mother-Churches, which were honoured by Ancient Cuſtom.*

BESIDES theſe there were a third ſort of Primates, who though they were neither Biſhops of Titular Metropoles, nor the oldeſt Biſhops of the Province, yet took place of all the reſt, by a general Deference that was paid to them, out of regard to the Eminency of their See, being ſome Mother-Church, or particularly honoured by ancient Preſcription. This was the Caſe of the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. That City was no Metropolis of the Empire, but ſubject to *Cæſarea* the Metropolis of *Palæſtine*: Yet in regard that it was the Mother-Church of the World, this peculiar Honour was paid to it, That the Biſhop thereof was always next in Dignity to the Metropolitan of *Cæſarea*, and took place of all the other Biſhops of the Province: and this Privilege was confirmed to him by the *Nicene* Council [h], which made a Canon to this purpoſe: That whereas by ancient Cuſtom and Tradition, the Biſhop of *Ælia* had a particular Honour paid him, the ſame ſhould be continued to him, ſtill reſerving to the Metropolis the Dignity and Privilege which belonged to it. Some fondly imagine [i] that this Canon gave the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* Patriarchal Power; whereas it does not ſo much as make him a Metropolitan, but leaves him ſubject to the Metropolis of *Palæſtine*, which was *Cæſarea*, as St. *Jerom* [k] informs us, whoſe Words clear the Senſe of this Canon, and prove that the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was no Metropolitan, nor Independent of his Metropolitan, as *Valeſius* [l] imagines, but had only the ſecond place of Honour aſſigned him next to his Metropolitan, which was that Honorary Primacy which the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* had always enjoyed, becauſe, as the Council of *Conſtantinople* words it [m], *Jeruſalem* was the Mother of all other Churches.

SECT. XII.

The Offices of Metropolitans. 1. *To ordain their Suffragan Biſhops.*

BUT leaving theſe Honorary Primates, who had little more than a Name, I am here to ſhew what were the Offices and Privileges of thoſe who were properly Metropolitans, and they were theſe that follow. Firſt, they were to regulate Elections of all their Provincial Biſhops, and either ordain, or authorize the Ordination of them. No Biſhop was to be elected or ordained without their Conſent and Approbation: Otherwiſe the Canons pronounce both the Election and the Ordination null. The Κῦρος, or Ratification of all that is done, ſays the Council of *Nice* [n], belongs to the Metropolitan in every Province. And again, if any Biſhop is made without the Conſent of the Metropolitan, this great Synod [o] pronounces ſuch an one to be no Biſhop. The ſame Rule is repeated in the Councils of *Antioch* [p], *Laodicea* [q], *Arles* [r], *Turin* [s], *Sardica* [t], *Epheſus* [u], and *Chalcedon* [w]. And whereas ſome pretend that the *African* Primates had not this Power, the contrary appears evidently from ſeveral Canons of their Councils. The ſecond Council of *Carthage* [x] ſays, No

[c] Euſeb. l. 5. c. 23. *ſays he preſided as the Senior Biſhop,* ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προκάθητο. [d] Con. Chalced. Act. 6. T. 2. p. 612. [e] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. [f] Con. Chalced. Act. 13. p. 716. [g] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. p. 1080. [h] Con. Nic. can. 7. ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ Μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. [i] Sylvius Addit. ad Garanz. ſumm. Concil. [k] Jerom. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. Hoc ibi decernitur ut Palæſtinæ Metropolis Cæſarea ſit. [l] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. 5. 23. [m] Con. Conſtant. Ep. Synod. ad Damaſ. [n] Con. Nic. can. 4. [o] Ibid. can. 6. [p] Con. Antioch. can. 19. [q] Con. Laodic. can. 12. [r] Con. Arelat. 2. can. 5, & 6. [s] Con. Taurin. can. 1. [t] Con. Sardic. can. 6. [u] Con. Epheſ. Decret. de Epiſc. Cypr. [w] Con. Chalced. Act. 13. It. can. 25. [x] Con. Carth. 2. c. 12. Inconſulto Primate cujuſlibet Provinciæ nemo præſumat, licet cum multis Epiſcopis, ſine ejus Præcepto Epiſcopum ordinare.

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one ſhall preſume to ordain a Biſhop without conſulting the Primate of the Province, and taking his Precept, though many other Biſhops ſhould join with him. The third Council of *Carthage* requires but three Biſhops to the Ordination of a Biſhop, but then [y] they muſt be ſuch as are expreſly Authorized by the Metropolitan. And the fourth Council [z] requires either his Preſence, or at leaſt his Authority and Commiſſion. Here a Primate and a Metropolitan are the ſame thing, *viz.* the Senior Biſhop of the Province, who uſually went to the Church, where the new Biſhop was to be placed, and Conſecrated him with his own Hands, as St. *Auſtin* and *Poſſidius* [a] teſtifie, who are good Witneſſes of their Practice.

SECT. XIII. *This Power continued to them after the ſetting up of Patriarchs.*

NOR was this Power at all infringed by ſetting up of Patriarchs above them. For though the Metropolitans were then to be ordained by the Patriarchs, and obliged to attend on them for it, who before were ordained by their own Provincial Synod; yet ſtill the Right of Ordaining their own Suffragans, was all along preſerved to them, and expreſly confirmed by the Council [b] of *Chalcedon*; nor do we ever find any Patriarch aſſuming this Power, except the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, for a particular Reaſon, of which I ſhall give an Account in the following Chapter, §. 11.

SECT. XIV. *Yet this Power not Arbitrary, but determined by the Major Vote of a Provincial Synod.*

BUT here I muſt obſerve, that this Power of Metropolitans was not Arbitrary: For though no Biſhop was to be elected or ordained without their Conſent, yet they had no Negative Voice in the Matter, but were to be determined and concluded by the major Part of a Provincial Synod. For ſo the Council of *Arles* [c] decreed, That if there aroſe any Doubt or Heſitation betwixt the Parties, the Metropolitan ſhould ſide with the greater Number. And the Council of *Nice* [d] to the ſame purpoſe: If two or three out of a contentious Humour ſhall oppoſe the common Election, duly and regularly made according to the Canons of the Church, in this caſe let the Majority of Voices prevail.

SECT. XV. *Metropolitans to be choſen and ordained by their own Provincial Synod.*

AND the ſame Rule was to be obſerved in the Ordination of Metropolitans themſelves, who were to be choſen and conſecrated by their own Provincial Biſhops; who were not obliged to ſend for a Metropolitan out of another Province to do it, but they had Power to do it in their own Provincial Synod among themſelves. This St. *Auſtin* ſays was the Cuſtom of the Catholick Church, both in *Africk* and at *Rome*. And therefore when the *Donatiſts* objected againſt *Cæcilian* Primate of *Carthage*, that his Ordination was uncanonical, becauſe he had not ſent for the Neighbouring Primate of *Numidia* to come and Ordain him: His Anſwer was [e] That *Cæcilian* had no need of this; ſince the Cuſtom of the Catholick Church was otherwiſe, which was not to have the *Numidian* Biſhops to ordain the Biſhop of *Carthage*, but the Neighbouring Biſhops of the Province of *Carthage:* As it was not the Cuſtom at *Rome* to ſend for a Metropolitan out of another Province, to ordain the Biſhop of *Rome*, but he was always ordained by the Biſhop of *Oſtia*, a Neighbouring Biſhop of the ſame Province.

'Tis true there is a Canon in the Council [f] of *Sardica*, which orders the Biſhops of the next Province, as ſome interpret it, to be called in to the Ordination of a Metropolitan, τὰς ἀπὸ τῆ πλησιοχώρε ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπες. But this perhaps may as well be render'd, The Neighbouring [g] Biſhops of the ſame Province; and ſince Cuſtom and the Practice of the Church, which is the beſt Interpreter of doubtful Canons, does manifeſtly favour this Senſe, there is ſome reaſon ſo to underſtand it. But however it be, here is no mention of one Metropolitan having a Right to ordain another. From which it appears that in theſe times no Metropolitan was obliged to go or ſend out of his own Province, much leſs to *Rome*, for his Ordination; but all was to be done by his Suffragans in his own Church. Nor was any Biſhop obliged to go for Ordination to his Metropolitan's Church, but ordinarily the Metropolitan and the reſt of the Biſhops met Synodically in the vacant Church, and there elected and conſecrated a new Biſhop in the preſence of the People, for whom they ordained him. This was the firſt part of the Metropolitan's Office.

SECT. XVI. *The 2d Office of Metropolitans, to decide Controverſies ariſing among their Provincial Biſhops, and take Appeals from them.*

THEIR next Office was to preſide over their Provincial Biſhops, and if any Controverſies aroſe among them, to interpoſe their Authority to end and decide them: As alſo to hear the Accuſations of others, who complained of Injury done them by their own Biſhops, from whom there was Liberty always to appeal to their Metropolitan. Thus in *Africk* it was ordained [h] by the Council of *Milevis*, That if Two

[y] Con. Carth. 3. c. 39. Non minus quam tres ſufficiant, qui fuerint à Metropolitano directi ad ordinandum Epiſcopum.
[z] Con. Carth. 4. c. 1. Conventu totius Provinciæ Epiſcoporum, maximeque Metropolitani vel Præſentia, vel Auctoritate ordinetur Epiſcopus. [a] Aug. Ep. 261. Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. [b] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. in fin. [c] Con. Arelat. 1. can. 5. Si inter Partes aliqua nata fuerit dubitatio, majori numero Metropolitanus in Electione conſentiat. [d] Con. Nic. can. 6.
[e] Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. 16. Non exſpectavit Cæcilianus ut Princeps à Principe ordinaretur; cum aliud habeat Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Conſuetudo, ut non Numidiæ, ſed propinquiores Epiſcopi Epiſcopum Eccleſiæ Carthaginis ordinent: Sicut nec Romanæ Eccleſiæ ordinat aliquis Epiſcopus Metropolitanus, ſed de proximo Oſtienſis Epiſcopus. [f] Con. Sard. can. 6. [g] Harmenopulus *ſo underſtood it: For in his Epitome he thus words it;* Οἱ πλησιόχωροι τ ἐπαρχίας παρέσωζ. Vid. Harmen. Epit. Canon. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Gr. Rom. T. 1. p. 2. [h] Con. Milev. Can. 21. Per Epiſcopos Judices Cauſa finiatur, ſive quos eis Primates dederint, ſive quos ipſi vicinos ex conſultu Primatis delegerint.

Biſhops

Biſhops diſputed about the Bounds of their Dioceſes, the Metropolitan ſhould appoint a Committee of Biſhops to hear and determine their Controverſy. If a Presbyter or Deacon was Excommunicated by his own Biſhop, the Council of *Sardica* [i] allows him liberty to Appeal to the Metropolitan of his Province; or if he were abſent, to the Metropolitan of the next Province, to deſire a new hearing of his Cauſe. In ſuch caſes as theſe the Metropolitan had three ways of proceeding: Either 1ſt he was to appoint a ſelect Number of Biſhops to be Judges; which was the Practice of *Africk*, where ſuch Judges were therefore called [k] *Judices Electi*, and their Number aſſigned to be Twelve [l], if a Biſhop's Cauſe was to be tried before them. Or 2dly, he was to refer the Matter to a Provincial Synod, which ſeems to have been the general Practice, when thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons were made: One of which orders [m], That when a Biſhop is accuſed, he ſhall be convened before a Synod of Biſhops. Another ſays [n], The Primate ſhall do nothing without the conſent of all the other Biſhops; ſo Concord will be preſerved, and God will be glorified. And another, Twice a Year let there be a Synod of Biſhops [o] to examine Doctrines of Religion, and terminate all Eccleſiaſtical Controverſies that may happen. But 3dly, by *Juſtinian*'s Law [p] the Metropolitan has Power to hear Cauſes upon Appeal to himſelf without a Synod: Yet whether he could proceed ſo far as to depoſe a Biſhop by his ſole Authority, is queſtioned: *Spalatenſis* [q] gives ſome Inſtances of Biſhops that were depoſed by their Metropolitans, but for ought that appears it was done in Synod: But whether it was, or was not, matters not much; for ſtill in all Caſes, by the ſame Law of *Juſtinian* [r] and the Canons, there lay an Appeal from the Metropolitan to a Provincial Synod, of which he was only the Preſident, or Moderator and Director of Buſineſs in it.

SECT. XVII. *Their 3d Office to call Provincial Synods, which all Suffragans were obliged to attend.*

3. AND this leads us to a third Office of the Metropolitans, which was to call Provincial Synods, and preſide in them. For ſince the Canons [s] appointed two Synods to be held ordinarily every Year in each Province (beſides ſuch as might be called upon extraordinary Occaſions) it was neceſſary ſome one ſhould be appointed to give notice of the Time and Place, and have Authority both to convocate and preſide in them. All things therefore relating to this Matter, were by common Conſent put into the Primate's Power, whoſe Circular Letters (which ſometimes are called *Synodicæ* and *Tractoriæ* [t], as the Emperor's were called *Sacræ*) were a legal Summons, which no Biſhop of the Province might diſobey under pain of Suſpenſion, or ſome ſuch Canonical Cenſure, which is left to the Diſcretion [u] of the Metropolitan and the Council.

SECT. XVIII. *4. Metropolitans to publiſh Imperial Laws and Canons, viſit Dioceſes, and correct Abuſes.*

4. IT belonged to Metropolitans to publiſh and diſperſe ſuch Imperial Laws and Canons, as were either by Councils or Emperors made for the common Good of the Church. This they are required to do by ſeveral Laws [w] both of the Church and State, the better to diffuſe the Knowledge, and enforce the Practice of them. Nor were they only to diſperſe the Canons that were made, but to ſee that they were obſerved: Which gave them Right to Viſit and Enquire into Neglects, Abuſes, and Diſorders committed by any Biſhop throughout the whole Province. The Metropolitan in this reſpect is ſaid to have the Care of the whole Province, by the Council [x] of *Antioch*. Not that this gave him Power to Officiate in any other Biſhop's Church, or perform ſuch Acts as the Biſhop himſelf might perform alone, ſuch as the Ordaining of Presbyters and Deacons, and the like; which are Specialities of every Biſhop, reſerved to them by the ſame Council: But in caſe of Omiſſion or ſcandalous Neglect, the Biſhop of the Metropolis was to manifeſt his Care with the Advice of the reſt of his Brethren.

SECT. XIX. *5. Biſhops not to travel without the Letters of their Metropolitan.*

5. IN *Africk* all Biſhops paid a peculiar Deference to the Primate in taking his Licence to Travel, whenever they were called into a Foreign Country upon extraordinary Occaſions. This was expreſly provided by a Canon of the 3d Council of *Carthage* [y], That no Biſhop ſhould go beyond the Sea without conſulting his Primate, and taking his *Formatæ*, or Letters of Commendation. Nor was this ſo peculiar to *Africk*, but that we may meet with the ſame Rule and Practice in other Places, even as low as the time of *Gregory* the Great, who in one of his Epiſtles [z], gives the ſame Direction to ſome Biſhops in reference to their Metropolitan, That they ſhould not travel upon urgent Occaſion, without his Letters of Conceſſion.

SECT. XX. *6. Metropolitans to take care of vacant Sees within their Province.*

6. IT belonged to Metropolitans to take care of all vacant Sees within their Province; to adminiſter the Affairs of the Church during the Vacancy, to

[i] Con. Sard. can. 14. [k] Con. Carth. 3. can. 7. [l] Con. Carth. 1. can. 11. Epiſcopus à duodecim Conſacerdotibus audiatur. [m] Can. Apoſt. c. 74. Con. Conſtant. 2. Gen. can. 6. [n] Ibid. c. 35. Con. Antioch. can. 9. [o] Ibid. c. 38. [p] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. Tit. 4. c. 29. [q] Spalat. de Repub. Eccl. par. 1. l. 3. c. 7. n. 19. [r] Cod. Juſt. ibid. [s] Con. Nic. can. 5. Antioch. c. 20. Agathen. c. 35. Arelat. 2. c. 18. Can. Apoſt. c. 38. [t] Aug. Ep. 317. ad. Victorin. Tractoria ad me quinto Idus Novembris venit, &c. [u] Con. Chalced. can. 19. Con. Carth. 4. can. 21. Theodoret. Ep. 81. [w] Juſtin. Novel. 6, & 42. [x] Con. Antioch. can. 9. Τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδήχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας. [y] Con. Carth. 3. can. 28. Ut Epiſcopi trans mare non profiſcantur, niſi conſulto Primæ Sedis Epiſcopo, &c. [z] Greg. M. Ep. 8. lib. 7.

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ſecure the Revenues of the Biſhoprick, and procure a ſpeedy Election of a new Biſhop. In *Africk* the Primate commonly appointed one of the Neighbouring Biſhops to be his Vicegerent in ſuch a Caſe, whom therefore the Canons (as has been obſerved before) call an Interventor [a]. The Council of *Riez* [b] in *France* in like manner puts the Adminiſtration of a vacant See into the hands of a Neighbouring Biſhop, under the Inſpection of the Metropolitan. And the Council of *Valentia* [c] in *Spain* authorizes the Metropolitan to puniſh Purloiners of the Revenues in the Vacancy, and to ſend an Adminiſtrator till a new Biſhop is choſen. By a Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* [d], the Care of the Revenues of the Church is committed to the Steward of the Church, the *Oeconomus*; but the Care of ſupplying the vacant See with a new Biſhop within Three Months, is the Buſineſs of the Metropolitan.

SECT. XXI. *7. Metropolitans to Calculate the time of* Eaſter.

7. It belonged to the Metropolitan yearly to review the Calculation of the time of *Eaſter*, and give notice to his Suffragans of it. The Care of Compoſing the Cycle indeed was by the *Nicene* Fathers particularly committed [e] to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as Pope *Leo* and others inform us: And he was to give notice to other Churches: But due Care was not always taken in this matter, and therefore the Metropolitan in every Province was concerned to ſettle the time, and acquaint the whole Province with it. As we find St. *Ambroſe* [f] did for the Province of *Milan*; and the Biſhop of *Carthage* [g] for the Province of *Africk*: And the *Spaniſh* Councils [h] order their Metropolitans firſt to concert the matter among themſelves, and then communicate it to their Comprovincials.

SECT. XXII. *How the Power of Metropolitans grew in After-Ages.*

Some later Canons [i] make it the Privilege of Metropolitans to Conſecrate all Churches throughout the Province. But I have ſhewed before that this was Originally the Privilege of every Biſhop in his own Dioceſe; and being a private Act, which only concerned his own Church, and not the whole Province, the Metropolitan was to have no hand in it, no more than in the Conſecration of Presbyters and Deacons, by the 9th Canon of the Council of *Antioch*. Other Canons [k] bind the whole Province to follow the Forms and Rites of Divine Service us'd in the Metropolitan Church: But I have obſerved before, that anciently every Biſhop had Liberty to preſcribe for his own Dioceſe, and was under no Limitation as to this Matter, unleſs it were the Order of a Provincial Council.

SECT. XXIII. *The Primate of* Alexandria *had the greateſt Power of any other.*

By this we ſee that the Power of Metropolitans in ſome Places exceeded others. And I muſt here obſerve, that the Primate of *Alexandria* was the greateſt Metropolitan in the World, both for the Abſoluteneſs of his Power, and the Extent of his Juriſdiction. For he was not Metropolitan of a ſingle Province, but of all the Provinces of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*, in which there were at leaſt Six large Provinces, out of which ſometimes above an Hundred Biſhops were called to a Provincial Council. *Alexander* ſummon'd near that Number to the Condemnation of *Arius* [l] before the Council of *Nice*. And *Athanaſius* [m] ſpeaks of the ſame Number meeting at other times: Particularly the Council of *Alexandria*, *Ann.* 339, which heard and juſtified the Cauſe of *Athanaſius* after his Return from his Baniſhment, had almoſt an Hundred Biſhops in it; which was above 30 more than the Biſhop of *Rome*'s *Libra*, which was but Sixty nine. Nor was the Primate of *Alexandria*'s Power leſs than the Extent of his Juriſdiction: For he not only ordained all his Suffragan Biſhops, but had Liberty to ordain Presbyters and Deacons in all Churches throughout the whole Diſtrict. Mr. *Baſnage* [n] and *Launoy* will have it that he had the ſole Power of Ordaining, and that not ſo much as a Presbyter or Deacon could be Ordained without it. *Valeſius* [o] thinks his Privilege was rather that he might Ordain, if he pleaſed; but not that he had the ſole Power of Ordaining Presbyters and Deacons. But either way it was a great Privilege, and peculiar to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*: For no other Metropolitan pretended to the like Power beſides himſelf.

SECT. XXIV. *All Metropolitans called* Apoſtolici, *and their Sees* Sedes Apoſtolicæ.

I have but one thing more to obſerve concerning Metropolitans, which is, that they were anciently all dignified with the Name *Apoſtolici*; which was then no peculiar Title of the Biſhop of *Rome*. For Pope *Siricius* himſelf gives all Primates [p] this Appellation: And it continued to be their Title to the Days of *Alcuin*, who ſpeaking of the Election of Biſhops, ſays [q], when the Clergy and People have choſen one, they draw up an Inſtrument, and go with their Elect to the *Apoſtolicus*: By whom he means not the Pope, but the Primate or Metropolitan of every Province who had the Right and Power of Conſecration.

[a] Con. Carth. 5. can. 8. [b] Con. Reienſ. can. 5, & 6. [c] Con. Valent. can. 2. [d] Con. Chalced. c. 25. [e] Leo. Ep. 62. al. 70. ad Marcian. Imper. [f] Ambroſ. Ep. 83. ad Epiſc. per Æmyliam. [g] Con. Carth. 3. can. 1, & 41. [h] Con. Bracar. 2. can. 9. Con. Tolet. 4. can. 4. [i] Gelaſ. Ep. 1. c. 4. Montan. Tolet. Ep. ad Palentinos ap. Blondel. Apol. p. 150. [k] Concil. Gerundenſ. can. 1. Con. Epaun. can. 27. Con. Tolet. 11. can. 3. [l] Alexand. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6. [m] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 720. Con. Alexandr. Ep. Encycl. Con. T. 2. p. 533. [n] Baſnag. Exerc. in Baron. p. 307. & Launoy, Ibid. [o] Valeſ. obſerv. in Socrat. lib. 3. [p] Siric. Ep. 4. c. 1. Ut extra conſcientiam ſedis Apoſtolicæ, id eſt, Primatis, nemo audeat ordinare. [q] Alcuin. de Div. Offic. c. 36. Cui Epiſcopus Civitatis fuerit defunctus, eligitur alius à Clero ſeu Populo, fitque Decretum ab illis, & veniunt ad Apoſtolicum cum ſuo Electo.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Patriarchs.

SECT. I. *Patriarchs anciently called Archbiſhops.*

NEXT in order to the Metropolitans or Primates, were the Patriarchs; or, as they were at firſt called, Archbiſhops and Exarchs of the Dioceſe. For though now an Archbiſhop and a Metropolitan be generally taken for the ſame, to wit, the Primate of a ſingle Province; yet anciently the Name Archbiſhop was a more extenſive Title, and ſcarce given to any but thoſe whoſe Juriſdiction extended over a whole Imperial Dioceſe, as the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, &c. That this was ſo, appears evidently from one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels, where erecting the Biſhoprick of *Juſtiniana Prima* into a Patriarchal See, he ſays, Our Pleaſure is, that the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana* ſhall not only be a Metropolitan [r], but an Archbiſhop. Here the Names are clearly diſtinguiſhed, and an Archbiſhop reckoned Superior to a Metropolitan. And hence it was, that after the ſetting up of Patriarchal Power, the Name Archbiſhop was appropriated to the Patriarchs. *Liberatus* [s] gives all the Patriarchs this Title of Archbiſhops. So does the Council of *Chalcedon* frequently, ſpeaking of the Patriarchs of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople* [t], under the Name of Archbiſhops alſo.

SECT. II. *And Exarchs of the Dioceſe.*

THESE were otherwiſe called Ἔξαρχοι τῆς διοικήσεως, Exarchs of the Dioceſe, to diſtinguiſh them from the Ἔξαρχοι τῆς ἐπαρχίας, the Exarchs of a ſingle Province, which were only Metropolitans. Thus *Domnus* Biſhop of *Antioch* is ſtiled Exarch of the Eaſtern [u] Dioceſe, by the Councils of *Antioch* and *Chalcedon*. And in the Subſcriptions of the 6th General Council at *Conſtantinople*, *Theodore* Biſhop of *Epheſus* ſubſcribes himſelf both Metropolitan of *Epheſus* [w], and Exarch of the *Aſiatick* Dioceſe: As alſo *Philalethes* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* ſtiles himſelf Exarch of the *Pontick* Dioceſe. Which ſhews, that as the Exarch of a Province is a Metropolitan, ſo the Exarch of a Dioceſe is a Patriarch, in the ancient Language of the Church. And by this we underſtand the meaning of the 9th and 17th Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which allow of Appeals from the Metropolitan to the Exarch of the Dioceſe.

SECT. III. Salmaſius's *miſtake about the firſt uſe of the Name Patriarch.*

As to the Name Patriarch, there is ſome Diſpute among Learned Men, when firſt it began to be uſed as an Appropriate Title of any Chriſtian Biſhops. *Salmaſius* [x] and ſome others are of Opinion, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had this Title from the time of the Emperor *Hadrian*, which was in the beginning of the 2d Century. Their Reaſon is, becauſe that Emperor in an Epiſtle mentioned by *Vopiſcus*, ſpeaks of a Patriarch at *Alexandria*. But the Patriarch there ſpoken of was not any Chriſtian, but a *Jewiſh* Patriarch; as may appear from *Hadrian*'s Words, and the Character which he gives [y] of him. For he ſays, he was one who was compelled to worſhip both Chriſt and *Serapis*: Which agrees very well to the Character of a *Jewiſh* Patriarch, who neither acknowledged the Heathen, nor the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore needed as much Compulſion to bring him to worſhip Chriſt, as *Serapis*; but it does not at all agree to the Character of a Chriſtian Biſhop, who, however he might need force to compel him to worſhip *Serapis*, yet muſt be ſuppoſed willing of his own accord to worſhip Chriſt. Beſides, the Patriarch which the Emperor ſpeaks of was one who came only Occaſionally into *Egypt* out of another Country; which cannot be ſaid of the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had his fixed and continual Reſidence there: But it ſuits exactly the State and Condition of the *Jewiſh* Patriarch, who reſided at *Tiberias* in *Palæſtine*, and came but accidentally, or at ſome certain times, into *Egypt*. Theſe and the like Reaſons make others conclude againſt *Salmaſius*, that whoever is meant, it is not any Chriſtian Patriarch that is here ſpoken of. *Baronius* [z] fancies it was the Heathen Pontifex, or High-Prieſt of *Egypt*: But the ſame Reaſons will hold againſt his Opinion as againſt the other: For the High-Prieſt of *Egypt* lived in *Egypt*, and needed no Compulſion to worſhip *Serapis*, as this Patriarch did. So that it muſt be the *Jewiſh* Patriarch, and no other, which *Hadrian* ſpeaks of, as Mr. *Baſnage* [a] and Biſhop *Pearſon*, with ſome others have obſerved.

SECT. IV. *Of the* Jewiſh *Patriarchs, their firſt Riſe, Duration, and Extinction.*

THESE *Jewiſh* Patriarchs, from whom, as is generally agreed, the Chriſtian Patriarchs borrowed their Names, were a ſort of Governors among the *Jews* ſet up upon the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; one of which had his Reſidence at *Tiberias*, and ano-

[r] Juſtin. Novel. 11. Volumus ut non ſolum Metropolitanus, ſed etiam Archiepiſcopus fiat. [s] Liberat. Breviar. c. 17. [t] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. It. Act. 4. & Can. 30. [u] Con. Antioch. in Act. 14. Con. Chalced. [w] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. Con. Tom. 6. p. 1077, & 1080. [x] Salmaſ. de Primat. c. 4. p. 44. It. not. in Vopiſcum. [y] Hadrian. Epiſt. ap. Vopiſcum Vit. Saturnin. Illi qui Serapin colunt, Chriſtiani ſunt. Et devoti ſunt Serapi, qui ſe Chriſti Epiſcopos dicunt. Nemo illic Archiſynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Chriſtianorum Presbyter, non Mathematicus, non Aruſpex, non Aliptes. Ille ipſe Patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Chriſtum. [z] Baron. Annal. Tom. 2. an. 112. [a] Baſnag. Exercit. Hiſtor. p. 284. Pearſon. Vindic. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 11. p. 328. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. Verbo πατριάρχης. Cave, Anc. Chur. Gov. p. 153.

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ther at *Babylon*, who were the Heads of the *Jews* diſperſed throughout the *Roman* and the *Perſian* Empire. Of theſe there is frequent mention made in the ancient Writers of the Church, [b] *Origen*, [c] *Epiphanius*, [d] *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, [e] *Theodoret*, and many others. They continued in great Power and Dignity till the latter end of the 4th Century, about which time their Order ceaſed. For *Theodoret* ſays expreſly, that long before his time their Government was wholly aboliſhed: And one of the Laws of the younger *Theodoſius*, *An.* 429, ſpeaks [f] of them as then extinct.

SECT. V. *Of the Patriarchs among the* Montaniſts.

MUCH about the ſame time the *Montaniſts*, or *Cataphrygian* Hereticks, had an Order of Men among them, which they called Patriarchs, and another which they called *Cenones*, both which were Superior to their Biſhops, and as it ſhould ſeem, Diſtinct Orders from them: For St. *Jerom* [g] charges it on them as a Crime, that they thruſt down the Order of Biſhops, who were the Apoſtles Succeſſors, and ſet up an Order of Patriarchs, and an Order of *Cenones* among them. Which makes ſome Learned [h] Men think, that when St. *Jerom* wrote that againſt the *Montaniſts*, the Name *Patriarch* was not as yet adopted into the Church, though the Power was, under another Name.

SECT. VI. *The Name Patriarch firſt uſed by* Socrates *and in the Council of* Chalcedon.

INDEED the firſt time we meet with the Name Patriarch given to any Biſhop by any Publick Authority of the Church, is in the Council of *Chalcedon*, which mentions [i] the moſt Holy Patriarchs of every Dioceſe, and particularly *Leo* Patriarch [k] of Great *Rome*. *Richerius*, who has written accurately about the Councils, can trace the Name no higher [l]. Among Private Authors the firſt that mentions Patriarchs by Name is *Socrates* [m], who wrote his Hiſtory about the Year 440, Eleven Years before the Council of *Chalcedon*. By what he ſays, it appears that during the Interval between the General Council of *Conſtantinople*, *Ann.* 381, and that of *Chalcedon*, the Name Patriarch began to be an appropriate Title of ſome eminent Biſhops in the Church. For ſpeaking of the Fathers at *Conſtantinople*, he ſays, They conſtituted Patriarchs, dividing the Provinces among them. *Valeſius* [n] and Dr. *Cave* [o] think *Socrates* ſpeaks not of true and proper Patriarchs, but only of extraordinary Legates, or Pro-tempore Commiſſioners, appointed by the Council to judge who were fit to be received to Catholick Communion in the ſeveral Dioceſes that were allotted them. But all others underſtand him in the proper Senſe, becauſe by this time Patriarchal Power was ſettled in all the Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire.

SECT. VII. *Four different Opinions concerning the firſt Riſe of Patriarchal Power.*

BUT though the Name of Patriarchs came not into the Church till about the time of *Socrates*, yet the Power it ſelf, as is agreed on all hands, was much earlier; though where preciſely to fix the *Epocha*, and date its Riſe, is not ſo eaſy to determine. Some carry it as high as the Apoſtles, and derive it, as they do the Pope's Supremacy, from St. *Peter*. So [p] *Baronius*, who is followed by the moſt eminent Writers of his own Communion, *de Marca*, *Valeſius*, *Richerius*, *Pagius*, and *Schelſtrate*. Others juſtly reject this, as founded upon no good Authority, nor evidenced by any Genuine Records of the ancient Church, but only the Spurious Epiſtles of the firſt Popes; and reckon the firſt riſe of Patriarchs to have been after the Apoſtolical Age, and ſome time before the Council of *Nice*. This is the Opinion of *Spalatenſis* [q], and Mr. *Brerewood*. The 3d Opinion is that of *Balzamon* [r] and other Modern *Greeks*, that Patriarchs were firſt inſtituted by the Council of *Nice*: And this ſeems to be favoured by St. *Jerom*: For in his Epiſtle to *Pamachius*, writing againſt the Errors of *John* of *Jeruſalem*, he ſays it was decreed in the Council of *Nice*, [s] that *Cæſarea* ſhould be the Metropolis of *Paleſtine*, and *Antioch* the Metropolis of the whole *Eaſt*. Therefore the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* muſt either Appeal to the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, as his Immediate Metropolitan, or to the Biſhop of *Antioch*, as Metropolitan of the *Eaſt*. But if I rightly underſtand St. *Jerom*, he does not mean (as ſome miſtake him) that Patriarchs were firſt ſet up by the Council of *Nice*: For then Metropolitans muſt be ſo too; ſince he ſays the ſame of them, which yet every one knows were in the Church long before the Council of *Nice*. His meaning then muſt be, that both Metropolitans of Provinces, and Metropolitans of Dioceſes were in being before the Council of *Nice*, and only received Confirmation, or a Canonical Eſtabliſhment from it. And indeed it is evident,

[b] Orig. περὶ ἀρχῶν, l. 4. c. 1. [c] Epiphan. Hær. 30. [d] Cyr. Catech. 12. n. 7. [e] Theodor. Dial. 1. [f] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 8. de Jud. l. 29. [g] Jerom. Ep. 54. ad Marcel. adv. Montan. T. 2. p. 128. Apud nos Apoſtolorum locum Epiſcopi tenent; apud eos Epiſcopus tertius eſt. Habent enim primos de Pepuza Phrygiæ Patriarchas: Secundos quos appellant Cenones: Atque ita in tertium, id eſt, pene ultimum locum, Epiſcopi devolvuntur. [h] Baſnag. Exercit. Hiſtor. p. 285. Hinc colligi poſſit, priſcis temporibus nondum Epiſcopis inſignioribus affixum fuiſſe Nomen Patriarchæ. [i] Con. Chalced. Act. 2. p. 338. ὁσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐκάστης. [k] Act. 3. p. 395. [l] Rich. Hiſt. Concil. Tom. 1. c. 2. n. 11. Nomen Patriarcharum primum quod ſciam uſurpatum in Synodo Chalcedonenſi. [m] Socrat. H. E. l. 5. c. 8. [n] Valeſ. Annot. in Socrat. [o] Anc. Ch. Gov. p. 147. [p] Baron. Annal. Tom. 1. an. 39. n. 16. Pet. de Marca de Concord. T. 1. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 5. Valeſ. Obſerv. Eccleſ. lib. 3. Richer. Hiſt. Concil. Tom. 1. c. 1. n. 14. Ant. Pag. Critic. an. 37. n. 9. [q] Spalat. de Repub. Par. 1. l. 3. c. 12. n. 21. Brerewood of Patriar. Gov. Q. 1. [r] Balzam. in Can. 6. Con. Nic. [s] Hieron. Ep. 61. Tom. 2. p. 178. Ad Alexandrinum Epiſcopum Palæſtina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palæſtinæ Metropolis Cæſarea ſit totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæſarienſem Epiſcopum referre debueras; —— Aut ſi procul expetendum Judicium erat, Antiochiam potius Literæ dirigendæ.

that the *Nicene* Fathers made no Alteration in these Matters, but only confirmed the ancient Rights of the Bishops of Principal Cities, as they found them authorized by Custom before. For the words [*t*] they use are, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, "Let ancient Custom still take place; "so as in *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, the Bi- "shop of *Alexandria* shall have Power over all; "because such also is the Custom of the Bishop "of *Rome*. And accordingly in *Antioch*, and in "other Provinces, let the Privileges be preserved "to the Churches.

Here it is plain, that no new Power is given to any Bishops, but only what ancient Custom and Practice had assigned them. So that either Patriarchs were set up by Custom before the [*u*] Council of *Nice*, and confirmed by the Council, as St. *Jerom* thinks, or else not introduced till afterwards. This last Opinion (notwithstanding what St. *Jerom* says) is embraced by the famous Mr. *Launoy* [*w*], Mr. *Basnage*, [*x*], Dr. *Beverege* [*y*], and Dr. *Cave* [*z*], who think that Patriarchal Power was not confirmed by the *Nicene* Canon, nor known in the Church till about the time of the 2d General Council of *Constantinople*, Ann. 381.

SECT. VIII. *The Opinion of* Spalatensis *and St.* Jerom *preferred.*

IN a Matter so obscure, and so variously controverted among Learned Men, it is not easy to determine where the Right lies. Patriarchal Power was not set up at one and the same time in all Places. *Alexandria* and *Antioch* were as early as any, and the Bishop of *Alexandria* before the Council of *Nice* had all *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis* under his Jurisdiction, as appears from the *Nicene* Canons. This was the *Diœcesis Ægyptiaca*, which consisted of six large Provinces, four in *Egypt*, viz. *Thebais*, *Arcadia*, *Augustanica*, and *Ægyptus* properly so called, *Libya* Inferior, and *Libya* Superior, which is *Pentapolis*. As all these were subject to the *Præfectus Augustalus* of *Egypt*, so they were likewise under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. So that he was not only a Metropolitan of a single Province, but of six Provinces joined in one Diocese. But now the Question is, whether at this time he had any Metropolitans under him? For if he had, then he was properly a Patriarch at the time of the *Nicene* Council. As to this I can only say, that *Epiphanius* and *Synesius* do expresly mention Archbishops and Metropolitans under the Archbishop of *Alexandria*, in the time of *Athanasius* and *Alexandria* his Predecessor, who were both present in the Council of *Nice*. But whether they mean Metropolitans in the proper Sense, or only Coadjutors to the Archbishop of *Alexandria*, I cannot yet determine. I will recite the Passages, and leave the Curious and the Learned to make farther Enquiry. *Synesius* says, The Great *Athanasius* seeing the Church of *Ptolemais* had need of a Bishop that was able to cherish and augment the small Sparks of true Religion, which was then in a dwindling Condition there; and finding *Siderius* Bishop of *Palæbisca* a Man fit for great Business; he commanded him to remove [*a*] thence to *Ptolemais*, to govern the Metropolitan Church there. And *Epiphanius* [*b*] speaking of *Meletius*, the Author of the *Meletian* Schism before the Council of *Nice*, says expresly, "He was an "Archbishop in *Egypt*, under *Alexander* Arch- "bishop of *Alexandria*, to whom he gave the "first Information against *Arius*. This agrees with what he says of him in another place [*c*], "That he was Chief of the *Egyptian* Bishops, "and next in Order to *Peter* in the Archbi- "shoprick, being his Assistant, and administring "Ecclesiastical Affairs under him. For there the "Custom is, for the Archbishop of *Alexandria* "to have the ordering of Ecclesiastical Matters "throughout all *Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Mareotes*, "*Libya*, *Ammoniaca*, *Mareotis*, and *Pentapolis*. So that as the Bishop of *Alexandria* had six Provinces under him, he seems also to have had Subordinate Metropolitans or Archbishops under him likewise, as the Archbishop of *Lycopolis* in *Thebais*, the Metropolitan of *Ptolemais* in *Pentapolis*. And if these were properly Metropolitans, He must be a Patriarch, under the Name of Metropolitan of the whole *Egyptian* Diocese, as they were Metropolitans of their respective Provinces: Which is the thing that St. *Jerom* asserts in reference to *Cæsarea* and *Antioch*, that the one was the Metropolis of *Palestine*, and the other the Metropolis of the Oriental Diocese; and this from ancient Custom, ratified and confirmed by the Council of *Nice*.

SECT. IX. *Patriarchal Power established in three General Councils successively, viz.* Constantinople, Ephesus, *and* Chalcedon.

BUT however this be (for I determine nothing positively in this Matter) the next Age affords us very pregnant Proofs of the Establishment and Growth of Patriarchal Power. The General Council of *Constantinople* [*d*,] *An.* 381, has a Canon to fix the Limits of the several Dioceses: So that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should only administer the Affairs of the *Egyptian* Diocese: The Bishops of the *East*, the *Eastern* Diocese, reserving the Privileges granted by the Council of *Nice* to the Church of *Antioch*: The Bishops of the *Asiatick* Diocese, the *Asiatick* Churches only: Those of the *Pontick* Diocese, the *Pontick* Churches: And those of the *Thracian* Diocese, the *Thracian* Churches only.

[*t*] Con. Nic. can. 6. [*u*] *So* Du Pin Bibliothec. vol. 2. p. 252. It. de Antiq. Eccl. Disciplin. Dissert. 1. Sect. 11. p. 35.
[*w*] Launoy, de Rect. Interpr. Can. 6. Con. Nic.
[*x*] Basnag. Exercit. Histor. p. 307. [*y*] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 2. Con. Constant. [*z*] Cave Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 2, & 4.
[*a*] Synes. Ep. 67. ad Theoph. p. 231. Πάμμεγαν Ἀθανάσιον — ἀνδρα τοῦτον, ὡς μάζεσι πεφυγμασιν ὀπτηδόνα, ἐκεῖ διαζῆναι κελεῦσαι. τὴν Πτολεμαΐτιν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερφλέγουσα. [*b*] Epiphan. Hær. 69. n. 3. Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μελήτιος ὁ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὑπὸ ᾧ χεῖρα Ἀλεξάνδρας. [*c*] Hær. 68. Meletian. n. 1. Ὁ Μελήτιος τῷ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πρωήκων, καὶ δευτερεύων τῷ Πέτρῳ, τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, ὡς δι' ἀνθιλήψεως αὐτῷ χάειν, &c. [*d*] Con. C. Pol. Can. 2.

Theodoret

Theodoret [e] ſpeaking of this Council, ſays, They divided the Dioceſes, and aſſigned every Dioceſe its proper Limits and Juriſdiction. And *Socrates* [f] more expreſly, "That they con- "ſtituted Patriarchs, and diſtributed the Pro- "vinces, ſo that no Biſhops ſhould meddle with "the Affairs of another Dioceſe, as was uſed "to be done in times of Perſecution. *Necta-* "*rius* was allotted *Conſtantinople* and *Thrace*; "*Helladius*, St. *Baſil*'s Succeſſor, the *Pontick* "Dioceſe, *&c.*

About Fifty Years after this, *An.* 431, the 3d General Council was held at *Epheſus*, where we find the Biſhop of *Antioch* laying claim to the Power of Ordinations in the Province of *Cyprus*: But this proving to be an unjuſt Claim, the Council made a Decree in favour of the *Cyprian* Biſhops, exempting them from the Juriſdiction of *Antioch*; becauſe by ancient Cuſtom they always were exempt: And it is added [g] "That "the ſame Rule ſhould be obſerved in all Dio- "ceſes and Provinces, That no Biſhop ſhould "ſeize upon any Province, which did not an- "ciently belong to his Juriſdiction. This plainly implies, that the Biſhop of *Antioch* had then ſeveral Provinces, or a whole Dioceſe, under his Power; which was confirmed to him by the Council, and he was only denied Juriſdiction over the Province of *Cyprus*, becauſe of ancient Right it did not belong to him.

About 18 Years after this, *Theodoſius* Junior, and *Valentinian* called the 2d Council of *Epheſus*, *An.* 449. And in the Letter of Summons to *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, they give him Orders to bring ten Metropolitans [h] of his Dioceſe with him. This is noted by *Liberatus* in his Breviary, and the Letter is ſtill extant [i] in the Council of *Chalcedon*; by which it appears, that at this time the Archbiſhop of *Alexandria* had a great number of Metropolitans, within the *Egyptian* Dioceſe, under his Juriſdiction. So that though there be ſome Diſpute concerning the firſt Riſe and Original of Patriarchal Power: Yet there remains no manner of Doubt, but that it was come to its full Height and Eſtabliſhment in the time of the General Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*.

SECT. X.

The Power of Patriarchs not exactly the ſame in all Churches.

THEREFORE the next Enquiry is into the Rights and Privileges of theſe Patriarchs. And here it is to be nicely obſerved, that the Power of Patriarchs was not one and the ſame preciſely in all Churches, but differed according to the different Cuſtoms of Places and Countries, or according as it was the Pleaſure of Kings and Councils to beſtow greater Privileges on them. The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, when he was firſt advanc'd by the 2d General Council, had only the ſingle Dioceſe of *Thrace* aſſigned him [k] for the exerciſe of his Juriſdiction: But in the next Age he was grown to be a ſort of Patriarch over the Patriarchs of *Epheſus* and *Cæſarea* in the *Aſiatick* and *Pontick* Dioceſes, by the voluntary Conſent of thoſe two Exarchs (no doubt) at firſt paying a Deference to the Exarch of the Royal City; which advancing into a Cuſtom, was afterwards confirmed by Canon in the Council of *Chalcedon*. In the 16th Seſſion of that Council there is a long Debate about this Matter, the Pope's Legates warmly ſtickling againſt it: But all the Metropolitans of the two Dioceſes of *Aſia* and *Pontus* then in Council, together with *Thalaſſius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and Exarch of the *Pontick* Dioceſe, with one Voice declaring that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had by long Cuſtom and Preſcription enjoyed the Privilege of Ordaining Metropolitans in thoſe two Dioceſes, as well as that of *Thrace*; it was decreed, that this Privilege ſhould be continued to him, notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Interceſſion againſt it [l]. Alſo by two Canons of that Council he is allowed to receive Appeals [m] from the Exarchs of thoſe Dioceſes, becauſe his Throne was in the Royal City. And in ſuch parts of thoſe Dioceſes, as were chiefly in the hands of *Barbarians*, he is authorized by another Canon [n] to ordain all the Biſhops, which in other Parts was the ſole Privilege of the Metropolitans. *Theodoret* [o] obſerves even of *Chryſoſtom* himſelf before the Council of *Chalcedon*, that he exerciſed this Power over all the three Dioceſes. For he ſays, "His Care extended not only over *Con-* "*ſtantinople* and *Thrace*, which conſiſted of ſix "Provinces, but over *Aſia* and *Pontus*, each of "which had Eleven Civil *Prætors* in them. We are not therefore to take an Eſtimate of Patriarchal Power from the growing Greatneſs of *Conſtantinople*, but to diſtinguiſh the peculiar Privileges of ſome Patriarchs above others, which is the only way to underſtand the Power of each.

The Patriarch of Conſtantinople *had ſome peculiar Privileges.*

SECT. XI.

The Patriarch of Alexandria *had alſo Privileges peculiar to himſelf.*

FOR the Patriarch of *Alexandria* had alſo ſome Prerogatives, which no other Patriarch beſides himſelf enjoyed. Such was the Right of Conſecrating and Approving every ſingle Biſhop throughout all the Provinces of his Dioceſe. This Privilege was not allowed even to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*: For the Council of *Chalcedon*, in the very ſame place where they give him Power to conſecrate the Metropolitans of three whole Dioceſes, deny him the Privilege of Conſecrating the Suffragan Biſhops of thoſe Metropolitans; and reſerve it as an ancient Right of each Metropolitan, with a Synod of his Provincial Biſhops, to conſecrate all the Biſhops within his Province, the Archbiſhops of *Conſtantinople* neither being

[e] Theod. Ep. 86. ad Flav. T. 3. p. 963. [f] Socrat. H. E. lib. 5. c. 8. πάλαι ἀρχὰς κάλλιστας, *&c.* [g] Con. Epheſ. 1. Act. 7. Decret. de Epiſ. Cypr. [h] Liberat. Breviar. c. 12. Imperator dirigens Sacram Dioſcoro in Alexandriam, præcepit, ut cum decem Metropolitanis Epiſcopis, quos voluiſſet, ipſe eligeret, & veniret Epheſum. [i] Con. Chalced. Act. 1. C. T. 4. p. 100. [k] Con. Conſt. 1. Can. 2. [l] Con. Chalced. Can. 28. & Act. 16. per Tot. [m] Ibid. Can. 9, & 17. [n] Con. Chal. Can. 28. [o] Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 28.

conſulted,

consulted, nor having [p] any hand in those Ordinations. But it was otherwise at *Alexandria*. For the Bishop of *Alexandria*, whilst he was only a Metropolitan, had the Ordination of all the Bishops of the six Provinces of the *Egyptian* Diocese, being the sole and only Metropolitan in all those Provinces: And having but the same Diocese when he came to be a Patriarch, he continued his ancient Custom of Ordaining all the Bishops throughout the six Provinces, notwithstanding that new Metropolitans were set up in them. And in this the Patriarch of *Alexandria* differed from all others: For in all other Dioceses the Metropolitans had the Right of Ordaining their Suffragan Bishops, which here the Patriarch retained to himself, as an ancient Branch of his Metropolitical Power. I know indeed a very Learned [q] Person is of a different Opinion: He says, "The Bishop of "*Alexandria* was rather a loser by being made a "Patriarch: For now according to the Constitution of Church-Policy, the Ordination of "Suffragan Bishops, which before belonged entirely to him, was devolved upon the several "Metropolitans under him. But this Assertion proceeds upon a Supposition, That Patriarchal Rights were exactly the same in all Places: Which from the Instance I have given of *Constantinople* appears to be otherwise; for the Patriarchs of *Ephesus* and *Cæsarea* had not the Ordination of their own Metropolitans, but they were all subject to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. And as to the Case of *Alexandria*, it appears from *Synesius*, who was himself Metropolitan of *Ptolemais*, that the Ordination not only of the Metropolitans, but of all the Suffragan Bishops throughout the whole District of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, belonged still to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. For in a Letter to *Theophilus*, acquainting him how He and two other Bishops had met at *Olbiæ* to make choice of a Bishop, and that one *Antonius* was unanimously chosen by the People; he adds [r], That yet there was one thing wanting, which was more necessary than all, *viz.* His Sacred Hand to consecrate him. Which shews, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* still retained his ancient Right of Consecrating all the Bishops of the *Egyptian* Diocese.

SECT. XII.
The 1st Privilege of Patriarchs was to Ordain all the Metropolitans of the Diocese, and receive his own Ordination from a Diocesan Synod.

IN other Dioceses the Patriarchs Power was chiefly seen in the Ordination or Confirmation of all the Metropolitans that were under him. This appears from the fore-cited Canons [s] of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and several of *Justinian*'s Novels; one of which [t] takes notice of the Bishop of *Constantinople*'s Ordaining all the Metropolitans under him; and another gives the same Power to the Patriarch of *Justiniana Prima* [u], then newly advanced to Patriarchal Dignity by *Justinian*, because it was the place of his Nativity. And that this was a peculiar Privilege of Patriarchs, appears farther from one of the *Arabick* Canons published by *Turrian*, under the Name of the *Nicene* Canons, which were invented after the Name of Patriarchs was known in the Church. The 36th of these Canons speaking of the Catholick of *Ethiopia* [w], who was no Patriarch, but subject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, says, He shall not have Power to ordain Archbishops, as Patriarchs have; because he hath not the Power or Honour of a Patriarch.

It was therefore the Prerogative of Patriarchs, (those of *Ephesus* and *Cæsarea* only excepted) to ordain the Metropolitans under them: But they themselves were to be ordained by a Diocesan Synod, as *Justinian*'s forecited Novel [x] informs us. And this was called the Canonical Ordination of a Patriarch. For so the Council of *Constantinople*, in their Synodical Epistle to the *Western* Bishops, prove the Ordination of *Flavian* Bishop of *Antioch* (who presided over all the *Eastern* Diocese [y], as *Theodoret* says) to be Canonical, because he was ordained not only by the Bishops of the Province, but τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως, the Bishops of the whole *Eastern* Diocese [z] Synodically met together.

SECT. XIII.
A 2d Privilege was to call Diocesan Synods, and preside in them.

2. THE next Privilege of Patriarchs was the Power of Convening their Metropolitans and all the Provincial Bishops to a Diocesan Synod; which Privilege was founded upon the same Canons that granted Metropolitans Authority to summon Provincial Synods, and preside in them. For by just Analogy the Patriarch was to have the same Power over the Metropolitans, that they had over their Provincial Bishops. And therefore *Theodoret* [a] speaking of his own Attendance at the Synods of his Patriarch at *Antioch*, says, he did it in Obedience to his Ecclesiastical Canons, which make him a Criminal that is summoned to a Synod, and refuses to pay his Attendance at it.

SECT. XIV.
A 3d Privilege to receive Appeals from Metropolitans and Provincial Synods.

3. ANOTHER Privilege of Patriarchs, was the Power of receiving Appeals from Metropolitans and Provincial Synods, and Reversing their Decrees, if they were found faulty. If any Bishop or Clergyman have a Controversy with the Metropolitan of his Province, let him have Recourse to the

[p] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. in fin. Etiam nihil communicante in illorum Ordinationibus Archiepiscopo Regiæ Constantinopolis. [q] Dr. Cave Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 4. p. 159. [r] Synes. Ep. 76. ad Theoph. ἑνὸς ἔτι δεῖ, τῶν κυριωτάτων μέν τοι, τῆς ἱερᾶς σου χειρός. [s] Con Chalc. can. 28, & Act. 16. [t] Justin. Novel. 7. [u] Justin. Nov. 131. c. 3. Per tempus Beatissimum Justinianæ Primæ Patriæ nostræ Archiepiscopum habere semper sub sua Jurisdictione Episcopos Provinciarum Daciæ Mediterraneæ, & Daciæ Ripensis, & Privalis (al. Triballiæ) & Dardaniæ, & Mysiæ superioris, & Pannoniæ: Et ab eo hos ordinari, ipsum vero à proprio ordinari Concilio. [w] Con. Nicen. Arab. c. 36. Non tamen jus habeat constituendi Archiepiscopos, ut habeat Patriarcha; siquidem non habet Patriarchæ honorem & potestatem. [x] Novel. 131. Ipsum vero (Patriarcham) à proprio ordinari Concilio. [y] Theod. H. E. lib. 5. c. 23. [z] Con. Constant. Ep. ad Occident. ap. Theod. H. E. lib. 5. c. 9. [a] Theod. Ep. 81.

Exarch

Exarch of the Dioceſe, ſays the Council of *Chalcedon* [b], in one Canon: And in another [c], If any Man is injured by his own Biſhop, or Metropolitan, let him bring his Cauſe before the Exarch of the Dioceſe, or the Throne of *Conſtantinople*. Theſe Canons are adopted into the Civil Law, and confirmed by Imperial Edicts. For by one of *Juſtinian*'s Conſtitutions [d] the Patriarch is to receive Appeals from a Provincial Synod, and give a final Determination to all Cauſes that are regularly brought before him: And the regular way of proceeding is there ſpecified, which is, That no Man ſhall bring his Cauſe firſt before the Patriarch, but firſt before his own Biſhop, then before the Metropolitan, after that before a Provincial Synod, and laſt of all before the Patriarch, from whoſe Judgment there lay no Appeal. The ſame is repeated and confirmed by other Laws [e] of that Emperor, which need not here be recited.

SECT. XV. *A 4th Privilege to cenſure Metropolitans, and alſo their Suffragans, when Metropolitans were remiſs in cenſuring them.*

4. As Patriarchs might receive Appeals from Metropolitans, ſo they had Power to enquire into their Adminiſtration, and correct and cenſure them, in caſe of Hereſy, or Miſdemeanour, or any Male-Adminiſtration, which made them liable by the Canons to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. *Juſtinian* made an expreſs Law to this purpoſe, [f] That if any Clergyman was accuſed in point of Faith or Morals, or Tranſgreſſion of the ſacred Canons; if he was a Biſhop, he ſhould be examined before his Metropolitan; but if he was a Metropolitan, then before the Archbiſhop, that is, the Patriarch to whom he was ſubject. By virtue of this Power *Chryſoſtom* depoſed *Gerontius* [g] Metropolitan of *Nicomedia*: And *Atticus* decided a Controverſy between *Theodoſius* and *Agapetus* [h], who contended about the Throne of *Synada* the Metropolis of *Phrygia Pacatiana*: And it were eaſy to add many other Inſtances of the like Nature out of the ancient Councils, which concurred with the Patriarchs in the exerciſe of this Power.

Nor did this Power extend only over Metropolitans, but over their Suffragan Biſhops alſo. For though every Provincial Biſhop was to be tried by his own Metropolitan and a Provincial Synod; yet in caſe they were negligent and remiſs in executing the Canons againſt Delinquents, the Patriarch had Power to take the Matter into his own Cognizance, and cenſure any Biſhop within the Limits of his Juriſdiction. Thus *Sozomen* [i] obſerves of *Chryſoſtom*, that at one Viſitation at *Epheſus* he depoſed thirteen Biſhops of *Aſia*, *Lycia* and *Phrygia* for Simony, and ſuch other corrupt Practices. This was done in a Synod of 70 Biſhops held at *Epheſus*, *An.* 401, as *Valeſius* [k] and *Du Pin* obſerve out of *Palladius*, who mentions the ſame thing, though he ſpeaks but of ſix Biſhops then depoſed.

SECT. XVI. *A 5th Privilege. Patriarchs might make Metropolitans their Commiſſioners, &c.*

5. THE Patriarch had Power to delegate, or ſend a Metropolitan into any part of his Dioceſe, as his Commiſſioner, to hear and determine Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes in his Name. At leaſt it was ſo in the Dioceſe of *Egypt* where *Syneſius* was Biſhop. For in one of his Epiſtles [l] writing to *Theophilas* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, he tells him what a difficult Task he had put upon him, when he ſent him through an Enemy's Country, to *Hydrax* and *Palæbiſca*, two Villages in the Confines of *Libya*, to determine a Diſpute that was riſen there about erecting of thoſe Places into Biſhops Sees: But, ſays he, there lies a Neceſſity upon me, νόμον ἡγεῖδς, to take every thing for a Law that is enjoyn'd me by the Throne of *Alexandria*.

SECT. XVII. *A 6th Privilege. The Patriarch to be conſulted by his Metropolitans in matters of any great Moment.*

6. AND as the Metropolitans did every thing that was Canonically enjoined them by the Patriarch: So they did nothing of any great Moment without him: paying the ſame Deference to him, that the Canons obliged their Suffragans to pay to them. This at leaſt was the Cuſtom of *Egypt*, as appears from a noted Paſſage related in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon* [m], where we find, that when Pope *Leo*'s Epiſtle againſt *Eutyches* was ſubſcribed by all the Biſhops in Council, the *Egyptian* Biſhops then preſent refuſed to do it, becauſe they had then no Patriarch, and it was not lawful for them to do it without the conſent of a Patriarch, by the Rule of the Council of *Nice*, which orders all the Biſhops of the *Egyptian* Dioceſe to follow the Archbiſhop of *Alexandria*, and do nothing without him. This they pleaded in Council, and their Plea was accepted, and a Decree [n] paſſed in their favour upon it, That ſince this was the Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Dioceſe to do nothing of this Nature without the Conſent and Authority of their Archbiſhop; they ſhould not be compelled to ſubſcribe, till a new Archbiſhop was choſen.

SECT. XVIII. *7. Patriarchs to communicate to the Metropolitans ſuch Imperial Laws as concerned the Church, &c.*

7. IT was the Patriarch's Office to publiſh both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Laws, which concerned the Church, and to take care for the Diſperſion and Publication of them in all Churches of their Dioceſe. The Method is preſcribed by *Juſtinian* in the Epilogue to the

[b] Con. Chalced. can. 9. [c] Ibid. can. 17. [d] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. Tit. 4. c. 29. [e] Juſt. Novel. 123. c. 22. Phot. Nomocan. Tit. 9. c. 1. [f] Novel. 137. c. 5. Quoties quidam ſacerdotum accuſabuntur vel de Fide, aut turpi Vita, aut ob aliquid aliud contra ſacros Canones admiſſum; ſi quidem Epiſcopus eſt is qui accuſatus eſt, ejus Metropolitanus examinet ea quæ dicta ſunt: Si vero Metropolitanus ſit, ejus Beatiſſimus Archiepiſcopus ſub quo degit. [g] Sozom. H. E. lib. 1. c. 6. [h] Socrat. H. E. lib. 7. c. 3. [i] Sozom. H. E. lib. 8. c. 6. [k] Valeſ. Not. in Loc. Du Pin. Biblioth. Vol. 3. Vit. Chryſoſt. [l] Syneſ. Ep. 67. p. 221. [m] Conc. Chalced. Act. 4. p. 512, 513. [n] Con. Chalc. can. 30. ex Act. 4.

6th

6th Novel: "The Patriarchs of every Dioceſe "ſhall publiſh theſe our Laws in their reſpective "Churches, and notify them to the Metropoli- "tans under them. The Metropolitans like- "wiſe ſhall publiſh them in their Metropolitical "Churches, and make them known to the Bi- "ſhops under them: That ſo they may publiſh "them in their reſpective Churches, and no one "be left ignorant in our whole Empire, of what "we have enacted for the glory of the Great "God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt." See alſo Novel 42, directed to *Menas* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, concluding in the ſame Tenor.

SECT. XIX. *The 8th Privilege. Great Criminals reſerved to the Patriarch's Abſolution.*

8. *Syneſius* obſerves another Privilege in the Dioceſe of *Alexandria*, which was, That in the Exerciſe of Diſcipline upon great Criminals and ſcandalous Offenders, a peculiar Deference was paid to the Patriarch, by reſerving their Abſolution to his Wiſdom and Diſcretion. As he gives an Inſtance in one *Lamponianus* a Presbyter, whom he had Excommunicated for abuſing *Jaſon* his Fellow-Presbyter. Though, ſays he [o], "He expreſſed "his Repentance with Tears, and the People "interceded for him; yet I refuſed to abſolve "him, but remitted him over for that to the "ſacred See: Only aſſuming this to my ſelf, that "if the Man ſhould happen to be in manifeſt "danger of Death, any Presbyter that was pre- "ſent ſhould receive him into Communion by "my Order. For no Man ſhall go Excommu- "nicate out of the World by me. But in caſe "he recovered, he ſhould ſtill be liable to the "former Penalty, and expect the Ratification "of his Pardon from your Divine and Courte- "ous Soul." But whether this Reſpect was paid by all Metropolitans to their Patriarch in every Dioceſe, I have not yet obſerved.

SECT. XX. *The greater Patriarchs Abſolute and Independent of one another.*

9. THE laſt Privilege of Patriarchs was, that they were originally all Co-ordinate and Independent of one another. I ſpeak now of them, as they were at their firſt Inſtitution: For after-Ages and Councils, and Emperors, made great Alteration in this Matter. At firſt Learned Men [p] reckon there were about 13 or 14 Patriarchs in the Church, that is, one in every Capital City of each Dioceſe of the *Roman* Empire; The Patriarch of *Alexandria* over the *Egyptian* Dioceſe, The Patriarch of *Antioch* over the *Eaſtern* Dioceſe, The Patriarch of *Epheſus* over the *Aſiatick* Dioceſe, The Patriarch of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* over the *Pontick* Dioceſe; *Theſſalonica* in *Macedon* or *Illyricum Orientale*, *Sirmium* in *Illyricum Occidentale*, *Rome* in the *Roman Præfecture*, *Milan* in the *Italick* Dioceſe, *Carthage* in *Africk*, *Lyons* in *France*, *Toledo* in *Spain*, and *York* in the Dioceſe of *Britain*. The greateſt part of theſe, if not all, were real Patriarchs, and independent of one another, till *Rome* by Encroachment, and *Conſtantinople* by Law, got themſelves made Superior to ſome of their Neighbours, who became ſubordinate and ſubject unto them. The ancient Liberties of the *Britannick* Churches, as alſo the *African* and *Italick* Dioceſe, and their long Conteſts with *Rome*, before they could be brought to yield Obedience to her, are largely ſet forth by ſeveral of our Learned Writers [q] in particular Diſcourſes on this Subject. I only here note that the Eaſtern Patriarchs, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Epheſus*, *Cæſarea* and *Conſtantinople*, were never ſubject to *Rome*, but maintained the ancient Liberty which the Canons gave them. For though *Cæſarea* and *Epheſus* were made ſubordinate to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and any one might appeal from them to him, yet the Appeal was to be carried no farther, [r] unleſs it were to a General Council. Which ſhews the Independency of the greater Patriarchs one of another.

SECT. XXI. *The Patriarch of* Conſtantinople *dignified with the Title of* Oecumenical, *and his Church Head of all Churches.*

THE Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* had alſo the honourable Title of *Oecumenical*, or Univerſal Patriarch given him; probably in regard of the great Extent of his Juriſdiction. Thus *Juſtinian* ſtiles *Menas*, *Epiphanius*, and *Anthemius*, Archbiſhops and Oecumenical Patriarchs in ſeveral of his Reſcripts [s]; and *Leo* gives the ſame Title to *Stephen*, Archbiſhop and Univerſal Patriarch, in Ten Laws [t] one after another. So that it was no ſuch new thing as Pope *Gregory* made it, for the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to be ſtiled Oecumenical Biſhop; for that Title was given him by Law many Years before, even from the Time of *Juſtinian*; and it is a Vulgar Error in Hiſtory to date the Original of that Title from the Time of *Gregory* I. which was in uſe at leaſt a whole Century before. But *Juſtinian* in another Reſcript goes a little farther, and [u] ſays expreſly, That *Conſtantinople* was the Head of all Churches. Which is as much as ever any Council allowed to *Rome*, that is, a Supremacy in its own Dioceſe, and a Precedency of Honour in regard that it was the Capital City of the Empire. Equal Privileges are granted to *Conſtantinople* upon the ſame ground, becauſe it was New *Rome*, and the Royal Seat, as the Councils of *Conſtantinople* [w] and *Chalcedon*, with ſome others, word it. So that they had Privileges of Honour, and Privileges of Power; the firſt of which were peculiar to thoſe two Sees: the other in a great meaſure common to them and all other Patriarchal Churches, except thoſe of *Epheſus* and *Cæſarea*, which, as I have often obſerved, were legally made ſubordinate to that of *Conſtantinople*.

[o] Syneſ. Ep. 67. p. 251. [p] Brerewood Patriarch. Gov. Q. 1. [q] Brerewood Patr. Gov. Qu. 2. & 3. Cav. Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 5. [r] *See the Authorities cited before*, §. 14. [s] *See* Juſtin. Novel. 7, 16, 42. [t] Leo Imp. Conſtit. Novel. 2, 3, &c. [u] Juſt. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. c. 24. Conſtantinopolitana Eccleſia omnium aliarum eſt Caput. [w] Con. Conſt. Can. 3. Con. Chalced. Can. 28. Con. Trull. Can. 36. Juſtin. Novel. 131.

SECT. XXII. *Of subordinate Patriarchs, what Figure they made in the Church, and that they were not mere Titular Patriarchs.*

SOME here may be desirous to know, what Authority those Patriarchs had in the Church after their Subordination to the other. There are who tell us that they were sunk down to the Condition of Metropolitans again by the Council of *Chalcedon*: But that is a Mistake: For, 1st, they retained the Name of Exarchs of the Diocese still, and so subscribed themselves in all Councils. As in the 6th General Council, *Theodoret* subscribes himself Metropolitan of *Ephesus*, and Exarch of the *Asiatick* Diocese [x]; and *Philalethes*, Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, and Exarch of the *Pontick* Diocese. 2dly, They always sat and voted in General Councils, next immediately after the five great Patriarchs, *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, who by the Canons [y] had Precedence of all the rest. Next to these, before all the Metropolitans, the Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Cæsarea* took place, as may be seen in the Subscriptions of the 4th and 6th General [z] Councils. 3dly, They had Power to receive Appeals from Metropolitans, which is evident from the same Canons of *Chalcedon*, which give [a] the Patriarch of *Constantinople* Power to take Appeals from them. So that they were not mere Titular Patriarchs, as some in After-Ages, but had the Power as well as the Name; the Right of Ordaining Metropolitans, and receiving ultimate Appeals only excepted. But how long they or any others retained their Power, is not my Business here any farther to enquire.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Αὐτοκέφαλοι.

SECT. I. *All Metropolitans anciently stiled* Αὐτοκέφαλοι.

AMONG other Titles which were anciently given to some certain Bishops, we frequently meet with the Name Αὐτοκέφαλοι, absolute and independent Bishops: which was not the Name of any one sort of Bishops, but given to several upon different Reasons. For first, before the setting up of Patriarchs, all Metropolitans were Αὐτοκέφαλοι, ordering the Affairs of their own Province with their Provincial Bishops, and being accountable to no Superior but a Synod, and that in case of Heresie, or some great Crime committed against Religion and the Rules of the Church.

SECT. II. *Some Metropolitans Independent after the setting up of Patriarchal Power, as those of* Cyprus, Iberia, Armenia, *and the Church of* Britain.

AND even after the Advancement of Patriarchs, several Metropolitans continued thus Independent; receiving their Ordination from their own Provincial Synod, and not from any Patriarch; terminating all Controversies in their own Synods, from which there was no Appeal to any Superior, except a General Council. *Balsamon* reckons among this sort of Αὐτοκέφαλοι, the Metropolitans of *Bulgaria*, [b] *Cyprus* and *Iberia*. And his Observation is certainly true of the two last, who were only Metropolitans, yet Independent of any Patriarchal or Superior Power. For though the Bishop of *Antioch* laid claim to the Ordination of the *Cyprian* Bishops in the Council of *Ephesus*, yet the Council upon hearing the Case, determined against him, making a Decree, [c] That whereas it never had been the Custom for the Bishop of *Antioch* to ordain Bishops in *Cyprus*, the *Cyprian* Bishops should retain their Rights inviolable, and according to Canon and ancient Custom ordain Bishops among themselves. And this was again repeated and confirmed by the Council of *Trullo*, [d] even after the *Cypriots* were driven into another Country by the Incursions of the *Barbarians*.

Others [e] observe the same Privilege in the *Iberian* Churches, now commonly called *Georgians*; that they never were subject either to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or any other; but all their Bishops, being Eighteen in Number, profess absolute Obedience to their own Metropolitan, without any other higher Dependance or Relation.

And this was the Case of the *Armenian* Churches in the time of *Photius*, as appears from an ancient *Greek Notitia Episcopatum*, cited by *Peter de Marca*, [f] which says it was an Αὐτοκέφαλος, and not subject to the Throne of *Constantinople*, but honoured with Independency, in respect to St. *Gregory* of *Armenia* their first Apostle.

And this was also the ancient Liberty of the *Britannick* Church, before the coming of *Austin* the Monk, when the Seven *British* Bishops, which were all that were then remaining, paid Obedience to the Archbishop of *Caer-Leon*, and acknowledged no Superior in Spirituals above him. As *Dinothus* the Learned Abbot of *Bangor* told *Austin* [g] in the Name of all the *Britannick* Churches, That they owed no other Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*, than they did to every Godly Christian, to love every one in his Degree in perfect Charity: Other Obedience than this, they knew none due to him whom he named Pope, &c. But they were under the Go-

[x] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. [y] *See* Conc. Trull. Can. 36. & Justin. Novel. 131. c. 2. [z] Con. Chalced. Act. 1, & 3. Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. [a] Con. Chalc. Can. 9, & 17. [b] Balsam. in Con. Constan. 1. Can. 2. [c] Con. Ephes. Act. 7. Decret. de Cypr. Epis. [d] Con. Trull. Can. 39. [e] Brerewood Enquir. c. 17. Chytræus de Statu Eccles. &c. [f] Marca de Primat. n. 27. p. 122. [g] Spelman. Con. Brit. an. 601. T. 1. p. 108.

vernment of the Biſhop of *Caer-Leon* upon *Uske*, who was their Overſeer under God.

SECT. III. *A 3d ſort of 'Αυτοκέφαλοι ſuch Biſhops as were ſubject to no Metropolitan but only to the Patriarch of the Dioceſe.*

BESIDES all theſe there was yet a Third ſort of 'Αυτοκέφαλοι, which were ſuch Biſhops as were ſubject to no Metropolitan, but immediately under the Patriarch of the Dioceſe, who was to them inſtead of a Metropolitan. Thus for Inſtance in the Patriarchate or large Dioceſe of *Conſtantinople*, the ancient *Notitia*, publiſhed by *Leunclavius* [*h*], reckons 39 ſuch Biſhops throughout the ſeveral Provinces: That publiſhed by Dr. *Beverege* [*i*] counts them Forty one, and the *Notitia* in *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* [*k*] augments the Number to Forty ſix. The Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* is ſaid [*l*] to have had Twenty five ſuch Biſhopricks in his Patriarchate, and the Biſhop of *Antioch* Sixteen, as *Nilus Doxopatrius*, a Writer of the Eleventh Century, in his Book of the Patriarchal Sees informs us. But what time this ſort of Independent Biſhopricks were firſt ſet up in the Church, is not certain. For the earlieſt Account we have of them, is in the *Notitia* of the Emperor *Leo Sapiens*, written in the 9th Century, where they are called Archbiſhopricks, as in ſome other *Notitia's* they are called Metropolitical Sees; though both theſe Names were but Titular, for they had no ſuffragan Biſhops under them.

SECT. IV. *A Fourth ſort of 'Αυτοκέφαλοι.*

Valeſius mentions another ſort of 'Αυτοκέφαλοι, which were ſuch Biſhops as were wholly Independent of all others. As they had no Suffragans under them, ſo neither did they acknowledge any Superior above them, whether Metropolitan or Patriarch, or any other whatſoever. Of this ſort he reckons the Biſhops [*m*] of *Jeruſalem*, before they were advanced to Patriarchal Dignity: But in this Inſtance he plainly miſtakes, and contradicts St. *Jerom*, who ſays expreſly, that the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was ſubject to the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, as the Metropolitan of all *Paleſtine*, and to the Biſhop of *Antioch* as Metropolitan of the whole Eaſt, as has been noted in the laſt Chapter. If there were any ſuch Biſhops as he ſpeaks of, they muſt be ſuch as the Biſhop of *Tomis* in *Scythia*, who, as *Sozomen* [*n*] notes, was the only Biſhop of all the Cities of that Province: So that he could neither have any Suffragans under him, nor Metropolitan above him. But ſuch Inſtances are very rare, and we ſcarce meet with ſuch another Example in all the Hiſtory of the Church. I have now compleated the Account of Primitive Biſhops, and ſhewed the Diſtinctions which were among them in the external Polity of the Church: I proceed in the next place therefore to conſider the ſecond Order of the Clergy, which is that of Presbyters.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Presbyters.

SECT. I. *The meaning of the Name Presbyter.*

THE Name, Πρεσβύτεροι, Presbyters, or Elders, is a Word borrowed from the *Greek* Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, where it commonly ſignifies Rulers and Governors, being (as St. *Jerom* [*a*] notes) a Name of Office and Dignity, and not a mere Indication of Men's Age: For Elders were choſen, not by their Age, but by their Merits and Wiſdom. So that as a Senator among the *Romans*, and an Alderman in our own Language, ſignifies a Perſon of ſuch an Order and Station, without any regard to his Age, in like manner a Presbyter or Elder in the Chriſtian Church is one who is ordained to a certain Office, and authorized by his Quality, not by his Age, to diſcharge the ſeveral Duties of that Office and Station, wherein he is placed.

SECT. II. *Apoſtles and Biſhops ſometimes called Presbyters.*

AND in this large extenſive Senſe, 'tis readily granted by all, that Biſhops are ſometimes called Presbyters in the New Teſtament: For the Apoſtles themſelves do not refuſe the Title. On the other hand, 'tis the Opinion of many Learned Men, both [*b*] Ancient and [*c*] Modern, that Presbyters were ſometimes called Biſhops, whilſt the Biſhops that were properly ſuch, were diſtinguiſhed by other Titles, as that of Chief Prieſts and Apoſtles, *&c.* of which I have given a particular Account in one of the preceding Chapters, and there evinced that they who maintained this Identity of Names, did not thence infer an Identity of Offices, but always eſteemed Biſhops and Presbyters to be diſtinct Orders.

[*h*] Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. T. 1. Lib. 2. p. 88. [*i*] Bevereg. Pandect. T. 2. Not. in Can. 26. Concil. Trull. [*k*] Car. à S. Paulo Append. ad Geogr. Sacr. p. 19. [*l*] Nilus Doxopatr. ap. le Moyne Varia Sacra. T. 1. [*m*] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. Lib. 5. c. 23. *See* Chap. 17. § 7. [*n*] Sozom. Lib. 6. c. 21. Lib. 7. c. 19. [*a*] Hieron. in Eſai. 3. T. 5. p. 16. in Scripturis Sanctis Presbyteros Merito & Sapientia eligi, non ætate. [*b*] Chryſoſtom. Hom. 1. in Phil. 1. It. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. 3. Theodoret. Com. in Phil. 1. 1. It. in Phil. 2. 25. & in 1 Tim. 3. 1. Ambroſiaſter in Eph. 4. 11. Hieron. Com. in Tit. 2. Ep. 83. ad Ocean. & 85. ad Evagr. [*c*] Uſſer. Diſſert. in Ignat. c. 18. p. 232. It. Orig. *of* Biſh. & Metrop. p. 55. Coteler. Not. in Ignat. Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 1.

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SECT. III. *The Original of Presbyters properly so called.*

HERE then, taking Presbyters in the ſtricteſt Senſe, for thoſe only of the ſecond Order, we muſt firſt enquire into their Original. The Learned Dr. *Hammond* [d] advances an Opinion about this Matter, which is ſomething ſingular. He aſſerts that in Scripture-times the Name of Presbyters belonged principally, if not alone, to Biſhops; and that there is no Evidence that any of this ſecond Order were then inſtituted, tho' ſoon after, he thinks, before the writing of *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, there were ſuch inſtituted in all Churches. The Authorities he builds upon are *Clemens Romanus*, and *Epiphanius*, who ſay, that in ſome Churches at firſt there were Biſhops and Deacons, without any Presbyters. But I conceive it will not hence follow, that it was ſo in all Churches: Nor does *Epiphanius* maintain that, but the contrary, That as in ſome Churches [e] there were only Biſhops and Deacons, ſo in others there were only Presbyters and Deacons; and that in large and populous Churches the Apoſtle ſettled both Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons; as at *Epheſus*, where *Timothy* was Biſhop, and had Presbyters ſubject to him; which *Epiphanius* proves from Scripture: That a Biſhop and Presbyter, ſays he, are not the ſame, the Apoſtle informs us, when writing to *Timothy*, who was a Biſhop, he bids him not rebuke an Elder, but intreat him as a Father. How comes the Biſhop to be concerned not to rebuke an Elder, if he had no Power over an Elder? In like manner the Apoſtle ſays, Againſt an Elder receive not an Accuſation, but before two or three Witneſſes: But he never ſaid to any Presbyter, Receive not an Accuſation againſt a Biſhop; nor did he ever write to any Presbyter, not to rebuke a Biſhop. This plainly implies, that in all ſuch large and populous Churches as that of *Epheſus*, according to *Epiphanius*, all the three Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, were ſettled by the Apoſtles; though the ſmaller Churches were differently ſupplied at firſt, ſome only with Presbyters and Deacons, before Biſhops were conſtituted in them, and others only with Biſhops and Deacons, without any Presbyters. For all Churches had not immediately all the ſame Church-Officers upon their firſt Foundation, but Time was required to compleat their Conſtitution, as Biſhop *Pearſon* [f] has obſerved on this very Paſſage of *Epiphanius*.

SECT. IV. *The Power and Privileges of Presbyters.*

ADMITTING then that Presbyters, as well as Biſhops, were originally ſettled in the Church by the Apoſtles, we are next to enquire into the Power and Privileges that were proper to their Order. And here I ſhall have occaſion to ſay the leſs, having already ſhewed * what Offices they might perform by virtue of their ordinary Power, only acting in Dependance on, and Subordination to their Biſhop, as the Supreme Miniſter of the Church: They might Baptize, Preach, Conſecrate and Adminiſter the *Euchariſt*, &c. in the Biſhop's Abſence, or in his Preſence, if he authorized and deputed them, as has been noted before: They might alſo reconcile Penitents, and grant them Abſolution in the Biſhop's Abſence: And ſome think they had Power likewiſe to Confirm in Caſes of Neceſſiy, by ſpecial Licenſe and Delegation. But theſe two things will be conſidered and diſcuſſed more particularly hereafter, when we come to treat of Diſcipline and Confirmation. What is farther to be noted in this Place, is the Honour and Reſpect that was paid to them, acting in Conjunction with their Biſhop, who ſcarce did any thing in the Adminiſtration and Government of the Church, without the Advice, Conſent, and amicable Concurrence of his Presbyters.

SECT. V. *Presbyters allowed to ſit with the Biſhop on Thrones in the Church.*

HENCE it was that Presbyters were allowed to ſit together with the Biſhop in the Church (which Privilege was never allowed to Deacons): And their Seats were dignified with the Name of Thrones as the Biſhop's was, only with this difference, that his was the High Throne, and theirs the Second Thrones. In Alluſion to this, *Gregory Nazianzen* [g] ſpeaking of his own Ordination to the Degree of Presbyter, ſays, His Father who ordained him, brought him by Violence to the Second Thrones. And in his Viſion concerning the Church of *Anaſtaſia* [h], he thus repreſents the ſeveral Orders of the Church: Methought I ſaw my ſelf (the Biſhop) ſitting on the High Throne, and the Presbyters, that is, the Guides of the Chriſtian Flock, ſitting on both ſides by me on lower Thrones, and the Deacons ſtanding by them. By this we may underſtand what *Conſtantine* meant in his Letter [i] to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſe*; when giving him a Summons to the Council of *Arles*, he bids him alſo bring with him two of the Second Throne, that is, two Presbyters: And what *Euſebius* means by thoſe Words in his Panegyrick [k] upon the Temple of *Paulinus*, where he ſays, he Beautified and Adorned the Structure with Thrones ſet up on high, for the Honour of the Preſidents or Rulers. By which it is plain he means the Thrones of the Presbyters, as well as the Biſhop: For they were both exalted above the Seats of the Common People. Nay, both the Name and Thing was then ſo uſual, that *Aerius* drew it into an Argument [l], to prove the Identity and Parity of Biſhops and Presbyters: A Biſhop ſits upon a Throne, and ſo does a Presbyter likewiſe. Which though it

[d] Ham. Annot. *on* Acts 11. 30. [e] Epiph. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 5. [f] Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 13. p. 412. In aliquibus Eccleſiis ab origine fuiſſe Presbyteros, nondum conſtitutis Epiſcopis; in aliquibus Epiſcopos, nondum conſtitutis Presbyteris. * *See before* Chap. 3. [g] Naz. Carm. de Vita, κάμπ]ε διαλ- ως εἰς δευτέρας Θρόνους. [h] Id Somn. de Eccleſia Anaſtaſiæ. Orat. 20. de Laud. Baſil. p. 310. δευτέρα δ καθέδρας. [i] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 5. δύο γέτινας ἀφ' ἑκ τῶ δευτέρω Θρόνω. [k] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. [l] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian.

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be but a very lame and fooliſh Argument to prove what he intended, yet it is a plain Intimation of what has here been noted, to have been the then known Cuſtom and Practice of the Church: And little regard is to be had to Modern Authors, who pretend to ſay, that Presbyters had not Power to ſit in the Preſence of their Biſhops; which is confuted by the Acts and Canons [m] almoſt of every Council, and the Writings of every ancient Author, in which nothing more commonly occurs than the Phraſes, *Conſeſſus Presbyterorum*, and *ſedere in Presbyteri*, importing the Cuſtom and Privilege whereof we are now ſpeaking.

SECT. VI. *The form of their ſitting in a Semicircle: Whence they were called* Corona Presbyterii.

THERE is one thing farther to be noted, concerning the Manner of their Sitting, which was on each hand of the Biſhop, in the form or figure of a Semicircle; which is deſcribed by the Author [n] of the Conſtitutions under the Name of *Clemens Romanus*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others. Whence as the Biſhop's Throne is called the Middle Throne, or the Middle Seat by *Theodoret* [o] and the Conſtitutions: So for the ſame Reaſon *Ignatius* [p] and the Conſtitutions [q] term the Presbyters the Spiritual Crown or Circle of the Presbytery, and the Crown of the Church: Unleſs we will take this for a Metaphorical Expreſſion, to denote only that Presbyters united with their Biſhop, were the Glory of the Church.

SECT. VII. *Presbyters the Eccleſiaſtical Senate, or Council of the Church, whom the Biſhops conſulted and adviſed with upon all Occaſions.*

THIS Honour was done them in regard to their Authority in the Church, wherein they were conſidered as a ſort of Eccleſiaſtical Senate, or Council to the Biſhop, who ſcarce did any thing of great Weight and Moment without asking their Advice, and taking their Conſent, to give the greater Force and Authority to all publick Acts done in the Name of the Church. Upon which Account, St. *Chryſoſtom* [r] and *Syneſius* [s] ſtile them the Court or Sanhedrim of the Presbyters; and *Cyprian* [t] the Sacred and Venerable Bench of the Clergy; St. *Jerom* [u] and others [w], the Churches Senate, and the Senate of Chriſt; *Origen* [x] and the Author of the [y] Conſtitutions, The Biſhop's Counſellors, and the Council of the Church: Becauſe though the Biſhop was Prince and Head of this Eccleſiaſtical Senate, and nothing could regularly be done without him; yet neither did he ordinarily do any publick Act, relating to Government and Diſcipline of the Church without their Advice and Aſſiſtance.

SECT. VIII. *Some Evidences out of* Ignatius *and* Cyprian, *of the Power and Prerogatives of Presbyters in Conjunction with the Biſhop.*

THE firſt Ages afford the moſt pregnant Proofs of this Divine Harmony between the Biſhop and his Presbyters. For any one that ever looked into the Writings of *Cyprian*, muſt acknowledge, that at *Rome* and *Carthage*, the two great Churches of the *Weſt*, all things were thus tranſacted by joint Conſent: The Biſhop with his Clergy did *communi Conſilio* [z] *ponderare*, weigh things by common Advice and Deliberation; whether it was in the Ordinations of the Clergy; (for *Cyprian* would not ſo much as ordain a Subdeacon or a Reader without their Conſent;) or whether it was in the Exerciſe of Diſcipline and Reconciliation of Penitents, *Cyprian* declares [a] his Reſolution to do all by common Conſent. And ſo *Cornelius* at the ſame time acted at *Rome*: For when *Maximus* and the reſt of the Confeſſors, who had ſided with *Novatian*, came afterward and made Confeſſion of their Error, and deſired to be admitted again into the Communion of the Church, *Cornelius* would do nothing in it, till he had firſt called a Presbytery, and taken both their Advice and Conſent [b] in the Affair, that he might proceed according to their unanimous Reſolution. *Cyprian* in ſeveral other of his Epiſtles [c], ſpeaks of the ſame Deference paid to his Presbytery, and in one Place he more particularly tells them, that it was a Law and a Rule [d] that he had laid down to himſelf, from the firſt entrance on his Biſhoprick, that he would do nothing without their Advice, and the Conſent of the People. *Epiphanius* obſerves the ſame Practice at *Epheſus* in the Condemnation of *Noetus*: For firſt he ſays, he was convened before the Presbytery [e], and then again upon a Relapſe by them expelled the Church. Which at leaſt muſt mean, that the Biſhop and his Presbyters joined together in this Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. In like man-

[m] Con. Carthag. 4. c. 35, 36. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 20. Origen. Hom. 2. in Cantic. Con. Laodic. c. 55. Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. Con. Ancyr. c. 18. [n] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. Κάθω ὁ μέσος ὁ τῦ ἐπισκόπυ θρόνος. &c. [o] Theod. Hiſt. lib. 5. c. Ὁ μέσος θῶκος. [p] Ignat. Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 13. πνευματικὸν στέφανον τὸ πρεσβυτέριυ. [q] Conſtitut. lib. 2. c. 28. στεφανὸν ἐκκλησίας. [r] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 15. τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συνέδριον. [s] Syneſ. Ep. 67. ad Theoph. [t] Cypr. Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. Cleri Sacrum venerandumque Conſeſſum. Concil. Carth. 4. c. 35. Epiſcopus in Conſeſſu Presbyterorum ſublimior ſedeat, &c.

[u] Hieron. in Eſai. 3. Tom. 5. p. 17. Et nos habemus in Eccleſia ſenatum noſtrum, Cœtum Presbyterorum. [w] Pius Ep. 2. ad. Juſt. Vien. Salutat te ſenatus pauper Chriſti apud Romam conſtitutus. [x] Orig. Com. in Mat. βελὴ ἐκκλησίας. Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 321. Hi autem βελευταὶ Chriſtiani ſane fuerunt Presbyteri. [y] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 28. σύμβουλοι τῦ ἐπισκόπυ. συνέδριον καὶ βελὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

[z] Cypr. Ep. 33. al. 38. ad Cler. In Ordinationibus Clericis ſolemus vos ante conſulere, & mores ac merita ſingulorum communi conſilio ponderare. [a] Id. Ep. 6. al. 14. ad Cler. Ut ea quæ circa Eccleſiæ Gubernaculum utilitas communis expoſcit, tractare ſimul, & plurimorum Conſilio examinata limare poſſemus.

[b] Cornel. Ep. 46. al. 49. ad Cypr. p. 92. Omni actu ad me perlato, placuit contrahi Presbyterium —— ut firmato conſilio, quid circa Perſonam eorum obſervari deberet, Conſenſu omnium ſtatueretur. [c] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. ad Cler. Ep. 32. ad Cler. [d] Cypr. Ep. 6. al. 14. Quando à Primordio Epiſcopatus mei ſtatuerim, nihil ſine Conſilio voſtro, & ſine Conſenſu Plebis, mea privata Sententia gerere; Sed cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero —— in commune tractabimus. [e] Epiph. Hær. 57. n. 1. ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀγόμενος. ibid. οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἔξω αὐτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

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ner, ſpeaking of the firſt Condemnation of *Arius*, he ſays, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria* [f] called a Presbytery againſt him, before whom, and ſome Biſhops then preſent, he examined him, and expelled him. *Cotelerius* in his Notes upon the Conſtitutions, has publiſhed, from an ancient Manuſcript, one of the Forms of *Arius*'s Depoſition [g], which may give ſome Light to this Matter. For thereby it appears, that when *Alexander* ſent forth his Circular Letters to all other Biſhops againſt *Arius*, he firſt ſummoned all the Presbyters and Deacons of *Alexandria*, and Region of *Mareotes*, not only to hear what he had written, but alſo to teſtify their Conſent to it, and declare that they agreed with him in the Condemnation of *Arius*. From whence we learn, that though the Depoſition was properly the Biſhop's Act, yet to have it done with the greater Solemnity, the Conſent both of the Presbyters and Deacons was required to it. And thus it was alſo in the Condemnation of *Origen*: The Council of *Alexandria*, which expelled him the City, was compoſed both of Biſhops and Presbyters, who decreed that he ſhould remove from *Alexandria*, and neither teach nor inhabit there, as *Pamphilus* [h] relates in the ſecond Book of his Apology for *Origen*, ſome Fragments of which are preſerved in *Photius*. The Council of *Rome*, that was gathered againſt *Novatian*, conſiſted of ſixty Biſhops, and many more [i] Presbyters and Deacons. The firſt Council of *Antioch*, that was held againſt *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, had alſo [k] Presbyters and Deacons in it; The Name of one of them, *Malchion* a Presbyter of *Antioch*, is ſtill remaining in the Synodical Epiſtle among the Biſhops in the Inſcription.

From all which it appears, that this was an ancient Privilege of Presbyters to ſit and deliberate with Biſhops, both in their Conſiſtorial and Provincial Councils. And if we aſcend yet higher, we ſhall find Matters always thus tranſacted in the Church *ab Origine*; as appears from *Ignatius*, whoſe Writings (as a Learned Man obſerves) [l] ſpeak as much for the Honour of the Presbytery, as they do for the Superiority of Epiſcopacy: No ancient Author having given ſo many great and noble Characters of the Presbytery, as he does. For which reaſon it concerns thoſe, who are moſt zealous for the Honour and Authority of Presbyters, to look upon *Ignatius* as one of the beſt Aſſerters and Defenders of their Power and Reputation. For he always joins the Biſhops and Presbyters together, as preſiding over the Church, the one in the Place of God and Jeſus Chriſt, and the other as the great Council of God in the room of the Apoſtles. Thus in his Epiſtle [m] to the *Epheſians*, he bids them be ſubject to the Biſhop and the Presbytery: And in his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians* [n], he commends *Sotion* the Deacon, becauſe he was ſubject to the Biſhop as the Gift of God, and to the Presbytery, as the Law of Chriſt. And a little after in the ſame Epiſtle, he ſpeaks of the Biſhop as preſiding [o] in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Council of the Apoſtles. So in his Epiſtle to the *Trallians* [p], he bids them be ſubject to the Presbytery, as to the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And again, Reverence the [q] Presbyters, as the Council of God, and the united Company of Apoſtles: Without which no Church is called a Church. Several other Paſſages of the ſame Importance may be ſeen in his Epiſtles to *Polycarp* and the Church of [r] *Smyrna*.

SECT. IX. *The Power of Presbyters thought by ſome to be a little diminiſhed in the 4th Century.*

AND indeed all his Epiſtles are ſo full of great Elogium's of the Presbytery, as acting in the Nature of an Eccleſiaſtical Senate together with the Biſhop, that our late Learned Defender of thoſe Epiſtles thence concludes, That the Power and Privileges of Presbyteries was greater in the 2d Century, when *Ignatius* lived, than in the 4th Age of the Church, when he thinks the Powers and Authority of Presbyteries was a little ſunk and dimiſhed over all the World, and even at *Alexandria* it ſelf, where it had moſt of all flouriſhed. And this he makes an Argument of the Antiquity of thoſe Epiſtles, that they were the Genuine Product of *Ignatius*, becauſe no one of the 4th Age would have given ſuch Encomiums of the Presbytery, or armed [s] them with ſo great Authority and Power. I ſhall not diſpute this Matter, nor enter upon any nice Compariſon of the different Powers of Presbyters in theſe two Ages, but only repreſent to the Reader what Privileges ſtill remained to them in the 4th Century.

SECT. X. *Yet ſtill they were admitted to join with the Biſhops in the Impoſition of Hands in the Ordination of Presbyters.*

AND here it cannot be denied, but that in this Age, in the Ordination of a Presbyter, all the Presbyters that were preſent were allowed, nay even required to join with the Biſhop in Impoſition of Hands upon the Party to

[f] Epiph. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 3. συγκαλεῖ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπισκόπους παρόντας, &c. [g] Depoſitio Ari. ap. Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 28. Ἵνα καὶ τὰ νῦν γεγράμμενα γνῶτε, ἅ τε ἐν τούτοις συμφωνίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξηδε, καὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει τῶν περὶ Ἄρειον σύμψηφοι γένησθε. [h] Pamphil. Apol. ap. Phot. Cod. 118. p. 298. Σωσθ. ἀθροίζει ἐπισκόπων καὶ τινῶν Πρεσβυτέρων καὶ Διακόνων. [i] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [k] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 28. [l] Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 16. p. 428. Si quid ego in hac re intelligo, quicunque Presbyterali Dignitati Auctoritatique maxime ſtudent, non habent ſuæ Exiſtimationis firmius aut ſolidius Fundamentum, quàm Epiſtolas Sancti Ignatii noſtri: Neque enim in ullo vere antiquo Scriptores extra has Epiſtolas tot ac tanta Presbyteratus Præconia invenient, neque illius Ordinis honorem ſine Epiſcopatus Prærogativa ullibi conſtitutum reperient. [m] Ignat. Ep. ad Epheſ. n. 2. ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ πρεσβυτερίῳ. [n] Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 2. [o] Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 6. Προκαθημένῳ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀποστόλων. [p] Ep. ad Trall. n. 2. Ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις. [q] Ibid. n. 3. Ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς συνδεσμὸν Ἀποστόλων χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. [r] Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 7. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. [s] Pearſon. Vindic. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 16. p. 428. Nemo tam ſeris Eccleſiæ temporibus —— Presbyterium tot laudibus cumulaſſet, tanta auctoritate armaſſet, cujus poteſtate a Tempeſtate, etiam Alexandriæ, ubi maxime floruerat, tantopere imminuta eſt.

be ordained. That it was ſo in the *African* Churches is beyond all Diſpute: For in the 4th Council of *Carthage* [t], there is a Canon expreſly enjoining it: When a Presbyter is ordained, while the Biſhop pronounces the Benediction, and lays his Hand upon his Head, all the Presbyters that are preſent ſhall lay their Hands by the Biſhop's Hand upon his Head alſo. And this in all likelihood was the Univerſal Practice of the Church. For in the Conſtitutions of the Church of *Alexandria* [u], there is a Rule to the ſame purpoſe. In the *Latin* Church the Decree of the Council of *Carthage* ſeems alſo to have prevailed, becauſe it is inſerted into their Canon Law by *Gratian* [w] and other Collectors, from whence it became the common Practice of our own Church, which is continued to this Day. Some ancient Canons [x] indeed ſay, That one Biſhop alone ſhall ordain a Presbyter: But that is not ſaid to exclude Presbyters from aſſiſting, but only to put a difference between the Ordination of a Biſhop and a Presbyter: For the Ordination of a Biſhop could not regularly be performed without the concurrence of three Biſhops with the Metropolitan; but a Presbyter might be ordained by a ſingle Biſhop, without any other Aſſiſtance, ſave that of his Presbytery joining with him. And this plainly appears to have been the Practice of the 4th Century.

SECT. XI. *And allowed to ſit in Conſiſtory with their Biſhops.*

IT is farther evident from the Records of the ſame Age, that Presbyters had ſtill the Privilege of ſitting in Conſiſtory with their Biſhops. For Pope *Siricius* in the latter end of this Century acted as *Cornelius* had done before him. When he went about to condemn the Errors of *Jovinian*, he firſt called [y] a Presbytery, and with their Advice cenſured his Doctrines, and then with the Conſent of the Deacons alſo, and the reſt of the Clergy, expelled him the Church. And ſo likewiſe *Syneſius* Biſhop of *Ptolemais* proceeded againſt *Andronicus* the Impious and Blaſpheming Prefect of *Pentapolis*: He firſt laid open his horrible Crimes before the Conſiſtory of his Church, and then with their Conſent pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him; which he therefore calls the Act of the Conſiſtory [z] or *Sanhedrim* of *Ptolemais*, in the Circular Letters which he wrote to give notice of his Excommunication to other Churches. *Baronius* indeed and the common Editors of the Councils reckon this by miſtake among the Provincial Synods: But it appears evidently from *Syneſius*, that it was only the private Conſiſtory of the Church of *Ptolemais*: For he ſays expreſly [a], the Church of *Ptolemais* gave notice of this Excommunication to all her Siſter-Churches throughout the World, requiring them to hold *Andronicus* Excommunicated, and not to deſpiſe her Act, as being only a poor Church in a ſmall City. Which agrees very well with the State of a private Conſiſtory, but is not ſpoken in the Stile of a Provincial Council.

SECT. XII. *As alſo in Provincial Councils.*

YET this is not ſaid with any deſign to deny that Presbyters were allowed to ſit in Provincial Synods: For there are undeniable Evidences of their enjoying this Privilege within the compaſs of the fourth Century, and After-Ages alſo. In the Council of *Eliberis*, which was held in the beginning of the 4th Age, there were no leſs than 36 Presbyters [b] ſitting together with the Biſhops, as is expreſly ſaid in the Acts of the Council. The firſt Council of *Arles*, called by *Conſtantine*, had alſo ſeveral Presbyters in it, the Names of many of which are loſt, as are alſo the Names of moſt of the Biſhops, who were two Hundred, yet the Names of Fifteen Presbyters [c] are ſtill remaining. And it is obſervable, that in *Conſtantine*'s *Tractoriæ*, or Letters of Summons, the Presbyters as well as Biſhops were called by Imperial Edict to attend at that Council; if we may judge of all the reſt by that one Example which remains upon Record in *Euſebius*: For there in the Letter ſent to ſummon *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſe*, Orders are given him [d] to bring along with him two of the ſecond Throne; which Phraſe, as has been obſerved before, denotes two Presbyters. So that from hence it is clear, that Presbyters were then privileged to ſit in Council with their Biſhops, and that by Imperial Edict. In *Juſtellus*'s *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici*, there are three or four *Roman* Councils, where the Presbyters are particularly mentioned as Sitting, and ſometimes Voting with the Biſhops. In the Council under *Hilarius*, *An.* 491, the Presbyters of *Rome* all ſat [e] together with the Biſhops, and the Deacons ſtood by them. So again in the Council under *Felix*, *An.* 487, [f] the Names of Seventy ſix Presbyters are mentioned that ſat together with the Biſhops in Council, the Deacons as before ſtanding by them. And in the Council under *Symmachus*, *An.* 499, Sixty ſeven Presbyters and ſix

[t] Con. Carth. 4. c. 3. Presbyter cum ordinatur, Epiſcopo eum benedicente, & manum ſuper caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri, qui præſentes ſunt, manus ſuas juxta manum Epiſcopi ſuper caput illius teneant. [u] Eccl. Alex. Conſtit. c. 6. ap. Bevereg. Not. in Canon. Apoſt. c. 2. Cum vult Epiſcopus ordinare Presbyterum, manum ſuam capiti ejus imponat, ſimulque omnes Presbyteri iſtud tangant. [w] Grat. Diſt. 23. c. 8. Ivo Part. 6. c. 12. [x] Can. Apoſt. c. 2. Con. Carth. 3. c. 45. [y] Siric. Ep. 2. ad Eccleſ. Mediolan. Facto Presbyterio, conſtitit Doctrinæ noſtræ, id eſt, Chriſtianæ Legi eſſe contraria —— Unde omnium noſtrorum tam Presbyterorum & Diaconorum, quam totius Cleri unam ſcito te fuiſſe ſententiam, ut Jovinianus, Auxentius, &c. perpetuum damnati, extra Eccleſiam remanerent. [z] Syneſ. Ep. 57. p. 190. Νυνὶ ᾧ οἷς τὸ σωνέδριον μετῆλθε τὴν Ἀνδρονίκε μανίαν ἀκήκοατε. [a] Id. Ep. 58. p. 199. [b] Con. Eliber. Procem. Reſidentibus etiam 36. al. 26. Presbyteris, adſtantibus Diaconibus & omni Plebe. [c] Con. Arelat. 1. in Catalogo eorum qui Concilio interfuerunt. In Edit. Crab. male vocat Secundum. [d] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 5. Συνελθέας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας ἐκ τὸ δευτέρε θρόνε. [e] Con. Rom. ap. Juſtel. Tom. 1. p. 250. Reſidentibus etiam univerſis Presbyteris, adſtantibus quoque Diaconis, &c. [f] Ibid. p. 255.

Deacons

Deacons ſubſcribed in the very ſame [g] Form of Words as the Biſhops did. In another Council under the ſame *Symmachus*, *An.* 502, Thirty ſix Presbyters [h] are named, who ſat therein. And in the Council under *Gregory* the IId. *An.* 715, the Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons all ſubſcribe in the [i] ſame Form to the Decrees then publiſhed by them all together.

The like Inſtances may be ſeen in the firſt Councils [k] of *Toledo*, and *Bracara* [l], where we may alſo obſerve the difference made between Presbyters and Deacons; That the Presbyters are always repreſented as ſitting together with their Biſhops, but the Deacons only ſtanding by to attend them. All which notwithſtanding, *Cellotius* the Jeſuit, and ſome others of that Strain, have the Confidence to aſſert, that Presbyters were never allowed to ſit with Biſhops in their Councils. *Bellarmin* [m] does not go ſo far, but only denies them a Deciſive Voice there: In which Aſſertion he is oppoſed, not only by the generality of Proteſtant [n] Writers, but alſo by *Habertus* [o] and other Learned Defenders [p] of the *Gallican* Liberties in his own Communion. So that it is agreed on all hands by unprejudiced Writers, and curious Searchers of Antiquity, that Presbyters had liberty to ſit and deliberate with Biſhops in Provincial Councils.

SECT. XIII. *And in General Councils likewiſe.*

BUT to General or Univerſal Councils, there are ſome Proteſtant Writers, who ſeem to make it a Diſpute, whether Presbyters anciently were allowed to ſit in them. A Learned Perſon [q] of our own Church ſays, It was never before heard of, that Prieſts did ſit in Oecumenical Councils, meaning before the Council of *Lateran* under *Calliſtus* the Second, *An.* 1123, where 600 Abbots were preſent. But I ſee no reaſon why we may not reckon the firſt Council of *Arles* a General Council, if a Multitude of Biſhops from all Quarters can make it ſo: For there were 200 Biſhops preſent; and as I noted before, ſeveral Presbyters were ordered to come along with them. However the Council of *Conſtantinople*, *An.* 381, is reckoned by all a General Council (though there were but 150 Biſhops in it): And there we find three Presbyters together [r] ſubſcribing among the Biſhops alſo. The Learned *Habertus* [s] gives ſeveral other Inſtances out of the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Second Council of *Nice*, the Eighth Council called againſt *Photius*, and others. From all which, and what has here been alledged, it muſt be concluded, that Presbyters had anciently the Privilege of Sitting and Voting alſo in General Councils.

SECT. XIV. *Of the Titles of Honour given to Presbyters, as well as Biſhops, and what difference there was between them as applied to both.*

THESE Prerogatives of Presbyters, being thus allowed in ſo many Caſes to act in Conjunction with their Biſhops, advanced their Character and Reputation very high, and made them of great Eſteem in the Church: Inſomuch that many of the ſame Titles of Honour, which were given to Biſhops, were with a little Variation given to Presbyters alſo. Hence they are called Πρόεδροι, by *Syneſius* [t] and *Euſebius*; Πρεσβῶτες by *Nazianzen* [u] and *Baſil*; Πρεσβύ, by *Chryſoſtom* [w] and *Nazianzen* likewiſe: which Names anſwer to the Titles *Præpoſiti* and *Antiſtites* in *Latin*, and ſignifie Preſidents, or Rulers and Governors of the People. I know indeed ſome Learned Perſons [x] are of Opinion, that the Name *Antiſtes* is never given to any Presbyter by any ancient Writer. But this Aſſertion muſt be underſtood with a little Qualification: Otherwiſe it will not be exactly true: For *Hilarius Sardus* [y] ſpeaking of Presbyters, againſt whom a Biſhop is not to receive an Acculation, but before two or three Witneſſes, gives expreſly the Title of *Antiſtites Dei*. So does alſo the Author [z] of the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, under the Name of St. *Auſtin*. And though *Præpoſiti* in *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles commonly ſignifies Biſhops, yet it does not always ſo: For the Presbyters of *Rome* writing [a] to the Clergy of *Carthage*, ſtile themſelves *Præpoſiti*, and *Celerinus* [b] in his Epiſtle to *Lucian* gives them the ſame Title. But *Sidonius Apollinaris* [c] ſets this Matter right, when he teacheth us to diſtinguiſh between an *Antiſtes* of the firſt Order, and an *Antiſtes* of the ſecond; which Diſtinction, whenever Presbyters are called *Antiſtites*, if it be not expreſſed, is always to be underſtood. Therefore *Blondel* argues very looſely, when he would infer from this Community of Names and Titles, that Biſhops and Presbyters were but one and the ſame Order. Which might as well be inferred from

[g] Ibid. p. 259. Subſcripſerunt Presbyteri numero 67. Cœlius Laurentius Archipresbyter Tituli Praxedis hic ſubſcripſi & conſenſi Synodalibus Conſtitutis, atque in hac me profiteor manere Sententia, &c. [h] Ibid. p. 261. Reſidentibus etiam Presbyteris, Projectitio, Martino, &c. Adſtantibus quoque Diaconis. [i] Ibid. p. 274. Siſinnius Presbyter huic Conſtituto, à nobis promulgato, ſubſcripſi. Petrus Archidiaconus huic Conſtituto, à nobis promulgato ſubſcripſi. [k] Con. Tolet. 1. Convenientibus Epiſcopis in Eccleſia —— Conſidentibus Presbyteris, adſtantibus Diaconis, &c. [l] Con. Bracar. 1. Conſidentibus ſimul Epiſcopis, præſentibus quoque Presbyteris, adſtantibuſque Miniſtris, vel univerſo Clero. [m] Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 1. c. 15. [n] Morton. Apol. Cathol. Part. 2. lib. 4. c. 8. Whitaker de Concil. Quæſt. 3. [o] Habertus Not. in lib. Pontif. Grægor. p. 175. [p] Ranchin's *Review of the Council of* Trent. lib. 1. c. 8. [q] *Biſhop* Burnet's *Vindication of the Ordination*, &c. Pref. p. 32. [r] Con. Conſtantin. Tom. 2. p. 957. Tyrannus Presbyter Amorii, Auxanon Presbyter Apamea; Helladius Presbyter Commanenſis. [s] Habert. Not. in Pontif. p. 175. [t] Syneſ. Ep. 12. Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. [u] Naz. Orat. 1. Baſil. Reg. Moral. 71. [w] Chryſ. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. 4. 1. Naz. Orat. 1. p. 37. [x] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Ancyr. c. 13. Neque enim Presbyter unquam Antiſtes dicitur. [y] Ambroſ. al. Hilar. Com. in 1 Tim. 5. Hujus Ordinis ſublimis honor eſt; hujuſmodi enim Vicarii ſunt Chriſti: Idcirco non facile de hac Perſona Accuſatio debet admitti. Incredibile enim debet videri, iſtum qui Dei Antiſtes eſt, criminoſe verſatum. [z] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. c. 101. Propter quod Antiſtites Dei ſunt, in Domo Dei & in honore Chriſti cum dignitate conſiſtunt. [a] Ep. 3. al. 8. ap. Cyprian. Cum incumbat nobis qui videmur Præpoſiti eſſe, & vice Paſtoris cuſtodire Gregem. [b] Celerin. Ep. 21. ap. Cypr. Præceperunt has Præpoſiti tantiſper ſic eſſe, donec Epiſcopus conſtituatur. [c] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 11. Antiſtes fuit ordine in ſecundo, Fratrem faſce levans Epiſcopali.

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the Name *Sacerdotes*, Prieſts, which ſo frequently occurs in the ancient Writers; and as *Cyprian* obſerves, [*d*] denotes an Honour common both to Biſhops and Presbyters: Though when there was occaſion to ſpeak more accurately and diſtinctly of Biſhops, their Appropriate Title was that of *Summi Sacerdotes*, Chief Prieſts, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the Inferior Order, as I have ſhewed before in ſpeaking of the Titles of Biſhops; to which I ſhall only add here the Teſtimony of *Optatus*, who [*e*] gives both Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, the Name of Prieſts, and their Office the Name of Prieſthood; but with this difference, that the Deacons were only in the third Degree of Prieſthood, and the Presbyters in the ſecond, but the Biſhops were the Heads and Chief of all. From whence it is plain, that if a bare Community of Names argued an Identity of Offices, one might as well infer, that Biſhops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons were but one and the ſame Order, becauſe they ſhare in the ſame common Titles of Prieſt and Prieſthood.

SECT. XV. *In what ſenſe Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons called Prieſts by* Optatus.

IF here it be enquired, as it is very natural to ask the Queſtion, Why *Optatus* gives all the three Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, the Title of Prieſthood? The Anſwer is plain and obvious: Becauſe according to him every Order had its ſhare, though in different Degrees, in the Chriſtian Prieſthood. Which is not, as ſome imagine, a Power to offer Chriſt's Body and Blood really upon the Altar as a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead; (which is ſuch a Notion of the Chriſtian Prieſthood, as no ancient Author or Ritual ever mentions): But it conſiſts in a Power and Authority to miniſter publickly according to God's Appointment in Holy Things, or Things pertaining to God. And there are ſeveral Parts of this Power, according to the different Participation of which, in the Opinion of *Optatus*, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons had each their reſpective Share in the Prieſthood. Thus it was one Act of the Prieſt's Office to offer up the Sacrifice of the Peoples Prayers, Praiſes, and Thankſgivings to God, as their Mouth and Orator, and to make Interceſſion to God for them; another part of the Office was in God's Name to bleſs the People, particularly by admitting them to the Benefit and Privilege of Remiſſion of Sins by Spiritual Regeneration or Baptiſm. And thus far Deacons were anciently allowed to miniſter in Holy Things, as Mediators between God and the People. Upon which Account a late Learned Writer [*f*] joins entirely with *Optatus*, in declaring Deacons to be Sharers in this loweſt Degree of the Chriſtian Prieſthood. Above this was the Power of offering up to God the Peoples Sacrifices at the Altar; that is, as Mr. *Mede* [*g*] and others explain them, firſt the Euchariſtical Oblations of Bread and Wine, to agnize or acknowledge God to be the Lord of the Creatures; then the Sacrifice of Prayer and Thankſgiving in Commemoration of Chriſt's Bloody Sacrifice upon the Croſs, Myſtically repreſented in the Creatures of Bread and Wine; which whole ſacred Action was commonly called the Chriſtian's Reaſonable and Unbloody Sacrifice, or the Sacrifice of the Altar. Now the Deacons (as we ſhall ſee in the next Chapter) were never allowed to offer theſe Oblations at the Altar, but it was always a peculiar Act of the Presbyters Office, which was therefore reckoned a ſuperior Degree of the Prieſthood. Another Act of the Prieſtly Office was to interpret the Mind and Will of God to the People; as alſo to bleſs them ſolemnly in his Name, and upon Confeſſion and Repentance grant them Miniſterial Abſolution: And theſe being alſo the ordinary Offices of Presbyters, they gave them a farther Title to the Prieſthood. All theſe Offices, and ſome more, the * Biſhops could perform, ſuch as the ſolemn Conſecration or Benediction of Perſons ſet apart for the Miniſtry, *&c.* which together with their Spiritual Juriſdiction, or Power of Ruling and Governing the Church, as Vicars of Chriſt, gave them a Title to a yet higher Degree of the Chriſtian Prieſthood; whence as I noted before, they were called Chief Prieſts, *Primi Sacerdotes*, *Summi Sacerdotes*, *Principes Sacerdotum*, and *Pontifices Maximi*. I know indeed, *Albaſpini* and ſeveral others of the *Roman* [*h*] Communion make a Diſtinction between the Prelatical and Sacerdotal Office in a Biſhop, which is invented to ſerve ſome peculiar Hypotheſes of their own; as 1ſt, That a Biſhop differs nothing from a Presbyter as he is a Prieſt; 2dly, That Biſhop and Presbyter are but one Sacerdotal Order; and 3dly, That the proper Notion, and Specifick Character of the Sacerdotal Order, is a Power to offer Chriſt's Body and Blood, as a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead: All which are contrary to the plain Senſe of Antiquity, which knew no ſuch Specifick Character of the Sacerdotal Order, nor never dreamt of Biſhops and Presbyters being but one Order in reference to the Prieſthood; but always ſpake of them as diſtinct Orders, and placed their Diſtinction in their enjoying different Powers of the Prieſthood, making Presbyters only the ſecond Order, and ſecond Prieſthood, *Secundus Ordo & Secundum Sacerdotium*, and Biſhops the firſt; and aſſerting that the Juridical Acts of a Biſhop, were

[*d*] Cypr. Ep. 58. al. 61. ad Lucium, p. 145. Presbyteri cum Epiſcopo ſacerdotali Honore conjuncti. [*e*] Optat. lib. 1. p. 35. Quid commemorem Diaconos in tertio? Quid Presbyteros in ſecundo Sacerdotio conſtitutos? Ipſi Apices &. Principes omnium aliqui Epiſcopi illis temporibus —— Inſtrumenta Divinæ Legis incipie tradiderunt. Confer. Hieron. Epiſt. 27. *Where he calls Presbyters* Secundi Ordinis Sacerdotes. [*f*] *Dr.* Hicks's *Diſcourſe of the Chriſtian Prieſthood*, c. 2. § 5. p. 33. [*g*] Mede Chriſt. Sacrif. c. 2. p. 356. Hicks ibid. 49. *with many others cited by him.* Ἱερεύειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Epiphanius *calls it.* Hær. 79. n. 3. * *See before Chap.* 2. Sect. 6. [*h*] Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. 1. c. 11. Caniſius Catech. de Sacram. Ord. Sect. 4.

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alſo Sacerdotal, or acts of a Superior Degree of the Chriſtian Prieſtood peculiar to his Order. St. *Cyprian* [i] ſcruples not to call ſuch Acts, *Sacerdotii Vigor*, the Vigor and Power of the Epiſcopal Prieſthood, ſpeaking of the Power and Juriſdiction which he had as the Prieſt of God, to puniſh Presbyters and Deacons that were under him; which he had improperly called the Power of his Prieſthood, had his Juriſdiction and Prieſthood been two different Powers in him. This may ſerve at once to caution the Reader againſt that ſubtle Diſtinction of the *Romaniſts*, and give him a ſhort Account both of the Nature, and different Degrees of the Chriſtian Prieſthood.

SECT. XVI. *Why Prieſts called Mediators between God and Men.*

THERE is another Name frequently occurring in the *Greek* Writers, when they ſpeak of Chriſtian Prieſts, which will deſerve to be explained: That is the Name μεσῖ), Mediators between God and Men, a Title given them by the Author of the Conſtitutions [k], as alſo by *Origen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Baſil*, *Iſidore* of *Peluſium*, and many others, whoſe Authorities are collected by [l] *Cotelerius*. The *Latin* Writers are more ſparing in the uſe of this Term: For except St. *Jerom*, *Cotelerius* could find none that uſed it. St. *Auſtin* is ſo far from uſing it, that he condemns it [m] as intolerable in *Parmenian* the *Donatiſt*, who had ſaid, That the Biſhop was Mediator between God and the People. And indeed there is a ſenſe in which it is intolerable to ſay, There is any other Mediator beſides one, the Man Chriſt Jeſus. But the *Greek* Fathers uſed the Word in a qualified Senſe, not for an Authentick Mediator, or Mediator of Redemption, who pleads his own Merits before God in the behalf of others; but only for a Mediator of Miniſterial Interceſſion, in which ſenſe ſome [n] of the Ancients think *Moſes* is called a Mediator by St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 3. 19. becauſe he was the *Internuncius* to relate the Mind of God to the People, and the Peoples Requeſts and Reſolutions to God again. And in this qualified ſenſe 'tis generally [o] owned that Chriſtian Prieſts may be called Mediators alſo, as thoſe that are appointed to convey the Peoples Devotions to God, and the Will and Bleſſing of God to the People.

SECT. XVII. *The ancient Form and Manner of Ordaining Presbyters.*

HAVING thus far ſpoken of the ſeveral Offices and Titles of Presbyters, it remains that I give a ſhort Account of the Form and Manner of their Ordination, by which they were inveſted with their Power, and authorized to perform the ſeveral Duties of their Function. Now as to this it is plain, the ancient Form was only Impoſition of Hands and a Conſecration-Prayer. Thus it is deſcribed in the Canon [p] of the Council of *Carthage*, which has been cited before, and in the Author under the Name of [q] *Dionyſius*, who repreſents it in this manner: He ſays, The Perſon to be ordained kneeled before the Biſhop at the Altar, and he laying his Hand upon his Head, did conſecrate him with an Holy Prayer, and then ſigned him with the Sign of the Croſs; after which the Biſhop and the reſt of the Clergy that were preſent, gave him the Kiſs of Peace. The Author of the Conſtitutions [r] ſpeaks alſo of Impoſition of Hands and Prayer, but no more. From which we may reaſonably conclude, that the Words which the *Roman* Church makes to be the moſt neceſſary and eſſential part of a Prieſt's Ordination, *viz. Receive thou Power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Maſs both for the Living and the Dead*, were not in any of the ancient Forms of Conſecration. One of their own [ſ] Writers, *Morinus* after the moſt diligent ſearch he could make into theſe Matters, could find no Form for 900 years together, that made any mention of them. And for their other Ceremonies ſuperadded to the old ones, other Learned Writers of that Church do as ingenuouſly confeſs the Novelty of them. *Habertus* [s] proves againſt *Catumſiritus* that material Unction is a new thing, and not to be met with in any ancient Ordination; as neither is it in uſe in the *Greek* Church at this Day. So that when *Gregory Nazianzen* [t] and others ſpeak of an Unction, they are to be underſtood as ſpeaking Myſtically of the Spiritual Unction of the Holy Ghoſt. *Cabaſſutius* [u] obſerves the ſame of the Cuſtom of delivering the Sacred Veſſels into the Hands of the Perſon that was Ordained, that however ſome plead very ſtifly for its Antiquity, yet it is really but a modern Cuſtom: And he cites *Morinus* for the ſame Opinion. So that I need not ſtand to ſhew the Novelty of theſe things, which is ſo evidently proved, as well by the Confeſſion of theſe Learned Men, as the Silence of all ancient Rituals. But there is one thing the Reader may be deſirous to know farther, *viz.* what Form of Words the Conſecration Prayer was conceived in? To which I muſt anſwer, as I have done before about Biſhops, that there was no ſuch general Form then extant; but every Biſhop having Liberty to frame his own Liturgy, he uſed ſuch a Form as he thought convenient in his own Church: It being a thing indifferent, as a Learned Perſon [w] obſerves, ſo the Subſtance of the Bleſſing were preſerved. The only Form now remaining is that which is extant in the Conſtitutions, which becauſe it will ſhew the Reader what was then the Sub-

[i] Cypr. Ep. 15. al. 20. p. 42. ed. Ox. [k] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 25. [l] Coteler. Not. ibid. [m] Aug. contr. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 8. Si Johannes dicerit —— Mediatorem me habetis apud Patrem, & ego exoro pro peccatis veſtris (ſicut Parmenianus quodam loco poſuit Epiſcopum Mediatorem inter Populum & Deum) quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Chriſtianorum? [n] Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 14. Theodor. Com. in Gal. 3. 19. [o] *See Dr.* Potter. Ch. Gov. c. 5. p. 251. Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. lib. 2. c. 25. [p] Con. Carth. 4. c. 3. *cited before* §. 10. [q] Dionyſ. de Eccleſ. Hierarch. c. 5. part. 2. p. 364. [r] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 16. [ſ] *See Biſhop* Burnet *of Ordination*, p. 24. *who cites* Morinus. [s] Habert. Obſerv. in Pontif. Græc. p. 386. [t] Naz. Orat. 5. p. 136. [u] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 43. [w] *Biſhop* Burnet's *Vindication of the Ordination*, &c. p. 25.

ſtance of the Benediction, I will here inſert the Words of it, which are theſe: *Look, O Lord, upon this thy Servant, who is choſen into the Presbytery by the Suffrage and Judgment of all the Clergy, and fill him with the Spirit of Grace and Counſel, that he may help and govern thy People with a pure Heart: In like manner as thou hadſt reſpect to thy choſen People, commanding* Moſes *to make choice of Elders, whom thou didſt repleniſh with thy Spirit. And now, Lord, do the ſame thing, preſerving in us the never-failing Spirit of thy Grace: That he being full of healing Powers and inſtructive Diſcourſe, may with Meekneſs teach thy People, and ſerve thee ſincerely with a pure Mind, and willing Soul, and unblameably perform the ſacred* [x] *Services for thy People, through Chriſt*, &c. Where we may obſerve, that it was not then thought neceſſary to expreſs all or any of the Offices of a Presbyter in particular, but only in general to pray for Grace to be given to the Prieſt then ordained, whereby he might be enabled to perform them. And this with a ſolemn Impoſition of Hands was reckoned a ſufficient Form of Conſecration. Which I note for the Inſtruction of thoſe, who may be apt to think that Modern Forms of Ordination are in every Circumſtance like the Primitive ones; whereas if *Morinus* ſay true, the Words which are now moſt in uſe, *viz.* Receive the Holy Ghoſt, were not in the *Roman* Pontifical above 400 Years ago. Which makes good the Obſervation of a Learned [y] Perſon, That the Church Catholick did never agree on one Uniform Ritual, or Book of Ordination, but that was ſtill left to the Freedom of particular Churches; and ſo the Church of *England* had as much Power to make or alter Rituals, as any other had.

SECT. XVIII. *Of the* Archipreſbyteri.

I ſhould here have ended this Chapter about Presbyters, but that it is neceſſary to give ſome Account of the *Archipresbyteri*, and *Seniores Eccleſiæ*, which are ſometimes mentioned in ancient Writers. The Archipresbyters are ſpoken of by St. *Jerom*, who ſeems [z] to ſay there was one, and but one in every Church; and perhaps he is the firſt Author that mentions them. After him *Socrates* [a] ſpeaks of one *Peter* Protopresbyter of *Alexandria*, whom *Sozomen* [b] calls Archipresbyter. And *Liberatus* [c] mentions one *Proterius* Archipresbyter in the ſame Church. From whom we alſo learn in ſome meaſure what was the Office and Quality of the Archpresbyter. He was not always the Senior Presbyter of the Church, as ſome are apt to imagine, but one choſen out of the College of Presbyters at the pleaſure of the Biſhop. For *Liberatus* ſays expreſly, that *Dioſcorus* the Biſhop made *Proterius* Archpresbyter of the Church: Which implies that he did not come to the Office by vertue of his Seniority, but by the Biſhop's Appointment. As to his Office, it is plain from *Liberatus*, that it was to preſide over the Church next under the Biſhop, as chief of the College of Presbyters, and to take care of all things relating to the Church in the Biſhop's Abſence; as *Proterius* is ſaid to have done, while *Dioſcorus* went to the Council of *Chalcedon*. And therefore ſome [d] not without reaſon think theſe *Archipresbyteri* were much of the ſame nature with our Deans in Cathedral Churches, as the College of Presbyters were the Chapter. But they wholly miſtake the Matter, who [e] confound theſe *Archipresbyteri* with the *Cardinales Presbyteri*. For that is a Name of much later Date, not to be found in any Genuine Writer till the time of *Gregory* the Great: For the Council of *Rome*, which is the only Authority that *Bellarmin* [f] alledges to prove it more ancient, is a mere Fiction. Beſides that the Cardinal Presbyters were many in the ſame Church or City, but the Archpresbyter was but one. So that whatever was the firſt Original of Cardinal Presbyters; (whether they were ſo called from their being fixed in ſome principal Churches, where Baptiſm might be Adminiſtred, which were therefore called *Eccleſiæ vel Tituli Cardinales*, as *Bellarmin* thinks; Or whether, as others [g] imagine, when the Number of Presbyters was grown ſo great in large and populous Cities, that they could not conveniently meet, and join with the Biſhop, for ordering the Government of the Church, there were ſome as the chief of them choſen out from the reſt, to be as the Biſhop's Council, who were therefore called *Cardinales Presbyteri*; a Diſpute that does not concern me any farther to enquire into or determine:) I ſay, whatever was their Riſe, or the Reaſon of their Name, it is certain they were not the ſame with the *Archipresbyteri* of the Primitive Church.

SECT. XIX. *Of the* Seniores Eccleſiaſtici. *That theſe were not Lay-Elders in the Modern Acceptation.*

As to the *Seniores Eccleſiæ*, they were a ſort of Elders, who were not of the Clergy, yet had ſome concern in the Care of the Church. The Name often occurs in *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*, from whom we may eaſily learn the Nature of their Office. *Optatus* ſays [h], when *Menſurius* Biſhop of *Carthage* was forced to leave his Church in the time of the *Diocletian* Perſecution, he committed the Ornaments and Utenſils of the Church to ſuch of the Elders as he could truſt, *Fidelibus Senioribus commendavit*. Upon which *Albaſpiny* [i] notes, that beſides the Clergy there were then ſome Lay-Elders, who were entruſted to take care of the Goods of the Church. At the end of *Optatus* there is a Tract

[x] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 16. τὰς ὑπὲρ τῦ λαῦ ἱερυργίας ἀμώμως ἐκτελῆ. [y] *Biſhop* Burnet's *Vind. of the Ordin.* p. 35. [z] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Singuli Eccleſiarum Epiſcopi, ſinguli Archipresbyteri, ſinguli Archidiaconi. [a] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 9. Πέτρῳ τῖς προτοπρεσβύτερῳ. [b] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 12. [c] Liberat. Breviar. c. 14. Proterio Dioſcorus commendavit Eccleſiam, qui & eum Archipresbyterum fecerat. In Edit. Crab male legitur *Archiepiſcopum*. [d] Stillingfl. Irenic. part. 2. c. 7. p. 358. [e] Onuphr. Interpret. Vocum Eccleſiaſt. Salmaſ. de Primat. c. 1. p. 10. [f] Bellar. de Cleric. lib. 1. c. 16. [g] Stillingfl. ibid. [h] Optat. lib. 1. p. 41. [i] Albaſpin. Not. in Optat. p. 123. Præter Eccleſiaſticos & Clericos quidam ex Plebe Seniores & probatæ vitæ res Eccleſiæ curabant.

called

called, The Purgation of *Felix* and *Cæcilian*, wherein there are ſeveral Epiſtles that make mention of the ſame Name, as that of *Fortis* [k] and *Pupurius*, and another nameleſs Author. St. *Auſtin* inſcribes one of his Epiſtles [l] to his own Church of *Hippo* in this manner, *Clero, Seniorib*us, *& univerſæ Plebi*, To the Clergy, the Elders, and all the People: And in ſeveral other places [m] has occaſion to mention theſe *Seniores* in other Churches.

From whence ſome [n] have concluded, that theſe were Ruling Lay-Elders, according to the new Model and modern Acceptation. Whereas, as the Ingenious Author [o] of the Humble Remonſtrance rightly obſerves in his Reply, thoſe *Seniores* of the Primitive Church were quite another thing. Some of them were the *Optimates*, the chief Men or Magiſtrates of the Place, ſuch as we ſtill call Aldermen, from the ancient Appellation of *Seniores*. Theſe are thoſe which the *Cabarſieſſitan* Council of *Donatiſts* in St. *Auſtin* call'd [p] *Seniores Nobiliſſimi*; and one of the Councils [q] of *Carthage* more expreſly, *Magiſtratus vel Seniores locorum*, The Magiſtrates or Elders of every City; whom the Biſhops were to take with them to give the *Donatiſts* a Meeting. In this Senſe Dr. *Hammond* [r] obſerves from Sir *Henry Spelman*, and ſome of our *Saxon* Writings, that anciently our *Saxon* Kings had the ſame Title of Elders, *Aldermanni*, *Presbyteri*, and *Seniores*. As in the *Saxon* Tranſlation of the Bible, the Word, *Princes*, is commonly render'd Aldermen. And of this ſort were ſome of thoſe *Seniores Eccleſiæ*, that have been mentioned, whoſe Advice and Aſſiſtance alſo, no doubt, the Biſhops took in many weighty Affairs of the Church. The other ſort, which were more properly called *Seniores Eccleſiaſtici*, were ſuch as were ſometimes truſted with the Utenſils, Treaſure, and outward Affairs of the Church; and may be compared to our Church-Wardens, Veſtry-men, Stewards, who have ſome Care of the Affairs of the Church, but are not concerned as Ruling-Elders in the Government or Diſcipline thereof. Now Lay-Elders are a Degree above the Deacons; but the *Seniores Eccleſiæ* were below them: Which is a farther Evidence, that they were not Lay-Elders in the Modern Acceptation. But of this enough. I now proceed to conſider the third Order of the Clergy in the Primitive Church, which is that of Deacons.

CHAP. XX.

Of Deacons.

SECT. I. *Deacons always reckoned one of the three Sacred Orders of the Church.*

THE Name Διάκονοι, which is the Original Word for Deacons, is ſometimes uſed in the *New Teſtament* for any one that Miniſters in the Service of God: In which large Senſe we ſometimes find Biſhops and Presbyters ſtiled Deacons, not only in the [a] *New Teſtament*, but in Eccleſiaſtical Writers [b] alſo. But here we take it in a more ſtrict Senſe for the Name of the Third Order of the Clergy of the Primitive Church. In treating of which it will be neceſſary in the firſt place to ſhew the Senſe of Antiquity concerning their Original. The Council of *Trullo* advances a very ſingular Notion about this Matter, aſſerting, that the ſeven Deacons ſpoken of in the *Acts*, are not to be underſtood of ſuch as miniſtred [c] in Divine Service or the Sacred Myſteries, but only of ſuch as ſerved Tables and attended the Poor. But the whole Current of Antiquity runs againſt this: *Ignatius* [d] ſtiles them expreſly Miniſters of the Myſteries of Chriſt, adding, That they are not Miniſters of Meats and Drinks, but of the Church of God. In another [e] place he ſpeaks of them as Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and gives them a ſort of Preſidency over the People, together with the Biſhop and Presbyters: Study to do all things, ſays he, in Divine Concord, under your Biſhop preſiding in the Place of God, and the Presbyters in the Place of the Apoſtolical Senate, and the Deacons moſt dear to me, as thoſe to whom is committed the Miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt. And in many other [f] places he requires the People to be ſubject to them, and reverence them as Jeſus Chriſt, that is, as his Miniſters attending on his Service. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of them in the ſame Stile, calling them [g] Miniſters of Epiſcopacy and the Church; withal referring their Original to the place in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which

[k] Geſta Purgat. Cæcil. & Fel. p. 268. ex Epiſt. Fortis: Omnes vos Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, Diacones, Seniores, Scitis, *&c.* Ibid. ex Epiſt. Purpurii: Adhibite Conclericos, & ſeniores Plebis, Eccleſiaſticos Viros, & inquirant diligenter, quæ ſunt iſtæ Diſſentiones. Ibid. Clericis & ſenioribus Cirthenſium in Domine æternam ſalutem. [l] Aug. Ep. 137. [m] Id. cont. Creſcon. lib. 3. c. 29. & 56. Concio 2. in Pſal. 36. p. 120. [n] Smectymn. *Anſwer to the Remonſtrance*, p. 74. [o] Hamon l'Eſtrange *Defence of the Remonſtrance*. [p] Aug. Conc. 2. in Pſal. 36. p. 120. [q] Con. Carthag. an. 403. in Con. African. c. 58. & in Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 91. Debere unumquemque noſtrum in Civitate ſua per ſe convenire Donatiſtarum Præpoſitos, aut adjungere ſibi vicinum Collegam, ut pariter eos in ſingulis quibuſque Civitatibus vel Locis, per Magiſtratus vel Seniores Locorum conveniant. [r] Ham. Diſſert. 4. cont. Blondel. c. 19. n. 1. [a] Act. 1. 25. 2 Cor. 6. 4. 2 Tim. 4. 5. 1 Cor. 3. 5. Eph. 3. 7. [b] Athan. cont. Gent. Chryſoſt. Hom. 1. in Phil. 1. 1. [c] Conc. Trull. c. 16. Ἔπρεπε Διάκονες μὴ ἐπὶ τὰς τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονημάτων λαμβάνεσθαι. [d] Ignat. Ep. ad Trall. n. 2. [e] Epiſt. ad Magneſ. n. 6. [f] Epiſt. ad Polycarp. n. 6. Ep. ad Trall. n. 3. [g] Cypr. Ep. 65. al. 3. ad Rogatian. Diaconos poſt aſcenſum Domini in cœlos Apoſtoli ſibi conſtituerunt Epiſcopatus ſui & Eccleſiæ Miniſtros,

the

the Council of *Trullo* diſputes about, at the ſame time that he aſſerts [*h*] they were called *ad Altaris Miniſterium*, to the Miniſtry and Service of the Altar. *Tertullian* [*i*] was ſo far from thinking them only Miniſters of Meats and Drinks, that he joins them with Biſhops and Presbyters in the honourable Titles of Guides and Leaders to the Laity, and makes them in their Degree Paſtors and Overſeers of the Flock of Chriſt. And ſo St. *Jerom*, though he ſometimes in an angry Humour ſpeaks a little contemptuouſly of them, ſtiling them [*k*] Miniſters of Widows and Tables; yet in other places [*l*] he treats them with greater Reſpect, giving them the ſame honourable Title as *Tertullian* does, and ranking them among the Guides of the People. I ſhewed before in the laſt Chapter, that *Optatus* [*m*] had ſo great an Opinion of them, as to reckon their Office a lower Degree of the Prieſthood. And St. *Auſtin* ſeems to have had the ſame Sentiments: For in one of his Epiſtles [*n*] he gives *Præſidius* the Title of *Conſacerdos*, his Fellow-Prieſt, whom yet St. *Jerom* in the next Epiſtle [*o*] calls a Deacon.

SECT. II. *Yet not generally called Prieſts, but Miniſters and Levites.*

YET here that I may not ſeem to impoſe upon my Readers, I muſt obſerve that the Name of Prieſts was not generally given to the Deacons, by thoſe that eſteemed them a Sacred Order; but they are commonly diſtiguiſhed from Prieſts by the Names of Miniſters and Levites. Thus St. *Jerom* [*p*] diſtinguiſhes them from the Prieſts of the ſecond Order, that is, from the Presbyters, by the Title of Levites. The Author of the Queſtions [*q*] upon the *Old* and *New Teſtament* under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, and *Hilarius Sardus* [*r*] under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, are more poſitive and expreſs in denying them the Name of Prieſts. And *Salvian* [*s*] though he acknowledges their Miniſtration and Function to be about Holy Things, yet he gives them but the ſame Title of Levites, and that in Contradiſtinction to the Prieſts. And ſo frequently in the Councils [*t*] the Names, *Sacerdos* and *Levita*, are uſed as the peculiar diſtinguiſhing Titles of Presbyters and Deacons. The Fourth Council of *Carthage* [*u*] ſpeaks more expreſly, That Deacons are not ordained to the Prieſthood, but only to the Miniſtring Office, or Inferior Service. And hence the Canons ſometimes give them the Name of Τπηρέτ) and *Miniſtri*, the Miniſters and Servants, not only of the Church, but of the Biſhops and Presbyters, as may be ſeen in the Councils [*w*] of *Nice*, and *Carthage* [*x*], and many others. Whence ſome Learned Men [*y*] conclude againſt *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*, that Deacons were in no ſenſe allowed to be Prieſts; whilſt others [*z*] with *Optatus*, diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Degrees of the Prieſthood, and reckon that though Deacons were not abſolutely called Prieſts, becauſe that was the appropriate Title of Biſhops and Presbyters, whoſe Miniſters and Attendants they were; yet Deacons ſometimes performed ſuch Offices, as did entitle to a lower Degree of the Prieſthood. Having thus fairly ſtated and repreſented the Matter on both ſides, I muſt leave the Judicious Reader to determine for himſelf which Opinion has the ſtrongeſt Reaſons, whilſt I proceed to give an Account of the Ordination of Deacons, and their ſeveral Offices, and ſuch Laws and Rules as concerned their Order.

SECT. III. *For this Reaſon the Biſhop was not tied to have the Aſſiſtance of any Presbyters to ordain them.*

THE Ordination of a Deacon differed from that of a Presbyter, both in the Form and Manner of it, and alſo in the Gifts and Powers that were conferred thereby. For in the Ordination of a Presbyter, as has been noted before, the Presbyters who were preſent were required to join in the Impoſition of Hands with the Biſhop: But the Ordination of a Deacon might be performed by the Biſhop alone, becauſe, as the Council of *Carthage* [*a*] words it, he was ordained not to the Prieſthood, but to the Inferior Services of the Church. Theſe Services are not particularly mentioned in the Form of Ordination now remaining in the Conſtitutions; but there the Biſhop only prays in general, That God would [*b*] make his Face to ſhine upon that his Servant, who was then choſen to the Office of a Deacon, and fill him with his Holy Spirit and Power, as he did *Stephen* the Martyr; that he behaving himſelf acceptably and uniformly and unblameably in his Office, might be thought worthy of an higher Degree, *&c.* What therefore were the particular Offices of the Deacons, we are to learn not from the Forms of the Church, but from other Writers.

[*h*] Id. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Pleb. Legion. & Aſtur. p. 172. [*i*] Tert. de Fuga, c. 11. Quum ipſi Autores, id eſt, ipſi Diaconi, Presbyteri & Epiſcopi fugiunt, quomodo Laicus intelligere poterit, &c. Cum Duces fugiunt, quis de gregario numero ſuſtinebit? [*k*] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. & Com. in Ezek. c. 48. Menſarum & Viduarum Miniſtri. [*l*] Id. Com. in Mich. 7. Nolite credere in Ducibus, non in Epiſcopo, non in Presbytero, non in Diacono. [*m*] Optat. Lib. 1. [*n*] Aug. Ep. 16. [*o*] Hieron. Ep. 17. inter Epiſt. Aug. [*p*] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epiſcopi, & Sacerdotum inferioris gradus, ac Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo. [*q*] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & N. Teſt. T. 4. Q. 46. Nunquid Diaconus poteſt vicem gerere Sacerdotis —— Sacerdotis vicem agere non poteſt, qui non eſt Sacerdos. [*r*] Hilar. Com. in Epheſ. 4. Evangeliſtæ Diaconi ſunt, ſicut fuit Philippus, quamvis non ſint Sacerdotes. [*s*] Salvian. ad Eccleſ. Cathol. Lib. 2. p. 394. Levitis ac Sacerdotibus tanta divinarum rerum adminiſtratione fungentibus. [*t*] Con. Turon. 1. can. 2. [*u*] Con. Carth. 4. c. 4. Diaconus non ad Sacerdotium, ſed ad Miniſterium conſecratur. [*w*] Con. Nic. c. 18. Τῶ μὴ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑπηρέτ) εἶναι. [*x*] Con. Carth. 4. c. 37. Diaconus ita ſe Presbyteri, ut Epiſcopi, Miniſtrum eſſe cognoſcat. Vid. Con. Eliber. in Titulis can. 18. & 33. Con. Turon. 1. c. 1. [*y*] Bp. Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 18. Habert. Not. in Pontific. p. 125. [*z*] Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 13. *Dr.* Hicks's *Diſcourſe concerning Prieſthood*, p. 33. [*a*] Con. Carth. 4. c. 4. Diaconus quum ordinatur, ſolus Epiſcopus qui eum benedicit, manum ſuper caput illius ponat. Quia non Sacerdotium, ſed ad Miniſterium conſecratur. [*b*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 18.

WHERE

SECT. IV. *The Deacons Office to take care of the Utenſils of the Altar.*

WHERE we find firſt, that the moſt ordinary and common Office of the Deacons was to be ſubſervient and aſſiſtant to the Biſhop and Presbyters in the Service of the Altar. It belonged to them to take care of the Holy Table, and all the Ornaments and Utenſils appertaining thereto. The Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [c] takes notice of this as the common Office of Deacons in all Churches, except in ſuch great Churches as the Church of *Rome*, where there being a Multitude of Inferior Clergy, this Office was devolved on ſome of them: But in other Churches it was the Deacons Office, where the Inferior Clergy, Subdeacons, *&c.* were prohibited by Canon to come into the Sanctuary, or touch any of the Sacred Veſſels in the time of Divine Service, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Canons [d] of the ancient Councils.

SECT. V. *2dly, To receive the Oblations of the People, and preſent them to the Prieſt, and recite the Names of thoſe that offered.*

ANOTHER part of the Deacon's Office was to receive the Peoples Offerings, and preſent them to the Prieſt, who preſented them to God, at the Altar: After which the Deacon repeated the Names of thoſe that offered, publickly; And this Rehearſal was commonly called, *Offerre nomina*, as may be ſeen in *Cyprian*, who [e] ſpeaks of it as part of the Communion-Service of thoſe Times; which is alſo noted by *Rigaltius* [f] and others; of which Cuſtom I ſhall ſay more hereafter, when we come to treat of the ancient Service of the Church: At preſent I only obſerve, that this Recital of the Names of ſuch as made their Oblations, was part of the Deacon's Office, as is evident from St. *Jerom*, who tells us [g] that Extortioners and Oppreſſors made their Oblations out of their ill-gotten Goods, that they might glory in their Wickedneſs, while the Deacon in the Church publickly recites the Names of thoſe that offered: Such an one offers ſo much, ſuch an one has promiſed ſo much: And ſo they pleaſe themſelves with the Applauſe of the People, while their Conſcience ſecretly laſhes and torments them. Some indeed deny that there was any ſuch Cuſtom as this publick and particular Rehearſal of Mens Names that offered in the Church, and by conſequence that this was any part of the Deacon's Office: But I think St. *Jerom*'s Teſtimony is undeniable Proof, and cannot otherwiſe be expounded, to make any tolerable Senſe of his Words: For which Reaſon I have made this one part of the Deacon's Office, though contrary to the Judgment of ſome Learned Men.

SECT. VI. *3dly, To read the Goſpel in ſome Churches.*

3dly, IN ſome Churches, but not in all, the Deacons read the Goſpel both in the Communion-Service, and before it alſo. The Author of the Conſtitutions aſſigns all other Parts of Scripture to the Readers, but the Goſpel is to be read [h] only by a Presbyter or a Deacon. St. *Jerom* intimates [i] that it was part of the Deacon's Function; and ſo it is ſaid by the Council of *Vaiſon*, which authorizes Deacons to read the Homilies of the ancient Fathers in the abſence of a Presbyter, aſſigning this Reaſon for it: If the Deacons be worthy to read [k] the Diſcourſes of Chriſt in the Goſpel, why ſhould they not be thought worthy to read the Expoſitions of the Holy Fathers? This implies that in the Weſtern Churches it was the ordinary Office of the Deacons to read the Goſpels. But in other Churches the Cuſtom varied: For as *Sozomen* obſerves, it was cuſtomary at *Alexandria* for the Archdeacon only to read the Goſpels, in other Churches the Deacons, in others the Prieſts only, and in ſome Churches on high Feſtivals the Biſhop himſelf read, as at *Conſtantinople* on *Eaſter-Day*. In the *African* Churches, in the time of *Cyprian*, the Readers were allowed to read the Goſpels as well as other parts of Scripture, as appears from one of *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles, where ſpeaking of *Celerinus* the Confeſſor, whom he had ordained a Reader, he ſays, It was fitting he ſhould be advanced to the Pulpit [l] or Tribunal of the Church (as they then called the Reading-desk) that he might thence read the Precepts and Goſpels of his Lord, which he himſelf like a courageous Confeſſor had followed and obſerved. So that we are not to look upon this to have been the Deacon's peculiar Office, but only in ſome Churches and ſome Ages.

SECT. VII. *4th'ly, To Miniſter the conſecrated Elements of Bread and Wine to the People in the* Euchariſt.

BUT it was ſomething more appropriate to them to aſſiſt the Biſhop or Presbyters in the Adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt*: Where their Buſineſs was to diſtribute the Elements to the People that were preſent, and carry them to thoſe that were abſent alſo, as *Juſtin Martyr* [m] ac-

[c] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſtament. Tom. 4. c. 101. Ut autem non omnia miniſteria obſequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit Clericorum. Nam utique & Altare portarent, & vaſa ejus, & aquam in manus funderent Sacerdoti, ſicut videmus per omnes Eccleſias. [d] Con. Agathen. c. 66. Non oportet in ſacratos Miniſtros licentiam habere, in Secretarium (quod Græci Diaconicon appellant) ingredi & contingere Vaſa Dominica. Con. Laodic. c. 21. cum Notis Balſamon. & Zonar. in loc. [e] Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. p. 37. Ad communicationem admittuntur, & offertur Nomen eorum, *&c.* [f] Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 60. Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. c. 8. n. 7. [g] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. 18. p. 537. Multos conſpicimus qui opprimunt per potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, & in ſuis ſceleribus gloriantur, publiceque Diaconus in Eccleſia recitet offerentium Nomina: Tantum offert ille, tantum ille pollicitus eſt, placentque ſibi ad Plauſum populi, torquente Conſcientia. [h] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 57. [i] Hieron. Ep. 57. ad Sabin. Evangelium Chriſti quaſi Diaconus lectitabas. [k] Con. Valenſ. 2. c. 2. Si digni ſunt Diaconi, quæ Chriſtus in Evangelio locutus eſt legere, quare indigni judicentur Sanctorum Patrum Expoſitionis publice recitare? [l] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Quid aliud quam ſuper Pulpitum, id eſt, ſuper Tribunal Eccleſiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celſitate ſubnixus —— legat Præcepta & Evangelia Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter ſequitur. [m] Juſt. M. Apol. 2. p. 97.

quaints us in his 2d Apology. The Author of the Conſtitutions [n] likewiſe deſcribing the Manner of the ancient Service, divides the whole Action between the Biſhop and the Deacon; appointing the Biſhop to deliver the Bread to every Communicant ſingly, ſaying, The Body of Chriſt: And the Deacon in like manner to deliver the Cup, ſaying, The Blood of Chriſt, the Cup of Life. This the Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [o] calls the proper Office of the Deacons Order. Yet it was not ſo proper to their Order, but that they were to depend upon the Will and Licenſe of the Biſhop and the Presbyters, if they were preſent, as is expreſly provided in ſome of the ancient [p] Councils, which forbid the Deacon to give the *Euchariſt* in the preſence of a Presbyter, except Neceſſity require, and he have his leave to do it. And therefore it was looked upon as a great Abſurdity for a Presbyter to ſit by and receive the Sacrament from the Hands of a Deacon, as was ſometimes practiſed, but the Council of *Nice* [q] made a ſevere Canon againſt it. So that what was allowed to Deacons, was not to Conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, but only to diſtribute it, and that not to the Biſhop or Presbyters, but only to the People. Yet this Action of theirs is ſometimes called Oblation or Offering, as in *Cyprian* [r], and the Council of *Ancyra* [s] which forbids ſome Deacons that were under Cenſure, ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφερείν, to offer either the Bread or Wine, as Deacons otherwiſe were allowed to do.

SECT. VIII. *But not allowed to Conſecrate them at the Altar.*

SOME Learned [t] Perſons, I know, put a different Senſe upon the Words of this Council: They underſtand by Offering, Conſecration, and thence conclude, That Deacons anciently were inveſted with the ordinary Power of Conſecrating the *Euchariſt* in the abſence of the Presbyters. But this is more than can fairly be deduced from the Words, which are capable of two more reaſonable Conſtructions: Either they may ſignifie the Deacons offering the Peoples Oblations to the Prieſt, which was a part of their Office, as I ſhewed before: And ſo *Petavius* [u] and *Habertus* underſtand them: Or elſe they may be interpreted by *Cyprian*'s Words, who expreſſes himſelf more fully, calling it offering the Conſecrated Bread and Wine to the People; which ſeems to be the moſt natural Senſe; and is preferred to all others by ſome late Learned [w] Writers. Whatever it be, there is no reaſon to believe it means that Deacons were allowed the ordinary Power of Conſecration. For the Council of *Nice*, which was not long after the Council of *Ancyra*, ſays expreſly [x], that Deacons had not Power to offer; that is, in the Senſe in which Offering ſignifies Conſecration: For in that Senſe it was the proper Office of Presbyters. Some Deacons indeed did about this time take upon them thus to offer, but the Council of *Arles*, which was held in the ſame Year with that of *Ancyra*, reckons it a Preſumption and Tranſgreſſion of their Rule, and therefore made a new [y] Canon to reſtrain them. St. *Hilary* is a good Witneſs of the Practice of the Church in his own time, and he aſſures us there could be no Sacrifice, or Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, without a Presbyter [z]. And St. *Jerom* ſays the ſame [a], That Presbyters were the only Perſons, whoſe Prayers conſecrated Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt. For which reaſon ſpeaking of one *Hilary* a Deacon, he ſays, he could not conſecrate the *Euchariſt* [b], becauſe he was only a Deacon. The Reaſon of this was, becauſe the Holy *Euchariſt* was look'd upon as the prime Chriſtian Sacrifice, and one of the higheſt Offices of the Chriſtian Prieſthood: And Deacons being generally reckoned no Prieſts, or but in the loweſt Degree, they were therefore forbidden to Offer or Conſecrate this Sacrifice at the Altar. This Reaſon is aſſigned by the Author [c] of the Conſtitutions, and the Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, and ſeveral others.

But there is a Paſſage in St. *Ambroſe*, which ſeems to intimate that in the Third Century the Deacons at *Rome* had Power to Conſecrate the *Euchariſt*: For ſpeaking of *Laurentius* the Deacon, he brings him in thus addreſſing himſelf to *Sixtus* his Biſhop, as he was going to his Martyrdom: Whither go you, Holy Prieſt, without your Deacon? You did not uſe to offer Sacrifice without your Miniſter. Why are you then now diſpleaſed with me? Why may I not be Partner with you in ſhedding my Blood, who was uſed to Conſecrate [d] the Blood of Chriſt by your Commiſſion, and be your Partner in Conſummating the Holy Myſteries? *Baronius* was ſo perplex'd with this Difficulty, that he reſolves it to be a Corruption of the Text, and that inſtead of *Conſecrationem*, it ſhould be read [e] *Diſpenſationem*: And ſome ſhameleſs Editors have, without any grounds, make bold to foiſt this

[n] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 13. [o] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. c. 101. Diaconi Ordo eſt accipere à Sacerdote, & ſic dare Plebi. [p] Con. Carth. 4. c. 38. Diaconus, præſente Presbytero, Euchariſtiam Corporis Chriſti populo ſi neceſſitas cogat, juſſus eroget. Vid. Con. Arelat. 2. c. 15. [q] Con. Nic. can. 18. [r] Cypr. de Lapſis, p. 132. ſolemnibus ad impletis Calicem Diaconus offerre præſentibus cœpit. [s] Conc. Ancyr. c. 2. [t] Hoſpin. Hiſt. Sacram. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 23. [u] Petav. Diatrib. de Poteſt. Conſecr. c. 3. T. 4. p. 211. Habert. in Pontifical. Par. 9. Obſerv. 2. p. 190. [w] Suicer. Theſaur. Tom. 1. p. 871. [x] Con. Nic. c. 18. τὸν Διακόνων μὴ ἐξουσίας προσφέρειν, &c. [y] Con. Arelat. 1. c. 15. De Diaconibus, quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere. [z] Hilar. Fragm. p. 129. Sacrificii opus ſine Presbytero eſſe non potuit. [a] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Euagr. Quid patitur Menſarum & Viduarum Miniſter, ut ſupra eos tumidus ſe efferat, ad quorum Preces Chriſti corpus & ſanguis conficitur? [b] Id. Dial. cont. Lucif. p. 145. Hilarius cum Diaconus de Eccleſia receſſerit, ſoluſque ut putat turba ſit Mundi; Neque Euchariſtiam conficere poteſt, Epiſcopos & Presbyteros non habens, &c. [c] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 28. Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. Q. 46. [d] Ambroſ. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 41. Quo Sacerdos ſancte ſine Diacono properas? Nunquam ſacrificium ſine Miniſtro offerre conſueveras. Quid in me ergo diſplicuit Cater? —— Cui commiſiſti Dominici ſanguinis Conſecrationem, cui conſummandorum Conſortium Sacramentorum, huic Conſortium tui ſanguinis negas? [e] Baron. an. 261. n. 7.

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Correction into the Text: Which *Bona* [f] and *Habertus* ingenuously condemn, as done against the Authority of all the MSS. as well as former Editions, and that without any reason for it from the Difficulty of the Expression. For the Word, Consecration, in this place does not signify the Sacramental Consecration of the Elements by Prayer at the Altar, which was performed by the Bishop himself, as appears evidently from the Context, where it is said, The Bishop was never used to offer Sacrifice without his Minister or Deacon: Therefore the Consecration which was committed to the Deacon, must be of another sort: For he could not offer or consecrate the Elements on the Altar in the Bishop's Presence, and at the same time that the Bishop himself Consecrated; but he might assist him, or bear a part with him, as it is there worded, in Consummating the Holy Mysteries; that is, in giving the Cup with the usual Form of Words to the People; which in the Language of those Times, was called a Ministerial Consecration, or Consummation of the Sacrament; forasmuch as the Receivers were hereby Consecrated with the Blood of Christ, and also consummated or made perfect Partakers of the Sacrament in both kinds, having received the Bread from the Hands of the Bishop, and the Cup from the Hands of the Deacon. This is plainly the Consecration here spoken of, which refers only to the Deacon's ministring of the Cup to the People, which was their usual Office, and so cannot be made an Argument, as *Hospinian* and *Grotius* [g] would have it, that Deacons were allowed to consecrate the *Eucharist* at the Altar.

SECT. IX. *5. Deacons allowed to Baptize in some Places.*

BUT for the other Sacrament of Baptism, it is more evident, that they were permitted in some Cases to administer it solely. For though the Author [h] of the Constitutions says, that the Deacons did neither Baptize, nor Offer: And *Epiphanius* [i] affirms universally, that the Deacons were not entrusted with the sole Administration of any Sacrament: Yet it appears from other Writers, that they had this Power, at least in some places, ordinarily conferr'd upon them. *Tertullian* [k] invests them with the same Right as Presbyters, that is, to Baptize by the Bishop's Leave. And St. *Jerom* [l] entitles them to the very same Privilege. The Council of *Eliberis* [m] as plainly asserts this Right, when it says, If a Deacon, that takes care of a People without either Bishop or Presbyter, baptizes any, the Bishop shall consummate them by his Benediction. This plainly supposes, that Deacons had the ordinary Right of Baptizing in such Churches over which they presided. So when *Cyril* [n] directs his *Catechumens*, how they should behave themselves at the time of Baptism, when they came either before a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, in City or in Village: This may be presumed a fair Intimation, that then Deacons were ordinarily allowed to minister Baptism in Country Places. I speak only now of their ordinary Power. For as to extraordinary Cases, not only Deacons, but the Inferior Clergy, and Lay-men also were admitted to Baptize in the Primitive Church, as will be shewed in its proper place.

SECT. X. *6. Deacons to Bid Prayer in the Congregation.*

ANOTHER Office of the Deacons was to be a sort of Monitors and Directors to the People in the Exercise of their Publick Devotions in the Church. To which purpose they were wont to use certain known Forms of Words, to give notice when each part of the Service began, and to excite the People to join attentively therein; also to give notice to the Catechuments, Penitents, Energumens, when to come up and make their Prayers, and when to depart; and in several Prayers they repeated the Words before them, to teach them what they were to pray for. All this was called by the general Name of κηρύτ̃ειν, among the *Greeks*, and *Prædicare* among the *Latins*; which does not ordinarily signifie Preaching, as some mistake it, but performing the Office of a Κήρυξ, or *Præco* in the Assembly: Whence *Synesius* [o] and some others call the Deacons ἱερογκήρυκες, The Holy Cryers of the Church, as those that gave notice to the Congregation, how all things were regularly to be performed. Thus the word Κηρύσσει frequently occurs in the ancient Rituals or Canons: As in the Apostolical Constitutions, as soon as the Bishop has ended his Sermon, the Deacon is to cry, Let the Hearers [p] and Unbelievers depart. Then he is to bid the Catechumens pray, and to call upon the Faithful also to pray for them, repeating a Form of Bidding Prayer, to instruct the People after what manner they were to pray for them. Which Form may be seen both in the Constitutions [q], and in [r] St. *Chrysostom*. After this the Deacon was to call in like manner upon the Energumens, the Competentes, and the Penitents in their several Orders, using the solemn Words of Exhortation both to them and the People to pray for them, ἐκτενῶς δεηθῶμεν, Let us ardently pray for them. Then again when the Deacon had dismissed all these by a solemn Cry, ἀπολύεσθε προελθέτε, or *Ite*, *Missa est:* He called upon the Faithful to pray again for themselves, and the

[f] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 4. Habert. Not. in Pontifical. Græc. p. 191. [g] Vid. Grot. de Cœnæ Administratione Pastores non sunt. *Cited and Confuted by* Petavius. [h] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28. [i] Epiphan. Hær. 79. Collyrid. n. 4. [k] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi quidem habet jus summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus; dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, &c. [l] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucif. c. 4. p. 139. Inde venit, ut sine jussione Episcopi neque Presbyter neque Diaconus jus habeant Baptizandi. [m] Concil. Eliber. c. 77. Si quis Diaconus, regens Plebem sine Episcopo vel Presbytero, aliquos baptizaverit, Episcopus eos per Benedictionem perficere debebit. [n] Cyril. Catech. 17. n. 17. [o] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 224. Chrysost. Hom. 17. in Heb. 9. Κήρυξ ὅταν εἴπῃ, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.. [p] Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 5. κηρυττέτω, μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων. [q] Ibid. c. 6. [r] Chrys. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor.

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whole State of Christ's Church, repeating [s] another Form of Bidding Prayer before them. And this is there called the Deacon's προσφώνησις, or Exhortation to pray, to distinguish it from the Bishop's ἐπίκλησις, which was a direct Form of Address to God, whereas the Deacon's Address was to the People: For which reason it was called προσφώνησις, and κηρύξαι, Bidding the People pray, or a Call and Exhortation to pray, with Directions what they should pray for in particular. This the *Latins* called both *Oratio*, and *Prædicatio*, as may be seen in one of the Councils [t] of *Toledo*, which explains the word *Orare*, by *Prædicare*, making them both to signifie this Office of the Deacon. And hence one of the Deacon's Ornaments (that I may note this by the way) is called by the same Council his *Orarium*, because he used it sometimes as a private Signal to give notice of the Prayers to his Brethren of the Clergy. By all this we may understand what *Socrates* means, when he says *Athanasius* [u] commanded his Deacon κηρύξαι εὐχήν to Bid Prayer; and how we are to interpret that controverted Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*, which speaking of some Deacons that had lapsed into Idolatry, and degrading them, says, They should [w] no longer κηρύσσειν: Which some interpret Preaching, but others [x] more truly understand it of this part of the Deacon's Office, which was to be the κήρυξ or *Præco*, the Sacred Cryer of the Congregation.

SECT. XI. *7. Deacons allowed to Preach by the Bishop's Authority.*

IF it be enquired, Whether Deacons had any Power to preach publickly in the Congregation? The Answer must be the same, as in the Case of Baptism: They had Power to preach by License and Authority from the Bishop, but not without it. The Author under the Name of [y] St. *Ambrose* says positively, that Deacons did not preach in his time; though he thinks originally all Deacons were *Evangelists*, as *Philip* and *Stephen* were. I have shewed before, that Presbyters themselves in many places were not allowed to preach in the Bishop's Presence, but by his special Leave, and therefore it is much more reasonable to conclude the same of Deacons. *Blondel* [z] and *Baronius* think that St. *Chrysostom* preached those elegant Discourses, *de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, *de Anathemate*, &c. while he was but a Deacon. But others think [a] more probably, that those were not Sermons which he preach'd in the Church, but only Discourses that he composed upon other Occasions; and that his first Sermon was that which he preached when he was ordained Presbyter, now extant in his 4th Vol. *p.* 953. But if he ever preached while he was Deacon, there is no question to be made but that he had the Authority of his Bishop *Meletius* for doing it: As *Philostorgius* [b] says, *Leontius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch* permitted *Aetius* his Deacon to preach publickly in the Church. *Ephrem Syrus* perhaps was another such Instance: For he was never more than a Deacon of the Church of *Edessa*; yet *Photius* [c] says he composed several Homilies or Sermons, which were so excellent in their kind, that after his Death they were translated into other Languages, and allowed to be read in many Churches immediately after the reading of the Scriptures, as St. *Jerom* [d] acquaints us. In some Places, as in the *French* Churches, Deacons were authorized by Canon to read some such Homilies in the Church instead of a Sermon, when the Presbyter happened to be sick, and could not preach, as appears from the Order made in the Council of *Vaison* [e] upon this Occasion. But here was Necessity, and Permission too: So that the Case of Deacons preaching in those Ages of the Church seems to have been (according to the Resolution which *Vigilius* [f] afterward gave of it) Allowable, if authorized by the Bishop; but a Presumption both against Custom and Canon, if done without his Permission.

SECT. XII. *8. Also to reconcile Penitents in cases of extreme Necessity.*

AND thus the Case stood likewise with Deacons in reference to the Power of Reconciling Penitents, and granting them Absolution. This was ordinarily the Bishop's sole Prerogative, as the supreme Minister of the Church; and therefore rarely committed to Presbyters, but never to Deacons, except in Cases of extreme Necessity, when neither Bishop nor Presbyter were ready at hand to do it: In this case Deacons were sometimes authorized, as the Bishop's special Delegates, to give Men the solemn Imposition of Hands, which was the Sign of Reconciliation. Thus we find it in *Cyprian*, in the case of those Penitents, whom the Martyrs by their Letters recommended to the favour of the Church: If, says he, they [g] are seized by any dangerous Distemper, they need not expect my Return, but may have Recourse to any Presbyter that is present; or if a Presbyter cannot be found, they may make their Confession before a Deacon; that so they may receive Imposition of

[s] Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 10. [t] Con. Tolet. 4. c. 39. Unum Orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est prædicat. [u] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 11. [w] Con. Ancyr. c. 2. [x] Habert. Pontifical. p. 203. Bevereg. Not. in Con. Ancyr. c. 2. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. T. 2. p. 99. [y] Ambros. Com. in Eph. 4. Nunc neque Diaconi in Populo prædicant, neque Clerici vel Laici baptizant. [z] Blondel. Apol. p. 57. Baron. an. 386. p. 532. [a] Cave Hist. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 253. [b] Philostorg. lib. 3. c. 17. διδάσκειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιτρέπει. [c] Phot. Cod. 196. Λόγοι ἐνίοις καὶ πεπαίδευται. [d] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 115. [e] Con. Vasens. 1. c. 2. Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, Sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur. [f] Vigil. Ep. ad Rustic. & Sebastian. Con. Tom. 5. p. 554. Adjeciistis etiam execranda superbia, quæ nec leguntur, nec sine sui Pontificis jussione aliquando Ordinis vestri homines præsumpserunt, auctoritatem vobis Prædicationis contra omnem Consuetudinem vel Canones vindicare. [g] Cypr. Ep. 13. al. 18. ad Cler. Si incommodo aliquo & infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectata præsentia nostra, apud Presbyterum quemcunque præsentem, vel si Presbyter repertus non fuerit, & urgere exitus cœperit, apud Diaconum quoque Exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentia imposita veniant ad Dominum cum Pace.

Hands,

Hands, and go to the Lord in Peace. Here it is obſervable, that none below a Deacon are commiſſioned to perform this Office; nor were the Deacons authorized to do it, but as the Biſhop's Delegates, and that in Caſes of extreme Neceſſity, when no Presbyter could be found to reconcile the Penitent at the Point of Death.

And to ſuſpend the Inferior Clergy in ſome extraordinary Caſes.

In the like Caſe, that is, in the Caſe of abſolute Neceſſity, it ſeems very probable, that in ſome of the *Greek* Churches they had Power to ſuſpend the Inferior Clergy, when need ſo required, and neither Biſhop nor Preſbyter was preſent to do it. Which may be collected from thoſe Words of the Author of the Conſtitutions [*i*], where he ſays, a Deacon Excommunicates a Subdeacon, a Reader, a Singer, a Deaconneſs, if there be occaſion, and the Preſbyter be not at hand to do it. But a Subdeacon ſhall have no Power to Excommunicate any, either Clergy or Laity: For Subdeacons are only Miniſters of the Deacons. This was a Power then committed to Deacons in extraordinary Caſes, and a peculiar Privilege which none of the Inferior Clergy might enjoy.

SECT. XIII.

9. Deacons to attend upon their Biſhops, and ſometimes repreſent them in General Councils.

IT may be reckoned alſo among their extraordinary Offices, that they were ſometimes deputed by their Biſhops to be their Repreſentatives and Proxies in General Councils. Their ordinary Office there was only to attend upon their Biſhops, and perform the Duties of Scribes, and Diſputants, *&c.* according as they were directed by them; In which Station we commonly find them employed in the ancient Councils: But then there were two Things in which they were treated as Inferior to Presbyters: 1. In that Presbyters are uſually repreſented as ſitting together with their Biſhops, while the Deacons ſtood with all the People. 2. Presbyters were ſometimes allowed to Vote, as has been ſhewed before; but there are no Inſtances that I know of, to evidence the ſame Privilege to belong to Deacons. Only when Biſhops could not attend in Perſon, they many times ſent their Deacons to repreſent them: And then they ſat and Voted, not as Deacons, but as Proxies, in the Room and Place of thoſe that ſent them. Of which there are ſo many Inſtances in the Acts of the Councils, that it is needleſs to refer the Reader to any of them. Yet they that deſire to ſee Examples, may conſult *Chriſtianus Lupus* in his Notes upon the 7th Canon of the Council of *Trullo*, where he obſerves ſome difference in the Sitting and Voting of Deacons in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Councils: In the *Eaſtern* Councils, if a Deacon repreſented a Metropolitan or a Patriarch, he ſat and ſubſcribed in the Place that the Metropolitan or Patriarch himſelf would have done, had he been preſent; but in the *Weſtern* Councils it was otherwiſe: There the Deacons Voted after all the Biſhops, and not in the Place of thoſe whoſe Proxies they were.

Thus it was in General Councils. But in Provincial and Conſiſtorial Synods the Deacons were ſometimes allowed to give their Voice, as well as the Presbyters, in their own Name. Of which the Reader may ſee ſeveral Inſtances in the *Roman* Councils under *Symmachus* and *Gregory* II. publiſhed by *Juſtellus* [*k*] in his *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici*, and in the 4th Tome of the Councils, where firſt the Biſhops, then the Presbyters, and then the Deacons, ſubſcribe every one in their own Name in particular. And thoſe that are Curious about this Matter, may furniſh themſelves with many other ſuch Examples.

SECT. XIV.

10. Deacons empowered to rebuke and correct Men that behaved themſelves irregularly in the Church.

THERE are two Things more to be obſerved concerning the Office of Deacons in Church-Aſſemblies. 1. That as they were the Regulators and Directors of Men's Behaviour in Divine Service; ſo they had Power to rebuke the Irregular, and chaſtiſe them for any indecent and unſeemly Deportment. The Conſtitutions often mention ſuch Acts as theſe belonging to the Deacon's Office. If any one be found ſitting out of his Place, let the Deacon rebuke him [*l*], and transfer him to his proper Station, as the Pilot or Steerſ-man of the Church. And again a little after, Let the Deacon [*m*] overlook and ſuperintend the People, that no one Talk, or Sleep, or Laugh, but give ear to the Word of God. This is evident alſo from St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſpeaking of the irreverent Behaviour of ſome in the Church, bids their Neighbours firſt rebuke them, and if they would not bear it, to call the Deacon [*] to do his Office toward them. Agreeable to this *Optatus* tells us a very remarkable Story of *Cæcilian* Archdeacon of *Carthage*, that obſerving one *Lucilla* a rich Woman commit an indecent Act in the time of Receiving the Holy Communion; (for before ſhe received the Bread and Wine, ſhe was uſed to kiſs the Relicks of ſome pretended Martyr); He rebuked her [*n*] for it by vertue of his Office; Which ſhe ſo highly reſented, that afterward when he was choſen Biſhop, ſhe factiouſly withdrew her ſelf with ſome others from his Communion; and pretending his Ordination to be illegal, ſhe by her Power got *Majorinus* ordained againſt him: And this was one of the Principal Cauſes of the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, as *Optatus* there obſerves: It had its Riſe from the Implacable Malice of a Proud and Angry Woman, who could never forgive the Deacon that rebuked her in the Church.

[*i*] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 28. Διάκονος ἀφορείζει ἢ ὑποδιάκονον, &c. [*k*] *See before* Chap. 19. Sect. 12. [*l*] Conſt. Ap. l. 2. c. 57. ἐπιπλήσσεσθω ὑπὸ τῶν διάκονων, ὡς ἀφωρέως, &c. [*m*] Ibid. p. 264. Ὁ διάκονος ἐπισκοπείτω τὸν λαὸν, &c. Confer. lib. 8. c. 11. [*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in Act. [*n*] Optat. lib. 1. p. 40. Cum correptionem Archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non poſſet, quæ ante ſpiritalem cibum & potum, os neſcio cujus Martyris, ſi tamen Martyris, libare dicebatur, *&c.*

Some may perhaps imagine, that what *Cæcilian* did was by vertue of a Superior Office, and that as Archdeacon he was of an higher Order, as now commonly Archdeacons are. But I ſhall ſhew in the next Chapter, that anciently Archdeacons were always of the Order of Deacons, and of no other Degree: And it appears from what has here been already diſcourſed, that this Act of *Cæcilian* was not from any peculiar Power that he enjoyed as Archdeacon, but from that ordinary Power to rebuke Offenders, which he had in common with all the other Deacons of the Church.

SECT. XV.
11. *Deacons anciently performed the Offices of all the Inferior Orders of the Church.*

THE other thing I would farther Remark concerning the Office of Deacons, is this, That before the Inſtitution of the Inferior Orders of the Church (which were not ſet up in all Churches at once, nor perhaps in any Church for the two firſt Ages, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter) the Deacons were employed to perform all ſuch Offices, as were in after-Ages committed to thoſe Orders; ſuch as the Offices of Readers, Subdeacons, Exorciſts or Catechiſts, Door-keepers, and the like. Thus *Epiphanius* [o] obſerves, that originally all Offices of the Church were performed by Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, and therefore no Church was without a Deacon. This was certainly the Practice in the time of *Ignatius*, who never ſpeaks of any Order below that of Deacons: But without them, he ſays, no Church was [p] called a Church. So that all the Inferior Offices muſt then be performed by Deacons. And even in after-Ages we find that ſeveral of the Inferior Offices were many times put upon the ſame Man, perhaps to avoid the Charge of maintaining an over-numerous Clergy in leſſer Churches. Thus *Euſebius* tells us, that *Romanus* the Martyr [q] was both Deacon and Exorciſt in the Church of *Cæſarea*. And *Procopius* the Martyr had three Offices in the Church of *Scythopolis*. He was at once Reader, Interpreter, and Exorciſt; as we learn from the Acts of his Martyrdom [r] publiſhed by *Valeſius*. Now both theſe were Martyred in the beginning of the 4th Century, in the time of the *Diocletian* Perſecution. And we find a whole Age after this, if the Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [s] may be credited, that except in ſuch great and rich Churches as the Church of *Rome*, where there was a numerous Clergy, all the Inferior Services were ſtill performed by the Deacons. In the *Greek* Church they were always the πυλωρῳ, or Door-keepers, in the time of the Oblation and Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, as may be ſeen in the Apoſtolical [t] Conſtitutions, where the Deacons are commanded to ſtand at the Men's Gate, and the Subdeacons at the Women's, to ſee that no one ſhould go out or go in, during the time of the Oblation. Theſe were anciently the Deacons principal Employments in the Aſſemblies of the Church.

SECT. XVI.
12. *Deacons the Biſhop's Sub-Almoners.*

BUT beſides theſe we are to take notice of two or three other Offices, in which they were commonly employ'd by the Biſhop out of the Church. One of theſe was to be his Sub-Almoner, to take care of the Neceſſitous, ſuch as Orphans, Widows, Virgins, Martyrs in Priſon, and all the Poor and Sick who had any Title to be maintained out of the Publick Revenues of the Church. The Deacons were particularly to enquire into the Neceſſities and Wants of all theſe, and make Relation thereof to the Biſhop, and then diſtribute to them ſuch Charities as they received from him towards their Relief and Aſſiſtance. The Archdeacon indeed was as it were the Biſhop's Treaſurer, but all the Deacons were his Diſpenſers, or Miniſters of the Church's Charity to the Indigent. Which appears from ſeveral Paſſages in [u] *Cyprian*, *Dionyſius* [w] of *Alexandria*, and the Author [x] of the Conſtitutions, who ſpeak indifferently of this Office, as common to all the Deacons. Particularly in the Conſtitutions the Duty of the Deacon is thus deſcribed, That he ſhould inform his Biſhop, when he knows any one to be in Diſtreſs, and then diſtribute to their Neceſſities by the Directions of the Biſhop; but to do nothing clancularly without his Conſent, leſt that might ſeem to accuſe him of neglecting the Diſtreſſed, and ſo turn to his Reproach, and raiſe a Murmuring againſt him.

SECT. XVII.
13. *Deacons to inform the Biſhop of the Miſdemeanours of the People.*

ANOTHER Office of the Deacons in this reſpect was to make Enquiry into the Morals and Converſation of the People; and ſuch Evils as he could not redreſs himſelf, by the ordinary Power which was entruſted in his Hands, of thoſe he was to give Information to the Biſhop, that he by his Supreme Authority might redreſs them. Let the Deacon, ſays the Book [y] of Conſtitutions, refer all things to the Biſhop, as Chriſt did to the Father: Such things as he is able, let him rectify, by the Power which he has from the Biſhop; but the weightier Cauſes let the Biſhop judge.

SECT. XVIII.
Hence Deacons commonly called the Biſhop's Eyes, his Mouth, Angels, Prophets, &c.

UPON this account the Deacons were uſually ſtiled the Biſhop's Eyes and his Ears, his Mouth, his Right-hand, and his Heart; becauſe by their Miniſtry he over-looked his Charge, and by them took cognizance of Men's Actions, as much as if he himſelf had ſeen them with his own Eyes,

[o] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. [p] Ignat. Ep. ad Tral. n. 3. [q] Euſeb. de Martyr. Palæſtin. c. 2. [r] Acta Procop. ap. Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. de Martyr. Palæſt. c. 1. Ibi Eccleſiæ tria Miniſteria præbebat: Unum in Legendi Officio, alterum in Syri Interpretatione Sermonis, & tertium adverſus Dæmones manus Impoſitione conſummans. [s] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. c. 101. *cited before*, § 4. [t] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 11. [u] Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. ad Cornel. [w] Dionyſ. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 11. [x] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 31, & 32. Lib. 3. c. 19. [y] Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 44.

or

or heard them with his own Ears: By them he ſent Directions and Orders to his Flock, in which reſpect they were his Mouth and his Heart; by them he diſtributed to the Neceſſities of the Indigent, and ſo they were his Right-hand. Theſe Titles are frequently to be met with in the Conſtitutions [z] and the Author of the Epiſtle [a] to St. *James*. And *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* in Alluſion to them, writing to *Lucius* [b] an Archdeacon, he tells him in the Phraſe of the Church, that he ought to be all Eye, foraſmuch as Deacons were the Eyes of the Biſhop. The Author of the Conſtitutions [c] terms them likewiſe the Biſhop's Angels and Prophets, becauſe they were the Perſons whom he chiefly employed in Meſſages, either to his own People, or foreign Churches. For then Biſhops did nothing but by the Mouth or Hands of one of their Clergy.

SECT. XIX. *Deacons to be multiplied according to the Neceſſities of the Church.*

FOR this Reaſon, there being ſuch a Multitude and Variety of Buſineſs commonly attending the Deacon's Office, it was uſual to have ſeveral Deacons in the ſame Church. In ſome Churches they were very preciſe to the Number Seven, in imitation of the firſt Church of *Jeruſalem*. The Council of *Neocæſarea* [d] enacted it into a Canon, That there ought to be but Seven Deacons in any City, though it was never ſo great, becauſe this was according to the Rule ſuggeſted in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. And the Church of *Rome*, both before and after this Council, ſeems to have looked upon that as a binding Rule alſo. For it is evident from the Epiſtles of *Cornelius*, [e] written in the Middle of the Third Century, that there were then but Seven Deacons in the Church of *Rome*, though there were Forty ſix Presbyters at the ſame time. And *Prudentius* intimates that it was ſo in the time of *Sixtus* alſo, *An.* 261. For ſpeaking of *Laurentius* the Deacon, he terms him [f] the Chief of thoſe ſeven Men, who had their Station near the Altar, meaning the Seven Deacons of the Church. Nay, in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries the Cuſtom there continued the ſame, as we learn both from *Sozomen* [g], and *Hilarius Sardus* [h] the *Roman* Deacon who wrote under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*. But *Sozomen* ſays, this Rule was not obſerved in other Churches, but the Number of Deacons was indifferent, as the Buſineſs of every Church required. And it is certain it was ſo at *Alexandria* and *Conſtantinople*. For though one of the Writers of the Life of St. *Mark*, cited [i] by Biſhop *Pearſon*, ſays St. *Mark* ordained but ſeven Deacons at *Alexandria*, yet in after-Ages there were more: For *Alexander* in one of his Circular Letters [k] names nine Deacons, whom he depoſed with *Arius* for their Heretical Opinions; and it is propable there were ſeveral others, who continued Orthodox: For in the Form of *Arius* his Condemnation, publiſhed [l] by *Cotelerius*, the Catholick Deacons of *Alexandria* and *Mareotes* are mentioned, as joining with their Biſhop in condemning him. And for the Church of *Conſtantinople*, the Number of Deacons was there ſo great, that in one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels [m] we find them limited to an Hundred for the Service of the Great Church, and three others only. So that it is evident the Number of Deacons uſually increaſed with the Neceſſities of the Church, and the Church of *Rome* was ſingular in the contrary Practice.

SECT. XX. *Of the Age at which Deacons might be ordained.*

I ſpeak nothing here of the Qualifications required in Deacons, becauſe they were generally the ſame that were required in Biſhops and Presbyters, and will be ſpoken of hereafter: Only in their Age there was ſome Difference, which is here to be obſerved. Biſhops and Presbyters, as has been noted above, might not ordinarily be ordained before Thirty, but Deacons were allowed to be ordained at Twenty five, and not before. This is the Term fixed both by the Civil and Canon Law, as may be ſeen in *Juſtinian*'s [n] Novels, the Councils [o] of *Agde*, *Carthage*, *Trullo*, and many others. And it was a Rule very nicely obſerved: For though we meet with ſome Biſhops that were ordained before this Age; yet thoſe (as I have ſhewed before) were never Deacons, but ordained immediately Biſhops from Laymen: But among thoſe that were ordained Deacons, we ſcarce meet with an Inſtance of any one that was ordained before the Age of Twenty five in all the Hiſtory of the Church.

SECT. XXI. *Of the Reſpect which Deacons paid to Presbyters, and received from the Inferior Orders.*

THE laſt thing which I ſhall obſerve of Deacons, is the great Deference and Reſpect they were obliged to pay to Presbyters, as well as to the Biſhop. It has been proved before, that the Presbyters had their Thrones in the Church, whereon they ſat together with their Biſhop: But the Deacons had no ſuch Privilege, but are always repreſented as ſtanding by them. So the Author [p] of the Conſtitutions, and *Gregory* [q] *Nazianzen* place them in this Order, *viz.* The Biſhop ſitting on the middle Throne, the Presbyters ſitting on each Hand of him, and the

[z] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 44. Lib. 3. c. 19. [a] Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. c. 12. [b] Iſidor. Lib. 1. Ep. 29. [c] Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 30. [d] Conc. Neocæſar. c. 15. [e] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabi. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [f] Prudent. Hymn. de S. Laurent. Hic primus è ſeptem viris qui ſtant ad aram proximi. [g] Sozom. Lib. 7. c. 19. Διάκονοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσέτι νῦν ἑπτά πλείους εἰσὶν ἑπτά. [h] Ambroſ. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. p. 995. Nunc autem ſeptem Diaconos eſſe oportet, aliquantos Presbyteros, ut bini ſint per Eccleſias, & unus in Civitate Epiſcopus. [i] Vit. S. Marci ap. Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 11. p. 329. B. Marcus Anizanum Alexandriæ ordinavit Epiſcopum, & tres Presbyteros, & ſeptem Diaconos. [k] Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Theodor. Lib. 1. c. 4. [l] Coteler. Not. in Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 28. [m] Juſtin. Novel. 3. c. 1. [n] Juſt. Novel. 123. c. 14. Presbyterum minorem triginta annorum fieri non permittimus. Sed neque Diaconum aut Subdiaconum viginti quinque. [o] Conc. Agathenſ. c. 16. Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 4. Conc. Trull. c. 14. Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 19. [p] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 57. [q] Greg. Naz. Somn. de Eccl. Anaſtaſ.

Dea-

Deacons ſtanding by. The Council of *Nice* expreſly [r] forbids Deacons to ſit among the Preſbyters in the Church. And it is evident from St. *Jerom* [s], and the Author under the Name of [t] St. *Auſtin*, that though the *Roman* Deacons were grown the moſt elated of any others, yet they did not preſume to ſit in the Church. Nay, ſome Canons go farther, and forbid [u] Deacons to ſit any where in the Preſence of a Presbyter, except by his Permiſſion.

The like Reſpect they were to pay to Presbyters in ſeveral other Inſtances, being obliged to miniſter to them, as well as to the Biſhop, in the Performance of all Divine Offices; none of which might be performed by a Deacon in the Preſence of a Presbyter, without ſome ſpecial Reaſon for it, as has been noted before. Nay, a Deacon was not allowed ſo much as to bleſs a common Feaſt, if a Presbyter was preſent at it: As we may ſee in St. *Jerom*'s [x] Epiſtle to *Evagrius*, where he cenſures the *Roman* Deacons ſomewhat ſharply for preſuming to do ſo.

But then as the Canons oblig'd Deacons to pay this Reſpect to Presbyters; ſo to diſtinguiſh them from the Leſſer Clergy, all the Inferior Orders were required to pay the ſame Reſpect to them. The Council of *Laodicea*, in the ſame Canon that ſays, a Deacon ſhall not ſit in the Preſence of a Presbyter, without his Leave, adds immediately after, That in like manner the Deacon ſhall be honoured by the Sub-deacons, and all the other Clergy. And the Council of *Agde* [y] repeats the Canon in the ſame Words. I ſhall here alſo remind the Reader of what I have obſerved before, That Deacons in ſome Churches had Power to cenſure the Inferior Clergy in the abſence of the Presbyters. St. *Jerom* [z] ſeems alſo to ſay, that their Revenues were rather greater than thoſe of the Presbyters, which made them ſometimes troubleſome and aſſuming. Beſide all this, the Order of Deacons was of great Repute, becauſe the Archdeacon was always then one of this Order, and He was commonly a Man of great Intereſt and Authority in the Church; of whoſe Powers and Privileges, becauſe it is neceſſary to diſcourſe a little more particularly, I ſhall treat diſtinctly of them in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXI.

Of ARCHDEACONS.

SECT. I. *Archdeacons anciently of the ſame Order with Deacons.*

THOUGH Archdeacons in theſe laſt Ages of the Church have uſually been of the Order of Presbyters, yet anciently they were no more than Deacons: which appears evidently from thoſe Writers, who give us the firſt Account of them. St. *Jerom* [a] ſays the Archdeacon was choſen out of the Deacons, and was the Princial Deacon in every Church, as the Archpresbyter was the Principal Presbyter; and that there was but one of each in every Church. *Optatus* calls *Cæcilian* [b] Archdeacon of *Carthage*, yet he was never more than a Deacon, till he was ordained Biſhop, as has been ſhewed before: And that made *Cæcilian* himſelf ſay, That if he was not rightly ordained Biſhop, as the *Donatiſts* pretended, he [c] was to be treated only as a Deacon. It is certain alſo St. *Lawrence*, Archdeacon of *Rome*, was no more than the Chief of the Deacons, or the Principal [d] Man of the Seven, who ſtood and waited at the Altar, as *Prudentius* words it. From theſe Teſtimonies it is very plain, that in thoſe Times the Archdeacon was always one of the Order of Deacons.

SECT. II. *Elected by the Biſhop, and not made by Seniority.*

BUT how the Archdeacon came by his Honour, and after what Manner he was inveſted with his Office, is a Matter of ſome Diſpute among Learned Men. *Salmaſius* [e] and ſome others are of Opinion, that originally He was no more than the Senior Deacon, though they own that in proceſs of Time the Office became Elective. *Habertus* [f] thinks it was always Elective, and that it was at the Biſhop's Liberty and Diſcretion to nominate which of the Deacons he thought fit to the Office. That it was ſo in the Caſe of *Athanaſius*, ſeems pretty evident from what *Theodoret* [g] ſays of him, That though he was very young, yet he was made Chief of the Order of Deacons. For

[r] Con. Nic. c. 18. [s] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. In Eccleſia Romæ Presbyteri ſedent, & ſtant Diaconi. [t] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. c. 101. Quanquam Romanæ Eccleſiæ Diaconi modice invericundiores videantur, ſedenti tamen dignitatem in eccleſia non præſumunt. [u] Concil Laodic. c. 20. Carthag. 4. c. 39. [x] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Licet increbreſcentibus vitiis, inter Presbyteros abſente Epiſcopo ſedere Diaconum viderim: Et in domeſticis Conviviis, Benedictiones Presbyteris dare, al. Benedictiones coram Presbyteris dare. [y] Conc. Agathenſ. c. 65. Non oportet Diaconum ſedere præſente Presbytero, ſed ex juſſione Presbyteri ſedeat. Similiter autem honorificetur Diaconus à Miniſtris inferioribus & omnibus Clericis.
[z] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Presbyter noverit ſe Lucris minorem, Sacerdotio eſſe majorem. Id. Com. in Ezek. c. 48. Ultra Sacerdotes, hoc eſt, Presbyteros intumeſcunt: & Dignitatem non merito ſed Divitiis æſtimant. [a] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Aut Diaconi eligant de ſe, quem induſtrium noverint, & Archidiaconum vocent. Id. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Singuli Eccleſiarum Epiſcopi, ſinguli Archipresbyteri, ſinguli Archidiaconi.
[b] Optat. Lib. 1. p. 40. Cum correptionem Archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non poſſet, &c. [c] Optat. Ibid. p. 41. Iterum à Cæciliano mandatum eſt, ut ſi Felix in ſe, ſicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contuliſſet, ipſi tanquam adhuc Diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum. [d] Prudent. Hymn. de S. Steph. Hic Primus è ſeptem viris, qui ſtant ad aram proximi. [e] Salmaſ. de Primat. p. 8. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccl. T. 1. p. 531. [f] Habert. Pontifical. Obſ. 6. p. 206. [g] Theod. Lib. 1. c. 26. Νέῳ μὲν ὄν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τῷ χορῷ δὲ τῶν διακόνων ἡγεμόνι.

this implies, as *Valeſius* there obſerves, that he was choſen by the Biſhop, and preferred before his Seniors. St. *Jerom* in the forecited Paſſage as plainly aſſerts that the Office went not by Seniority, but Election: Only he ſeems to put the Power of Electing in the Deacons: But if they had any Hand in it, it muſt be underſtood to be under the Direction of the Biſhop, who is required by ſome Canons to chuſe his own Archdeacon, and ordinarily to give Preference to the Senior, if he was duly qualified: But if not, to make choice of any other, whom he thought moſt fit to diſcharge the Offices of the Church [*b*] and the Truſt that was repoſed in him.

SECT. III. *Commonly Perſons of ſuch Intereſt in the Church, that they were choſen the Biſhop's Succeſſors.*

THE Office of the Archdeacon was always a Place of great Honour and Reputation: For he was the Biſhop's conſtant Attendant and Aſſiſtant; and next to the Biſhop the Eyes of the whole Church were fixed upon him. By which means he commonly gained ſuch an Intereſt, as to get himſelf choſen the Biſhop's Succeſſor before the Presbyters. Of which it were eaſy to give ſeveral Inſtances, as *Athanaſius*, *Cæcilian*, and many others. And this, I preſume, was the Reaſon why St. *Jerom* ſays, That an Archdeacon thought himſelf [*i*] injured, if he was ordained a Presbyter: Probably becauſe he thereby loſt his Intereſt in the Church, and was diſappointed of his Preferment. We might certainly conclude it was thus in the Church of *Rome*, if what *Eulogius* a *Greek* Writer in *Photius* ſays, might be depended on as true: That it was a Law [*k*] at *Rome* to chuſe the Archdeacon the Biſhop's Succeſſor, and that therefore *Cornelius* ordained *Novatian* Presbyter, to deprive him of the Privilege and Hopes of ſucceeding. But I confeſs there is no ſmall Reaſon to queſtion the Truth of this Relation, both becauſe we read of no ſuch Law in any Writer of the *Latin* Church; and becauſe this Author palpably miſtakes, in ſaying, that *Cornelius* ordained *Novatian* Presbyter, who was Presbyter long before; and probably never was Archdeacon, nor Deacon, but ordained Presbyter immediately from a Layman, as may be collected from the Letters of *Cyprian* [*l*] and *Cornelius* [*m*] which tacitly reflect upon him for it. Yet if by Law *Eulogius* meant no more than a Cuſtom; perhaps it might be cuſtomary at *Rome*, as at ſome other Places, to make the Archdeacons the Biſhop's Succeſſors: Their Power and Privileges, as I obſerved, commonly gaining them a conſiderable Intereſt both among the Clergy and the People.

SECT. IV. *The Offices of the Archdeacon. 1ſt, To attend the Biſhop at the Altar, &c.*

As to the Archdeacon's Office, He was always the Biſhop's immediate Miniſter and Attendant: *A latere Pontificis non receſſit*, to uſe St. *Jerom*'s Phraſe, He was always by his Side, ready to aſſiſt him. Particularly at the Altar, when the Biſhop miniſtred, he performed the uſual Offices of a Deacon, that have been mentioned in the laſt Chapter. The Author of the Conſtitutions calls him the Ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ Ἀρχιερεῖ, the Deacon that ſtood by the Biſhop, and proclaimed, when the Communion-Service began, *Let no* [*n*] *one approach in Wrath againſt his Brother*, *Let no one come in Hypocriſy*. To him it belonged to miniſter the Cup to the People, when the Biſhop celebrated the Euchariſt, and had adminiſtred the Bread before him, as we learn from the Account which St. *Ambroſe* [*o*] gives of *Laurentius* Archdeacon of *Rome*. It was his Buſineſs alſo, as the Biſhop's Subſtitute, to order all Things relating to the Inferior Clergy, and their Miniſtrations and Services in the Church: As what Deacon ſhould read the Goſpel, who ſhould bid the Prayers, which of them ſhould keep the Doors, which walk about the Church to obſerve the Behaviour of the People; which of the Readers, Acolythiſts, Subdeacons, ſhould perform their Service at ſuch a Time, or in what Poſt and Station: For theſe Things were not preciſely determined, but at the Biſhop's Liberty to ordain and appoint them; which he commonly did by his Archdeacon: Whoſe Orders and Directions therefore are ſometimes called *Ordinationes*, and *Ordinatio* [*p*] *Eccleſiæ*, in ſome of the ancient Councils. Whence I preſume came the Name, *Ordinary*, which is a Title given to Archdeacons in after-Ages.

SECT. V. *2. To aſſiſt him in managing the Church's Revenues.*

2. HE aſſiſted the Biſhop in managing and diſpenſing the Church's Revenues, having the chief Care of the Poor, Orphans, Widows, *&c.* under the Biſhop, whoſe Portions were aſſigned by him, and ſent by the Hands of the other Deacons that were under him. The Fourth Council [*q*] of *Carthage* makes mention of this part of his Office, when it requires the Biſhop not to concern himſelf Perſonally in the Care and Government of the Widows, Orphans, Strangers, but to commit this to his Archpresbyter or Archdeacon. Upon this Account *Prudentius* deſcribing [*r*] the Offices of St. *Laurence*, whom he makes to be Archdeacon of *Rome*, among other Things aſſigns him the Keys of the Church's Treaſure,

[*b*] Conc. Agathenſ. c. 23. Si Officium Archidiaconatus, propter ſimpliciorem Naturam implere aut expedire nequiverit, ille loci ſui nomen teneat, & ordinationi Eccleſiæ, quem Epiſcopus elegerit, præponatur. [*i*] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. c. 48. Certe qui primus fuerit Miniſtrorum, quia per ſingula concionatur in Populos, & à Pontificis Latere non recedit, injuriam putat, ſi Presbyter ordinetur. [*k*] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 182. Τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον ἐνενόμιζο διάδοχον τῶ ἀρχιερατεύον]ω- καθίσασ. [*l*] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 103. [*m*] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabian. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [*n*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 57. [*o*] Ambroſ. de Offic. Lib. 1. c. 41. [*p*] Vid. Concil. Agathenſ. c. 23. Iſidor. Hiſpal. Ep. ad Ludifred. ap. Gratian. Diſt. 25. c. 1. [*q*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 17. Ut Epiſcopus gubernationem Viduarum, Pupillorum ac Peregrinorum, non per ſeipſum, ſed per Archipresbyterum, aut per Archidiaconum agat. [*r*] Prudent. Hymn. de S. Laur. Levita ſublimis gradu, & cæteris præſtantior, Clauſtris ſacrorum præerat, Cœleſtis arcanum Domus fidis gubernans clavibus, votaſque diſpenſans Opes.

and the Care of dispensing the Oblations of the People. And for the same Reason both he and St. *Ambrose*, [s] and all other Writers of his Passion, bring in the Heathen Persecutor demanding of him those Treasures, which he had in his keeping: Which he promising to do, in a short time after brought before him the Poor, the Lame, the Blind, the Infirm, telling him, those were the Riches which he had in his Custody; for on them he had expended the Church's Treasure. St. *Austin* says this was his Office, as he was Archdeacon of the Church. *Paulinus* [t] therefore calls the Archdeacon, *Arcæ Custodem*, the Keeper of the Chest: Because though the other Deacons were the Dispensers and Conveyers, yet he was the chief Manager and Director of them, and from him they took their Orders, as from the Guardian of the Church's Treasure. It was upon this Account that the *Donatists* charged *Cæcilian* among other things, that he had prohibited the Deacons from carrying any Provision [u] to the Martyrs in Prison. Which Objection must be grounded upon this, that he was obliged by his Office, as he was Archdeacon, to see that the Martyrs were provided of Sustenance; which they pretended he had not only neglected, but abused his Authority, in forbidding those that were under his Command, to minister unto them.

SECT. VI. *3. In Preaching.*

3. ANOTHER part of his Office was to assist the Bishop in Preaching. For as any Deacon was authorized to preach by the Bishop's Leave, so the Archdeacon being the most eminent of the Deacons, was more frequently pitched upon to discharge this Office, if we may so understand those words of St. *Jerom*, which have been cited before in the 3d Section, *Primus Ministrorum per singula concionatur in populos.* The chief Minister or Archdeacon, is many Times, and in many Places employed in Preaching to the People. For the word, *Singula*, may relate both to Times and Places. But if any one thinks, that *Concionari* here signifies no more than *Prædicare*, and κηρύσσειν, doing the Office of an Holy Cryer in the Assembly, I shall not contend about it; but only say, that St. *Jerom* speaking of something that then made the Archdeacons popular, seems rather to mean the Office of Preaching, than any other.

SECT. VII. *4. In ordaining the Inferior Clergy.*

4. THE Archdeacon usually bore a Part with the Bishop in the Ordinations of the Inferior Clergy, Subdeacons, Acolythists, &c. His Office in this matter is particularly described in several Canons [w] of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, which relate the manner how the Inferior Clergy were to be ordained; *viz.* not by Imposition of Hands, which belonged only to the Superior Orders, but by receiving some Vessels or Utensils of the Church partly from the Hands of the Bishop, and partly from the Hands of the Archdeacon. As to give only one Instance in the Ordination of an Acolythist, the Canon says, The Bishop was to inform him what his Duty was, and then the Archdeacon was to give him a Taper into his Hand, that he might know that he was appointed to light the Candles of the Church.

SECT. VIII. *5. The Archdeacon had Power to censure Deacons and the inferior Clergy, but not Presbyters.*

5. THE Archdeacon was invested also with a Power of Censuring the other Deacons, and all the Inferior Clergy of the Church. That it was so, at least in some Churches, is very evident from a Passage in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* speaking of *Maras* one of the Deacons of his Church, says, he was not Excommunicated by himself, but by his Archdeacon, who [x] for a Crime committed against a Presbyter, suspended him from the Communion.

But whether the Archdeacon had any Power over Presbyters, is a matter of dispute among Learned Men. *Salmasius* [y], and the Learned *Suicerus* [z] after him, scruple not to assert, that even the Archpresbyter himself in the *Roman* Church was subject to him. *Cujacius* and some others, who are cited by [a] *Baluzius*, go one step farther, and say it was so in all Churches. Yet there is not the least Footstep of any such Power to be met with in any ancient Writer or Council: But the Original of all the Mistake is owing to a Corruption in *Gratian*'s Decree, and *Gregory* the Ninth's Decretals, who cite the Words alledged [b] in the Margin, the one as from *Isidore* of *Sevil*, and the other from the Council of *Toledo*, pretending that the Archpresbyter is to be subject to the Archdeacon: When yet, as both *Baluzius* and the *Roman* Correctors confess, there are no such Words to be found in *Isidore*'s Epistle; nor will *Garsias Loaisa* own them to be the Genuine Decree of any Council of *Toledo*. So that the whole credit of this Matter rests upon *Gratian* and the Compilers of the Decretals, whose Authority is of little Esteem in things relating to Antiquity, when there is no better Proof than their bare Assertion. Yet I shall not deny, but that in *Gratian*'s Time it might be as he represents it: For probably by this time the Archdeacons were chosen out of the Order of Presbyters: Though when

[s] Ambros. de Offic. L. 2. c. 28. Aug. Serm. 111. de Diversis. Sanctus Laurentius Archidiaconus fuit: Opes Ecclesiæ ab illo Persecutore quærebantur. Id. de Diverf. Serm. 123. [t] Paulin. de Mirac. S. Martin. Lib. 4. Bibl. Patr. T. 8. p. 865.

Protinus adstanti Diacono, quem more priorum
Antistes Sanctæ Custodem legerat Arcæ,
Imperat, &c.

[u] Aug. Brevic. Collat. 3. c. 14. [w] Concil. Carth. 4. c. 5, 6, 9. [x] Con. Chalced. Act. 10. p. 653. Ἀκουσάντων δὲ τῶν ἰδίων Ἀρχιδιακόνων. &c. [y] Salmas. de Primat. c. 1. p. 9. [z] Suicer. Thesaur. T. 1. p. 533. [a] Baluz. Not. ad Gratian. Dist. 25. c. 1. p. 455. [b] Grat. Dist. 25. c. 1. ex Epist. Isidor. Hispal. ad Ludifred. Archipresbyter vero se esse sub Archidiacono, ejusque præceptis sicut Episcopi sui, Sciat obedire. *In* Gregory's *Decretal*, Lib. 1. Tit. 24. de Officio Archipresb. c. 1. *the same Words are cited* ex Concilio Toletano.

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first they began to be so, is not very easy to determine. Only we are certain that some Centuries before the time of *Gratian* the Custom was altered. For Archdeacons in the 9th Century, were some of them at least of the Order of Presbyters; as appears from *Hincmar*'s *Capitula* [c] directed to *Guntharius* and *Odelhardus*, two of his Archdeacons, whom he stiles, Presbyter-Archdeacons. And there is reason enough to think it was so in the time of *Gratian*; The Archdeacons were then generally of the Order of Presbyters, as they have been ever since: Which makes it no wonder that in *Gratian*'s time they should have Power over the *Archipresbyteri*, which in the Language of that Age often signifies no more than Rural Deans, over which the Archdeacons have usually Power at this Day. But by this the Reader may judge how little such Writers are to be depended on, who take their Estimate of former Ages from the Practice of their own, and reckon every thing ancient, that is agreeable to the Rules and Customs of the Times they live in.

SECT. IX.
Of the Name ἀπαντίτης, Circumlustrator; and whether Archdeacons had any Power over the whole Diocese.

BUT to return to the Archdeacons of the Primitive Church: There is one thing more may admit of some Dispute, Whether the Archdeacon's Power anciently extended over the whole Diocese, or was confined to the City or Mother-Church. In the middle Ages of the Church, there is no question but they had Power over the whole Diocese. For *Isidorus Hispalensis*, who lived in the beginning of the 7th Century, in the Account which he gives of the Archdeacon's Office, says, The Parochial Clergy were under his Care, that is, the Deacons and Inferior Clergy; and that it belonged to him [d] to order Matters, and end Controversies among them; to give the Bishop an Account what Churches stood in need of Repairing; to make enquiry by the Bishop's Order into the State of every Parish, and to see what Condition the Ornaments and Goods of the Church were in, and whether the Ecclesiastical Liberties were maintained. *Habertus* thinks [e], the Archdeacons were invested with the same Power some Ages before; and for Proof cites a Passage out of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where in an Instrument [f] presented by the Presbyters of *Edessa* against *Ibas* their Bishop, one *Abramius* a Deacon of that Church, in all the *Latin* Translations is called *Diaconus Apantita*, which *Habertus* takes to be a general Inspector of the Church. But there are two evident Reasons against this, which it is a wonder so observing a Person as *Habertus* should not see: 1. That *Abramius* was not an Archdeacon, but only a private Deacon of the Church: For in the same place there is mention made of another Archdeacon, who when *Ibas* was about to have had *Abramius* ordained Bishop of *Batena*, interposed and hindered him from doing it, because he had been censured for the Practice of Magick, and never given any Satisfaction to the Church. And though it is said, that *Ibas* took occasion to remove that Archdeacon from his Office, yet it is not once intimated that he put *Abramius* in his room; which if he had done, it would doubtless have been made another Article of Accusation against him before the Council. 2. The Original *Greek* in *Labbe*'s Edition is not διάκονον ἀπαντιτὴν, as *Habertus* reads it, but only διάκονον ἀπ αὐτῆς τ ἡμετέρης ἐκκλησίας, a Deacon of that our Church of *Edessa*: And though ἀπαντιτὴν be put into the Margin, yet it is not owned to be any various Reading, but only the Editor's Conjecture, which I think is not sufficient to build such an Assertion upon, when no other Proof or Authority is pretended. Therefore I determine nothing concerning this Power of the Archdeacons in ancient Times, but leave it to farther Enquiry, and the Determination of every Judicious Reader.

SECT. X.
Of the Name Cor-Episcopi, *why given to Archdeacons,*

Valesius takes notice of another Name, which he thinks was sometimes given to the Archdeacons, that is, the Name *Cor-Episcopi*; for which he cites the Words of one *Joannes Abbas* [g], in a Book written about the Translation of the Relicks of St. *Goldesindis*. This at first may look like a Corruption only of the Name *Chorepiscopus*, because in latter Ages the Power of the ancient *Chorepiscopi* dwindled into that of the Archdeacons: But when it is considered, that all the Deacons anciently were called the Bishops Eyes, and his Ears, his Mouth, and his Heart, as has been noted in the last Chapter, § 18, it will appear very probable that the Archdeacon should be peculiarly dignified with those Titles; and therefore be called *Cor-Episcopi*, the Bishop's Heart, because he was used to signify his Mind and Will to the People: As he is called *Oculus Episcopi*, not only in ancient Authors [h], but in the Decretals [i], and the Council of *Trent* [k], because he was the Bishop's Eye to inspect the Diocese under him.

SECT. XI.
The Opinions of Learned Men concerning the first Original of the Name and Office of Archdeacon.

SOME may perhaps be desirous to know farther the first Rise and Original of the Name and Office of Archdeacons in the Church: But this is a Matter involved in so great Obscurity, that it cannot easily be determined. *Haber-*

[c] Hincmar. Capitula Archidiaconibus Presbyteris data. Concil. Tom. 8. p. 591. [d] Isidor. Ep. ad Ludifred. & ap. Gratian. Dist. 25. c. 1. Sollicitudo quoque Parochitanorum (al. Parochiarum) & ordinatio, & jurgia ad ejus pertinent curam: Pro reparandis Diœcesanis Basilicis ipse suggerit Sacerdoti: Ipse inquirit Parochias cum jussione Episcopi, & Ornamenta, vel res Basilicarum Parochitanorum (al. Parochiarum) & Libertatum Ecclesiasticarum Episcopo idem refert. [e] Habert. in Pontifical. Par. 9. Obser. 6. [f] Concil. Chalced. Act. 10. p. 650. [g] Joh. Abbas ap. Vales. Not. in Theodorit. lib. 1. c. 26. Ad hoc inspiciendum sacrorum Ministros cum Archidiacono majore, quem Cor-Episcopi dicunt, Pontifex direxit. [h] Isidor. Pelus. lib. 1. Ep. 29. [i] Decretal. lib. 1. Tit. 23. c. 7. [k] Con. Trid. Sess. 24. Cap. 12. de Reform.

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tus and ſome others [*l*] of the *Roman* Communion reckon this Office as ancient as that of Deacons themſelves, deriving both from Apoſtolical Conſtitution, and making *Stephen* the firſt Archdeacon of the Church But others with greater Reaſon [*m*], deduce it only from the 3d Century, and leave it as a Matter under Debate and Enquiry, whether there were any ſuch thing as the Archdeacon's Office in the time of *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, which was in the middle of the 3d Century. This is certain, that *Cornelius* in his Epiſtle to *Fabius*, where he gives a Catalogue [*n*] of the *Roman* Clergy, though he ſpeaks of Deacons and Subdeacons, Acolythiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, and Door-keepers, makes no particular mention of the Archdeacon; Nor does *Cyprian* ever ſo much as once uſe the Name: Yet before the end of this Century *Cæcilian* is ſuppoſed to have had the Title, as well as the Office of Archdeacon of *Carthage*, becauſe *Optatus* calls him ſo, and the Name often occurs in St. *Jerom* and other Writers of the 4th Age, in which St. *Jerom* lived: *Baronius* indeed urges St. *Auſtin*'s Authority, to prove that *Stephen* was properly an Archdeacon: For he ſays St. *Auſtin* calls him *Primicerius Diaconorum*; but he that will look into St. *Auſtin*, will quickly find his Miſtake: For his Words are not *Primicerius Diaconorum*, but *Primicerius* [*o*] *Martyrum*, the Protomartyr, as we commonly call him, becauſe he was the firſt that ſuffered for the Name of Chriſt. And hence the Reader may obſerve by the way, that the Words *Primicerius* and *Primus* do not always denote Principality, or Priority of Power and Juriſdiction, but only Priority of Time, or Precedency of Honour and Dignity, in reſpect of Place or outward Order. In which Senſe the ſame St. *Auſtin* [*p*] ſays in another place, that *Stephen* is named firſt among the Deacons, as *Peter* was among the Apoſtles. Which is a Primacy that may be allowed to them both, without any Pretence of Juriſdiction. *Habertus* urges farther the Authority of the *Greek Menologion*, which gives *Stephen* the Title of Archdeacon: But ſuch Books are not ſufficient Evidence, being they are of a modern Date, and ſpeak of ancient Things in the Language and Phraſe of their own Times; for which Reaſon they are not much to be depended on, except when they are backed with the concurrent Teſtimony of ſome ancient Authors, of which there are none in this Caſe to yield any Collateral Evidence to this Aſſertion. Yet on the other hand the Opinion of *Salmaſius* is equally to be diſcarded, who [*q*] aſſerts that the Office of Archdeacon was not in the Church in the time of St. *Jerom*, though St. *Jerom* [*r*] himſelf ſays in moſt expreſs Words, that the Cuſtom then was to have one Biſhop, one Archpresbyter, one Archdeacon in every Church. But this is the uſual way of that Author in his Book *de Primatu*, to advance Paradoxes of his own Fancy for ancient Hiſtory, and lay down poſitive Aſſertions upon the moſt ſlender Conjectures, yea, many times againſt the plaineſt Evidence of Primitive Records, as in the Caſe before us, and many others which I have had occaſion to take notice of in this Diſcourſe. It were to be wiſhed, that that Author, who wrote upon an uſeful Deſign, had been a little more accurate in his Accounts of the State of the Clergy of the Primitive Church; and whilſt he was demoliſhing the Pope's Supremacy, had not confuſedly treated of ſome other Orders and Offices, which were of greater Antiquity in the Church.

CHAP. XXII.

Of DEACONESSES.

SECT. I.
The ancient Name of Deaconeſſes Διάκονοι, Πρεσβυτίδες, Viduæ, Miniſtræ.

HAVING ſpoken of Deacons and Archdeacons, it remains that I ſay ſomething in this Place of Deaconeſſes, becauſe their Office and Service was of great uſe in the Primitive Church. There is ſome mention made of them in Scripture, by which it appears that their Office was as ancient as the Apoſtolical Age. St. *Paul* calls *Phœbe* a Servant of the Church of *Cenchrea*, Rom. 16. 1. The Original Word is Διάκονον, a Deaconeſs, anſwerable to the *Latin* word *Miniſtra*, which is the Name that is given them in *Pliny*'s Epiſtle [*s*] which ſpeaks about the Chriſtians. *Tertullian* [*t*] and ſome others call them *Viduæ*, Widows, and their Office *Viduatus*, becauſe they were commonly choſen out of the Widows of the Church. For the ſame reaſon *Epiphanius* [*u*] and the Council of *Laodicea* [*w*] call them Πρεσβυτιδας, elderly Widows, becauſe none but ſuch were ordinarily taken into this Office.

[*l*] Habert. Not. in Pontifical. p. 207. Baron. an. 34. n. 285. [*m*] Bp. Fell Not. in Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 49. ad Cornel. [*n*] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [*o*] Aug. Ser. 1. de Sanctis. Tom. 10. Hodie celebramus Natalem, quod Primicerius Martyrum migravit ex mundo. [*p*] Aug. Ser. 94. de Diverſis. Inter Diaconos illos nominatus Primus, ſicut inter Apoſtolos Petrus. [*q*] Salmaſ. de Primat. c. 1. p. 8. [*r*] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. *cited before*, § 1. [*s*] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Quò magis neceſſarium credidi, ex duabus Ancillis, quæ Miniſtræ dicebantur, quid eſſet veri & per tormenta quærere. [*t*] Tertul. lib. 1. ad Uxor. c. 7. Id. de Veland. Virg. c. 9. Epiph. Hær. 79. n. 4. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 13. [*u*] Epiphan. Hær. 79. Collyrid. n. 4. [*w*] Con. Laodic. c. 11.

FOR

SECT. II. *Deaconeſſes to be Widows by ſome Laws.*

FOR indeed by ſome ancient Laws theſe four Qualifications were required in every one, that was to be taken into this Order. 1ſt, That ſhe ſhould be a Widow. 2. That ſhe ſhould be a Widow that had born Children. 3. A Widow that was but once Married. 4. One of a conſiderable Age, Forty, Fifty, or Sixty Years Old. Though all theſe Rules admitted of Exceptions. In *Tertullian*'s time the Deaconeſſes were ſo commonly choſen out of the Widows, that when a certain young Virgin was made a Deaconeſs, he ſpeaks of it [x] as a Miracle or Monſtrous thing in the Church. Yet ſome Learned Men are of Opinion, that Virgins were ſometimes made Deaconeſſes even in the time of *Ignatius:* Becauſe *Ignatius* in his Epſtile to the Church of *Smyrna* [y], ſalutes the Virgins that were called Widows, that is, Deaconeſſes, as *Cotelerius* and *Voſſius* truly expound it. For Virgins could not be called Widows congruouſly in any other Senſe. Some ſuſpect that the Word *Virgins* is a Corruption crept into the Text: But there is no reaſon for this Conjecture, for *Ignatius* is not the only Author that ſpeaks of Virgin-Deaconeſſes. *Epiphanius* [z] ſays, in his time they were ſome Virgins, and ſome Widows that had been once Married. The Author of the Conſtitutions [a] ſays the ſame, that the Deaconeſs was either to be a chaſt Virgin, or a Widow that had been the Wife of one Man. And one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels [b] enacted it into a Law, that the Deaconeſſes ſhould be choſen out of one of theſe Orders. Accordingly we find in the Practice of the Church, Virgins as well as Widows admitted to this Office. *Gregory Nyſſen* [c] ſays his own Siſter *Macrina*, who was a Virgin, was a Deaconeſs, and ſo was *Lampadia* another Virgin. And *Sozomen* [d] relates, how that *Chryſoſtom* would have ordained *Nicarete* a famous Virgin to this Office, but ſhe refuſed it for the love ſhe had to a Private and Philoſophick Life.

SECT. III. *And ſuch Widows as had Children.*

YET by ſome Laws they were required not only to be Widows, but ſuch Widows as had Children alſo. *Tertullian* [e] ſeems to intimate that this was the Cuſtom of the Age he lived in, to put none into this Office but ſuch as were Mothers, and had had the Education of Children, in the Training up of whom they had learnt to be Tender and Compaſſionate in their Affections, and ſo were qualified to aſſiſt others both by their Counſel and Comfort. *Sozomen* alſo mentions a Law [f] made by *Theodoſius* to this purpoſe, That no Women ſhould be admitted to the Office, except they had Children, and were above Sixty Years old, according to the expreſs Rule of St. *Paul.* The Law is ſtill extant in the *Theodoſian* Code [g], in the ſame Words as *Sozomen* cites it: But he ſpeaks of it as a new Law that was then made upon a particular Occaſion, by reaſon of ſome Scandal that had happened in the Church: Which is a plain Intimation that from the time of *Tertullian*, to the making of this Law, the Church had varied in her Practice.

SECT. IV. *Not to be ordained under Sixty Years of Age, by the moſt ancient Canons.*

AND ſo ſhe had likewiſe with reſpect to the Age of Deaconeſſes. For though the foremention'd Law of *Theodoſius* require them to be Sixty Years of Age Compleat; and *Tertullian* [h] and St. *Baſil* [i] ſpeak of the ſame Age; yet *Juſtinian* in one of his Novels [k] requires but Fifty, and in another [l] but Forty, which is all that was inſiſted on before by the great [m] Council of *Chalcedon*, whoſe Words are, No Woman ſhall be ordained a Deaconeſs before ſhe is Forty Years old. And it is probable in ſome Caſes that Term was not ſtrictly required: For *Sozomen* [n] ſays, *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ordained *Olympias* a Deaconeſs, though ſhe was but a young Widow, becauſe ſhe was a Perſon of extraordinary Virtue. By which we may judge, that as the Church varied in her Rule about this Matter, ſo Biſhops took a Liberty to ordain Deaconeſſes at what Age they thought fit, provided they could be aſſured of their Probity and Virtue.

SECT. V. *To be ſuch as had been only the Wives of one Man.*

BUT there was another Qualification, which they were more ſtrict in exacting, which was that the Deaconeſſes ſhould be ſuch Widows as had been only the Wives of one Man, according to the Apoſtle's Preſcription, 1 *Tim.* 5. 9. Which Rule they generally under-

[x] Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. c. 9. Scio alicubi Virginem in Viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam. Cui ſi quid refrigerii debuerat Epiſcopus, aliter utique ſalvo reſpectu Diſciplinæ, præſtare potuiſſet, ne tale nunc Miraculum, ne dixerim monſtrum, in Eccleſia denotaretur. [y] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 13. Ἀσπάζομαι τὰς παρθένας τὰς λεγομένας χήρας. Coteler. in Loc. Viduæ vocabantur, quia in Gradu Viduali ſeu Diaconico erant conſtitutæ. [z] Epiph. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. ἢ χηρεύσασαι κατὰ μονογαμίαν, ἢ ἀπαρθένοι ἔσαι. [a] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 6 c. 17. [b] Juſt. Novel. 6. c. 6. Aut Virgines conſtitutas, aut unius viri quæ fuerant Uxores. [c] Nyſſen. Vit. Macrin. Tom. 2. p. 181, & 197. [d] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 23. [e] Tertul. de Vel. Virg. c. 9. Ad quam Sedem præter annos Sexaginta non tantum Univiræ, id eſt nuptæ, aliquando eliguntur, ſed & Matres & quidem Educatrices filiorum: Scilicet ut experimentis omnium affectuum ſtructæ, facile norint cæteras & conſilio & ſolatio juvare. [f] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16. Εἰ μὴ παῖδας ἔχοιεν, &c. [g] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſ. & Cler. Leg. 27. Nulla niſi emenſis Sexaginta annis, cui votiva domi Proles ſit, ſecundum præceptum Apoſtoli ad Diaconiſſarum conſortium transferatur. [h] Tertul. ibid. [i] Baſil. Ep. Canonic. c. 24. [k] Juſt. Novel. 6. c. 6. Super mediam conſtitutas ætatem, & circa Quinquaginta annos. [l] Novel. 123. c. 13. Diaconiſſa in ſancta Eccleſia non ordinatur, quæ minor Quadraginta annis ſit. [m] Con. Chalced. c. 14. al. 15. Διάκονον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα. Vid. Concil. Trullan. c. 14. & 40. [n] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 9. Καὶ περ νέαν χήραν γενομένην—διάκονον ἐχειροτόνησε.

ſtood as a Prohibition of electing any to be Deaconeſſes, who had been twice Married, though lawfully and ſucceſſively to two Husbands, one after another. In this Senſe *Tertullian* [o] ſays the Apoſtle requires them to be *Univiræ*, the Wives of one Man; which *Epiphanius* [p] calls χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας, Widows that have been once Married. So the Author of the Conſtitutions, and *Juſtinian*'s Novels [q], which have been cited before.

But *Theodoret* gives a different Senſe of the Apoſtle's Words: For he ſuppoſes the Apoſtle not to forbid the chuſing of Widows that had been twice Married, but only ſuch [r] as had Married again after they had divorced themſelves from a former Husband; which was ſuch a ſcandalous Act, as juſtly excluded them from the Church's Service. And this Senſe is embraced as the moſt probable and rational, by the Learned *Juſtellus* [s], Dr. *Hammond* [t], *Suicerus* [u], and ſeveral others, of which I ſhall have occaſion to give a farther Account, when I come to ſpeak of that Apoſtolical Rule as it concerned all the Clergy. Thus much will ſuffice to be ſpoken at preſent concerning the Qualifications of Deaconeſſes before they were ordained.

SECT. VI. *Whether Deaconeſſes were anciently ordained by Impoſition of Hands.*

THE next Enquiry is concerning their Ordination itſelf, Whether it was always performed by Impoſition of Hands? And here Learned Men are very much divided in their Sentiments. *Baronius* [w] thinks they had no Impoſition of Hands at the time of the Council of *Nice*, and he grounds his Aſſertion upon one of the Canons of that Council, which, as he expounds it, denies that Deaconeſſes were ordained by Impoſition of Hands, and therefore makes no other account of them than as mere Lay-Perſons. *Valeſius* [x] gives the ſame Expoſition of the Canon; though he owns that *Balſamon* and *Zonaras*, the ancient Expoſitors, were of a contrary Judgment, *viz.* That the Canon ſpeaks not of the Deaconeſſes of the Church, but of ſuch as returned to the Catholick Church from the *Paulianiſts* or *Samoſatenian* Hereticks, among whom they had received no Impoſition of Hands, and therefore were to be treated as mere *Laicks*. And in this Senſe *Suicerus* [y], and *Albaſpiny* [z], *Chriſtianus Lupus*, *Fabrotus*, and other modern Criticks and Expoſitors of the Canon explain it alſo. To make the Reader himſelf judge in the Matter, I muſt here recite the Words of the Canon, which are theſe: Concerning the *Paulianiſts* which return to the Catholick Church, it is decreed, that they ſhall be by all means Re-baptized. And if any of them were heretofore reckoned among the Clergy, if they appear to be blameleſs, and without Rebuke, let them be firſt Baptized, and then ordained by the Biſhop of the Catholick Church: But if upon Examination they be found unfit, let them be depoſed. The ſame Rule ſhall be obſerved concerning Deaconeſſes, and all others who are reckoned among their Clergy. And we particularly take notice [a] of Deaconeſſes, which appear in that Habit or Dignity, that having never had any Impoſition of Hands, they are to reckoned only among the Laity. Theſe laſt Words about Deaconeſſes ſeem to refer to what goes before; and then they muſt be interpreted of Deaconeſſes among the *Paulianiſts*, who took upon them the Habit of Deaconeſſes without any Conſecration. Or if we underſtand them as ſpoken of Deaconeſſes already in the Church, they may mean that there were ſome Deaconeſſes which had crept into the Office without Impoſition of Hands; and ſuch the Council accounts no more than Lay Perſons. That which will incline a Man to interpret this Canon to ſome ſuch Senſe as this, is, That all other Councils and Writers ſpeak of ordaining Deaconeſſes by Impoſition of Hands. *Valeſius* himſelf owns that it was ſo in the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*; for in one of the Canons of that Council [b] their Ordination is expreſly called both χειροτονία and χειροθεσία, Ordination by Impoſition of Hands. And the Author of the Conſtitutions [c] ſpeaking of their Ordination, requires the Biſhop to uſe Impoſition of Hands, with a Form of Prayer, which is there recited. And thus it was both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, ſo long as the Order it ſelf continued to be in uſe. The Council of *Trullo*, *An.* 692, ſpeaks of their Ordination in two Canons [d] under the Name of χειροτονία. And *Sozomen* [e] uſes the ſame Word in ſpeaking of the Ordination of *Olympias*. And though there be not ſo many Examples of this Practice to be met with in the *Latin* Church, becauſe the Order was there much ſooner laid aſide: Yet *Cotelerius* [f] has furniſhed us with ſome out of *Fortunatus* and the Council of *Worms*, both which expreſly ſay, the Ordination of Deaconeſſes was performed by Impoſition of Hands. In the Council of *Worms* the 15th Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* is repeated. And *Fortunatus* his words are, *Manu ſuperpoſita* [g] *conſecravit Dia-*

[o] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 4. c. 7. Viduam allegi in Ordinationem niſi Univiram non concedit. It. de Virg. veland. c. 9.
[p] Epiph. Exp. Fid. n. 21. [q] Juſtin. Novel. 6. c. 6. Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 6. c. 17. [r] Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. 5. 9.
[s] Juſtel. Not. ad Can. 1. Concil. Laodic. [t] Ham. Annot. on 1 Tim. 3. 2. [u] Suicer. Theſaur. Tom. 1. p. 899.
[w] Baron. an. 34. n. 23. It. Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 56. p. 342.
[x] Valeſ. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 8. c. 9. [y] Suicer. Theſaur. Tom. 1. p. 867. [z] Albaſp. Not. in Can. 19. Concil. Nicen. Lupus Tom. 1. Schol. in eund. Can. Fabrot. Not. ad Balſamon. Collect. Conſtitut. p. 1417. [a] Con. Nic. c. 10. Ἐμνήσθημεν ὧν τὸ διακονιῶν τὸ ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἱσταμένων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔσχηκεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς λαικοῖς αὐτὰς ἱστάζεσθαι. [b] Con. Chalced. c. 15.
[c] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 19. ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας, &c. [d] Con. Trull. c. 14. & 40. [e] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 9. [f] Coteler. Not. in Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 19. Con. Wormatienſ. c. 73. ex Concil. Chalced. c. 15. [g] Fortun. Vit. Radegundis ap. Surium. Aug.

conam,

conam, ſpeaking of one of whom *Medardus* the Biſhop conſecrated a Deaconeſs, by laying his Hands upon her. All which ſhews, that it was the conſtant Practice of the Church to ordain Deaconeſſes by Impoſition of Hands: And that makes it very probable, that the *Nicene* Canon is to be underſtood in that Senſe, which is moſt agreeable to the Church's Practice.

But the Learned *Juſtellus* [*b*] ſtill raiſes another Scruple about their Ordination: He thinks this Impoſition of Hands was not properly an Ordination, but only a Benediction: For he diſtinguiſhes betwixt thoſe two things, and ſays, every ſolemn Impoſition of Hands is not an Ordination; which is very true; for then the Impoſition of Hands upon the *Catechumens*, or upon the Baptized in Confirmation, or upon the Penitents in order to reconcile them, or upon the Sick in order to their Cure, or upon any Perſons whatſoever to give them a common Benediction, would be an Ordination: But then that Learned Perſon ſeems not to have conſidered, that the Impoſition of Hands upon the Deaconeſſes was ſomething more than all theſe: For it was a Conſecration of them to a certain Office in the Church, which ſort of Impoſition of Hands joined with a Prayer of Benediction for Grace to diſcharge that Office aright, is what the Church has always meant and called particularly by the Name of Ordination.

SECT. VII. *Not conſecrated to any Office of the Prieſthood.*

YET we are not to imagine, that this Conſecration gave them any Power to execute any part of the *Sacerdotal* Office, or do the Duties of the ſacred Function. Women were always forbidden to perform any ſuch Offices as thoſe. Therefore the Author of the Conſtitutions calls it a Heatheniſh Practice to ordain Women-Prieſts, ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν: For the Chriſtian [*i*] Law allowed no ſuch Cuſtom. Some Hereticks indeed, as [*k*] *Tertullian* obſerves, allowed Women to Teach, and Exorciſe, and adminiſter Baptiſm; but all this, he ſays, was againſt the Rule [*l*] of the Apoſtle. *Epiphanius* brings the Charge particularly againſt the *Pepuzians*, which were a Branch of the *Montaniſts*, that they [*m*] made Women-Biſhops and Women-Presbyters, abuſing that Paſſage of the Apoſtle, *In Chriſt Jeſus there is neither Male nor Female*, to put ſome Colour upon their Practice. He charges it alſo upon the *Collyridians* [*n*], that they did ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν, uſe Women to Sacrifice to the Virgin *Mary*. Where it is obſerved that the Charge is double, 1. That they gave Divine Worſhip to the Holy Virgin, and 2. That they uſed Women-Prieſts in their Service. Againſt theſe he has a particular Diſſertation, wherein he ſhews at large that no Woman from the Foundation of the World was ever ordained to offer Sacrifice, or perform any ſolemn Service [*o*] of the Church: Which if it had been allowed to any, would certainly have been granted to the Virgin *Mary* herſelf, who was ſo highly favoured of God. But neither ſhe nor any other Woman had ever the Prieſt's Office committed to them. There is indeed, ſays he, an Order of Deaconeſſes in the Church, but their buſineſs [*p*] is not to Sacrifice, or perform any part of the Sacerdotal Office, or any of the ſacred Myſteries, but to be a decent Help to the Female Sex in the time of their Baptiſm, Sickneſs, Affliction, or the like: And therefore he denies, that the Church made them either Presbytereſſes or Prieſteſſes, ἢ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἢ ἱερίσσας. Where the Reader is to obſerve, that *Epiphanius* put a Diſtinction betwixt the Names πρεσβύτιδας and πρεσβυτερίδας, becauſe the former only denotes Elderly Women, ſuch as the Deaconeſſes commonly were; but the latter he uſes to ſignify Perſons ordained to the Office of Presbyters or Prieſts, which he abſolutely denies any Women in the Chriſtian Church to be.

SECT. VIII. *Their Offices. 1. To aſſiſt at the Baptiſm of Women.*

AND from hence it is plain the Offices of the Deaconeſſes were only to perform ſome Inferior Services of the Church, and thoſe chiefly relating to the Women, for whoſe ſake they were ordained. One part of their Office was to aſſiſt the Miniſter at the Baptizing of Women, where for Decency's ſake they were employed to diveſt them (the Cuſtom then being to baptize all Adult Perſons by Immerſion) and ſo to order the Matter, that the whole Ceremony might be performed with all the Decency becoming ſo ſacred an Action. This is evident from *Epiphanius* both in the forecited Paſſage, and other [*a*] Places. And it is taken notice of alſo by *Juſtinian* [*b*] and the Author [*c*] of the Conſtitutions, who adds, that the Deaconeſſes were uſed to anoint the Women in Baptiſm with the Holy Oil, as the Cuſtom of the *Greek* Church then was, not only for the Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, but alſo for the Deaconeſſes to uſe this Ceremony of Unction before Baptiſm; of which *Cotelerius* in his Notes [*d*] gives ſeveral Inſtances out of the ancient Writers, but theſe belong to another place.

SECT. IX. *2. To be a ſort of Private Catechiſts to the Women-Catechumens.*

2. ANOTHER Part of their Office was to be a ſort of Private Catechiſts to the Women-Catechumens, who were preparing for Baptiſm. For though they

[*b*] Juſtel. Bibl. Jur. Canon. T. 1. p. 75. Not. in Con. Nic. c. 19.
[*i*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 9. [*k*] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 41. Ipſæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere, contendere, Exorciſmos agere, curationes repromittere, forſitan & tingere. [*l*] Id. c. 17. de Baptiſmo. [*m*] Epiph. Hær. 49. Pepuzian. n. 2. ἐπίσκοποι παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες. καὶ πρεσβύτεραι γυναῖκες. [*n*] Id. Hær. 78. Antidicomarianit. n. 23.
[*o*] Id. Hær. 79. Collyrid. n. 3. Εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο, ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν ἐπιτελέσαι, &c.
[*p*] Ibid. Διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἔστιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐδὲ τί ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν.
[*a*] Epiph. Expoſ. Fid. 21. [*b*] Juſtin. Novel. 6. c. 6.
[*c*] Hieron. Apoſt. Lib. 3. c. 15. [*d*] Coteler. in Loc.

were

were not allowed to teach Publickly in the Church, yet they might privately inſtruct and teach thoſe, how to make the proper Anſwers that were required of all Perſons at their Baptiſm. The Author of the ſhort Notes on the Epiſtles [e] under the Name of St. *Jerom*, calls this, Private Miniſtery of the Word, which the Deaconeſſes performed in the Eaſtern Churches in his Time. And it was ſo uſual and ordinary a Part of their Office in the *African* Churches, that the Fathers of the Fourth Council of *Carthage* [f] require it as a neceſſary Qualification in Deaconeſſes when they are ordained, that they ſhall be Perſons of ſuch good Underſtanding, as to be able to inſtruct the Ignorant and Ruſtick Women, how to make Reſponſes to the Interrogatories, which the Miniſter puts to them in Baptiſm, and how they were to order their Converſation afterward.

SECT. X. *3. To viſit and attend Women that were ſick and in diſtreſs.*

3. ANOTHER Part of their Employment was to viſit and attend Women that were ſick, which is noted by *Epiphanius* [g] and the Author of the Conſtitutions, who [h] ſays they were employed likewiſe in delivering the Biſhop's Meſſages and Directions to Women that were in Health, whom the Deacons could not viſit becauſe of Unbelievers: That is, becauſe of the Scandal and Reproach which the Heathens were ready to caſt upon them.

SECT. XI. *4. To miniſter to the Martyrs and Confeſſors in Priſon.*

4. IN Times of Danger and Perſecution they were employed in Miniſtring to the Martyrs in Priſon, becauſe they could more eaſily gain Acceſs to them, and go with leſs Suſpicion, and leſs Danger and Hazard of their Lives from the Heathen, than the Deacons or any other Miniſters of the Church could do. *Cotelerius* [i] and *Gothofred* collect this from ſome Paſſages in *Lucian* and *Libanus*, which ſeem plainly to refer to this Part of the Deaconeſſes Miniſtry. For *Lucian* in one of his Dialogues ſpeaking of *Peregrine* the Philoſopher, how he was careſſed by the Chriſtians, whilſt he was in Priſon for the Profeſſion of their Religion, ſays, In the Morning one might obſerve the old Women the Widows waiting at the Priſon Gate [k] with ſome of the Orphans Children; Where by the Widows he doubtleſs means the Deaconeſſes of the Chriſtians. And there is little Queſtion but *Libanius* [l] means the ſame, when he ſays, that the Mother or Miſtreſs of the old Women, when ſhe finds any one bound in Priſon, runs about, and begs and makes a Collection for him. This plainly refers to the great Charity and Liberality of the Chriſtians toward their Martyrs, which was collected and ſent to them by the Hand of theſe Deaconeſſes.

SECT. XII. *5. To attend the Womens-Gate in the Church.*

5. IN the *Greek* Churches the Deaconeſſes had alſo the Charge of the Doors of the Church, which Part of their Office is mentioned by the Author [m] of the Conſtitutions, and the Author under the Name of *Ignatius*, who [n] ſtiles them Φρουρὸς τῆς ἁγίων πυλώνων, the Keepers of the Holy Gates. But probably, this was only in ſuch Churches as made a Diſtinction betwixt the Mens Gate and the Womens Gate: For Bp. *Uſher* obſerves, [o] that no ancient Writer beſides theſe two make any mention of this, as part of the Office of Deaconeſſes: And in another place of the Conſtitutions [p] this Diſtinction is plainly expreſſed: Let the Door-keepers ſtand at the Gate of the Men, and the Deaconeſſes at the Gate of the Women.

SECT. XIII. *6. To preſide over the Widows, &c.*

LASTLY, they were to aſſign all Women their Places, and regulate their [q] Behaviour in the Church; to preſide over the reſt of the Widows; [r] whence in ſome Canons they are ſtiled Προεστήμυιαι, Governeſſes; as *Balſamon* and *Zonaras* note upon the Council [s] of *Laodicea*: and if any Woman had any Suit to prefer to a Deacon or a Biſhop, a Deaconeſs [t] was to introduce her. Theſe were the Offices of the Deaconeſſes in the Primitive Church, which I have been a little more particular in deſcribing, becauſe they are not now ſo commonly known; the Order it ſelf having been for ſome Ages wholly laid aſide.

SECT. XIV. *How long this Order continued in the Church.*

IF it be enquired, How long this Order continued in the Church, and what time it was totally aboliſhed? I anſwer, It was not laid aſide every where at once, but continued in the *Greek* Church longer than in the *Latin*, and in ſome of the *Latin* Churches longer than in others. In the *Greek* Church they continued to the Time of *Balſamon*, that is, to the latter end of the Twelfth Century; for he ſpeaks of them [u] as then Miniſtring in the Church of *Conſtantinople*: Though it appears from ſome other Paſſages of the ſame Author that in other

[e] Hieron. Com. in Rom. 16. 1. Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus Diaconiſſæ mulieres, in ſuo Sexu miniſtrate videntur in Baptiſmo, ſive in Miniſterio Verbi, quia privatim docuiſſe Fœminas invenimus, &c. [f] Con. Carthag. 4. c. 12. Viduæ vel Sanctimoniales, quæ ad miniſtarium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam inſtructæ ſint ad Officium, ut poſſint apto & ſano Sermone docere imperitas & ruſticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ ſunt, qualiter Baptizatori interrogatæ reſpondeant, & qualiter accepto baptiſmate, vivant. [g] Epiph. Hær. 79. n. 3. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [h] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 3. c. 15. & 19. Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Multas Anus alit Eccleſia quæ Officium ægrotanti præſtant, &c. [i] Coteler. Not. in Conſt. Lib. 3. c. 15. Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theodoſ. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 27.
[k] Lucian. Peregrin. Παρὰ τὸν δεσμωτηρίον περιμένοντα γεραίδια, γύναια τινὰς. &c. [l] Liban. Orat. 16. in Teſtamen. It. Orat. de Vinctis, *cited by* Gothofred. [m] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 28. [n] Pſeudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. n. 12.
[o] Uſſer. Differt. 17. in Ignat. p. 224. [p] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 57. [q] Conſtit. Lib. 2. c. 58. [r] Ibid. Lib. 3. c. 7. [s] Con. Laodic. c. 11. [t] Conſtit. Lib. 2. c. 26. [u] Balſam. Reſp. ad Interrog. Marci. c. 35. ap. Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. T. 1. p. 381.

Churches

Churches [x] they were generally laid aſide. In the *Latin* Church there were ſome Decrees made againſt their Ordination long before. For the Firſt Council of *Orange*, *An.* 441, forbids [y] any more Deaconeſſes to be ordained. And the Council of *Epone* [z] *An.* 517, has a Canon to the ſame purpoſe, wholly abrogating their Conſecration. Not long after which the Second Council of *Orleans*, *An.* 533, renewed the Decree [a] againſt them. And before any of theſe, the Council of *Laodicea* in the *Eaſtern* Church had forbidden them under the Name of ancient Widows or Governeſſes, decreeing [b] that no ſuch for the future ſhould be conſtituted in the Church. But theſe Decrees had no Effect at all in the Eaſt, nor did they univerſally take Effect in the Weſt till many Ages after. The Author indeed under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, would lead an unwary Reader into a great Miſtake: for he makes as if the Order of Deaconeſſes was no where uſed [c] but among the *Montaniſts*; ignorantly confounding the Presbytereſſes of the *Montaniſts* with the Deaconeſſes of the Church. And the Author under the Name of St. *Jerom* is not much more to be regarded, when he ſeems to intimate that in his Time the Order of Deaconeſſes was wholly laid aſide in the *Weſt*, and only retained [d] in the Oriental Churches. For I have already ſhewed (§. 6.) from *Venantius Fortunatus*, who lived *An.* 560, and the Council of *Worms*, which was held in the 9th Century, that Deaconeſſes were ſtill retained in ſome parts of the *Weſtern* Church; which may be evinced alſo from the *Ordo Romanus* [e], and other Rituals in uſe about that time, where among other Forms we meet with an *Ordo ad Diaconam faciendam*, An Order or Form to conſecrate a Deaconeſs. But in an Age or two after, that is, in the Tenth or Eleventh Century, *Bona* [f] thinks the whole Order was quite extinct.

SECT. XV. *Another Notion of the Name* Diaconiſſa, *as it ſignifies a Deacon's Wife.*

BEFORE I make an end of this Subject, I cannot but acquaint the Reader, that there is another Notion of the Name *Diaconiſſa*, ſometimes to be met with in the Writers of the middle Ages of the Church, who uſe it to ſignify not a Deaconeſs, but a Deacon's Wife, in the ſame Senſe as *Preſbytera* ſignifies the Wife of a Presbyter, and *Epiſcopa* the Wife of a Biſhop. The Word *Epiſcopa* is thus uſed in the 2d Council of *Tours*, where it is ſaid, That if a Biſhop have not a Wife [g], there ſhall no train of Women follow him. So alſo the Words *Presbytera*, *Diaconiſſa*, and *Subdiaconiſſa* [h], for the Wives of a Presbyter, a Deacon, and a Subdeacon, occur a little after in the ſame Council. And ſo in the Council of *Auxerre* [i] and ſome other Places. From which a Learned and Ingenious Examiner [k] of the Council of *Trent* concludes, that Biſhops in thoſe times were not as yet obliged by the Law of Cœlibacy, not to cohabit with their Wives, in the *Gallican* Church. But I ſhall freely own, I take this to be a Miſtake; For from the Time of Pope *Siricius* the Cœlibacy of the Clergy began to be preſſed in the *Weſtern* Church, and theſe very Canons do enforce it: Therefore I lay no greater Streſs upon them than they will bear: For as for the Cauſe of the Married Clergy, it needs not be defended by ſuch Arguments, having the Rule and Practice of the Whole Catholick Church, for ſome of the pureſt Ages, to abet and ſupport it; of which I ſhall give a juſt account hereafter, when I come to conſider the general Qualifications that were neceſſarily required of the Clergy of the Primitive Church, among which the Vow of Cœlibacy will be found to have no Place. What therefore theſe Canons mean by *Epiſcopa* and *Presbytera*, is no more than the Wife of a Biſhop or Presbyter, which they had before they were ordained, but in thoſe declining Ages of the Church were not allowed to cohabit with them after Ordination. This Explication agrees both with the Scope of thoſe Canons, and the Practice of the Times they were made in; and we have no Diſpute with *Antonius Auguſtinus* [l], or any candid Writer of the *Romiſh* Communion, who carry this Notion no higher than the Ages in which it was broached: But when *Baronius* [m] and others transfer it to the Primitive Ages, and make the Practice of the *Weſtern* Church in the ſixth Age to be the Practice of the Univerſal Church in all Ages, they manifeſtly Prevaricate, and put a Fallacy upon their Readers, which it may be ſufficient to have hinted here, and ſhall be more fully made out in its proper Place.

[x] Id. Com. in Concil. Chalced. c. 15. [y] Conc. Araufic. 1. c. 26. Diaconiſſæ omnimodæ non ordinandæ, &c. [z] Conc. Epauneſ. c. 21. Viduarum conſecrationem, quas Diaconiſſas vocant, ab omni religione noſtra penitus abrogamus. [a] Conc. Aurel. 2. c. 17. Placuit ut nulli poſtmodum Fœminæ Diaconalis Benedictio pro conditionis hujus fragilitate credatur. [b] Conc. Laodic. c. 11. Περὶ τῶ μὴ δεῖν πρεσβύτιδας ἤτοι γερουσιάδας ἐν ἐκκλησία καθίζειν. [c] Ambroſ. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. 11. [d] Hieron. Com. in Rom. 16. 1. *and in* 1 Tim. 3. 11. [e] Ordo Roman. p. 161. in Bibl. Patr. Tom. 9. Par. 1624. [f] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 15. [g] Con. Turon. 2. c. 14. Epiſcopum Epiſcopam non habentem, nulla ſequatur turba Mulierum. [h] Ibid. c. 20. Si inventus fuerit Presbyter cum ſua Presbytera, aut Diaconus cum ſua Diaconiſſa, aut Subdiaconus cum ſua Subdiaconiſſa, annum integrum excommunicatus habeatur. [i] Con. Antiſſidor. c. 21. [k] Gentillet. Exam. Concil. Trid. lib. 4. p. 259. [l] Anton. Aug. de Emendat. Gratiani lib. 1. Dial. 20. p. 226. [m] Baron. an. 58. n. 18.

ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

To the Right Honourable

And Right Reverend Father in God,

JONATHAN,

Lord Biſhop of WINCHESTER,

And PRELATE *of the Moſt Noble Order of the* GARTER.

MY LORD,

AS the kind Entertainment, which Your LORDSHIP and the World have been pleaſed to give the Firſt Part of this Work, has encouraged me to go on, in hopes of doing Publick Service to the CHURCH: So the Nature of the Subject contained in this Second Volume, being but a Continuation of the former Account of the Primitive Clergy, obliges me again with all Submiſſion to Preſent this Second Part to Your LORDSHIP, in hopes of no leſs kind Acceptance and Approbation. The Matters here treated of are, many of them things of the greateſt Importance, which when plainly ſet in Order and preſented to Publick View, may perhaps excite the Zeal of many in the Preſent Age, to Copy out thoſe Neceſſary Duties, by the Practice of which the Primitive Church attained to great Perfection and Glory; and as I may ſay, ſtill Provokes and Calls us to the ſame Attainments by ſo many Excellent Rules and Noble Examples. In the Fourth and Sixth of theſe Books I have endeavoured to draw up ſomething of the General Character of the Primitive Clergy, by ſhewing what Qualifications were required in them before their Ordination, and what Sort of Laws they were to be governed by afterwards, reſpecting both their Lives and Labours, in the continual Exerciſe of the Duties of their Function. Many of them, I muſt own, have been very Affecting to myſelf in the Conſideration of them: And I was willing to hope they might prove ſo to ſuch others as would be at the Pains to read them. For here are both Directions and Provocations of the beſt Sort, to excite our Induſtry, and inflame our Zeal, and to make us eager and reſtleſs in Copying out the Pattern ſet before us. If any ſhall think I have collected theſe things together to reflect upon any Perſons in the Preſent Age: I ſhall only ſay with one of the Ancients [*] in a like Caſe, They miſtake my Deſign; which was not to Reproach any Man's Perſon, who bears

[*] Hieron. Ep. 83. ad Ocean. Tom. 2. p. 323. Ne quis me in Sugillationem iſtius temporis Sacerdotum ſcripſiſſe, quæ ſcripſi, exiſtimet, ſed in Eccleſiæ Utilitatem. Ut enim Oratores & Philoſophi, deſcribentes qualem velint eſſe perfectum Oratorem & Philoſophum, non faciunt injuriam Demoſtheni & Platoni, ſed res ipſas abſque Perſonis deſiniunt: Sic in deſcriptione Epiſcopi, & in eorum Expoſitione quæ ſcripta ſunt, quaſi ſpeculum Sacerdotii proponitur. Jam in Poteſtate & Conſcientia ſingulorum eſt, quales ſe ibi aſpiciant. Ut vel dolere ad Deformitatem, vel gaudere ad Pulchritudinem poſſint.

the Sacred Character of a Prieſt, but to write what might be for the Publick Benefit of the CHURCH: For as when Orators and Philoſophers deſcribe the Qualities, which are required to make a compleat Orator or Philoſopher, they do no Injury to *Demoſthenes* or *Plato*, but only deſcribe things nakedly in themſelves, without any Perſonal Applications: ſo in the Deſcription of a Biſhop or Prieſt, and Explication of ancient Rules, nothing more is intended but to propoſe a Mirror of the Prieſthood; in which it will be in every Man's Power and Conſcience to take a View of himſelf, ſo as either to grieve at the ſight of his own Deformity, or rejoice when he beholds his own Beauty in the Glaſs.

NOTHING is here propoſed but Rules and Examples of the nobleſt Virtues; Probity and Integrity of Life; Studies and Labours becoming the Clerical Function; Piety and Devotion in our conſtant Addreſſes to GOD; Fidelity, Diligence and Prudence in preaching his Word to Men; Carefulneſs and Exactneſs, joined with Diſcretion and Charity, in the Adminiſtration of Publick and Private Diſcipline; Candor and Ingenuity in compoſing needleſs Diſputes among Good Men; and Zeal in oppoſing and confronting the Powerful and Wily Deſigns of Hereticks and Wicked Men; together with Reſolution and Patience in Suffering Perſecutions, Calumnies, and Reproaches both from profeſſed Enemies, and pretended Friends; with many other Inſtances of the like commendable Virtues, which ſhined in the Lives, and adorned the Profeſſion of the Primitive Clergy: Whoſe Rules and Actions, I almoſt promiſe my ſelf, Your LORDSHIP and all good Men will read with Pleaſure, becauſe they will but ſee their own Beauty repreſented in the Glaſs; and they that fall ſhort of the Character here given, will find it a gentle Admonition and Spur to ſet in Order the Things that are wanting in their Conduct, and to Labour with more Zeal to bring themſelves a little nearer to the Primitive Standard.

YOUR LORDSHIP is enabled by your High Station and Calling to revive the Exerciſe of Ancient Diſcipline among Your Clergy in a more Powerful Way: And You have given us already ſome Convincing Proofs, that it is Your ſettled Reſolution and Intention ſo to do: As the Thoughts of This is a real Pleaſure to the Diligent and Virtuous, ſo it is to be hoped it will prove a juſt Terror to thoſe of the contrary Character; and by introducing a ſtrict Diſcipline among the Clergy, make way for the eaſier Introduction of it among the Laity alſo; the Revival of which has long been deſired, though but ſlow Steps are made toward the Reſtauration of it. In the mean time it becomes every Man according to his Ability, though in a lower Station, to contribute his Endeavours toward the promoting theſe good Ends: To which Purpoſe I have collected and digeſted theſe Obſervations upon the Laws and Diſcipline of the Ancient Clergy, that ſuch as are willing to be influenced by their Practice, may have Great and Good Examples ſet before them; whilſt they, whom Examples cannot move, may be influenced another way, by the Authority which Your LORDSHIP and Others in the ſame Station are inveſted with, for the Benefit and Edification of the CHURCH: The Promoting of which is, and ever will be, the hearty Endeavour of him who is,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Dutiful

and Obedient Servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

BOOK III.

Of the INFERIOR ORDERS of the CLERGY in the PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Original of the Inferior Orders, and the Number and Use of them: and how they differed from the Superior Orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

SECT. I. *The Inferior Orders not of Apostolical, but only Ecclesiastical Institution, proved against* Baronius, *and the Council of* Trent.

HAVING in the last Book discourſed of the Superior Orders of the Clergy in the Primitive Church, I come now to treat of thoſe which are commonly call'd the Inferior Orders. And here our firſt Enquiry muſt be concerning the Original and Number of them. The two great Oracles of the *Romiſh* Church, *Baronius* [a] and the Council [b] of *Trent*, are very Dogmatical and Poſitive in their Aſſertions both about their Riſe and Number; that they are preciſely five, *viz.* Subdeacons, Acolythiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, and Doorkeepers; and that they are all of Apoſtolical Inſtitution: And herein they are follow'd not only by *Bellarmine* [c], and the common Writers of that Side, but alſo by *Schelſtrate* [d], a Perſon who lived in greater Light, and might have ſeen through the Miſts that were caſt before the Eyes of others. Cardinal *Bona* [e] diſtinguiſhes between Subdeacons and the reſt. He fairly owns, that Acolythiſts, Exorciſts, Readers and Doorkeepers are not of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as the modern School-men pretend: But as to Subdeacons, he joins with them entirely, and ſays [f], that though the Scripture makes no expreſs Mention of them, yet their Inſtitution muſt be referr'd either to Chriſt, or at leaſt to his Apoſtles. The *French* Writers are not generally ſo tenacious of this Opinion, as having never ſworn to receive the Decrees of the *Tridentine* Fathers with an Implicite Faith; but many of them ingenuouſly confeſs the Riſe of the Inferior Orders to be owing only to Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution. *Morinus* [g] undertakes to prove that there was no ſuch Order as that of Acolythiſts, or Exorciſts, or Door-keepers among the *Greeks* in the Age next to the Apoſtles; nor does *Schelſtrate* diſprove his Arguments, though he makes a Shew of refuting him. *Duarenus* [h] ſays there were no ſuch Orders originally in the firſt and Primitive Church. *Cotelerius* [i] confeſſes their Original is involved wholly in Obſcurity; that there is no mention made of any of them in *Ignatius*, or any other ancient Writer before *Cyprian* and *Tertullian*. And therefore *Habertus* [k] is clearly of Opinion, that it would be more adviſeable for their Church to expunge all the Inferior Orders out of the Number and Catalogue of Sacraments, and refer them only to Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution, as the ancient Divines were uſed to do. By the ancient Divines he means the School-men, who were generally of this Opinion heretofore. But *Peter Lombard*, who is ſet at the Head of them, declares [l] that the Primitive Church had no Orders below thoſe of Presbyters and Deacons; nor did the Apoſtle give Command about any other, but the Church in ſucceeding Ages inſtituted Subdeacons and Acolythiſts herſelf. And this is the Opinion of *Aquinas* [m], and *Amalarius Fortunatus* [n] and many others. *Schelſtrate* himſelf [o] owns, that it was the Opinion of two Popes, *Urban* the Second, and *Innocent* the Third, that the Order of Subdeacons was not reckoned among the ſacred Orders of the Primi-

[a] Baron. an. 44. 78. [b] Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 23. c. 2. It. Catechiſm. ad Parochos tit. de ſacramento Ordinis p. 222.
[c] Bellarm. de Clericis Lib. 1. c. 11. [d] Schelſtrat. Concil. Antiochen. Reſtitut. Diſſert. 4. c. 17. art. 2. p. 520. [e] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17. Acolythos, Exorciſtas, Lectores, & Oſtiarios, ab Apoſtolis, vel ab immediatis eorum ſucceſſoribus inſtitutos, Doctores Scholaſtici aſſerunt, ſed non probant.
[f] Bona ibid. n. 16. Subdiaconorum licet expreſſa mentio in ſacris Literis non reperiatur, eorum tamen inſtitutio vel ad Chriſtum, ut recentiores Scholaſtici exiſtimant, vel ad Apoſtolos referenda eſt.
[g] Morin. de ordinat. exercit. 14. cap. 1. [h] Duaren. de Miniſter. & Beneficiis Eccl. Lib. 1. c. 14. [i] Coteler. not. in Conſtitut. Apoſt. Lib. 2. c. 25. [k] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 5. Obſerv. 1. p. 48. Conſultius meo quidem judicio, Ordines Hierachicis inferiores, ipſumque adeo Hypodiaconi, & à Sacramentorum Cenſu expungere, & ad Inſtitutionem duntaxat Eccleſiaſticam cum antiquis Theologis referre. [l] Lombard. Sent. Lib. 4. Diſt. 24. p. 328. Hos ſolos Primitiva Eccleſia legitur habuiſſe, & de his ſolis Præceptum Apoſtoli habemus. Subdiaconos vero & Acolythos procedente tempore Eccleſia ſibi conſtituit. [m] Aquin. ſupplement. Par. 3. Q. 37. Art. 2. Reſp. ad ſecundum. [n] Amalar. de Offic. Eccl. Lib. 2. c. 6. [o] Schelſtrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 515.

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tive Church: It was indeed an Inferior Order in the 3d Century, but not dignified with the Title of a Sacred or Superior Order till the Twelfth Age of the Church; when, as *Menardus* informs us out of a MS. Book of *Petrus Cantor* [p] a Writer of that Age, it was then but juſt newly dignified with that Character: That is, in an Age when Biſhops and Presbyters began to be reckoned but one Order, in Compliance with an Hypotheſis peculiar to the *Romiſh* Church, then the Order of Subdeacons ſtept up to be a ſuperior Order; and whereas the Primitive Church was uſed to reckon the three ſuperior Orders to be thoſe of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, the *Romiſh* Church now began to ſpeak in a different Stile, and count the three ſuperior Orders, thoſe of Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons: So that this laſt became a Superior Order; which for ſome Ages before had been only an Inferior Order, and at firſt was no Order at all. For the Teſtimonies alledged by *Schelſtrate* after *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, to prove the Inferior Orders of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, are of no Authority or Weight in this Caſe. The Epiſtle under the Name of *Ignatius ad Antiochenos*, and the Conſtitutions under the Name of *Clemens Romanus*, which are the only Authorities pretended in this Matter, are now vulgarly known to be none of their Genuine Writings, but the Works of ſome Authors of much later Date. So that till ſome better Proofs be given, there will be reaſon to conclude, that theſe Inferior Orders were not of Apoſtolical, but only of Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution.

SECT. II. *No certain number of them in the Primitive Church.*

AND this may be argued farther, not only from the Silence of the moſt ancient Writers, but alſo from the Accounts of thoſe who ſpeak of them preſently after their Inſtitution. For tho' the Romiſh Church determines them to be preciſely Five in Number, yet in the ancient Church there was no ſuch Rule; but ſome Accounts ſpeak of more than Five, and others not of ſo many; which argues that they were not of Apoſtolical Inſtitution. The Author under the Name of [q] *Ignatius* reckons Six without Acolythiſts, *viz.* Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Door-keepers, *Copiatæ*, and Exorciſts. The Author of the Conſtitutions under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* [r] counts but Four of theſe Orders, *viz.* Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, and Doorkeepers. For he makes no mention of the *Copiatæ*, or of Acolythiſts: And though he ſpeaks of Exorciſts, yet he ſays [s] expreſly it was no Church-Order. The Apoſtolical Canons [t], as they are commonly called, Name only Three, Subdeacons, Readers, and Singers. And though the Author under the Name of St. *Jerom* [u] mentions Four, yet he brings the *Copiatæ* or *Foſſarii* into the Account, and makes them the firſt Order of the Clergy, leaving out Acolythiſts and Exorciſts. *Epiphanius* [x] makes no mention of Acolythiſts, but inſtead of them puts in the *Copiatæ*, and Interpreters. Others add the *Parabolani* alſo; and except *Cornelius* [y] there is ſcarce any other ancient Writer, who is ſo preciſe to the Number of Five Inferior Orders, as now computed in the Church of *Rome*.

SECT. III. *Not inſtituted in all Churches at the ſame Time.*

THE Reaſon of which Difference muſt needs be this, That there was no certain Rule left Originally about any ſuch Orders; but every Church inſtituted them for herſelf, at ſuch Times and in ſuch Numbers as her own Neceſſities ſeemed to require. For at firſt moſt of the Offices of theſe Inferior Orders were performed by the Deacons, as I have had occaſion to ſhew in another [z] Place: But as the Number of Converts increaſed in large Churches, ſuch as that of *Rome*, which confined her ſelf to the number of Seven Deacons, the Duties of the Deacons Office quickly became too great and heavy for them: Whereupon a ſort of Aſſiſtants to them were appointed, firſt in thoſe great Churches, under the Names of theſe Inferior Orders, to take off from the Deacons ſome of the heavy Burden that lay upon them. And that is the Reaſon why we meet with the Inferior Orders in ſuch great and populous Churches as *Rome* and *Carthage* in the beginning of the 3d Century; whereas in many of the leſſer Churches all the Offices were ſtill performed by Deacons, even in the 4th and 5th Centuries: Which may be concluded from the words of the Author under the Name [a] of St. *Auſtin*, where ſpeaking of the Deacons of *Rome*, he ſays, the Reaſon why they did not perform all the Inferior Services of the Church, was, that there was a Multitude of the leſſer Clergy under them; whereas otherwiſe they muſt have taken care of the Altar and its Utenſils, *&c.* as it was in other Churches at that Time. Which ſeems evidently to imply, that theſe Inferior Orders were not taken into all Churches when that Author made this Obſervation.

SECT. IV. *The Principal uſe of them in the Primitive Church, to be a ſort of Nurſery for the Hierarchy.*

BUT ſuch Churches as admitted them, made them ſubſervient to divers good Ends and Purpoſes. For beſides that of Relieving the Deacons in ſome part of their Office, they were alſo a ſort of Nurſery for the Sacred Hierarchy, or Superior Orders of the Church. For in thoſe days ſuch Churches as had theſe Or-

[p] Pet. Cantor de Verbo Mirifico, ap. Menard. Not. in Sacramental Gregor. p. 280. De Novo inſtitutum eſt, Subdiaconatum eſſe ſacrum ordinem. [q] Ep. ad Antioch. n. 12. [r] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 3. c. 11. [s] Ibid. Lib. 8. c. 26. [t] Can. Apoſt. c. 69. [u] Jerom. de 7. Ordin. Eccl. T. 4. p. 8. [x] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [y] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [z] Book 2. Chap. 20. Sect. 15. [a] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. T. 4. c 101. Ut autem non omnia miniſteria obſequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit Clericorum. Nam utique & Altare portarent, & vaſa ejus, & aquam in manus funderent Sacerdoti, ſicut videmus per omnes Eccleſias.

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ders settled in them, commonly chose their Superior Ministers, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, out of them; and the Clergy of these lesser Orders were a sort of Candidates under Tryal and Probation for the greater. For the Church not having the advantage of Christian Academies at that Time, took this Method to train up fit Persons for the Ministry, first exercising them in some of the lower Offices, that they might be the better disciplin'd and qualified for the Duties of the Superior Functions. And by this means every Bishop knew perfectly both the Abilities and Morals of all the Clergy of his Diocese; for they were bred up under his Eye, and governed by his Care and Inspection. In some places they lived all in one House, and eat all at one Table: As *Possidius* [b] particularly notes of St. *Austin*'s Church at *Hippo*, and *Sozomen* [c] of the Church of *Rinocurura* in the Confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, that they had House and Table and every thing in Common. Hence it became a Custom in *Spain*, in the Time of the *Gothick* Kings, about the End of the 5th Century, for Parents to dedicate their Children very young to the Service of the Church: In which case they were taken into the Bishop's Family, and educated under him by some discreet and grave Presbyter, whom the Bishop deputed for that purpose, and set over them by the Name of *Præpositus, & Magister Disciplinæ*, The Superintendent, or Master of Discipline, because his chief Business was to inspect their Behaviour, and instruct them in the Rules and Discipline of the Church. As we may see in the 2d and 4th Councils [d] of *Toledo*, which give Directions about this Affair.

SECT. V. *Not allowed to forsake their Service, and return to a mere secular Life again.*

AND upon this Account these Inferior Clergy were tied as well as others to the perpetual Service of the Church, when once they had devoted and dedicated themselves to it: They might not then forsake their Station, and return to a mere Secular Life again at their own Pleasure. The Council of *Chalcedon* [e] has a peremptory Canon to this purpose: That if any Person ordained among the Clergy betake himself to any Military or Civil Employment, and does not repent and return to the Office he had first chosen for God's Sake, he should be anathematized. Which is repeated in the Council of *Tours* [f], and *Tribur* [g], and some others, where 'tis interpreted so, as to include the Inferior Orders as well as the Superior.

SECT. VI. *How they differed from the Superior Orders, in Name, in Office, and Manner of Ordination.*

BUT though they agreed in this, yet in other Respects they differed very much from one another. As 1st in Name: The Clergy of the Superior Orders are commonly called the ἱερώμενοι, Holy [h] and Sacred, as in *Socrates* and others: Whence the Name, Hierarchy, is used by the Author under the Name of *Dionysius* [i] the *Areopagite*, to signify peculiarly the Orders of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons; As *Hallier* a famous *Sorbonne* Doctor has abundantly proved against *Cellotius* the Jesuit in his Learned and Elaborate Defence [k] of the Hierarchy of the Church. But on the other hand the Inferior Orders in the ancient Canons have only the Name of *Insacrati*, Unconsecrated; as in the Council [l] of *Agde*, where the *Insacrati Ministri* are forbidden to touch the sacred Vessels, or to enter into the *Diaconicon* or Sanctuary, it is plain there must be meant the Inferior Orders. 2. Another Difference, which gave Rise to the former Distinction, was the different Ceremonies observed in the Manner of their Ordination. The one were always ordained at the Altar: The others not so: The one with the solemn Rite of Imposition of Hands; the other commonly without it. Whence St. *Basil* [m] calls the one Βαθμὸς, a Degree; but the other ἀχαριστόνητῳ ὑπηρεσία, an Inferior Ministry, which had no Imposition of Hands. 3. The main Difference was in the Exercise of their Office and Function. The one were ordained to minister before God as Priests, to celebrate his Sacraments, expound his Word publickly in the Church, *&c.* In which respects the three superior Orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons are said by *Optatus*, and others, to have each their Share and Degree in the Christian Priesthood, as has been noted [n] in the former Book: But the Inferior Orders were not appointed to any such Ministry, but only to attend the Ministers in Divine Service, and perform some lower and ordinary Offices, which any Christian by the Bishop's Appointment was qualified to perform. What these Offices were shall be shewed by a particular Account of them in the following Chapters.

[b] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 25. Cum ipso semper Clerici, una etiam Domo ac Mensa, Sumptibusque communibus alebantur & vestiebantur. [c] Sozom. Lib. 6. c. 31. Κοινὴ δέ ἐστι τοῖς αὐτόθι κληρικοῖς οἴκησις καὶ τράπεζα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα. [d] Conc. Tolet. 2. c. 1. De his quos voluntas Parentum à primis Infantiæ annis in Clericatûs Officio vel Monachali posuit, Statuimus —— ut in Domo Ecclesiæ sub Episcopali præsentia à Præposito sibi debeant erudiri. It. Tolet. 4. c. 23. Si qui in Clero Puberes aut Adolescentes existunt, omnes in uno Conclavi Atrii commorentur, ut in Disciplinis Ecclesiasticis agant, deputato probatissimo seniore, quem & Magistrum Disciplinæ & testem vitæ habeant. [e] Conc. Chalced. c. 5. τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ τεταγμένους, εἰσαμὲν, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι, &c. [f] Si quis Clericus relicto Officii sui Ordine, Laicam voluerit agere vitam, vel se militiæ tradiderit, excommunicationis pœna feriatur. [g] Conc. Triburiens. c. 27. [h] Socrat. Lib. 1. c. 10. & 15. [i] Dionys. de Hierar. Eccles. c. 5. n. 2. [k] Hallier Defensio Hierarch. Eccles. Lib. 1. c. 3. Lib. 3. Sect. 2. c. 1. & 2. [l] Conc. Agathen. c. 66. Non licet Insacratos Ministros licentiam habere, in Secretarium, quod Græci Diaconicon appellant, ingredi, & contingere vasa Dominica. [m] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 51 [n] *See Book* 2. *Chap.* 19. *Sect.* 15.

CHAP. II.

Of SUBDEACONS.

SECT. I. *No Mention of Subdeacons, till the 3d Century.*

THE first Notice we have of this Order in any ancient Writers is in the middle of the 3d Century, when *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* lived, who both speak of Subdeacons as settled in the Church in their Time. *Cyprian* [a] mentions them at least ten times in his Epistles; and *Cornelius* in his famous Epistle [b] to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, where he gives a Catalogue of the Clergy then belonging to the Church of *Rome*, reckons seven Subdeacons among them. But some think they were not quite so early in the *Greek* Church: For *Habertus* [c] says, no *Greek* Writer speaks of them before *Athanasius* [d], who lived in the 4th Century.

SECT. II. *Their Ordination perform'd without Imposition of hands in the Latin Church.*

THE Author of the Constitutions indeed refers them to an Apostolical Original, and in Compliance with that *Hypothesis* brings in *Thomas* the Apostle giving Direction to Bishops to ordain them with Imposition [e] of Hands and Prayer, as he does for all the rest of the Inferior Orders. But that Author is Singular in this: For it does not appear to have been the Practice of the *Greek* Church, whose Customs he chiefly represents: St. *Basil*, a more Credible Witness, says of this and all the other Inferior Orders that they [f] were ἀχειροτόνηται, ordained without Imposition of Hands. And for the *Latin* Church it is evident from a Canon of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, where we have the Form and Manner of their Ordination thus expresst: When [g] a Subdeacon is ordained, seeing he has no Imposition of Hands, let him receive an empty Patin and an empty Cup from the hands of the Bishop, and an Ewer and Towel from the Archdeacon. Which Form wholly excluding Imposition of Hands, is a good Collateral Evidence (as *Habertus* [h] confesses ingenuously) to prove that this Order was not instituted by the Apostles: For they did not use to omit this Ceremony in any of their Ordinations.

SECT. III. *A brief Account of their Offices.*

AS to the Office of Subdeacons, we may in some measure learn what it was from the forementioned Canon, *viz.* That it was to fit and prepare the Sacred Vessels and Utensils of the Altar, and deliver them to the Deacons in time of Divine Service. But they were not allowed to Minister as Deacons at the Altar; No not so much as to come within the Rails of it, to set a Patin or Cup or the Oblations of the People thereon: As appears from a Canon [i] of the Council of *Laodicea*, which forbids the ὑπηρέτ, by which is meant Subdeacons, to have any place within the *Diaconicon*, or Sanctuary, nor to touch the Holy Vessels, meaning at the Communion-Table. Though this is now their Office in the Church of *Rome*; and in that, *Bona* [k] owns they differ from those of the ancient Church. Another of their Offices was to attend the Doors of the Church during the Communion-Service. This is mentioned by the Council of *Laodicea*, in a Canon [l] which fixes them to that Station. And *Valesius* thinks *Eusebius* meant them, when describing the Temple of *Paulinus*, he speaks [m] of some, whose Office it was θυρωλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τὰς εἰσιούσας, to attend the Doors, and conduct those that came in, to their proper Places. The Author of the Constitutions [n] divides this Office between the Deacons and Subdeacons, ordering the Deacons to stand at the Mens Gate, and the Subdeacons at the Womens; that no one might go forth, nor the Doors be opened in the Time of the Oblation. Besides these Offices in the Church, they had another Office out of the Church, which was to go on the Bishop's Embassies, with his Letters or Messages to Foreign Churches. For in those days, by reason of the Persecutions, a Bishop did not so much as send a Letter to a Foreign Church, but by the hands of one of his Clergy: Whence *Cyprian* [o] gives such Letters the Name of *Literæ Clericæ:* And the Subdeacons were the Men that were commonly employed in this Office; As appears from every one of those Epistles in *Cyprian*, which speak of Subdeacons. Particularly in that which he wrote to the Clergy of *Carthage* in his Retirement, where he [p] tells them, that having occasion to write to the Church of *Rome*, and needing some of the Clergy to convey his Letter by, he was obliged to ordain a new Subdeacon for this purpose, because the Church could not spare him one at

[a] Cypr. Ep. 8. 20. 29. 34. 35. 45. 78. 79. ed. Oxon. [b] ap. Euseb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [c] Haberr. Archieratic. p. 49. [d] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. agent. [e] Constit. Apost. Lib. 8. c. 21. [f] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 51. [g] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 5. Subdiaconus quum ordinatur, quia manûs Impositionem non accipit, Patinam de Episcopi manu accipiat vacuam, & Calicem vacuum. De manu vero Archidiaconi, urceolum cum aqua, & mantile, & manutergium. [h] Habert. Archieratic. p. 48. [i] Conc. Laodic. c. 21. [k] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 16. Olim nec Calicem nec Patinam nec Oblationes in altari ponebant. [l] Conc. Laodic. c. 22. καὶ δεῖ ὑποέτην τὰς θύρας ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν. [m] Euseb. Hist. lib. 10. c. 4. [n] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 11. [o] Cypr. Ep. 4. al. 9. Grave est si Epistolæ Clericæ veritas mendacio aliquo & fraude corrupta est. [p] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Quoniam oportuit me per Clericos scribere; Scio autem nostros plurimos absentes esse, paucos vero, qui illic sunt, vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere: necesse fuit novos aliquos constituere, qui mitterentur: Feciſſe me autem sciatis Lectorem Saturum, & Hypodiaconum Optatum Confessorem.

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that time, having ſcarce enough left to perform her own daily Services. Theſe were anciently the chief of the Subdeacons Office, at their firſt Inſtitution.

SECT. IV. *What Offices they might not perform.*

AND great care was taken that they ſhould not exceed their Bounds, or encroach too much upon the Deacon's Office. They might not take upon them to Miniſter the Bread [q] or the Cup to the People at the Lord's Table; They might not bid the Prayers, or do any part of that Service which the Deacons did, as they were the κήρυκες or Holy Cryers of the Church. This is the meaning of the Canon [r] of the Council of *Laodicea*, which prohibits the Subdeacons from wearing an *Horarium* in time of Divine Service: Which was an Habit of Deacons, that they made uſe of as a ſignal to give notice of the Prayers, and other Services of the Church, to the Catechumens, Penitents, &c. who were to obſerve their Directions: This Habit therefore the Subdeacons might not wear, becauſe it was a Diſtinguiſhing Habit of a Superior Order. And farther, to ſhew the ſame Subjection and Deference to Deacons, as Deacons did to Preſbyters, they are forbidden by another Canon [s] of that Council to ſit in the Preſence of a Deacon without his Leave.

SECT. V. *The Singularity of the Church of Rome in keeping to the preciſe Number of ſeven Subdeacons.*

THERE is but one thing more I ſhall note concerning this Order, which is the Singularity of the Church of *Rome* in keeping to the Number of ſeven Subdeacons. For in the Epiſtle of *Cornelius* [t], which gives us the Catalogue of the Romiſh Clergy, we find but ſeven Deacons, and ſeven Subdeacons, though there were forty four Presbyters, and forty two Acolythiſts, and of Exorciſts, Readers, and Door-keepers no leſs than fifty two. But other Churches did not tie themſelves to follow this Example. For in the great Church of *Conſtantinople*, and three leſſer that belonged to it, there were ninety Subdeacons, as may be ſeen in one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels [u], where he gives a Catalogue of the Clergy, and fixes the Number of every Order, amounting to above five hundred in the whole.

CHAP. III.

Of ACOLYTHISTS.

SECT. I. *Acolythiſts an Order peculiar to the* Latin *Church, and never mentioned by any* Greek *Writer, for four Centuries.*

NEXT to the Subdeacons the *Latin* Writers commonly put Acolythiſts, which was an Order peculiar to the *Latin* Church: For there was no ſuch Order in the *Greek* Church for above four hundred Years; nor is it ever ſo much as mentioned among the Orders of the Church by any *Greek* Writer all that time, as *Cabaſſutius* [a], and *Schelſtrate* [b] confeſs. And though it occurs ſometimes in the later *Greek* Rituals, yet *Schelſtrate* ſays, it is there only another Name for the Order of Subdeacons. But in the *Latin* Church theſe two were diſtinguiſhed: For *Cornelius* in his Catalogue makes a plain Difference between them, in ſaying there were forty two Acolythiſts, and but ſeven Subdeacons in the Church of *Rome*. *Cyprian* alſo ſpeaks of them [c] frequently in his Epiſtles, as diſtinct from the Order of Subdeacons; though wherein their Offices differed, is not very eaſy to determine from either of thoſe Authors.

SECT. II. *Their Ordination and Office.*

BUT in the 4th Council of *Carthage* there is a Canon which gives a little Light in the Matter. For there we have the Form of their Ordination, and ſome Intimation of their Office alſo. The Canon [d] is to this Effect: When any Acolythiſt is ordained, the Biſhop ſhall inform him how he is to behave himſelf in his Office: And he ſhall receive a Candleſtick with a Taper in it, from the Archdeacon, that he may underſtand that he is appointed to light the Candles of the Church. He ſhall alſo receive an empty Pitcher to furniſh Wine for the Euchariſt of the Blood of Chriſt. So that the Acolythiſts Office ſeems at that Time to have conſiſted chiefly in theſe two things, Lighting the Candles of the Church, and Attending the Miniſters with Wine for the Euchariſt: The Deſignation to which Office needed no Impoſition of Hands, but only the Biſhop's Appointment, as is plain from the Words of the Canon now cited.

SECT. III. *The Origination of the Name.*

SOME think [e] they had another Office, which was to accompany and attend the Biſhop whitherſoever he went; and that they were called Acolythiſts upon this account: Or perhaps becauſe they were obliged to attend at Funerals in the Company of the *Canonicæ & Aſcetriæ*,

[q] Conc. Laodic. c. 25. ὃ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἄρτον διδόναι, ἢ δὲ ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν. [r] Ibid. c. 22. ὃ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ὠράριον φορεῖν, &c. [s] Conc. Laodic. c. 20. [t] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [u] Juſtin. Novel. 3. [a] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 42. p. 249. [b] Schelſtrat. de Concil. Antiocheno Diſſert. 4. c. 17. p. 526. [c] Cypr. Ep. 7. 34. 59. 77. 78. 79. ed. Oxon. [d] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 6. Acolythus quum ordinatur, ab Epiſcopo quidem doceatur qualiter in Officio ſuo agere debeat: Sed ab Archidiacono accipiat Ceroferarium cum Cereo, ut ſciat ſe ad accendenda Eccleſiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipiat & Urceolum vacuum ad ſuggerendum vinum in Euchariſtiam ſanguini Chriſti. [e] Duaren. de Miniſter. & Benefic. Lib. 1. c. 14.

with

with whom they are joined in one of *Justinian*'s [*f*] Novels. The Original Word, Ἀκόλυθος, as *Hesychius* [*g*] explains it, signifies a young Servant, or an Attendant who waits continually upon another. And the Name seems to be given them from this. But the Inference which a Learned Person [*h*] makes from hence, that the Order of Acolythists was first in the *Greek* Church, because the Name is of *Greek* Original, seems not to be so certain: Because it can hardly be imagined, that it should be an Order of the *Greek* Church, and yet no *Greek* Writer before *Justinian*'s time make any Mention of it.

SECT. IV. *Whether Acolythists be the same with the* Deputati & Ceroferarii *of later Ages.*

I know indeed St. *Jerom* [*i*] says, it was a Custom in the Oriental Churches to set up lighted Tapers when the Gospel was read, as a Token and Demonstration of their Joy: But he does not so much as once intimate, that they had a peculiar Order of Acolythists for this purpose: Nor does it appear that this was any part of their Office in the *Latin* Church: For that which the Council of *Carthage* speaks of, is probably no more than Lighting the Candles at Night, when the Church was to meet for their *Lucernalis Oratio*, or Evening Prayer. This Office of Acolythists, as much as the Romanists contend for the Apostolical Institution of it, is now no longer in being in the Church of *Rome*, but changed into that of the *Ceroferarii*, or Taper-bearers, whose Office is only to walk before the Deacons, *&c.* with a lighted Taper in their Hands. Which is so different from the Office of the ancient Acolythists, that *Duarenus* [*k*] cannot but express his Wonder, how the one came to be changed into the other, and why their Doctors should call him an Acolythist of the ancient Church, who is no more than a Taper-bearer of the present. Cardinal *Bona* [*l*] carries the Reflexion a little farther, and with some Resentment complains, that the Inferior Orders of the *Romish* Church bear no Resemblance to those of the Primitive Church, and that for five hundred Years the ancient Discipline has been lost.

CHAP. IV.

Of EXORCISTS.

SECT. I. *Exorcists at first no peculiar Order of the Clergy.*

THERE is nothing more certain than that in the Apostolical Age, and the next following, the Power of Exorcizing, or casting out Devils, was a miraculous Gift of the Holy Ghost, not confined to the Clergy, much less to any single Order among them, but given to other Christians also, as many other extraordinary Spiritual Gifts then were. *Origen* [*a*] says Private Christians, that is Laymen, did by their Prayers and Adjurations dispossess Devils. And *Socrates* [*b*] observes particularly of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that whilst he was a Layman, he wrought many Miracles, healing the Sick, and casting out Devils by sending Letters to the possessed Party only. And that this Power was common to all Orders of Christians, appears farther from the Challenges of the ancient Apologists, *Tertullian* [*c*], and others, to the Heathens, wherein they undertake, that if they would bring any Person possessed with a Devil into open Court before the Magistrate, any Ordinary Christian should make him confess that he was a Devil, and not a God. *Minucius* [*d*] speaks of this Power among Christians, but he does not ascribe it to any particular Order of Men: As neither does *Justin* [*e*] *Martyr*, nor *Irenæus* [*f*], nor *Cyprian* [*g*], nor *Arnobius* [*h*], though they frequently speak of such Power in the Church.

SECT. II. *Bishops and Presbyters for the three first Centuries the usual Exorcists of the Church.*

BUT as this Gift was common to all orders of Men, so it is reasonable to believe, that it was in a more especial manner conferred upon the Bishops and Presbyters of the Church, who, when there was any occasion to use any Exorcism in the Church, were the Ordinary Ministers of it. Thus Cardinal *Bona* [*i*] understands that famous Passage of *Tertullian*, where speaking [*k*] of a Christian Woman, who went to the Theatre, and returned possessed with a Devil, he says, the unclean Spirit was rebuked in

[*f*] Justin. Novel. 59. [*g*] Hesych. Ἀκόλυθος, ὁ νεώτερος ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις, ὁ περὶ τὸ σῶμα. [*h*] Bp. Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 7. [*i*] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. T. 2. p. 123. Per totas Orientis Ecclesias, quando legendum est Evangelium, accenduntur Lumina, &c. [*k*] Duaren. de Minister. & Benefic. Lib. 1. c. 14. p. 74. Nescio quomodo tandem factum est, ut hoc munus in luminariorum curam postea conversum sit, & Doctores nostri passim Acolythos Ceroferarios interpretentur. [*l*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. c. 25. n. 18. Desierunt quoque minorum Ordinum Officia, quæ plerumque à pueris, & hominibus mercede conductis, nullisque ordinibus initiatis exercentur, &c.

[*a*] Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. 7. p. 334. ἐυχῇ καὶ ὁρκώσεσιν ἰδιώτου τὸ τοιοῦτον πράσσοντος, &c. [*b*] Socrat. Lib. 4. c. 27. λαικὸς ὢν πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε νοσούντας θεραπεύων, καὶ δαίμονας δι' ἐπιστολῶν φυγαδεύων. [*c*] Tertul. Apol. c. 23. Edatur hic aliquis sub Tribunalibus vestris, quem Dæmone agi constet. Jussus à quolibet Christiano loqui Spiritus ille, tam se Dæmonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi Deum de falso. [*d*] Minuc. Octav. p. 83. Ipsos Dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, quoties à nobis Tormentis verborum & Orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur. [*e*] Justin. Apol. 1. p. 45. [*f*] Iren. Lib. 2. c. 56. & 57. [*g*] Cypr. ad Donat. p. 4. [*h*] Arnob. cont. Gent. Lib. 1. [*i*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17. [*k*] Tertul. de Spectac. c. 26. Theatrum adiit, & inde cum Dæmonio rediit. Itaque in Exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus Spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi: Constanter & Justissime quidem (inquit) feci, in meo enim inveni.

Exor-

Exorciſm for preſuming to make ſuch an Attempt upon a Believer: To which the Spirit replied, that he had a Right to her, becauſe he found her upon his own Ground. This Exorciſm, I ſay, *Bona* ſuppoſes to be performed by ſome Presbyter of the Church endowed with that Miraculous Gift. And the like may be ſaid of thoſe Exorciſts in *Cyprian* [*l*], who caſt out Devils by a Divine Power: And of thoſe alſo who are mentioned by *Firmilian* [*m*], as Perſons inſpired by Divine Grace to diſcern evil Spirits and detect them: As one of them did a Woman of *Cappadocia*, who pretended to be inſpired, and to work Miracles, and to Baptize, and Conſecrate the Euchariſt by Divine Direction. Theſe Exorciſms were plainly Miraculous, and prove nothing more than that ſome Perſons had ſuch a Gift, who probably were ſome eminent Presbyters of the Church: At leaſt they do not prove that Exorciſts were as yet become any diſtinct Order among the Clergy in the Church.

SECT. III.
In what ſenſe every Man his own Exorciſt.

SOME think the Order was as old as *Tertullian*, becauſe *Ulpian*, the great Lawyer, who lived in *Tertullian*'s Time, in one of his Books [*n*] ſpeaks of Exorcizing, as a thing uſed by Impoſtors, by whom probably he means the Chriſtians. *Gothofred* thinks he means the Jewiſh Exorciſts, who were commonly Impoſtors indeed: But admitting that he means Chriſtians; (which is more probable, conſidering what *Lactantius* [*o*] ſays of him, That he publiſhed a Collection of the Penal Laws that had been made againſt them) yet it proves no more than what every one owns, That Exorciſing was a thing then commonly known and practiſed among the Chriſtians. Others urge the Authority of *Tertullian* himſelf in his Book *de Corona Militis*, where yet he is ſo far from owning any particular Order of Exorciſts, that he rather ſeems to make every Man his own Exorciſt. For there among other Arguments, which he urges to diſſuade Chriſtians from the Military Life under Heathen Emperors, he makes uſe of this [*p*], That they would be put to guard the Idol-Temples, and then they muſt defend thoſe Devils by Night, whom they had put to flight by Day by their Exorciſms; by which he means their Prayers, as *Junius* rightly underſtands him. And ſo in another place diſſuading Chriſtians from ſelling ſuch things as would contribute toward upholding of Idolatry, or the Worſhip of Devils, he argues thus, That otherwiſe the Devils would be their *Alumni*; that is, might be ſaid to be foſtered and maintained by them, ſo long as they furniſhed out Materials to carry on their Service: And with what Confidence, ſays he [*q*], can any Man Exorciſe his own *Alumni*, thoſe Devils, whoſe Service he makes his own Houſe an Armoury to maintain? *Vicecomes* [*r*] and *Bona* [*s*] by miſtake underſtood this as ſpoken of Exorciſm before Baptiſm, taking the word *Alumni* to ſignify the Catechumens of the Church: Whereas indeed it ſignifies Devils in this place, who are ſo called by *Tertullian* in reſpect of thoſe who contribute to uphold their Worſhip: For ſuch Men are a ſort of Foſter-Fathers to them. So that this Paſſage, when rightly underſtood, makes nothing for the Antiquity of Exorciſts, as a peculiar Order of the Clergy, but only ſhews in what Senſe every Chriſtian is to be his own Exorciſt, *viz.* By his Prayers, reſiſting the Devil, that he may fly from him.

SECT. IV.
Exorciſts conſtituted into an Order in the latter end of the third Century.

SETTING aſide then both that Extraordinary Power of Exorciſing, which was Miraculous, and this Ordinary way alſo, in which every Man was his own Exorciſt: It remains to be enquired, when the Order of the Exorciſts was firſt ſettled in the Church. And here I take *Bona*'s Opinion to be the trueſt, That it came in upon the withdrawing [*t*] of that Extraordinary and Miraculous Power; which probably was by Degrees, and not at the ſame time in all Places. *Cornelius* [*u*] who lived in the third Century, reckons Exorciſts among the Inferior Orders of the Church of *Rome*: Yet the Author of the Conſtitutions, who lived after him, ſays [*x*] it was no certain Order, but God beſtowed the Gift of Exorcizing as a free Grace upon whom he pleaſed: And therefore conſonant to that Hypotheſis, there is no Rule among thoſe Conſtitutions for giving any Ordination to Exorciſts, as being appointed by God only, and not by the Church. But the Credit of the Conſtitutions is not to be relied upon in this Matter: For it is certain by this time Exorciſts were ſettled as an Order in moſt parts of the *Greek* Church as well as the *Latin*: Which is evident from the Council of *Antioch*, an. 341, in one of whoſe Canons [*y*] leave is given to the *Chorepiſcopi* to promote Subdeacons, Readers, and Exorciſts; which argues, that thoſe were then all ſtanding Orders of the Church. After this Exorciſts are frequently mentioned among the Inferior Orders by the Writers of the fourth Century, as in the Council [*z*] of *Laodicea*, *Epiphanius* [*a*], *Paulinus* [*b*], *Sulpicius Severus* [*c*], and the Reſcripts

[*l*] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum, p. 187. Quod hodie etiam geritur, ut per Exorciſtas, voce humana & poteſtate divina, flagelletur, & uratur, & torqueatur Diabolus. [*m*] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 223. Unus de Exorciſtis — inſpiratus Dei gratia fortiter reſtitit, & eſſe illum nequiſſimum Spiritum, qui prius Sanctus putabatur, oſtendit. [*n*] Ulpian. Lib. 8. de Tribunal. in Digeſt. Lib. 50. Tit. 13. Leg. 1. Si incantavit, ſi imprecatus eſt, ſi (ut vulgari verbo Impoſtorum utar) exorciſavit. [*o*] Lact. Inſtit. Lib. 5. c. 11. [*p*] Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. 11. Quos interdiu Exorciſmis fugavit, noctibus defenſabit.

[*q*] Tertul. de Idol. c. 11. Qua conſtantia exorcizabit Alumnos ſuos, quibus domum ſuam Cellariam præſtat? [*r*] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. Lib. 2. c. 29. p. 362. [*s*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17. [*t*] Bona ibid. Poſtea ſubtracta hac Poteſtate, conſtituit Eccleſia Ordinem, qui Dæmonia expelleret. [*u*] ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [*x*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 26. [*y*] Conc. Antioch. c. 10. [*z*] Conc. Laodic. c. 24. & 26. [*a*] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [*b*] Paulin. Natal. 4. S. Felicis. [*c*] Sulpic. Vit. S. Martin. c. 4.

of *Theodosius* [d], and *Gratian* [e] in the *Theodosian* Code, where those Emperors grant them the same Immunity from Civil Offices, as they do to the other Orders of the Clergy.

SECT. V. *Their Ordination and Office.*

THEIR Ordination and Office is thus described by the 4th Council of *Carthage* [f]: When an Exorcist is ordained, he shall receive at the hands of the Bishop a Book, wherein the Forms of Exorcizing are written, the Bishop saying: Receive thou these and commit them to Memory, and have thou Power to lay hands upon the Energumens, whether they be Baptized or only Catechumens. These Forms were certain Prayers, together with Adjurations in the Name of Christ, commanding the unclean Spirit to depart out of the possessed Person: Which may be collected from the Words of *Paulinus* concerning the Promotion of St. *Felix* to this Office, where he says [g], from a Reader he arose to that Degree, whose Office was to Adjure evil Spirits, and to drive them out by certain Holy Words. It does not appear that they were ordained to this Office by any Imposition of hands either in the *Greek* or *Latin* Church: But yet no one might pretend to exercise it either Publickly or Privately, in the Church or in any House, without the Appointment of the Bishop, as the Council of *Laodicea* [h] directs; or at least the License of a Chorepiscopus, who in that Case was authorized [i] by the Bishop's Deputation.

SECT. VI. *A short Account of the Energumens, their Names, and Station in the Church.*

AS to the Energumens, for whose sake this Office was appointed, they were so called from the *Greek* word ἐνεργέμβροι, which in its largest Signification denotes Persons who are under the Motion and Operation of any Spirit, whether Good or Bad; but in a more restrained Sense it is used by Ecclesiastical Writers for Persons whose Bodies are seized or possessed with an Evil Spirit. Upon which Account they are otherwise called δαιμονιζόμβροι, *Dæmoniacks*, and κατεχόμενοι, Possessed. And because this was frequently attended with great Commotions and Vexations and Disturbances of the Body, occasioning sometimes Phrenzy and Madness, sometimes Epileptick Fits, and other violent Tossings and Contorsions; such Persons are often upon that account stiled χειμαζόμενοι, by the *Greek*, and *Hyemantes* by the *Latin* Writers, that is, Tossed as in a Winter-Storm or Tempest. Thus the Author of the Constitutions in some places [k] stiles them simply χειμαζόμενοι, by which that he means the Energumens is evident, because in another place [l] he stiles them χειμαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ, such as were under the Commotions and Vexations of Satan; and tells us that Prayer was made for them under that Character, in the Oblation at the Altar for all States and Conditions of Men, that God would deliver them from that violent Energy or Agitation of the Wicked one. And thus most Learned Men, except *Albaspinæus*, understand that Phrase in the Canon of the Council of *Ancyra* [m], which orders some certain Notorious Sinners, εἰς τὸν χειμαζομένων εὔχεσθαι, to Pray *in Loco Hyemantium*, in that part of the Church where the Dæmoniacks stood, which was a Place separate from all the rest. And some also think [n] the Name, κλυδωνιζόμενοι, was given to the Energumens upon the same Account, because it signifies Persons agitated by a Spirit, as a Wave in a Tempest.

SECT. VII. *The Exorcists chiefly concern'd in the Care of them.*

NOW these Energumens, or Dæmoniacks, or whatever other Name they were called by, were the Persons about whom the Exorcists were chiefly concerned. For besides the Prayers which were offered for them in all Publick Assemblies, by the Deacons and Bishops, and the whole Congregation (some Forms of which Prayers may be seen in the Author [o] of the Constitutions) the Exorcists were obliged to Pray over them at other Times [p] when there was no Assembly in the Church; And to keep them employed in some innocent Business, as in sweeping [q] the Church and the like, to prevent more violent Agitations of Satan, lest Idleness should tempt the Tempter; And to see them provided of daily [r] Food and Sustenance, while they abode in the Church, which it seems was the chief place of their Residence and Habitation.

SECT. VIII. *The Duty of Exorcists in reference to the Catechumens.*

THIS was the Exorcist's Office in reference to the Energumens; to which *Valesius* [s] and *Gothofred* [t] add another Office, *viz.* That of Exorcizing the Catechumens before Baptism. Which is a matter that will admit of some Dispute. For it does not appear always to have been the Exorcist's Office, save only in one of these two Cases: Either first when a Catechumen was also an Energumen, which was a Case that very often happened:

[d] Cod. Theod. Lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 121. [e] Ibid. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 24. [f] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 7. Exorcista quum ordinatur, accipiat de manu Episcopi Libellum, in quo scripti sunt Exorcismi, dicente sibi Episcopo: Accipe & commenda memoriæ, & habeto potestatem imponendi manus super Energumenum, sive Baptizatum, sive Catechumenum. [g] Paulin. Natal. 4. Felic. Primis lector servivit in annis, Inde gradum cepit, cui munus voce fideli Adjurare malos, & sacris pellere verbis. [h] Conc. Laod. c. 26. [i] Concil. Antioch. c. 10. [k] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 35. & 37. [l] Constit. lib. 8. c. 12. παρακαλῶμέν σε ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ —— ὅπως καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆ ἐνεργείας τῆ πονηρῆ. [m] Conc. Ancyr. c. 17. [n] Vid. Dodwel. Dissert. 1. in Cypr. n. 17. [o] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 6. & 7. [p] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 90. Omni die Exorcistæ Energumenis manus imponant. [q] Ibid. c. 91. Pavimenta Domorum Dei Energumeni verrant. [r] Ibid. c. 92. Energumenis in Domo Dei assidentibus victus quotidianus per Exorcistas opportuno tempore ministretur. [s] Vales. Not. in Eusеb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. 2. [t] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 24.

And

And then he was to be committed to the Care of the Exorciſts, whoſe Office was to Exorciſe all Energumens, whether they were Baptized, or only Catechumens, as is evident from the Canon already alledged Sect. 5. out of the Council of *Carthage*. Or ſecondly it might happen that the Exorciſt was only made the Catechiſt, and in that caſe there can be no Queſtion but that his Office was as well to Exorcize, as to inſtruct the Catechumens. But then the Catechiſt's Office was many times ſeparate from that of the Exorciſt's: (though ſome Modern Writers confound them together:) ſometimes a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or a Reader was the Catechiſt: And in that caſe it ſeems more probable that the Exorciſm of the Catechumens was performed by the Catechiſt, than by the Exorciſt; And for that reaſon I ſhall treat of the Office of Catechiſt diſtinctly in its proper Place.

CHAP. V.

Of Lectors or Readers.

SECT. I. *The Order of Readers not inſtituted till the 3d Century.*

IT is the Opinion now of moſt Learned Men, even in the Romiſh Church, that there was no ſuch Order as that of Readers diſtinct from others for at leaſt two Ages in the Primitive Church. *Bona* owns [a] it to be one of the four Orders, which he thinks only of Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution. And *Cotelerius* [b] ſays there is no mention made of it before the time of *Tertullian*, who is the firſt Author that ſpeaks of it as a ſtanding Order in the Church. For writing againſt the Hereticks [c], he objects to them, that their Orders were Deſultory and Inconſtant: A Man was a Deacon among them one day, and a Reader the next. Which implies, that it was otherwiſe in the Church, and that Readers then were as much a ſettled Order as Deacons, or any other. *Cyprian*, who lived not long after *Tertullian*, frequently ſpeaks of them as an Order of the Clergy. In one [d] place he ſays he had made one *Saturus* a Reader; and in another place he mentions one *Aurelius*, a Confeſſor, whom he had ordained a Reader for his ſingular Merits, and Conſtancy in time of Perſecution [e]: And for the ſame Reaſon he made *Celerinus*, another Confeſſor, one of the ſame Order [f] among the Clergy. So that it was then reckoned not only a Clerical Office, but an honourable Office, to be a Reader in the Church, and ſuch a one as a Confeſſor needed not to be aſhamed of. Sometimes Perſons of the greateſt Dignity were ordained to this Office, as *Julian* is ſaid to have been in the Church of *Nicomedia* [g] while he profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian. *Sozomen* [h] ſays expreſly, that both he and his Brother *Gallus* were reckoned among the Clergy, and read the Scriptures publickly to the People. And there is no Writer of that Age, but always ſpeaks of Readers as a diſtinct Order of the Clergy in the Church.

SECT. II. *By whom the Scriptures were read in the Church before the Inſtitution of that Order.*

BUT ſince the Order of Readers, though frequently ſpoken of in the 3d and 4th Ages, are never once mentioned in the two Firſt, it will be proper to enquire, By whom the Scriptures were Read in the Church for thoſe two Centuries? Mr. *Baſnage* [i] is of Opinion, that the Chriſtian Church at firſt followed the Example of the Jewiſh Church, and in this matter took her Model from the Synagogue; where, as he obſerves out of Dr. *Lightfoot* [k], the Cuſtom was on every Sabbath-day to have Seven Readers, firſt a Prieſt, then a Levite, and after them Five Iſraelites, ſuch as the Miniſter of the Congregation, (whom they called the Biſhop or Inſpector and Angel of the Church) thought fit to call forth and nominate for that purpoſe: He thinks it was much after the ſame manner in the Chriſtian Church; The Office was not perpetually aſſigned to any particular Man, but chiefly performed by Presbyters and Deacons, yet ſo as that any other might do it by the Biſhop's Appointment. But indeed the matter is involved in ſo great Obſcurity, that no certain Conjecture can be made from the Writings of the two firſt Ages; but all that we can argue is from the ſeeming Remains of the ancient Cuſtoms in the following Ages. For ſince we find that Deacons in many Churches continued to read the Goſpel, even after the Order of Readers was ſet up; as I have had occaſion to ſhew [kk] in another place from the Author [l] of the Conſtitutions, and St. *Jerom* [m], and the Council [n] of *Vaiſon*; We may thence reaſonably conclude, that this was part of their Of-

[a] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17. [b] Coteler. Not. in Conſtitut. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 25. [c] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 41. Hodie Diaconus, qui cras Lector. [d] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Feciſſe me ſciatis Lectorem Saturum. [e] Id. Ep. 33. al. 38. Merebatur Aurelius Clericæ Ordinationis ulteriores gradus —— Sed interim placuit ut ab Officio Lectionis incipiat, &c. [f] Id. Ep. 34. al. 39. Referimus ad vos, Celerinum —— Clero noſtro non humana ſuffragatione, ſed Divina Dignatione conjunctum, &c. [g] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 1. Nazian. Invectiv. 1. T. 1. p. 58. [h] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 2. ὡς καὶ κλήρῳ ἐγκαταλεγῆναι, καὶ ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς βίβλους. [i] Baſnag. Exercit. in Baron. p. 623. [k] Lightfoot Harm. p. 479. [kk] Book 2. Chap. 20. Sect. 6. [l] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. [m] Hieron. Ep. 57. ad Sabin. [n] Conc. Vaſenſ. 2. c. 2.

fice

fice before: And ſince Presbyters and Biſhops in other Churches did the ſame, as *Sozomen* [o] informs us; it may as rationally be inferr'd, that this was their Cuſtom in former Ages. But whether Laymen performed this Office at any time by the Biſhop's particular Direction, as the Iſraelites did in the Jewiſh Church, cannot be ſo certainly determined; Only we find that in after-Ages in the moſt celebrated Church of *Alexandria*, even the Catechumens as well as Believers [p] were admitted to do the Office of Readers: And that may incline a Man to think that this Office was not wholly confined to the Clergy in the two firſt Ages. But this being peculiar to the Church of *Alexandria*, nothing can be argued from it concerning the Practice of the Univerſal Church: and therefore till ſome better Light is afforded, I leave this matter undetermined.

SECT. III. *The Manner of Ordaining Readers.*

IT is more certain that after the Order of Readers was ſet up, it was generally computed among the Orders of the Clergy; except perhaps at *Alexandria*, where that ſingular Cuſtom prevailed of putting Catechumens into the Office: For it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that they reckoned Perſons that were Unbaptized, and not yet allowed to partake of the Holy Myſteries, into the Number of their Clergy. But in all other Places it was reputed a Clerical Order, and Perſons deputed to the Office were ordained to it with the uſual Solemnities and Ceremonies of the other Inferior Orders. In the *Greek* Church *Habertus* [q] thinks they were ordained with Impoſition of Hands, but among the *Latins* without it. The Author of the Conſtitutions preſcribes a Form of Prayer to be uſed with Impoſition of Hands; but whether that was the Practice of all the *Greek* Church, is very much queſtioned. In the *Latin* Church it was certainly otherwiſe. The Council of *Carthage* [r] ſpeaks of no other Ceremony, but the Biſhop's putting the Bible into his Hands in the Preſence of the People, with theſe Words: Take this Book, and be thou a Reader of the Word of God, which Office if thou fulfil Faithfully and Profitably, thou ſhalt have Part with thoſe that Miniſter in the Word of God. And in *Cyprian*'s time they ſeem not to have had ſo much as this Ceremony of delivering the Bible to them, but they were made Readers by the Biſhop's Commiſſion and Deputation only to ſuch a Station in the Church.

SECT. IV. *Their Station and Office in the Church.*

THIS was the *Pulpitum*, or *Tribunal Eccleſiæ*, as it is commonly called in *Cyprian*, The Reading-Desk in the Body of the Church, which was diſtinguiſhed from the *Bema* or Tribunal of the Sanctuary. For the Reader's Office was not to Read the Scriptures at the Altar, but in the Reading-Desk only. Whence, *ſuper Pulpitum imponi*, *& ad Pulpitum venire*, are Phraſes in *Cyprian* [s] to denote the Ordination of a Reader. In this Place, in *Cyprian*'s time, they read the Goſpels, as well as other parts of Scripture; Which is clear from one of *Cyprian*'s [t] Epiſtles, where ſpeaking of *Celerinus* the Confeſſor, whom he had ordained a Reader, he ſays, It was fitting he ſhould be advanced to the Pulpit or Tribunal of the Church, that having the advantage of an higher Station, he might thence read the Precepts and Goſpels of his Lord, which he himſelf as a couragious Confeſſor had followed and obſerved. *Albaſpinæus* [u] ſays, they alſo read the Epiſtles and Goſpels in the Communion-Service: But he ſhould firſt have proved, that thoſe were anciently any part of the Communion-Service: For they do not appear to have been ſo from the moſt ancient Liturgies, but were only Read in the *Miſſa-Catechumenorum*, or as we now call it, The firſt Service, at which the Catechumens were preſent. And whereſoever they were taken into the Communion-Service, it was the Office of Deacons, and not the Readers, to rehearſe them. But of this more when we come to the Liturgy and Service of the ancient Church.

SECT. V. *The Age at which they might be Ordained.*

THERE is but one thing more to be noted concerning this Order, which is the Age at which Readers might be Ordained. That is fixt by one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels [x], preciſely forbidding any one to be ordained Reader before he was compleatly Eighteen years Old. But before this Law was made it was cuſtomary to ordain them much younger: For *Ennodius* Biſhop of *Ticinum* ſays of *Epiphanius* his Predeceſſor [y] that he was ordained Reader at Eight years Old: As *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* [z] is ſaid to have been at Seven. And this leads us to underſtand what *Sidonius Apollinaris* means, when ſpeaking of *John* Biſhop of *Chalons*, he ſays, he was a Reader [a] from his Infancy. Which is alſo ſaid of St. *Felix* by [b] *Paulinus*, that he ſerved in the Office of a Reader from his tender Years. So *Victor Uticenſis* deſcribing the Barba-

[o] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19. [p] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναγνῶσαι καὶ ὑποδολεῖς διδάσκουσι, εἴτε κατηχούμενοι εἰσὶν, εἴτε πιστοί. [q] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 4. Obſ. 1. p. 41. [r] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 8. Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum Epiſcopus ad Plebem, indicans ejus Fidem, Vitam, & Ingenium. Poſt hæc ſpectante Plebe tradat ei Codicem, de quo lecturus eſt, dicens, Accipe & eſto Lector Verbi Dei, habiturus, ſi fideliter & utiliter impleveris Officium, partem cum eis qui Verbum Dei miniſtraverunt. [s] Cypr. Ep. 38. & 39. ed. Oxon. [t] Cypr. Ep. 35. al. 39. Quid aliud quam ſuper Pulpitum, id eſt, ſuper Tribunal Eccleſiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celſitate ſubnixus —— legat Præcepta & Evangelia Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter ſequitur? [u] Albaſpin. Not. in Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 4. [x] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 54. [y] Ennod. Vit. Epiphan. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 15. p. 295. Annorum ferme octo Lectoris Eccleſiaſtici ſuſcipit officium. [z] Vit. Cæſar. ap. Sur. 27. Aug. Clero adſcriptum inter ipſa Infantiæ rudimenta, poſt exactum ætatis ſeptennium. [a] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 25. Lector hic primum, ſic Miniſter Altaris, idque ab Infantia. [b] Paulin. Natal. 4. Felic. Primis Lector ſervivit in annis.

rity

rity of the *Vandalick* Perſecution in *Africk*, he aggravates their Cruelty with this Circumſtance, that they had Murdered or Famiſhed all the Clergy of *Carthage*, Five Hundred or more, among whom [c] there were many Infant-Readers. Now the Reaſon why Perſons were Ordained ſo young to this Office, was what I have intimated before, That Parents ſometimes Dedicated their Children to the Service of God from their Infancy, and then they were trained up and diſciplined in ſome Inferior Offices, that they might be qualified and rendered more Expert for the greater Service of the Church.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Oſtiarii *or Door-keepers.*

SECT. I. *No mention of this Order till the 3d or 4th Century.*

THIS is the laſt of thoſe Five Orders, which are pretended by the Preſent Church of *Rome* to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution: But for three whole Centuries, we never ſo much as meet with the Name of it in any ancient Writer, except in the Epiſtle of *Cornelius* [a] Biſhop of *Rome*, where the πυλωροὶ or Door-keepers are mention'd with the reſt. In *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* there is no mention of them: The firſt and loweſt Order with them is that of Readers, as it is now in the *Greek* Church, among whom the Order of Door-keepers has been laid aſide from the time of the Council of *Trullo*, an. 692, as *Schelſtrate* [b] ſcruples not to confeſs; though he blames *Morinus* for being a little too Frank and Liberal in extending this Conceſſion to the Apoſtolical Ages; and in order to confute him alledges the Authority of *Ignatius* and *Clemens Romanus* [c] for the Antiquity of this Order. But he refers us only to ſpurious Treatiſes under their Names, not known till the 4th Century, about which Time 'tis owned this Order began to be ſpoken of by ſome few *Greek* Writers. For *Epiphanius* [d] and the Council of *Laodicea* [e] put the Θυρωροὶ, that is, Door-keepers, among the other Orders of the Clergy. And *Juſtinian* alſo in one of his Novels [f] ſpeaks of them as ſettled in the great Church of *Conſtantinople*, where he limits their Number to One Hundred, for the uſe of that and three other Churches. This proves that they were ſettled in ſome parts of the *Greek* Church, though as *Habertus* [g] obſerves, they continued not many Ages, nor ever univerſally obtained an Eſtabliſhment in all Churches.

SECT. II. *The manner of their Ordination in the* Latin *Church.*

WHAT ſort of Ordination they had in the *Greek* Church we do not find: For there is no Author that ſpeaks of it. In the *Latin* Church it was no more but the Biſhop's Commiſſion, with the Ceremony of Delivering the Keys of the Church into their Hands, and ſaying, Behave thy ſelf as one that muſt give an Account to God of the things that are kept locked under theſe Keys; as the Form is [h] in the 4th Council of *Carthage*, and the *Ordo Romanus* [i], and *Gratian* [k] who have it from that Council.

SECT. III. *Their Office and Function.*

THEIR Office is commonly ſaid to conſiſt in taking care of the Doors of the Church in Time of Divine Service, and in making a Diſtinction betwixt the Faithful and the Catechumens, and Excommunicated Perſons, and ſuch others as were to be excluded from the Church. But I confeſs this is more than can be made out from ancient Hiſtory, or leaſt in reference to the State and Diſcipline of many Churches. For in the *African* Church particularly, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in another Place, a Liberty was given not only to Catechumens and Penitents, but alſo to Hereticks, Jews, and Heathens, to come to the firſt Part of the Church's Service, call'd the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, that is, to hear the Scripture Read, and the Homily or Sermon that was made upon it: becauſe theſe were inſtructive, and might be Means of their Converſion, ſo that there was no need of making any Diſtinction here. Then as to the other part of the Service, called *Miſſa Fidelium*, or the Communion-Service, the Diſtinction that was made in that, was done by the Deacons or Subdeacons, and Deaconeſſes, as I have ſhewed before in ſpeaking of thoſe Orders. So that all that the Door-keepers could have to do in this matter was only to open and ſhut the Doors as Officers and Servants under the other, and to be governed wholly by their Direction. It belonged to them likewiſe to give Notice of the Times of Prayer and Church-Aſſemblies; which in time of Perſecution required a Pri-

[c] Victor. de Perſec. Vandal. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. T. 7. p. 613. Fere quingenti vel amplius, inter quos quamplurimi erant Lectores Infantuli, &c. [a] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [b] Schelſtrat. Conc. Antioch. Diſſert. 4. c. 17. p. 520. [c] Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. & Clement. Conſtit. lib. 3. c. 11. [d] Epiph. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [e] Conc. Laodic. c. 24. [f] Juſt. Novel. 3. c. 1. Inſuper centum exiſtentibus iis, qui vocantur Oſtiarii. [g] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 5. Obſ. 1. p. 47. [h] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 9. Oſtiarius cum ordinatur —— ad ſuggeſtionem Archidiaconi tradat ei Epiſcopus claves Eccleſiæ, dicens, Sic age quaſi redditurus Deo rationem de his rebus quæ his clavibus recluduntur. [i] Ordo Roman. Part. 2. p. 98. [k] Grat. Diſt. 23. c. 19.

vate Signal for fear of Diſcovery: And that perhaps was the firſt Reaſon of inſtituting this Order in the Church of *Rome*, whoſe Example by Degrees was followed by other Churches. However it be, their Office and Station ſeems to have been little more than that of Clerks and Sextons in our Modern Churches.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Pſalmiſtæ *or Singers.*

SECT. I. *The Singers a Diſtinct Order from Readers in the ancient Church.*

I Have hitherto given an Account of thoſe Five Inferior Orders, which the Church of *Rome* has ſingled out from the reſt, and without any Reaſon ſtampt them with the Authority and Character of Apoſtolical Inſtitution; whilſt yet ſhe takes no Notice of ſome others, which have as good Pretence to Antiquity, and to be ſtiled diſtinct Clerical Orders, as moſt of the former. Among theſe I reckon the *Pſalmiſtæ*, the *Copiatæ*, and the *Parabolani* of the Primitive Church. *Habertus* [a] and *Bellarmin* [b] and others, who are concerned to maintain the Credit of the *Romiſh* Church in making but Five Inferior Orders, pretend that Singers and Readers are only one and the ſame Order. But as the Canoniſts of their own Church generally reckon them Two, ſo nothing can be more evident than that they were always accounted ſo in the Primitive Church from their firſt Inſtitution. For they are diſtinguiſhed as much as any other Orders, by all the Writers that mention them, as the Reader that is curious in this Matter, may ſaitsfy himſelf by conſulting the Places of *Ephrem Syrus* [c], the Council of [d] *Laodicea*, and thoſe call'd the Apoſtolical Canons [e], and Conſtitutions [f], the Author [g] of St. *Mark*'s Liturgy, the Epiſtle under the Name [h] of *Ignatius*, *Juſtinian* [i], and the Council of *Trullo* [k], referred to in the Margin. Particularly *Juſtinian*'s Novel does ſo diſtinguiſh them, as to inform us that there were Twenty Five Singers, and One Hundred and Ten Readers in the *Greek* Church of *Conſtantinople*. Which is a convincing Evidence that they were of different Orders.

SECT. II. *Their Inſtitution and Office.*

THE firſt Riſe and Inſtitution of theſe Singers, as an Order of the Clergy, ſeems to have been about the beginning of the 4th Century. For the Council of *Laodicea* is the firſt that mentions them, unleſs any one thinks perhaps the Apoſtolical Canons to be a little more ancient. The Reaſon of Inſtituting them ſeems to have been to Regulate and Encourage the ancient Pſalmody of the Church. For from the firſt and Apoſtolical Age Singing was always a Part of Divine Service, in which the whole Body of the Church joined together: Which is a thing ſo evident, that though *Cabaſſutius* [l] denies it, and in his ſpite to the Reformed Churches, where it is generally practiſed, calls it only a Proteſtant-Whim; yet Cardinal *Bona* has more than once [m] not only confeſſed, but ſolidly proved it to have been the Primitive Practice. Of which therefore I ſhall ſay no more at preſent, but only obſerve, that it was the Decay of this that firſt brought the Order of Singers into the Church. For when it was found by Experience, that the Negligence and Unskilfulneſs of the People rendered them unfit to perform this Service without ſome more Curious and Skilful to guide and aſſiſt them; then a peculiar Order of Men were appointed, and ſet over this Buſineſs, with a Deſign to retrieve and improve the ancient Pſalmody, and not to aboliſh or deſtroy it. And from this Time theſe were called κανονικοὶ ψαλταὶ, The Canonical Singers, that is, ſuch as were entered into the Canon or Catalogue of the Clergy, which diſtinguiſhed them from the Body of the Church. In ſome Places it was thought fit for ſome time to prohibit all others from Singing but only theſe; with deſign, no doubt, to reſtore the Conſent of the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Harmony, which otherwiſe could not well have been done, but by obliging the reſt for ſome time to be Silent, and learn of thoſe who were more Skilful in the Art of Muſick. Thus I underſtand that Canon of the Council [n] of *Laodicea*, which forbids all others to Sing in the Church, except only the Canonical Singers, who went up into the *Ambo* or Singing-Desk, and Sung out of a Book. This was a Temporary Proviſion, deſigned only to reſtore and revive the ancient Pſalmody, by reducing it to its Primitive Harmony and Perfection. That which the rather inclines me to put this Senſe upon the Canon, and look upon it only as a Prohibition for a time, is, that in after-Ages we find the People enjoyed their ancient Privilege of Singing all together; which is frequently mentioned by St. *Auſtin*, *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Baſil*, and many others, who give an Account

[a] Habert. Archierat. Par. 4. Obſ. 4. p. 44. [b] Bellarm. de Clericis lib. 1. c. 11. [c] Ephrem. 93 Serm. de ſecundo Dom. Advent. [d] Conc. Laodic. can. 24. [e] Can. Apoſt. c. 69. & 43. [f] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 11. [g] Liturg. Marci. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 35. [h] Epiſt. ad Antiochen. [i] Juſtin. Novel. 3. c. 1. [k] Concil. Trull. c. 4. [l] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 38. p. 201. [m] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 25. n. 19. It. de Divin. Pſalmod. c. 17. [n] Conc. Laodic. c. 15. μὴ δεῖν πλέον τοὺς κανονικοὺς ψαλτῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντας καὶ ἐκ διφθέρας ψαλλόντας, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

of

of the Pſalmody and Service of the Church in their own Ages, of which I ſhall ſpeak more hereafter in its proper Place.

SECT. III. *Why called ὑποδιακόνοι.*

HERE I muſt Note that theſe Canonical Singers were alſo called ὑποδιάκονοι, Monitors, or Suggeſtors, from their Office, which was to be a ſort of Præcentors to the People: For the Cuſtom in ſome Places was for the Singers or Pſalmiſt to begin a Pſalm or Hymn, and ſing half a Verſe by himſelf, and then the People anſwered in the latter Clauſe; And from this they were ſaid ὑπηχεῖν, or *Succinere*, to ſing after him, by way of *Antiphona* or Reſponſal. In this Senſe *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* underſtands the Name ὑποδιάκονοι in *Socrates* [o], for he Tranſlates it, *Pſalmi Pronunciatores:* And ſo both *Valeſius* [p], and *Cotelerius* [q], explain it. But *Habertus* is of the contrary mind: He thinks [r] the Name, ὑποδιάκονοι, denotes not Singers but Readers; And that they were ſo called, becauſe they ſuggeſted to the Preachers a Portion of Scripture to diſcourſe upon: For then their Homilies were frequently upon ſuch Parts of Scripture, as the Reader had juſt before repeated. The Controverſy is nice betwixt theſe Learned Men, and I ſhall no farther enquire into the Merits of it, but leave it to every Judicious Reader to determine.

SECT. IV. *What ſort of Ordination they had.*

THERE is but one thing more that needs be Noted, concerning this Order, which is the Manner of their Deſignation to this Office: Which in this agreed with all the other Inferior Orders, that it required no Impoſition of Hands, or Solemn Conſecration: But in one thing it differed from them; That whereas the reſt were uſually conferred by the Biſhop or a Chorepiſcopus, this might be conferred by a Presbyter, uſing this Form of Words, as it is in the Canon of the 4th Council [s] of *Carthage:* See that thou believe in thy Heart what thou Singeſt with thy Mouth, and approve in thy Works what thou believeſt in thy Heart. And this is all the Ceremony we find any where uſed about their Deſignation.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Copiatæ *or* Foſſarii.

SECT. I. *The* Copiatæ *or* Foſſarii *reckoned among the* Clerici *of the Primitive Church.*

ANOTHER Order of the Inferior Clergy in the Primitive Church were thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs was to take care of Funerals, and provide for the decent Interment of the Dead. Theſe in ancient Writers are commonly termed *Copiatæ*, which is the Name that *Conſtantine* gives them in two Reſcripts [a] in the *Theodoſian* Code. *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of them [b] under the ſame Name, ſtiling them Κοπιάτ), and the Author [c] under the Name of *Ignatius*, Κοπιῶντες. *Gothofred* [d] deduces it from the *Greek* word κοπάζειν, which ſignifies Reſting; Others from κοπετὸς, Mourning; but generally the Name is thought to be given them from κόπος and κοπιᾶσθαι, which ſignifies Labouring; whence they are by ſome called *Laborantes*. The Author under the Name of St. *Jerom* [e] ſtiles them *Foſſarii*, from Digging of Graves: And in *Juſtinian*'s Novels [f] they are called *Lecticarii*, from carrying the Corps or Bier at Funerals. *Gothofred* thinks it improper to reckon theſe among the *Clerici* [g] of the ancient Church: But when we are ſpeaking of Things and Cuſtoms of the ancient Church, I know not how we ſhall ſpeak more properly than in the Language of the Ancients, who themſelves call them ſo. For not only the Author [h] under the Name of St. *Jerom*, calls them the Firſt Order of the *Clerici*, as they are in his Account: but St. *Jerom* himſelf alſo gives them the ſame Title, ſpeaking of one that was to be interred: The *Clerici*, ſays he, whoſe Office [i] it was, wound up the Body, digged the Earth, builded a Vault, and ſo according to Cuſtom made ready the Grave. This is the Reaſon why *Epiphanius* [k] and the Counterfeit *Ignatius* reckon them among the Inferior Orders. And *Gothofred* had no need to make Emendations upon thoſe Imperial [l] Laws in the *Theodoſian* Code, which give the *Copiatæ* the Name of *Clerici*, and entitle them to ſome Immunities and Privileges upon that Account: For this, as appears, was only to ſpeak in the

[o] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. [p] Valeſ. in Socrat. ibid. [q] Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 57. [r] Habert. Archierat. par. 4. obſ. 1. p. 39. [s] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 10. Pſalmiſta, id eſt, Cantor poteſt abſque Scientia Epiſcopi, ſola juſſione Presbyteri, Officium ſuſcipere cantandi, dicente ſibi Presbytero: Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas: & quod corde credis, operibus comprobes. [a] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 1. de Luſtrali Collat. leg. 1. It. lib. 16. t. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 15. [b] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [c] Epiſt. ad Antioch. n. 12. [d] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 1. leg. 1. [e] Hieron. de 7 Ordin. Eccleſ. t. 4. p. 81. [f] Juſtin. Novel. 43. & 59. [g] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 15. [h] De 7 Ordin. Eccleſ. Primus in Clericis Foſſariorum Ordo eſt, &c. [i] Hieron. Ep. ad Innocent. de Muliere ſepties icta. T. 1. p. 235. Clerici, quibus id Officii erat, cruentum linteo Cadaver abvolvunt, & foſſam humum lapidibus conſtruentes, ex more tumulum parant. [k] Epiphan. & Ignat. ubi ſupra. [l] Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 20. de Veteranis leg. 12. Dum ſe quidam Vocabulo Clericorum, & infauſtis defunctorum obſequiis occupatos — defendunt, &c. Ibid. lib. 13. tit. 1. de Luſtrali Collat. leg. 1. Clericos excipi tantum, qui Copiatæ appellantur, &c. Ibid. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 15. Clerici vero, vel hi quos Copiatas recens uſus inſtituit nuncupari, &c.

Language

Language and Stile of other Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

SECT. II. *Firſt inſtituted in the Time of* Conſtantine.

THIS Order ſeems to have been firſt Inſtituted in the Time of *Conſtantine*: For *Conſtantius* his Son, in one of thoſe Laws juſt now referr'd to, ſpeaks of it as a late Inſtitution; and there is no Writer of the three firſt Ages that ever mentions it, but all that time the Care of Interring the Dead was only a Charitable Office, which every Chriſtian thought himſelf obliged to perform as occaſion required. And that is the Reaſon why we meet with ſo many noble Encomiums of this ſort of Charity in the Writers of thoſe Ages, but never once mention of any Order Inſtituted for that Purpoſe. But when *Conſtantine* came to the Throne, and was quietly ſettled in his new Seat at *Conſtantinople*, he incorporated a Body of Men to the Number of Eleven Hundred in that City, under the Name of *Copiatæ*, for that particular Service: And ſo they continued to the time of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius Junior*, who reduced them [*m*] to Nine Hundred and Fifty: But *Anaſtatius* augmented them again to the firſt number, which *Juſtinian* confirmed by two Novels [*n*] publiſhed for that purpoſe. And I ſuppoſe from this Example of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church they took their Riſe in other Populous Churches.

SECT. III. *Why called* Decani *and* Collegiati.

BUT probably there might be ſome little difference between thoſe in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, and others in the leſſer Churches. For at *Conſtantinople* they were Incorporated into a ſort of Civil Society, in the *Roman* Language called, *Collegium*, a College, whence the Law ſometimes called them *Collegiati*, and *Decani*, Collegiates, and Deans. As in the forementioned Laws of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius Junior*, and *Juſtinian*, and another of *Theodoſius* the Great [*o*] in the *Juſtinian* Code, where he grants them an Exemption from ſome other Civil Offices, provided they did not act upon a feigned and pretended Title, but were really Employed in the Service of the Church. But why they were called *Decani*, is not very eaſy to conjecture. Probably it might be, becauſe they reſembled the Palatine Deans, who were a ſort of Military Officers belonging to the Emperor's Palace, and are ſtiled alſo *Corpus Decanorum* in both the Codes [*p*] mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*q*] and other *Greek* Writers under the Name of δεκανοὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, Deans of the Palace, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe other Deans of the Church, which ſome unwarily confounded together. But I am not very confident that this was the Reaſon of the Name, and therefore I only propoſe it as a Conjecture, till ſome one aſſigns a better Reaſon for it.

SECT. IV. *Their Office and Privileges.*

THEIR Office was to take the whole Care of Funerals upon themſelves, and to ſee that all Perſons had a Decent and Honourable Interment. Eſpecially they were obliged to perform this laſt Office to the Poorer ſort, without Exacting any thing of their Relations upon that Account. That it was ſo at *Conſtantinople*, appears from one of *Juſtinian*'s [*r*] Novels, which acquaints us how *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor ſettled certain Revenues of Land upon this Society, and ordered a certain Number of Shops or Work-houſes in the City to be freed from all manner of Tribute, and to be Appropriated to this Uſe; out of whoſe Income and Annual Rents of the Lands, the Defenſors and Stewards of the Church, who had the chief Care and Overſight of the matter, were to pay theſe Deans, and ſee the Expences of ſuch Funerals defrayed. *Juſtinian* not only confirmed that Settlement; but a Complaint being made of an Abuſe, that notwithſtanding the Laws of *Anaſtaſius*, Pay was Exacted for Funerals, he publiſhed that his Novel on purpoſe to correct it. But we do not find that ſuch Settlements were made in all other Churches, but it is more probable that the *Copiatæ* were maintained partly out of the common Stock of the Church, and partly out of their own Labour and Traffick, which for their Encouragement was generally exempted from paying Cuſtom or Tribute, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

[*m*] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 2. de SS. Eccleſ. leg. 4. Non plures quam Nongenti Quinquaginta Decani depurentur Eccleſiæ, &c. [*n*] Juſtin. Novel. 43, & 59. [*o*] Cod. Juſt. 11. tit. 17. de Collegiatis leg. unica. Qui ſub prætextu Decanorum ſeu Collegiatorum, cum id munus non impleant, aliis ſe muneribus connatur ſubtrahere, eorum fraudibus credimus eſſe obviandum. [*p*] Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. 6. tit. 33. de Decanis. leg. 1. It. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 27. leg. 1. & 2. [*q*] Chryſ. Hom. 13. in Hebr. p. 1849. [*r*] Juſtin. Novel. 59.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the PARABOLANI.

SECT. I. *The* Parabolani *reckoned by ſome among the* Clerici.

ANOTHER Order of Men, which by ſome are reckoned among the *Clerici* of the ancient Church, were thoſe whom they called *Parabolani*. *Theodoſius Junior*, in one of his Laws relating to them in the *Theodoſian* Code [a] puts them among the *Clerici*, and evidently includes them under that common Title, as *Gothofred* rightly obſerves in his Expoſition of the Place. *Baronius* himſelf does not deny that they were of the Clergy, but he would perſuade his Reader that they were not a Diſtinct Order, but choſen out of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy [b], of which there is nothing ſaid in that Law, but rather the contrary, that they were to be choſen out of the Poor of *Alexandria*.

SECT. II. *Their Inſtitution and Office.*

THEIR Office is deſcribed in the next Law, where they are ſaid to be deputed to attend upon the Sick, and to take care of their Bodies in time of their Weakneſs. [c] At *Alexandria* they were Incorporated into a Society to the number of Five or Six Hundred, to be choſen at the Diſcretion of the Biſhop of the Place, out of any ſort of Men except the *Honorati* and *Curiales*, who were tied to ſerve in the Civil Offices of their Country, and therefore were not allowed to enter themſelves into any Eccleſiaſtical Service. They were to be under the Government and Direction of the Biſhop, as appears from the ſame Law, which is a Correction of the former Law; for by it they were put under the Government of the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, (as the chief Civil Magiſtrate was called at *Alexandria*); but by this Law *Theodoſius* revoked his former Decree, and ſubjected them entirely to the Care and Diſpoſition of the Biſhop; or, as the *Greek* Collector of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions out of the Civil Law [d] ſtiles him, The Pope; meaning, not the Pope of *Rome*, as ſome ignorantly miſtake, but the Pope or Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For then it was Cuſtomary to give every Biſhop the Name of *Papa*, as has been ſhewed in another Place [dd]. What time this Order began, we cannot certainly determine: The firſt notice we have of it is in theſe Laws of *Theodoſius Junior*, An. 415. Yet it is not there ſpoken of as newly Inſtituted, but as ſettled in the Church before. And probably it might be inſtituted about the ſame Time as the *Copiatæ* were under *Conſtantine*, when ſome charitable Offices, which were only Voluntarily practiſed by Chriſtians before, as every ones Piety inclined him, were now turned into ſtanding Offices, and ſettled upon a certain Order of Men particularly devoted to ſuch Services. That it was not any Order peculiar to the Church of *Alexandria*, is evident, becauſe there is mention made of the *Parabalani* being at *Epheſus* in the Time of the 2d Council that was held there, *An.* 449. For *Baſilius Seleucienſis*, who ſubſcribed there to the Condemnation of *Flavian*, and the Abſolution of *Eutyches* the Heretick, being brought to a Recantation in the Council of *Chalcedon*, makes this Apology for himſelf, that he was terrified into that Subſcription, by the Soldiers that came armed into the Church, together with *Barſumas* and his Monks, and the [e] *Parabalani*, and a great Multitude of others. The Original Word is παραβαλανεῖς, which the old Tranſlater rightly renders *Parabalani*, which is the ſame with *Parabolani*, for it is written both ways in ancient Authors: But *Binius* in his *Greek* Edition of the Councils, not underſtanding the Word, explains it, *ii qui circa Balnea verſantur*, as if the *Parabalani* had been Perſons attending at the Publick Baths; whereas now all Men know their Office was of a different Nature, and their Names given them for a Reaſon very different from that of giving Attendance at the Baths.

SECT. III. *The Reaſon of the Name* Parabolani.

AS to the Reaſon of their Name, to omit the fanciful Interpretations of *Alciat* and *Accurſius*, which are ſufficiently expoſed by *Gothofred*, the Opinion of *Duarenus* [f] and *Gothofred* ſeems to be the trueſt, that they were called *Parabolani* from their undertaking παράβολον ἔργον, a moſt dangerous and hazardous Office, in attending the Sick, eſpecially in Infectious and Peſtilential Diſeaſes. The *Greeks* were uſed to call thoſe παράβολοι who hired themſelves out to fight with wild Beaſts in the Ampitheatre. And ſo *Socrates* the Hiſtorian [g] uſes the Word, ſpeaking of *Theodoſius* his exhibiting one of the Publick Games to the People at *Conſtantinople*, he ſays, The People cried out to him that he ſhould ſuffer one of the bold παράβολοι to fight with the wild Beaſts. Theſe were thoſe whom the *Romans* called *Beſtiarii*, and ſometimes *Para-*

[a] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. Leg. 42. Placet noſtræ Clementiæ, ut nihil commune Clerici cum Publicis Actibus vel ad Curiam pertinentibus habeant. Gothofr. Not. in Loc. Sane Clericorum eos numero fuiſſe, tum hujus Legis initium, tum utraque hæc Lex & ſequens oſtendunt. [b] Baron. an. 416. Tom. 4. p. 400. Fuiſſe hos minoris Ordinis Clericos allectos, exordium dati hoc anno Reſcripti inſinuare videtur. [c] Cod. Th. Ibid. Leg. 43. Parabalani qui ad curanda debilium ægra corpora deputantur, quingentos eſſe ante præcepimus: ſed quia hos minus ſufficere in præſenti cognovimus, pro quingentis Sexcentos conſtitui præcipimus, &c. [d] Collect. Conſtit. Eccleſ. lib. 1. tit. 3. c. 18. [dd] Book 2. Chap. 2. Sect. 7. [e] Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. Tom. 4. p. 252. [f] Duaren. de Miniſt. & Benefic. lib. 1. c. 19. [g] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 22. ὁ δῆμος κατεβόα, δεινῷ θηρίῳ ἕνα τῶν ἐνόχων παραβόλων μάχεσθαι.

boli and *Parabolarii*, from the *Greek* Word παραβάλλεσθαι, which ſignifies expoſing a Man's Life to Danger, as they that fought with wild Beaſts did. In this Senſe I have had occaſion to ſhew [*gg*] before, the Chriſtians were generally called *Parabolarii* by the Heathens, becauſe they were ſo ready to expoſe their Lives to Martyrdom. And it is the Opinion of *Gothofred* [*b*] and ſome other [*i*] Learned Criticks, that the ancient Reading of the *Greek* Copies of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, Chap. 2. ver. 30, was παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, expoſing his Life to Danger, as an old *Latin* Interpreter of *Puteanus*'s renders it, *Parabolatus de anima ſua.* In the ſame Senſe theſe *Parabolani* of the Primitive Church we are now ſpeaking of, had their Name from their bold expoſing of their Lives to danger in Attendance upon the Sick in all Infectious and Peſtilential Diſtempers.

SECT. IV. *Some Laws and Rules concerning their Behaviour.*

I ſhall only obſerve farther of them, that being commonly, according to their Name, Men of a bold and daring Spirit, they were ready upon all Occaſions to ingage in any Quarrel that ſhould happen in Church or State: As they ſeem to have done in the Diſpute between *Cyril* the Biſhop, and *Oreſtes* the Governour of *Alexandria:* Which was the Reaſon why *Theodoſius* by his firſt Law ſunk their Number to five hundred, and put them under the Inſpection of the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and ſtrictly prohibited them from appearing at any Publick Shews, or in the Common Council of the City, or in the Judges Court, unleſs any of them had a Cauſe of his own, or of the whole Body, as their Syndick, to proſecute there; and then he muſt appear ſingly without any of his Order or Aſſociates to abett him. And though he not long after revoked this Law as to the former Part, allowing them to be ſix hundred, and the Biſhop to have the Choice and Cognizance of them; yet in all other Reſpects he ordered it to ſtand in its full Force, ſtill prohibiting them to appear in a Body upon any of the foreſaid [*k*] Occaſions: And *Juſtinian* made this Law perpetual by inſerting it into his own Code. Which ſhews that the Civil Government always looked upon theſe *Parabolani* as a formidable Body of Men, and accordingly kept a watchful Eye and ſtrict Hand over them: That whilſt they were ſerving the Church, they might not do any Diſſervice to the State, but keep within the Bounds of that Office whereto they were appointed.

CHAP. X.

Of the CATECHISTS.

SECT. I. *Catechiſts no Diſtinct Order of the Clergy, but choſen out of any other Order.*

I Have hitherto diſcourſed of ſuch particular Orders of the Eccleſiaſticks in the Primitive Church, as were deſtinated preciſely to ſome particular Office and Function: But there were ſome Offices which did not require a Man to be of any diſtinct Order, but might be performed by Perſons of any Order; and it will be neceſſary I ſhould give ſome Account of theſe alſo, whilſt I am treating of the Clergy of the Church. The firſt of theſe I ſhall ſpeak of is the Catechiſt, whoſe Office it was to inſtruct the Catechumens in the firſt Principles of Religion, and thereby prepare them for the Reception of Baptiſm. This Office was ſometimes done by the Biſhop himſelf, as is evident from that Paſſage in St. *Ambroſe*, where he ſays [*a*] upon a certain Lord's Day after the reading the Scriptures and the Sermon, when the Catechumens were diſmiſſed, he took the *Competentes*, or Candidates for Baptiſm, into the Baptiſtery of the Church, and there rehearſed the Creed to them. This was on *Palm-Sunday*, when it was cuſtomary for the Biſhop himſelf to Catechize ſuch of the Catechumens, as were to be Baptized on *Eaſter-Eve*. *Theodorus Lector* [*b*] takes notice of the ſame Cuſtom in the Eaſtern Churches, when he tells us, that before the Time of *Timothy* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* the *Nicene* Creed was never uſed to be repeated Publickly in that Church, except only once a Year, on the great Day of Preparation, the Day of our Lord's Paſſion, when the Biſhop was wont to Catechize. At other times Preſbyters and Deacons were the Catechiſts. St. *Chryſoſtom* perform'd this Office when he was Presbyter of *Antioch*, as appears from one of his *Homilies* [*c*], which is inſcribed, Κατήχησις πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας φωτίζεσθαι, A Catechiſm or Inſtruction for the Candidates of Baptiſm. *Deogratias* was Catechiſt when he was Deacon of *Carthage*, as we learn from St. *Auſtin*'s Book [*d*] *de*

[*gg*] *Book* 1. *Chap.* 2. *Sect.* 9. [*b*] Gothofr. Not. in Cod. Th. 16. 2. 42. [*i*] Vid. Grot. Hammond. Capel. in Philip. 2. 30. [*k*] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 18. Hi ſexcenti Viri reverendiſſimi Sacerdotis Præceptis ac Diſpoſitionibus obſecundent: Reliquis, quæ dudum latæ Legis forma complectitur ſuper his Parabolanis, vel de Spectaculis, vel de Judiciis, cæteriſque (ſicut jam ſtatutum eſt) cuſtodiendis. [*a*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. Poſt Lectiones atque Tractatum, dimiſſis Catechumenis, ſymbolum aliquibus Competentibus in Baptiſteriis tradebam Baſilicæ. [*b*] Theodor. Lector. Collectan. lib. 2. p. 563. τὸ σύμβολον ἄχρι τῆς ἕτους λεγόμενον πέμπτειν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τῶν θείων παθῶν, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσεων. [*c*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antiochen. [*d*] Aug. de Catechizand. Rudibus. c. 1. t. 4. p. 295. Dixiſti quod ſæpe apud Carthaginem, ubi Diaconus es, ad te adducantur, qui fidæ Chriſtiana imbuendi ſunt, &c.

Catechi-

Catechizandis Rudibus, which he wrote at his Requeſt, to give him ſome Aſſiſtance in performing his Duty.

SECT. II. *Readers ſometimes made Catechiſts.*

NOR was it only the Superior Orders that performed this Office, but ſometimes Perſons were choſen out of the Inferior Orders to do it. *Optatus* was but a Reader in the Church of *Carthage*, and yet *Cyprian* made him Catechiſt, or as it is in his Phraſe [*e*], The *Doctor Audientium*, The Maſter of the Hearers, or loweſt Rank of Catechumens. *Origen* ſeems to have had no higher Degree in the Church when he was firſt made Catechiſt at *Alexandria*. For both *Euſebius* [*f*] and St. *Jerom* [*g*] ſay, He was but Eighteen years Old when he was deputed to that Office; which was at leaſt ſeven Years before he could be Ordained Deacon by the Canons of the Church.

SECT. III. *Why called ναυτολόγοι by ſome Greek Writers.*

THE Author under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* ſeems to have had regard to this, when comparing the Church to a Ship, and the Clergy to the Officers in it, he plainly diſtinguiſhes the Catechiſts from the Biſhop, Preſbyters and Deacons, ſaying, The Biſhop [*h*] is to reſemble the κυβερνήτης or Pilot; The Presbyters the ναῦται, or Mariners; The Deacons the τοίχαρχοι, or Chief Rowers; The Catechiſts, the ναυτολόγοι, or thoſe whoſe Office it was to admit Paſſengers into the Ship, and contract with them for the Fare of their Paſſage. This was properly the Catechiſt's Duty, to ſhew the Catechumens the Contract they were to make, and the Conditions they were to perform, *viz.* Repentance, Faith, and New Obedience, in order to their Admittance into the Chriſtian Ship, the Church, in which they were to paſs through this World to the Kingdom of Heaven. Upon this account the Catechiſts were termed ναυτολόγοι, and as ſuch diſtinguiſhed from Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. *Cotelerius* [*i*] ſays he found a *Greek* Manuſcript in one of the *French* King's Libraries, where the ſame Compariſon is made, and cited out of the Conſtitutions, in theſe Words: The Church is like a Ship; Chriſt is the Governour; The Biſhop, the Pilot; The Presbyters, the Mariners; The Deacons, the Chief Rowers; The Catechiſts, or *Nautologi*, the Orders of Subdeacons and Readers. So that it is evident the Catechiſts were ſometimes choſen out of the Inferior Orders, when any of them were found duly qualified to diſcharge the Duties of that Function. And this will be the leſs wondered at by any one that conſiders, that the Deaconneſſes, whilſt their Order was in being, were required to be a ſort of Private Catechiſts to the more Ignorant and Ruſtick Women-Catechumen: Which I need not ſtand to evidence here, becauſe I have done it heretofore in ſpeaking of the Offices which belonged to that Order. See *Book* 2. *Chap.* 22. *Sect.* 9.

SECT. IV. *Whether all Catechiſts taught publickly in the Church.*

BUT in all theſe Caſes there is one thing to be diligently Noted, That this ſort of Catechiſts were not allowed to inſtruct their Catechumens publickly in the Church, but only in Private Auditories appointed particularly for that Purpoſe. *Valeſius* [*k*] obſerves this in the Caſe of *Origen*, and rightly concludes it from the Invective of *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* againſt *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, who had authorized *Origen* to preach publickly in the Church, when as yet he was no Presbyter. This Accuſation had been ridiculous, had he himſelf given *Origen* the ſame Power before, when he was Catechiſt at eighteen Years of Age at *Alexandria*. *Ruffin* indeed in his Tranſlation of *Euſebius* ſays poſitively that *Demetrius* gave him Authority to Catechize and Teach publickly in the Church [*l*]. But that is an Interpolation and falſe Paraphraſe of *Euſebius* his Words, who ſays no ſuch thing, but only [*m*] that *Demetrius* Biſhop of the Church had committed to his Care the Office of Catechizing, or as we may render it, the Catechetick School, where probably for ſome time he alſo taught *Grammar* and other human Learning. That there were ſuch ſort of Catechetick Schools adjoyning to the Church in many Places, is evident from a Novel [*n*] of the Emperor *Leo*, who calls them κατηχούμενα, and ſays they were a ſort of Buildings belonging to the Church. It might be the Baptiſtery, as St. *Ambroſe* calls it, or any other Places ſet apart for that Purpoſe.

SECT. V. *Of the Succeſſion in the Catechetick School at* Alexandria.

SUCH a School as this we may ſuppoſe that to have been, wherein *Origen* and ſo many other famous Men read Catechetick Lectures at *Alexandria*. *Euſebius* ſays *Pantænus* taught [*o*] in this School *An.* 181, and that it was a School of ſacred Learning from ancient Cuſtom long before, and that it continued ſo to be to his own Time. St. *Jerom* deduces its Original from St. *Mark* the firſt Founder of the Church of *Alexandria*, telling us,

[*e*] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Optatum inter Lectores Doctorem Audientium conſtituimus. [*f*] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 3. [*g*] Hieron. de Scriptor. in Origine. Decimo octavo ætatis ſuæ anno κατηχήσεων opus aggreſſus, &c. [*h*] Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. n. 14. [*i*] Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. p. 263. ἔοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νηὶ ὁ μὲν γυβερνήτης ἐστὶν ὁ χειστὸς. ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· οἱ ναῦται, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ τοιχάρχοι, οἱ διάκονοι, οἱ ναυτολόγοι, τὸ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τάγμα. [*k*] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 19. It. Hallier. de Hierarch. Eccleſ. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 66. [*l*] Ruffin. lib. 6. c. 3. Demetrius —— Catechizandi ei, id eſt, docendi Magiſterium in Eccleſia tribuit. [*m*] Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 3. αὐτῷ μονῷ τὸ τῶν κατηχεῖν διατετεῦχθαι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτος ἐπιτετραμμένης. [*n*] Leo Novel. 73. In Eccleſiarum Cœnaculis, quæ promiſcuum vulgus κατηχούμενα vocare ſolet. Vid. Concil. Trull. c. 97. & Balſamon & Zonar. in Loc. [*o*] Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 10. ἡγεῖτο τηνικαῦτα τῶν θείων αὐτοδιδακτείας Πάνταινος· ἀρχαίαν ἔθος διδασκαλεῖα τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς σωζόμενον· ὃ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνει,

that

that *Pantænus* [p] taught Christian Philosophy at *Alexandria*, where it had been the Custom of old always to have Ecclesiastical Doctors from the Time of St. *Mark*. Where by Ecclesiastical Doctors he does not mean the Bishop and Presbyters of the Church (which were originally in all Churches as well as *Alexandria*) but the Doctors of Christian Philosophy in the Catechetick School, whereof there had been a Succession from the first Foundation of the Church. And the Succession was continued for some Ages after: For *Clemens* [q] *Alexandrinus* succeeded *Pantænus*; and *Origen* [r], *Clemens*; *Heraclas* [s], *Origen*; and *Dionysius* [t], *Heraclas*. After whom some [u] add *Athenodorus*, *Malchion*, *Athanasius* and *Didymus*. And the Author of the *Greek Synodicon* published by *Pappus*, says [w] *Arius* taught in the same School before he broached his Heresy. It were easy to recount many other such Schools at *Rome*, *Cæsarea*, *Antioch*, &c. but I shall have another Occasion to speak of these, when I come to consider the Encouragement that Christian Emperors gave to Schools of Learning and the Professors of Liberal Arts and Sciences: What has here been suggested upon this Head, may suffice at present to shew what was the Office of the Catechist, and what the Use of Catechetical Schools in the Church.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ecclesiecdici *and* Defensores, *or Syndicks of the Church.*

SECT. I. *Five sorts of* Defensores *noted, two whereof only belonged to the Church.*

ANOTHER Office which will deserve to be spoken of in this Place, because it was sometimes, though not always, managed by the Hands of the Clergy, is that of the *Defensores*. For the understanding of which it will be necessary in the first Place to distinguish between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Defensors. For *Gothofred* thinks there were in all, four sorts of them, *viz.* The *Defensores Senatus*, *Defensores Urbium*, *Defensores Ecclesiarum*, and *Defensores Pauperum*. But he might have added one more which *Ulpian* [a] calls *Defensores Rerum publicarum*, whose Office was to be a sort of Proctors or Syndicks in managing of the publick Causes of that Corporation or Company of Tradesmen to which they belonged: Which sort of Defensors were first instituted by *Alexander Severus*, as *Lampridius* [b] tells us in his Life. The *Defensores Civitatum*, or as they are otherwise called, *Defensores Plebis*, were a sort of Tribunes of the People, one of their chief Offices being to defend the poor Plebeians against the Insults and Oppressions of the great and wealthy Citizens. Now in Imitation of these, I presume, the Ecclesiastical Defensors were instituted, as both their Name and Office seems plainly to imply.

SECT. II. *Of the* Defensores Pauperum.

THE Defensors of the Poor had much the same Employment in the Church, as the *Defensores Plebis* had in the State: For if any of the Poor, or Virgins, or Widows belonging to the Church, were injured or oppressed by the Rich, it was the Business of these Defensors, as their Proctors or Advocates, to see them righted, and to sollicit the Magistrate that they might have Justice done them. This is evident from the Decree made in the 5th Council of *Carthage*, *An.* 401, which is also inserted into the *African* Code, and is to this purpose: That [c] forasmuch as the Church was incessantly wearied with the Complaints and Afflictions of the Poor, it was unanimously agreed upon by them in Council, that the Emperors should be petitioned to allow Defensors to be chosen for them by the Procurement and Approbation of the Bishops, that they might defend them from the Power and Tyranny of the Rich.

SECT. III. *Of the* Defensores Ecclesiæ, *their Office and Function.*

As to the other sort of Defensors, called *Defensores Ecclesiæ*, (whom I speak of separately, because *Gothofred* makes a Distinction between them, though others take them to be the same) their Office did as plainly resemble that of the other sort of Civil Defensors, called *Defensores Rerum publicarum*. For as those were the Proctors and Syndicks of their respective Companies, to manage the publick Concerns of their Societies at Law upon all emergent Occasions: So these did the same for the Church, whose Syndicks they were, being employed to sollicit the Cause of the Church, or any single Ecclesiastick, when they were injured or oppressed, and had Occasion for Redress in a Civil Court; or if they were not remedied there, they were to address the Emperors themselves in the Name of the Church, to procure a particular Precept in her Favour. Thus *Possi-*

[p] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 36. Pantænus Stoicæ sectæ Philosophus, juxta quandam Veterum in Alexandria consuetudinem, ubi à Marco Evangelista semper Ecclesiastici fuere Doctores—— Docuit sub Severo Principe, &c. [q] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 6. [r] Id. lib. 6. c. 19. [s] Hieron. de Scriptor. in Origine. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 26. [t] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29. [u] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 3. c. 5. [w] Synodicon Concil. Tom. 2. p. 1494. [a] Digest. lib. 49. tit. 4. leg. 1. [b] Lamprid. vit. Alexand. Corpora omnium constituit, Vinariorum, Lupinariorum, Caligariorum, & omnino omnium artium: hisque ex sese Defensores dedit. [c] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 9. Ab Imperatoribus universis visum est postulandum, propter afflictionem pauperum, quorum molestiis sine intermissione fatigatur Ecclesia, ut Defensores eis, adversus potentias divitum, cum Episcoporum provisione delegentur. Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afr. Can. 75.

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dius [*d*] tells us in the Life of St. *Auſtin*, That when the *Circumcellions* in their mad Zeal had plundered and ſlain ſome of the Catholick Clergy, the Defenſor of the Church proſecuted them at Law for the Fact, that the Peace of the Church might no more be diſturbed or impeded. In like manner we read in the 1ſt Council [*e*] of *Carthage*, that it being a thing againſt the Imperial Laws for any Layman to impoſe a ſecular Office upon a Clergyman; if any ſuch Injury was offered to the Church, 'tis ſaid, the Affront might be redreſſed, if the Defenſors of the Church did not fail in their Duty. Which plainly implies, that it was the Buſineſs of the Defenſors to ſee the Rights of the Church that were ſettled upon her by Law, truly maintained; and if any Encroachments were made upon them, they were to proſecute the Aggreſſors and Invaders before the Magiſtrates, and execute the Sentence which they gave in Favour of the Church. It is farther obſervable from a Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, recited in the next Paragraph, that in caſe of Neceſſity they were likewiſe to make Application to the Emperors, and bring their Mandate to the Inferior Judges, when they could not otherwiſe have Juſtice done them. By a Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* Defenſors are alſo empowered to admoniſh ſuch Monks and Clerks as reſorted to the Royal City *Conſtantinople*, without any Licenſe or Commiſſion from their Biſhop; and if after Admonition they continued ſtill to loiter there, the ſame Defenſors were to expel them [*f*] thence by Force, and cauſe them to return to their own Habitation. It appears alſo from *Juſtinian*'s Laws [*g*], that the Defenſors together with the *Oeconomi* were made a ſort of Superintendents over the *Copiatæ*, or great Body of Deans, whoſe Buſineſs was to attend at Funerals, as has been ſhewed before: The Defenſors were charged with the Care of theſe, both in reference to their Revenues and Perſons. They were likewiſe to make Enquiry, whether every Clerk belonging to the Church, carefully attended the Celebration of Morning and Evening Service in the Church, and to inform the Biſhop of ſuch as neglected, that they might be proceeded againſt [*h*] with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. Theſe were the chief, if not the only Offices of the Defenſors in the Primitive Church: For as to any Spiritual Power or Juriſdiction over the Clergy, they had none: Nor were they as yet admitted to hear Criminal Cauſes, great or little, in the Biſhop's Name; but theſe things were devolv'd upon them in latter Ages, as *Morinus* [*i*] ſhews at large in a long Diſſertation upon this Subject, to which I refer the Inquiſitive Reader, concerning my ſelf to give ſuch an Account of the Defenſor's Office and Power, as I find it to have been in the Ages next after their Inſtitution.

SECT. IV. *Of their Quality. Whether they were Clergy Men or Lay-Men?*

THE next Enquiry muſt be into their Quality: Whether they were of the Clergy or Laity? For Learned Men are not agreed about this. *Petavius* [*k*] ſays they were always Lay-Men, but *Morinus* [*l*] and *Gothofred* [*m*] with much better Reaſon aſſert the contrary, that at firſt they were generally choſen out of the Clergy, till for ſome particular Reaſons it was thought moſt proper to have Advocates at Law to diſcharge this Office in the *African* Churches. This Change was made about the Year 407, when the *African* Fathers in the Council of *Carthage* [*n*] petitioned the Emperor *Honorius*, that he would give them leave to chuſe their Defenſors out of the *Scholaſtici*, or Advocates at Law, who were actually concerned in Pleading of Cauſes; that ſo they who took upon them the Defence of the Churches, might have the ſame Liberty as the Provincial Prieſts were uſed to have, to go upon neceſſary occaſion into the Judges Conſiſtory, or Council-Chamber behind the Veil, and there Suggeſt what they thought neceſſary to promote their own Cauſe, or obviate the Plots of their Adverſaries. In anſwer to this Petition *Honorius* ſhortly after publiſhed a Law, wherein he granted them Liberty to make uſe of ſuch Advocates for their Defenſors as they deſired: For he decreed [*o*], That whatever Privileges were ſpecially obtained of the Emperor, relating to the Church, ſhould be intimated to the Judges, and executed, *non per Coronatos*, not by Clergy-Men, as *Gothofred* rightly explains it, but by Advocates at Law. So that now it was no longer neceſſary that the Defenſors ſhould be of the Clergy, but the Office was frequently intruſted in the hands of Lay-Men. Which is farther evident from an Epiſtle of Pope *Zoſimus*, who lived about the ſame Time: For he ſays [*p*], The Defenſors of the Church were choſen out of the Laity, and might afterward, if they were deſerving, be ordained among the Clergy. Yet

[*d*] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 12. De qua re, ne pacis Eccleſiæ amplius impediretur profectus, Defenſor Eccleſiæ inter Leges non ſiluit, &c. [*e*] Conc. Carthag. 1. c. 9. Ipſis non liceat Clericos noſtros eligere Apothecarios vel Ratiocinatores —— Quod ſi injuria Conſtitutionis Imperatoriæ Clericos inquitandos putaverint, ſi Defenſio Eccleſiaſtica nos non deridet, pudor publicus vindicabitur. [*f*] Conc. Chalced. c. 23. ἀκοινώνητος αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐκδίκως ἀκβάλλειν, καὶ τὸν ἴδιον καταλαμβάνειν τόπον. [*g*] Juſtin. Novel. 59. [*h*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 42. n. 10. [*i*] Morin. de Ordinat. Eccleſ. Par. 3. Exercit. 16. c. 7. [*k*] Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hær. 72. n. 10. [*l*] Morin. ibid. Exerc. 16. c. 6. n. 16. [*m*] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 38. [*n*] Concil. African. vulgo dictum Can. 64. Placuit ut petant Legate à Glorioſiſſimis Imperatoribus, ut dent facultatem Defenſores conſtituendi Scholaſticos, qui in actu ſunt, vel in munere Defenſionis Cauſarum, ut more ſacerdotum Provinciæ, iidem ipſi qui Defenſionem Eccleſiarum ſuſceperint, habeant facultatem pro negotiis Eccleſiarum, quoties neceſſitas flagitaverit, vel ad obſiſtendum obrepentibus, vel ad neceſſaria ſuggerenda, ingredi Judicum Secretaria. Vid. Cod. Can. Afr. Gr. Lat. c. 97. & Concil. Milevitan. c. 16. *to the ſame purpoſe.* [*o*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 38. Ut quæcunque de nobis ad Eccleſiam tantum pertinentia, ſpecialiter fuerint impetrata, non per Coronatos, ſed ab Advocatis, eorum arbitratu, & Judicibus innoteſcant, & ſortiantur Effectum, &c. [*p*] Zoſim. Ep. 1. c. 3. Defenſores Eccleſiæ, qui ex Laicis fiunt ſupradicta obſervatione teneantur, ſi meruerint eſſe in Ordine Clericatûs.

after this we find the Defensors in some places continued still to be of the Clergy. For *Morinus* shews, that in the first Session of the Council of *Chalcedon* there is frequent mention made of one *John* a Presbyter and [q] Defensor; As also in many Epistles of *Gregory* the Great the Defensors of the *Roman* Church are said to be of the Clergy: To which I shall add a Fragment of *Theodorus Lector* taken out of *Damascen* [r], which speaks of one *John* as both Deacon and Defensor of the Church of St. *Stephen* at *Constantinople* in the Time of *Anastasius* the Emperor, which was in the beginning of the 6th Century. From all which it is very evident against *Petavius*, that the Defensors were sometimes chosen out of the Clergy, and not always made of Advocates or Lay-Men.

SECT. V. *The Ἔκδικοι and Ἐκκλησιέκδικοι among the* Greeks *the same with the Defensors of the* Latin *Church.*

I must not omit to acquaint the Reader, that what the *Latins* call *Defensores*, the *Greek* Church commonly calls Ἔκδικοι and Ἐκκλησιέκδικοι, which signifie the same as Defensors; though *Gothofred* [s] without any just Reason makes a Difference between them: For not only their Offices and Powers are described to be the same, but also whenever the *Greeks* have any Occasion to speak of the *Latin* Defensors, they give them the Name of Ἔκδικοι, as may be seen either in the Code of the *African* [t] Church published by *Justellus*, or that which the *Greeks* commonly call the Council of *Carthage*, published by *Ehinger* [u], and Dr. *Beverege* [x] in the *Pandects*. But whether Πρῳσάτης be another *Greek* Name for a Defensor, is not so certain. The Word is only found once used by *Epiphanius* [y], who speaking of one *Cyriacus*, stiles him Κυριακὸς πρῳσάτης, which *Petavius* renders, *Cyriacus* Defensor. He seems indeed to have had some Office in the Church, because he is joined in the Subscription of a Letter with the Clergy, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, and Readers: but whether that be a sufficient Reason to make him a Defensor, I must leave the Judicious Reader to determine.

SECT. VI. *Chancellors and Defensors not the same in the Primitive Church.*

THERE is one thing more must be resolved before I dismiss this Subject; that is, whether Chancellors and Defensors were the same in the Primitive Church? In answer to which I say, it is very plain they were not: because the first Time we find any mention of the Office of Chancellors in the Church, they are expresly distinguished from the Ἔκδικοι or Defensors; And that is in the Novel of *Heraclius* made in the beginning of the 7th Century, where determining the Number of Ecclesiastical Officers that were to be allowed in the great Church of *Constantinople*, he says, there should be Two Syncelli, Twelve Chancellors [z], Ten Defensors, Twelve Referendaries, Forty Notaries, and Twelve Sceuophylaces, whereof Four to be Presbyters, Six Deacons, and Two Readers. It is not very easy to determine what the Office of these Chancellors was at that time; but it is very evident however from this that they were not the same with the Defensors. They who are acquainted with the Civil Law, know that the *Cancellarii* in the Civil Courts were not Judges, but Officers attending the Judge in an Inferior Station: Which appears evidently from a Title in both the *Theodosian* and *Justinian* [a] Code, *De Adsessoribus & Domesticis & Cancellariis Judicum*. *Hottoman* and *Accursius* take them for *Actuaries* or *Notaries*; but *Gothofred* in his Learned Notes [b] upon the *Theodosian* Code, proves at large out of *Cassiodore* and *Agathias*, that they were the *Custodes Secretarii*, the Guards of the Judge's Consistory, and called *Cancellarii* because they stood *ad Cancellos*, at the Rails or Barriers which separated the *Secretum* from the rest of the Court. So that their Office then was not to sit as Judges or Assessors, but only to attend the Judge, and keep Peace and good Order under him. And if this was the Condition of the *Cancellarii* in the State, it is probable they had some such Office in the Church in the Time of *Heraclius*, who first mentions them; but what that Office was I am not able to determine any farther, save only that it was not the same with that of the Defensors of the Church.

SECT. VII. *Whether the Defensor's Office was the same with that of our Modern Chancellors?*

IT may be asked then, Whether the Office of our Modern Chancellors has any Relation or Resemblance to that of Defensors in the ancient Church? There are some Learned Men, who make them altogether the same. Bishop *Beverege* derives the Authority of them both from the same Fountain. For he says [c] the Defensors heard and determined Causes in the Bishop's Name; and those not only that related to the Poor, who sought the Patronage of the Church; but also when Presbyters and Deacons had any Controversy with any other, whether of the Clergy or Laity, they might bring their Action before the πρωτέκδικος or Defensor. Whence he concludes, that Chancellors of later Ages are the very same Ecclesiastical Officials, as the Defensors of the Primitive Church. It were to be wished that that Learned Person had given us Ancient Records for that Power which he ascribes to the old Defensors: For then they would have looked more like Chancellors under

[q] Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. [r] Vid. Damascen. Orat. 3. de Imagin. p. 799. & Fragment. Theodor. Lector. edit. à Vales. p. 583. Ἰωάννης διάκονος καὶ ἔκδικος τῆς ἁγίας οἴκου Στεφάνου &c. [s] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 38. [t] Cod. Can. Eccles. Afr. c. 75. & 97. [u] Concil. Carthag. Gr. ap. Ehinger. c. 76. & 99. [x] Conc. Carth. ap. Bevereg. c. 78. & 100. [y] Epiph. Hær. 72. Marcel. n. 10. [z] Heracl. Novel. 2. ap. Leunclav. Jus. Gr. Rom. Tom 1. p. 79. Καθιελαείας ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐκδίκους εἰς ι. [a] Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 12. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. tit. 51. [b] Gothofred Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 12. de Adsessorib. leg. 3. [c] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 23. Concil. Chalced.

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another Name: But indeed the Authorities he alledges, are all Modern, ſuch as *Papias*'s *Gloſſary*, and *Balſamon*'s *Meditata*, and the Catalogues of Officials in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, which were written ſeveral Ages after the firſt Inſtitution of Defenſors, and in times when the *Protecdicus* among the *Greeks* was become an Officer of great Authority and Power. So that tho' the Power of Chancellors might be much the ſame as that of the ἔκδικοι among the Modern *Greeks*; yet that it was altogether the ſame with the ancient Defenſors, ſeems not hitherto to be ſolidly proved: Since the Buſineſs of the ancient Defenſors was not to do the Office of Judges, but of Advocates at Law, to defend the Rights of the Poor, and the Liberties of the Church, againſt all Aggreſſors and Invaders. But if any can ſhew from ancient Records, that the Defenſors had a larger Power, he will very much oblige the World with ſuch a Diſcovery: In the mean time the Reader will pardon me for not aſcribing to them greater Powers than I had Authority to do. The Matter is curious, and may exerciſe the Pens of Learned Men, and be the Subject of farther Diſquiſition and Enquiry.

CHAP. XII.

Of the OECONOMI.

SECT. I. *The Oeconomi inſtituted in the 4th Century. The Reaſons of their Inſtitution.*

IN the Writings of the 4th and 5th Centuries we frequently meet with an Officer in the Church, ſtiled by the *Greeks* [a] οἰκονόμος, and by the *Latins* [b] *Oeconomus*, or *Præpoſitus Domus* as it is in St. *Auſtin* [c]. His Office was to manage the Revenues of the whole Dioceſe under the Inſpection of the Biſhop. For anciently, as I have ſhewed elſewhere [cc], the whole Revenue of the Church was entruſted in the Hands of the Biſhop to be divided among the Clergy and Poor of the Church by his Direction and Appointment: And in managing this Affair he commonly made Uſe of his Arch-deacon, as a proper Aſſiſtant to eaſe himſelf of the great Burthen and Incumbrance of it. But upon the general Converſion of Heathens, and the conſequent Augmentation of every Dioceſe, and Church-Revenues, both the Biſhop and his Arch-deacon had Buſineſs enough of another Nature to take up the greateſt Part of their Time: And then it was found neceſſary to inſtitute Officers on purpoſe, and ſet them over this Affair, under the Name of *Oeconomi*, or Stewards of the Church. *Morinus* [d] thinks they were inſtituted to avoid Suſpicion; and in ſome Churches there is no queſtion but it was ſo: For in the remaining Fragments of the Council of *Tyre*, *An.* 448, which are inſerted into the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon* [e], we find that *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* being accuſed by ſome of his Clergy for Embezelling the Revenues of the Church, is obliged to promiſe, that for the future the Revenues ſhould be managed by *Oeconomi*, or Stewards, choſen out of the Clergy, after the Manner of the great Church of *Antioch*. And it is not improbable, but the like Accuſation being brought againſt *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* in the Council of *Chalcedon*, was the Reaſon that moved that Council to make a general Decree in this Matter, That foraſmuch as they were informed, that in ſome Churches the Biſhops alone adminiſtred the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues without any Stewards, they now ordained, that every Church having a Biſhop, ſhould alſo have [f] a Steward of her own Clergy, to manage the Revenues of the Church by the Direction of the Biſhop: That ſo there might be Witneſſes of the right Adminiſtration of them; and by that means neither the Church's Goods be embezelled, nor any Scandal or Reproach brought upon the Prieſthood. But then I cannot think this was the Caſe of all Churches. For theſe Canons were made plainly againſt ſuch Biſhops as managed the Revenues of the Church, ἀμάρτυρον, as the Canon words it, without either Arch-deacon or *Oeconomus* to atteſt the Fidelity of their Management: But in ſuch Churches where Biſhops took the Aſſiſtance of their Arch-deacon, this could not be the Reaſon for ſetting up the Office of the *Oeconomus*, becauſe Suſpicion of Miſmanagement was provided againſt as well by the Teſtimony of an Arch-deacon, as any other Officer that could be appointed. And therefore I have aſſigned a more general, and as I take it, a truer Reaſon for the Inſtitution of this Office in the Church.

SECT. II. *Always to be choſen out of the Clergy.*

AND that which farther confirms my Opinion, is, That the *Oeconomi*, as well as the Arch-deacons, were always to be choſen out of the Clergy. For ſo thoſe Canons of the Councils of *Tyre* and *Chalcedon* already cited, plainly direct. And for any thing that appears to the contrary, this was the conſtant Practice of the

[a] Vid. Conc. Chalced. c. 2. 25. 26. [b] Liberat. Breviar. c. 16. [c] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. [cc] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 4. *Sect.* 6. [d] Morin. de Ordinat. Eccl. Par. 3. Exerc. 16. c. 5. n. 3. [e] Concil. Chalced. Act. 9. [f] Conc. Chalced. c. 26. ἔδοξεν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὁπόσκοπον ἔχουσαν, καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κλήρῳ. —— ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c.

Church. We find in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus* [g], which are inserted also into the Council of *Chalcedon*, one *Charisius* stiled both Presbyter and *Oeconomus* of the Church of *Philadelphia*. And *Liberatus* [h] speaks of one *John*, who was *Oeconomus* of *Alexandria*, and Presbyter of *Tabennesus*, a Region belonging to *Alexandria*. *Possidius* tells us in the Life of St. *Austin* [i], that he always made one of his Clergy the *Præpositus Domus*, as he calls him, whose Office was to take Care of the Church-Revenues, and give an Account of what he received and expended, when it was demanded of him. And to the same purpose *Socrates* [k] says of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, that having advanced two Monks to the Honour of the Clergy, he made them the *Oeconomi* of the Church. So that it was both the Rule and Practice of the Church to take the *Oeconomi* out of some of the Clergy, and we never meet with any Instance or Order to the contrary. Which argues plainly, that the true Reason for devolving this Office upon them, which formerly belonged to the Arch-deacons, was no other than that because of a Multiplicity of Business the Arch-deacons now could not so well attend it.

SECT. III. *Their Office to take care of the Revenues of the Church, especially in the Vacancy of the Bishoprick.*

WHAT the Office it self was, appears from what has already been said: To which I shall only add one thing: That by the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon* [l] the *Oeconomus* was to continue in his Office during the Vacancy of the Bishoprick, and to look after the Income of the Church, that it might be preserved safe for the succeeding Bishop. Which Canon some not improbably think was designed to prevent Delays in filling of vacant Sees; that no Metropolitan, or Interventor, under whose care the vacant Church was, might lie under any Temptation to defer the Election of a new Bishop, in hopes of enriching himself from the Revenues of the Church; but whether this was the Reason or not, it certainly argues that these Men were generally Persons of extraordinary Credit and Worth, since the Church could securely repose so great a Confidence in them.

SECT. IV. *The Consent of the Clergy required in the Choice of them.*

AND indeed all imaginable care was taken in their Election, that they should be Persons of such a Character. To which purpose some Canons required, that they should be chosen by all the Clergy; as particularly *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* [m] in his Canonical Epistle gives a Direction in that case. Which Provision was but reasonable: For since all the Clergy had a common Concern in the Revenues of the Church, which were their Livelihood and Subsistance, it was fit the *Oeconomus*, to whose care the Revenues were committed, should be chosen by common Consent, that he might be a Person without Exception, and no one have Reason to complain, that he was injured or defrauded of his Dividend or Portion.

CHAP. XIII.

A brief Account of some other Inferior Officers in the Church.

SECT. I. *Of the* Παραμονάριοι, *or* Mansionarii.

BESIDE the Officers already mentioned, there were in the 4th and 5th Century some few others, whose Names are not commonly met with, and therefore I shall but just hint the Signification of them, and not spend time in any curious Enquiries about their Offices and Employments. The same Canon [a] of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which speaks of the *Oeconomus* and Defensor, mentions also another Officer belonging to the Church, who is stiled Παραμονάριος in the Language of the Council. But the Translators and Criticks are not agreed upon the meaning of the Word. The ancient Translation of *Dionysius Exiguus* renders it *Mansionarius*, and explains that in a Marginal Reading by *Ostiarius*, or Door-keeper of the Church. And indeed this was the Office of the *Mansionarius* of the *Roman* Church about the time when *Dionysius Exiguus* lived: For *Gregory* the Great not long after, in one of his Dialogues [b] speaking of *Abundius Mansionarius*, gives him also the Title of *Custos Ecclesiæ*; and in another Dialogue he makes it the Office of the *Mansionarius* [c] to light the Lamps or Candles of the Church. Yet notwithstanding this, the best Learned of the Modern Criticks give another Sense of the *Greek* Name Παραμονάριος. *Justellus* [d] explains it by *Villicus*, a Bailiff, or Steward of the Lands. Bishop *Beverege* [e] stiles him *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Administrator*, which is the same. And their Opinion is confirmed by

[g] Conc. Ephes. in Act. 1. Conc. Chalced. t. 4. p. 292. Charisius Presbyter & Oeconomus Philadelphiæ. [h] Liberat. Breviar. c. 16. Johannes ex Oeconomo factus Presbyter Tabennesiotes. —— Factusque est iterum Oeconomus, habens Causas omnium Ecclesiarum. [i] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. Domus Ecclesiæ curam, omnemque substantiam ad vices valentioribus Clericis delegabat & credebat: Nunquam clavem, nunquam annulum in manu habens, sed ab eisdem Domus Præpositis cuncta & accepta & erogata notabantur. [k] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 7. τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισεν. [l] Concil. Chalced. c. 25. [m] Theophil. Can. 9. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. p. 173. γνώμη παντὸς ἱερατείου οἰκονόμου καταστῆναι, &c. [a] Concil. Chalced. c. 2. [b] Greg. M. Dial. lib. 3. c. 25. [c] Ib. Dial. lib. 1. c. 5. Constantius Mansionarius omnes Lampades Ecclesiæ implevit aqua, &c. [d] Justel. Bibliothec. Jur. Canon. t. 1. p. 91. [e] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Chalced. c. 2.

Gotho-

Gothofred, *Cujacius*, *Suicerus*, *Voſſius*, and many others, whoſe Judgment in the caſe may be ſufficient to decide the Controverſy, till the Reader ſees better Reaſon otherwiſe to determine him.

SECT. II. *Of the* Cuſtodes Eccleſiarum, *and* Cuſtodes Locorum ſanctorum: *And how theſe differed from each other.*

THE Civil Law takes Notice of another ſort of Officers, who are called *Cuſtodes Eccleſiarum*, and *Cuſtodes Locorum ſanctorum*: Which though ſome Writers confound together, yet *Gothofred* makes a Diſtinction between them. The *Cuſtodes Eccleſiarum* were either the ſame with the *Oſtiarii*, or Order of Door-keepers; or elſe with thoſe called *Seniores Eccleſiæ*, which, as I have ſhewed [*ee*] in another Place, were much of the ſame Nature with our Church-Wardens and Veſtry-men. But the *Cuſtodes Locorum ſanctorum* were the Keepers of thoſe particular Places in *Paleſtine*, which, if *Gothofred* judge right, had more peculiarly the Title of *Loca ſancta*, Holy Places, becauſe they were a ſort of Memorials of our Saviour; ſuch as *Bethlehem*, the Place of his Nativity; and Mount *Golgotha*, the Place of his Crucifixion; and his Grave or Monument, which was the Place of his Reſurrection; and Mount *Olivet*, the Place of his Aſcenſion. Theſe Places were frequently viſited by Chriſtians in thoſe Ages, as appears from *Euſebius*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, St. *Jerom* and ſeveral others, whom the Reader, that is curious in this Matter, may find quoted by *Gothofred* [*f*], who maintains, that upon that very Account thoſe Places had a ſort of Guardians or Keepers aſſign'd them, under the Title of *Cuſtodes Locorum Sanctorum*. But however this matter be, it is certain they had ſuch an Employment in the Church, as in the Eye of the Law was reputed a Religious Service; and accordingly they were entitled to the ſame Privilege [*g*] as the Eccleſiaſticks had, to be exempt from Perſonal Tribute, in regard to this their Employment: As appears from a Law of *Theodoſius* the Great, by whom this Immunity was granted them.

SECT. III. *Of the* Sceuophylaces, *or* Ceimeliarchæ.

NEXT to theſe, for the Similitude of the Name and Office I mention the *Sceuophylaces*, or, as they were otherwiſe called, Κειμηλίων φύλακες, Keepers of the Κειμηλία, that is, the Sacred Veſſels, Utenſils, and ſuch precious Things as were laid up in the Sacred Repoſitory of the Church. This was commonly ſome Presbyter: For *Theodorus Lector* [*h*] ſays *Macedonius* was both Presbyter and *Sceuophylax* of the Church of *Conſtantinople*; and *Sozomen* [*i*] before him ſpeaking of the famous *Theodore* Presbyter of *Antioch*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the Days of *Julian*, ſtiles him φύλακα τῆς κειμηλίων, Keeper of the ſacred Utenſils; and ſays, he was put to Death becauſe he would not deliver up what he had under his Cuſtody, to the Perſecutors. It will not be improper to give this Officer alſo the Name of *Chartophylax & Cuſtos Archivorum*, becauſe the Rolls and Archives are reckoned part of the ſacred Repoſitory of the Church. Whence *Suicerus* [*k*] obſerves, that in *Photius* the Names *Sceuophylax* and *Chartophylax* are given to the ſame Perſon. But I muſt Note, that the Modern *Greeks* have a little changed this Office, and added a Power to it, which did not belong to it in the Primitive Church. For now, as *Balſamon* [*l*] informs us, the *Chartophylax* acts as the Patriarch's Subſtitute, Excommunicating, Cenſuring, and Licenſing the Ordinations of Presbyters and Deacons, and ſits as ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Judge under the Patriarch in many other Caſes relating to the Church; which are things we do not find belonging to the Office of a *Sceuophylax* in the Primitive Ages.

SECT. IV. *Of the* Hermeneutæ, *or Interpreters.*

Epiphanius takes Notice of another ſort of Officers in the Church, to whom he gives the Name [*m*] of Ἑρμηνευταὶ, Interpreters, and ſays their Office was to render one Language into another, as there was occaſion, both in Reading the Scriptures, and in the Homilies that were made to the People. That there was ſuch an Office in the Church appears farther from the Paſſion of *Procopius* the Martyr, publiſhed by *Valeſius* [*n*], where 'tis ſaid, that *Procopius* had three Offices in the Church of *Scythopolis*; he was Reader, Exorciſt, and Interpreter of the *Syriack* Tongue. I conceive the Office was chiefly in ſuch Churches where the People ſpake different Languages; as in the Churches of *Paleſtine*, where probably ſome ſpake *Syriack*, and others *Greek*; and in the Churches of *Africk*, where ſome ſpake *Latin*, and others *Punick*. In ſuch Churches there was Occaſion for an Interpreter, that thoſe who underſtood not the Language in which the Scriptures were read, or the Homilies preached, might receive Edification by having them immediately rendered into a Tongue which they did underſtand. So far was the Primitive Church from encouraging Ignorance, by locking up the Scriptures in an unknown Tongue, that ſhe not only Tranſlated them into all Languages, but alſo appointed a ſtanding Office of Interpreters, who were *viva*

[*ee*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 19. *Sect.* 19. [*f*] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 26. [*g*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſ. leg. 26. Univerſos quos conſtiterit Cuſtodes Eccleſiarum eſſe, vel Sanctorum Locorum, ac Religioſis Obſequiis deſervire, nullius adtentationis moleſtiam ſuſtinere decernimus. Quis enim eos Capite cenſos patiatur eſſe devinctos, quos neceſſario intelligit ſupra memorato obſequio mancipatos? [*h*] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. [*i*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 8. [*k*] Suicer. Theſaur. Tom. 2. p. 971. [*l*] Balſam. Not. ad Can. 9. Concil. Nic. 2. [*m*] Epiph. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. ἑρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις. [*n*] Acta Procop. ap. Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. de Martyr. Paleſtin. c. 1. Ibi Eccleſiæ tria Miniſteria præbebat: Unum in Legendi Officio, alterum in Syri Interpretatione ſermonis, & tertium adverſus Dæmones manus Impoſitione conſummans.

voce to make Men understand what was read, and not suffer them to be Barbarians in the Service of God; which is a Tyranny that was unknown to former Ages!

SECT. V. *Of the* Notarii.

ANOTHER Office, that must not wholly be past over whilst we are upon this Head, is that of the *Notarii*, or *Exceptores*, as the *Latins* called them; who are the same that the *Greeks* call ὀξυγράφοι, and ταχυγράφοι, from their writing Short-hand by Characters, which was necessary in the Service they were chiefly imployed in. For the First Use of them was to take in Writing the whole Process of the Heathen Judges against the Christian Martyrs, and minutely to describe the several Circumstances of their Examination and Passion; what Questions were put to them; what Answers they made; and whatever passed during the time of their Tryal and Suffering. Whence such Descriptions were called *Gesta Martyrum*, the Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs; which were the Original Accounts which every Church preserved of her own Martyrs. The first Institution of these *Notarii* into a standing Office at *Rome*, Bishop *Pearson* [o] and some other Learned Persons think, was under *Fabian* in the time of the *Decian* Persecution. For in one of the most ancient Catalogues [p] of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Fabian* is said to have appointed seven Sub-deacons to inspect the seven Notaries, and see that they faithfully collected the Acts of the Martyrs. But though it was no standing Office before, yet the thing it self was always done by some Persons fitly qualified for the Work; as appears from the ancient Acts of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, and several others, which were written before *Fabian* is said to have instituted Publick and standing Notaries at *Rome*. In after-Ages these Notaries were also employed in writing the Acts of the Councils, and taking Speeches and Disputations and whatever else passed in Synod. Thus *Eusebius* [q] notes that *Malchion*'s Dispute with *Paulus Samosatensis* in the Council of *Antioch* was recorded as it was spoken, by the Notaries who took it from their Mouths: And *Socrates* says the same [r] of the Disputation between *Basilius Ancyranus* and *Photinus* in the Council of *Sirmium*. We read also of a sort of Notaries in Councils, whose Office was to recite all Instruments, Allegations, Petitions, or whatever else of the like Nature was to be offered or read in Council. And these were commonly Deacons, and sometimes a Presbyter was the chief of them, and thereupon stiled *Primicerius Notariorum*; as in the Acts of the general Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon* [s] there is frequent mention of *Aetius* Deacon and Notary, and *Peter* Presbyter of *Alexandria* and chief of the Notaries, *Primicerius Notariorum*. There were also Notaries that were employed to take the Discourses of famous and eloquent Preachers from their Mouths: By which means, *Socrates* [t] observes, many of St. *Chrysostom*'s Sermons were preserved, and some of *Atticus* his Successor. Bishops also had their private ὑπογραφεῖς, which some call Notaries: But *Valesius* [u] reckons them in the Quality of Readers. Whatsoever they were, *Athanasius* served in this Office, as ὑπογραφεύς, under *Alexander*, and *Proclus* under *Atticus*, as *Socrates* [w] informs us.

SECT. VI. *Of the* Apocrisarii, *or* Responsales.

THE curious Reader perhaps will find several other of these lesser Officers, which he will think might come into this Catalogue: But that I may not seem too minute in small Matters, I will only add one Office more, which is that of the *Apocrisarii* or *Responsales*. These were a sort of Residents in the Imperial City in the Name of Foreign Churches and Bishops, whose Office was to negotiate as Proctors at the Emperor's Court, in all Ecclesiastical Causes wherein their Principals might be concerned. The Institution of the Office seems to have been in the Time of *Constantine*, or not long after, when the Emperors being become Christians, Foreign Churches had more occasion to promote their Suits at the Imperial Court than formerly: However we find it established by Law in the Time of *Justinian*: For in one of his Novels [x] it is ordered, that forasmuch as no Bishop was to be long absent from his Church without special Command from the Emperor; if therefore any one had occasion to Negotiate any Ecclesiastical Cause at Court, he should prefer his Petition either by the *Apocrisarius* of his Church, whose Business was to act in behalf of the Church, and prosecute her Affairs; or else by the *Oeconomus*, or some other of his Clergy sent on purpose to signifie his Request. It does not indeed appear from that Law, that these *Apocrisarii* were of the Clergy, but from other Writers we may easily collect it. For *Liberatus* [y] says, *Anatolius* a Deacon of *Alexandria* was *Apocrisarius* or Resident for *Dioscorus* his Bishop at *Constantinople*, by which means he gained a favourable Opportunity of being chosen Bishop of *Constantinople* upon the Death of *Flavian*. And *Evagrius* [z] observes the same of

[o] Pearson de Succession. Episc. Rom. Dissert. 1. c. 4. n. 3. Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 12. [p] Catalog. Rom. Pontif. in Fabian. Hic fecit sex vel septem Subdiaconos, qui septem Notariis imminerent, ut Gesta Martyrum fideliter colligerent. [q] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 29. ὑπομνηματίων ταχυγράφων. [r] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 30. ὀξυγράφων τὰς φωνὰς ἀνὴρ γενομένων. [s] Concil. Ephes. Act. 1. in Actione 1. Concil. Chalced. Tom. 4. p. 292. [t] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 4. It. lib. 7. c. 2. [u] Vales. Not. in Socr. lib. 5. c. 22. [w] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 17. & 41. [x] Justin. Novel. 6. c. 2. Sancimus, si quando propter Ecclesiasticam occasionem inciderit necessitas, hanc aut per eos qui res agunt sanctarum Ecclesiarum (quos Apocrisarios vocant) aut per aliquos Clericos huc destinatos, aut Oeconomos suos notam Imperio facere, &c. [y] Liberat. Breviar. c. 12. Ordinatus est pro eo (Flaviano) Anatolius Diaconus, qui fuit Constantinopoli Apocrisarius Dioscori. [z] Evagr. lib. 4. c. 38. ταῖς ἐπικείσεσιν Ἀμασείας ἐπισκόπῳ διηκονεῖτο, &c.

Eutychius, that from being *Apocriſarius* to the Biſhop of *Amaſia* he was immediately advanced to be Biſhop of the Royal City after *Mennas*. Which ſeems plainly to imply, that he was one of the Clergy before, ſince it does not appear that he was promoted *per ſaltum*. I muſt farther obſerve, that in imitation of theſe *Apocriſarii* in the Church, almoſt every Monaſtery had their *Apocriſarii* likewiſe, whoſe buſineſs was not to Reſide in the Royal City, as the former did, but to Act as Proctors for their Monaſtery or any Member of it, when they had occaſion to give any appearance at Law before the Biſhop under whoſe Juriſdiction they were. This is clear from another of *Juſtinian*'s Novels, which [*a*] requires the *Aſceticks* in ſuch Caſes to anſwer by their *Apocriſarii* or *Reſponſales*. And theſe were ſometimes alſo of the Clergy, as appears from the Acts of the 5th General Council, where one *Theonas* [*b*] ſtiles himſelf Preſbyter and *Apocriſarius* of the Monaſtery of Mount *Sinai*. The *Latin* Tranſlator calls him *Ambaſiator*, which is not ſo very proper, yet in ſome meaſure expreſſes the thing: For as *Suicerus* [*c*] obſerves, in Proceſs of Time the Emperors alſo gave the Name of *Apocriſarii* to their own Ambaſſadors, and it became the common Title of every Legate whatſoever. Which I the rather Note, that the Reader may diſtinguiſh theſe things, and not confound the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Senſe of the Name *Apocriſarius* together. And thus much of the Inferior Orders and Offices of the Clergy in the Primitive Church.

[*a*] Juſtin. Novel. 79. c. 1. [*b*] Concil. 5. General. Act. 1. in Libello Monechor. Syriæ Secundæ. Tom. 5. p. 116. Θεωνᾶς πρεσβύτερος, καὶ ἀποκρισιάριος τῶ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ. [*c*] Suicer. Theſaur. Tom. 1. p. 456.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

Of the ELECTIONS and ORDINATIONS of the CLERGY, and the particular QUALIFICATIONS of such as were to be Ordained.

CHAP. I.

Of the several ways of Designing Persons to the Ministry, in the Apostolical and Primitive Ages of the Church.

SECT. I. *Four several ways of Designing Persons for the Ministry. Of the first way by casting Lots.*

HAVING thus far given an Account of all the Orders of the Clergy in the Primitive Church, both Superior and Inferior, together with the several Offices and Functions that were annexed to them, I now proceed to consider the Rules and Methods that were observed in setting apart Fit Persons for the Ministry, especially for the Three Superior Orders, which were always of Principal Concern. And here in the first Place it will be proper to observe, that in the Apostolical and following Ages there were Four several ways of Designing Persons for the Ministry, or Discovering who were most Fit to be Ordained: The first of which was by casting Lots; The second by making Choice of the First-Fruits of the *Gentile* Converts; The third by particular Direction and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; And the last in the Common and Ordinary way of Examination and Election. The first Method was observed in the Designation of *Matthias* to be an Apostle, as we read *Acts* 1. 23, 26. where 'tis said, that the Disciples themselves first appointed Two, *Joseph* called *Barsabas*, and *Matthias*; and then praying to God, that he would shew whether of those Two he had chosen, they gave forth their Lots, and the Lot fell upon *Matthias*. St. *Chrysostom* [a] says, they used this Method because as yet the Holy Ghost was not Descended on them, and they had not at this Time the Power of Chusing by Inspiration; and therefore they committed the Business to Prayer, and left the Determination to God. The Author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy under the Name of *Dionysius* [b] fancies, that God answered their Prayer by some Visible Token: But if so, this had not been Chusing by Lot, as the Scripture says it was, but a quite different Method of Election. However, Interpreters generally agree, that there was something Extraordinary in it: Dr. *Lightfoot* [c] thinks *Matthias* had no other Ordination to his Apostleship; for the Apostles did not give him any Ordination by Imposition of Hands after this, as they did to Presbyters afterwards; And that, if true, was Extraordinary indeed. Others reckon the Extraordinariness of it to consist in the singular way of Electing and Designing him to that Office by Lot: For they say, [d] all Ecclesiastical History scarce affords such another Instance: And I confess there are not very many, but some few there are, which shew that that Method of Electing was not altogether so singular as is commonly imagined. For in *Spain* it was once the common Practice, as may be concluded from a Canon [e] of the Council of *Barcelona An.* 599, which orders, that when a vacant Bishoprick is to be filled, two or three shall be elected by the Consent of the Clergy and People, who shall present them to the Metropolitan and his Fellow-Bishops, and they having first fasted, shall cast Lots, leaving the Determination to Christ the Lord: Then he on whom the Lot shall fall, shall be consummated by the Blessing of Consecration. There is nothing different in this from the first Example, save only that in this there is express mention of a Consecration afterward, which is not in the History of *Matthias*: And yet perhaps there might be a Consecration in his Case too, though not expressly mentioned: But I leave this to farther Enquiry.

SECT. II. *The second way by making Choice of the First-fruits of the* Gentile *Converts.*

THE second way of Designation was by making Choice of the First-fruits of the *Gentile* Converts to be ordained to the Ministry. For these expressing a

[a] Chrys. Hom. 5. in 1 Tim. [b] Dionys. Eccl. Hier. c. 5. p. 367. [c] Lightfoot in Act. 1. 26. [d] Dodwel. Dissert. 1. in Cypr. n. 17. [e] Concil. Barcinon. c. 3. Tom. 5. p. 1606. Duobus aut tribus, quos ante Consensus Cleri & Plebis elegerit, Metropolitani judicio ejusque Coepiscopis præsentatis, quem sors, præeunte jejunio, Christo Domino terminante, monstraverit, Benedictio Consecrationis accumulet.

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greater Zeal than others, by their Readineſs and Forwardneſs to embrace the Goſpel, were generally pitched upon by the Apoſtles, as beſt qualified for propagating the Chriſtian Religion in the World. *Clemens Romanus* in his Epiſtle [*f*] to the *Corinthians* ſays, the Apoſtles in all Countries and Cities where they preached, ordained their Firſt Converts Biſhops and Deacons, for the Converſion of others; and that they had the Direction of the Spirit for doing this. And hence the Author that perſonates the ſame *Clemens*, in his pretended Epiſtle to *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, giving him an Account of the Reaſons that moved St. *Peter* to ordain him, ſays [*g*] it was becauſe he was Chief of the Firſt-fruits of his Converts among the *Gentiles*. Some compare this to the Right of Primogeniture among the ancient Patriarchs, which entitled the Firſt-born to the Prieſthood: And I will not deny but there might be ſomething of Alluſion in it: But then the Parallel will not hold throughout; for in the latter Caſe it was not any natural Right, but Perſonal Merit attending their Primogeniture, that entitled the firſt Converts to the Chriſtian Prieſthood.

SECT. III. *The third way by particular Direction of the Holy Ghoſt.*

WHICH will appear farther by conſidering, that many of them were ordained by the particular Direction of the Holy Ghoſt. For ſo the words, δοκιμάζοντες τῷ πνεύματι, in *Clemens Romanus*, may be underſtood, to ſignifie the Spirit's Pointing out the particular Perſons, whom he would have to be ordained; which I obſerved to be the third way of Deſignation of Perſons to the Miniſtry, very uſual in thoſe Primitive Times of the Church. Thus *Timothy* was choſen and ordained, according to the Prophecies that went before of him, 1 *Tim.* 1. 18. Whence his Ordination is alſo called the Gift that was given him by Prophecy, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. In regard to which the ancient Interpreters, *Chryſoſtom* [*h*] and *Theodoret* ſay, he had not any human Vocation, but was choſen by Divine Revelation, and ordained by the Direction of the Spirit. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his famous Homily, entitled, *Quis Dives ſalvetur*, obſerves the ſame of the Clergy of the *Aſiatick* Churches, whom St. *John* ordained after his Return from the Iſle of *Paimos*: He ſays, they were ſuch as were ſignified or pointed out [*i*] to him by the Spirit. I know indeed *Combefis* [*k*] puts a different Senſe upon theſe Words, and ſays, the Deſignation here ſpoken of, means not any new or diſtinct Revelation, but I know not what Divine Predeſtination of the Perſons; or elſe their Ordination it ſelf, which was the Seal or Conſignation of the Spirit; and that there is no Authority for the common Senſe which Interpreters put upon this Paſſage. But as he owns his Notion to be ſingular, and contrary to the Senſe of all other Learned Men; ſo it is evidently againſt Matter of Fact and ancient Hiſtory, which affords ſeveral other Inſtances of the like Deſignations in the following Ages. I will give an Inſtance or two out of many. *Euſebius* [*l*] ſays, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was choſen κατ' ἐπικάλυψιν, by Revelation, and an Oracular Voice, which ſignified to ſome *Aſiaticks* of the Church, that they ſhould go forth out of the Gates of the City, and there meet him whom God had appointed to be their Biſhop; which was this *Alexander*, a Stranger from *Cappadocia*, coming upon other Buſineſs to *Jeruſalem*. He was indeed Biſhop of another Place before, but his Tranſlation to the See of *Jeruſalem* was wholly by Divine Direction, which is the thing I alledge it for. We have another ſuch Inſtance in the Election of *Alexander*, Sirnamed *Carbonarius*, Biſhop of *Comana*, mentioned by *Gregory Nyſſen* in the Life of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. This *Alexander* was a *Gentile* Philoſopher, and a very learned Man, who upon his Converſion to Chriſtianity, that he might avoid obſervation, and follow his Philoſophical Studies with the greater Privacy, in his great Humility betook himſelf to the Trade of a Collier, whence he had the Name of *Carbonarius*: Now it happened upon the Vacancy of the Biſhoprick of *Comana*, that the Citizens ſent to *Gregory Thaumaturgus* to deſire him to come and ordain them a Biſhop; but they not agreeing in their Choice, one by way of Jeſt and Ridicule propoſed *Alexander* the Collier; who being diſcovered [*m*] by ſpecial Revelation to *Gregory Thaumaturgus* to be a Man of extraordinary Virtues and Worth, who had ſubmitted to that contemptible Calling only to avoid being taken notice of; and being found upon a due Enquiry to be the Man he was repreſented to be, he was thereupon unanimouſly choſen by all the Church to be their Biſhop, and immediately ordained by St. *Gregory*. *Cyprian* often ſpeaks of this Divine Deſignation in the Caſe of *Celerinus* [*n*], and *Aurelius* [*o*], when they were but to be ordained Readers: And he ſays alſo, he had a Divine Direction [*p*] to tranſlate *Numidicus* from another Church to the Church of *Carthage*. And *Sozomen* [*q*] tells

[*f*] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. n. 42. κατὰ χώρας δὴ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίσανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάζοντες τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. [*g*] Pſeudo-Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. ap. Coteler. t. 1. p. 606. σὺ γὰρ δι' ἐμὲ σωζομένων ἐθνῶν εἶ κριτῶν ἀπαρχή. [*h*] Chryſ. & Theod. in 1 Tim. 1. 18. [*i*] Clem. Alex. ap. Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 23. & ap. Combefiſ. Auctar. Noviſſ. p. 185. κλήρῳ ἕναϛε τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. [*k*] Combefiſ. Not. in Loc. p. 192. Quos ſpiritus deſignaſſet Divina potius Prædeſtinatione, quàm nova aliqua & diſtincta Revelatione, quàm nec Clemens ſignificavit, nec ulla probat auctoritas, &c. [*l*] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 11. [*m*] Nyſſen. Tom. 3. p. 562. [*n*] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. ad Cler. Carthag. Referimus ad vos Celerinum Fratrem noſtrum —— Clero noſtro non humana Suffragatione, ſed Divina Dignatione conjunctum. Qui cum conſentire dubitaret, Eccleſiæ ipſius admonita & hortatu in Viſione per noctem compulſus eſt, ne negaret nobis ſuadentibus, &c. [*o*] Id. Ep. 33. al. 38. Exſpectanda non ſunt Teſtimonia Humana, cum præcedunt Divina Suffragia. [*p*] Id. Ep. 35. al. 40. Admonitos nos & inſtructos ſciatis Dignatione Divina, ut Numidicus Presbyter adſcribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginienſium numero. [*q*] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 17. Ἀλέξανδρον διάδοχον αὐτῷ κατέλιπεν Ἀθανάσιον. Θείας προσάξεσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ ψῆφον, &c.

us from *Apollinarius*, that *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria* appointed *Athanaſius* his Succeſſor by Divine Command. For ſome time before his Death it was ſignified to him by Divine Revelation, that no one ſhould ſucceed him but *Athanaſius*: And therefore when he lay upon his Death-bed, he called *Athanaſius* by Name, who was then abſent and fled for fear of being made Biſhop; and another of the ſame Name, who was preſent, anſwering to the Call, he ſaid nothing to him, but called *Athanaſius* again: Which he did ſeveral Times, whereby it was at laſt underſtood, that he meant the *Athanaſius* that was fled; to whom, though abſent, he then prophetically ſaid, *Thinkeſt thou that thou art eſcaped*, Athanaſius? *No: Thou art not eſcaped.* It were eaſy to add many other Inſtances of the like Nature, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew againſt *Combefis*, that in thoſe early Ages Men were ſometimes deſigned to the Miniſtry by particular Divine Revelation and Prophecy, or elſe the Ancients themſelves were wonderfully deceiv'd. Whilſt I am upon this Head I muſt ſuggeſt two things farther, Firſt, that a Dove's Lighting upon the Head of any Man at an Election was uſually taken for a Divine Omen; and commonly the Perſon who had that Sign, was looked upon as pointed out by the Spirit, and accordingly choſen before all others, as having a ſort of Emblem of the Holy Ghoſt. *Euſebius* obſerves [*r*] it was this that turned the Election upon *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, and gave him the Preferenee before all others, though he was a Stranger. No one at firſt thought of chuſing him: But a Dove being obſerved by the People to ſettle upon his Head, they took it for an Emblem of the Holy Ghoſt, which heretofore deſcended upon our Saviour in the Form of a Dove; and thereupon with one Conſent, as if they had been moved themſelves by the Holy Ghoſt, they cried out Ἄξιον, he was worthy; which was the Word then uſed to ſignify their Conſent; and ſo without more ado they took him and ſet him upon the Biſhop's Throne. The Election of *Severus* Biſhop of *Ravenna*, and that of *Evortius* Biſhop of *Orleans* was determined the ſame Way, as *Blondel* [*s*] has obſerved out of their Lives in *Surius*; and the Inquiſitive Reader may furniſh himſelf with other Inſtances from his own Obſervation. The other thing I would ſuggeſt, is, That ſometimes an accidental Circumſtance was ſo providentially diſpoſed, as to be taken for an Indication of the Divine Will, and Approbation of an Election. *Sulpicius Severus* makes this Obſervation particularly upon a Circumſtance that happened in the Election of St. *Martin* Biſhop of *Tours*. Some of the provincial Biſhops, who were met at the Place, for very unjuſt Reaſons oppoſed his Election; and more eſpecially one, whoſe Name was *Defenſor*, was a violent Stickler againſt him. Now it happened, that the Reader who was to have read that Day, not being able to get in due Time to his Place, by reaſon of the preſs and crowding of the People; and the reſt being in a little Confuſion upon that Account; one of thoſe that ſtood by, taking up a Book, read the firſt Verſe that he lighted upon, which happened to be thoſe words of the 8th Pſalm, *Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings thou haſt perfected Praiſe, becauſe of thine Enemies, that thou mighteſt deſtroy the Enemy and the Defenſor.* For ſo it ſeems the Vulgar *Gallican* Tranſlation then read it, *Ut deſtruas inimicum & Defenſorem.* Theſe words were no ſooner read, but the People gave a Shout, and the adverſe Party were confounded. And ſo, ſays our Author [*t*], it was generally believed that this *Pſalm* was read by Divine Appointment, that *Defenſor* the Biſhop might hear his own work Condemned, whilſt the Praiſes of God were perfected in St. *Martin out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings*, and the Enemy were at once both diſcovered and deſtroyed. By what has been ſaid the Reader now will be able to judge of the meaning of the Ancients, when they ſpeak of Particular Divine Deſignations of Perſons to the Miniſtry of the Church.

SECT. IV. *The fourth way by Common Suffrage and Election.*

THE fourth and laſt way of Deſignation was by the Ordinary Courſe of Suffrage and Election of the Church: The Method of which in general was ſo accurate and highly approved, that one of the *Roman* Emperors, though an Heathen, thought fit to give a great Character and Encomium of it, and propoſe it to himſelf as an Example proper to be imitated in the Deſignation and Choice of Civil Officers for the Service of the Empire. For ſo *Lampridius* [*u*] repreſents the Practice of *Alexander Severus:* Whenever he was about to conſtitute any Governours of Provinces, or Receivers of the Publick Revenues, he firſt propoſed their Names, deſiring the People to make Evidence againſt them, if any one could prove them Guilty of any Crime: but if they accuſed them falſly, it ſhould be at the Peril of their own Lives: ſaying, it was unreaſonable, that when the Chriſtians and *Jews* did this in Propounding thoſe whom they ordained their Prieſts and Miniſters, the ſame ſhould not be done in the Appointment of Governors of Provinces, in whoſe Hands the Lives and Fortunes of Men were entruſted. This argues, that all imaginable Care was taken in the Election of Chriſtian Miniſters, ſince their Practice in this reſpect has ſuch ample Teſtimony from the Heathens. And indeed all Modern Writers agree upon the Matter in general, that anciently Elections were made with

[*r*] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 29. [*s*] Blondel. Apol. p. 426. Surius Vit. Sanctor. Feb. 1. & Sep. 7. [*t*] Sever. Vit. S. Martin. c. 7. p. 225. Ita habitum eſt, Divino nutu Pſalmum hunc lectum fuiſſe, ut teſtimonium operis ſui Defenſor audiret, quia ex ore Infantium atque lactentium in Martino Domini laude perfecta, & oſtenſus pariter & deſtructus eſt inimicus. [*u*] Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Sever. c. 45.

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a great deal of Caution and Exactneſs: But as to the particular Methods that were uſed, Men are ſtrangely divided in their Accounts of them; by which means there is no one Subject has been rendered more Intricate and Perplext than this of Elections, which has even frighted ſome from attempting to give an Account of it: But I muſt not wholly diſappoint my Readers through ſuch Fears, and therefore I ſhall briefly acquaint them with the different Sentiments of Modern Authors, who have handled this Subject, and then clear what I take to be the true State of the Caſe, from evident Proofs of ancient Hiſtory, which ſhall be the Buſineſs of the next Chapter.

CHAP. II.

A more particular Account of the ancient Method and Manner of Elections of the Clergy.

SECT. I. *The different Opinions of Learned Men concerning the Peoples Power anciently in Elections.*

THE grand Queſtion in this Affair, upon which Learned Men are ſo much divided, is concerning the Perſons who had a Right to Vote in the Elections of the Clergy. Some think the People were never allowed any other Power, ſave only to give their Teſtimonials to the Party Elected, or to make Objections, if they had any juſt and reaſonable Exceptions, againſt him. So *Habertus* [a], and *Sixtus* [b] *Senenſis*, and *Bellarmin* [c]. Others ſay the People were Abſolute and Proper Electors, and that from Apoſtolical Right, which they always enjoyed for a Succeſſion of many Ages. This Opinion is advanced, and with great ſhew of Learning aſſerted by *Blondel* [d] againſt *Sancta Clara* and the reſt of the other Opinion. *De Marca* [e] takes a middle way between thoſe two Extremes. He ſays the People had as much Power anciently as any of the Clergy below Biſhops; that is, their Conſent was required in the Promotion of a Biſhop, as well as their Teſtimony; yet he will not allow this to be called Electing: For the Deſignation, Election, or Judgment, he ſays, ſtill belonged only to the Metropolitan together with the Synod of Provincial Biſhops. And though we read ſometimes of their giving their Vote or Suffrage, yet That, he ſays, is only to be underſtood of Suffrage of Conſent, not the Suffrage of Election. But Mr. *Maſon*, in anſwer to *Pamelius*, who had advanced ſomething of this Notion before *de Marca*, rejects this as a Deluding Diſtinction, and aſſerts, that the People had properly a Voice or Suffrage of Election, and he quotes [f] Biſhop *Andrews* [g] for the ſame Opinion. Yet he does not carry the Point ſo high, as to maintain with *Blondel*, that it was of unalterable Right, but left by God as a thing indifferent, to be ordered by the Diſcretion of the Church, ſo all things be done honeſtly and in order. And this ſeems to have been the Opinion of *Spalatenſis* [h], *Richerius* [i], *Juſtellus* [k], *Suicerus*, and ſome other Learned Men of both Churches. Others there are who diſtinguiſh between the Times preceding the Council of *Nice*, and thoſe that followed after: for they think, whatever Power was allowed the People in the three firſt Ages, was taken away by that Council, and the Councils of *Antioch* and *Laodicea*, that followed not long after. So *Schelſtrate* [l] in his Diſſertations upon the Council of *Antioch*, where he quotes *Chriſtianus Lupus* and *Sirmond* for the ſame Opinion. But this is exploded as a groundleſs Fiction, not only by *Spalatenſis* [m] and Biſhop *Pearſon* [n], but alſo by *Richerius* [o], *Cabaſſutius* [p], *Valeſius* [q], *Petavius* [r], *de Marca* [s], and other Learned Perſons of the *Roman* Communion, who think the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council made no Alteration in this Matter, but left all things as they found them. Some again diſtinguiſh between the Election of Biſhops and the other Clergy, and ſay, The Peoples Conſent was only required in the Election of Biſhops, but not in the Promotion of the Inferior Clergy. So *Cabaſſutius* [t] and Biſhop *Beverege* [u], who reckons this ſo clear a Point, that there is no Diſpute to be made of it. Yet *Valeſius* diſputes it, and aſſerts the contrary [w], that anciently Presbyters were not to be ordained by the Biſhop without the Conſent of the Clergy and People. Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, who is one of the laſt that has conſidered this matter, gives us his Senſe in theſe following Obſervations, Firſt, That the main Ground of the Peoples Intereſt [x]

[a] Habert. Archieratic. p. 436. [b] Sixt. Biblioth. lib. 5. Annot. 118. [c] Bellarm. de Clericis lib. 1. c. 7. [d] Blondel. Apol. p. 379, &c. [e] Marca de Concord. lib. 8. cap. 2. n. 2. [f] Maſon Conſecrat. of Biſhops. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 159, 160. [g] Andrews Reſp. ad Apol. Bell. c. 13. p. 313. Præſentia Plebis apud Cyprianum includit teſtimonium de Vita, nec excludit ſuffragium de Perſona. [h] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 3. c. 3. n. 42. [i] Richer. Hiſt. Concil. lib. 1. c. 12. n. 18. p. 389. [k] Juſtel. Not. in Can. 6. Conc. Chalced. [l] Schelſtr. Not. in Can. 19. Conc. Antioch. [m] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 3. c. 3. n. 12. [n] Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. Par. 1. c. 11. p. 324. [o] Richer. Hiſt. Concil. Tom. 1. c. 2. n. 7. [p] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 17. p. 83. [q] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [r] Petav. Not. in Syneſ. p. 56. [s] Marca de Concord. lib. 8. c. 3. n. 4. [t] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 36. p. 196. [u] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 6. Conc. Chalced. [w] Valeſ. in Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. Presbyteri olim ab Epiſcopo ordinari non poterant ſine Conſenſu Cleri & Populi. [x] Stillingfleet. Unreaſon. of Separat. Par. 3. n. 25. p. 312.

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was founded upon the Apoſtles Canon, That a Biſhop muſt be blameleſs and of good report. And therefore he ſays [*y*], the Peoples Share and Concern in Elections even in *Cyprian*'s Time was not to give their Votes, but only their Teſtimony concerning the good or ill Behaviour of the Perſon. Secondly, That yet upon this the People aſſumed the Power of Elections, and thereby cauſed great Diſturbances and Diſorders in the Church. Thirdly, That to prevent theſe, many Biſhops were appointed without their Choice, and Canons made for the better Regulating of them. Fourthly, That when there were Chriſtian Magiſtrates, they did interpoſe as they thought fit, notwithſtanding the Popular Claim, in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence to the Peace of Church and State. Fifthly, That upon the alteration of the Government of Chriſtendom the Intereſt of the People was ſecured by their Conſent in Parliaments, and that by ſuch Conſent the Nomination of Biſhops was reſerved to Princes, and the Patronage of Livings to particular Perſons. In this great variety of Judgments and Opinions of Learned Men, it will be no Crime to diſſent from any of them, and therefore I ſhall take the Liberty to review their Opinions, and expreſs impartially what I take to be agreeable or diſagreeable in any of them to ancient Hiſtory, and the Rules and Practice of the Church.

SECT. II.
The Power of the People equal to that of the Inferior Clergy in the Election of a Biſhop.

AND here firſt of all it will be proper to obſerve, that there was no one Univerſal Unalterable Rule obſerved in all Times and Places about this matter, but the Practice varied according to the different Exigencies and Circumſtances of the Church; As will evidently appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. In the mean time I conceive the Obſervation made by *de Marca*, thus far to be very true, That whatever Power the Inferior Clergy enjoyed in the Election of their Biſhop, the ſame was generally allowed to the People, or wholly Body of the Church, under the Regulation and Conduct of the Metropolitan and Synod of Provincial Biſhops. For their Power, whatever it was, is ſpoken of in the very ſame Terms, and expreſt in the ſame Words. Some call it Conſent, others Suffrage or Vote, others Election or Choice; but all agree in this, that it was equally the Conſent, Suffrage, Vote, Election, and Choice both of Clergy and People. Thus *Cyprian* obſerves [*z*] of *Cornelius*, that he was made Biſhop by the Teſtimony of the Clergy and Suffrage of the People. Where it is evident the Words, Teſtimony and Suffrage, are equally aſcribed both to Clergy and People. *Socrates* [*a*] ſpeaking of the Election of *Chryſoſtom*, ſays he was choſen by the common Vote of all, both Clergy and People. And *Theodoret* deſcribes the Election of *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch* after the ſame manner, when he tells us [*b*] he was compelled to take the Biſhoprick by the common Vote of the Biſhops and Clergy and all the People. *Siricius* [*c*] ſtiles this the Election of the Clergy and People; and *Celeſtin* [*d*] the Conſent and Deſire of the Clergy and People; and *Leo* [*e*] both the Conſent, and Election, and Suffrage or Votes of the People; who adds alſo, that in caſe the Parties were divided in their Votes, then the Deciſion ſhould be referred to the Judgment of the Metropolitan, who ſhould chuſe him who had moſt Votes and greateſt Merit to recommend him. From all which, and many other Paſſages that might be alledged to the ſame purpoſe, it is very evident, that the Power of the Clergy and People was equal in this Matter, and that nothing was challenged by the one, that was not allowed to the other alſo.

SECT. III.
This Power not barely Teſtimonial, but Judicial and Elective.

AND hence it appears farther, that this conjunctive Power of Clergy and People was not barely Teſtimonial, but, as Biſhop *Andrews* and Mr. *Maſon* aſſert, a Judicial and Effective Power, by way of proper Suffrage and Election; and that as well in the time of *Cyprian*, as afterwards: For *Cyprian* ſpeaks both of Teſtimony and Suffrage belonging to both Clergy and People: And ſays farther [*f*] that this is a Juſt and Legitimate Ordination, which is examined by the Judgment and Suffrage of all, both Clergy and People. So that they were then preſent at the Choice of their Biſhop not merely to give Teſtimony concerning his Life, but as Biſhop *Andrews* words it, to give their Vote and Suffrage in reference to his Perſon. Which Obſervation will be farther evidenced and confirmed, by proceeding with the Account of ſeveral Rules and Cuſtoms generally obſerved in theſe Elections.

SECT. IV.
Evidences of this Power from ſome ancient Rules and Cuſtoms of the Church. As firſt, that no Biſhop was to be obtruded on an Orthodox People without their Conſent.

ONE of theſe was, That no Biſhop was to be obtruded on any Orthodox People againſt their Conſent. I ſay, an Orthodox People, for in caſe the Majority of them were Hereticks or Schiſmaticks, the Practice was different, as will be ſhewed hereafter: But where they were all Catholicks, and could agree upon a Catholick and Deſerving

[*y*] Ibid. p. 316, 317. [*z*] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 104. Factus eſt Cornelius Epiſcopus — De Clericorum pene omnium Teſtimonio, de Plebis quæ tum adfuit Suffragio. [*a*] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 2. ψηφίσματι κοινῷ ὁμοῦ πάντων, κλήρου τε καὶ λαοῦ. [*b*] Theod. lib. 1. c. 7. ψήφῳ κοινῇ κατανεύσασαν ἀρχιερέως τε καὶ ἱερέως καὶ ὅσας ὁ λεώς.
[*c*] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himerium Tarracon. c. 10. Presbyterio vel Epiſcopatui, ſi eum Cleri ac Plebis evocaverit Electio, non immerito ſocietur. [*d*] Celeſtin. Ep. 2. c. 5. Nullus invitis detur Epiſcopus. Cleri, Plebis, & Ordinis Conſenſus & Deſiderium requiratur. [*e*] Leo M. Ep. 84. ad Anaſtaſ. c. 5. Cum de ſummi Sacerdotis Electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem Cleri Plebiſque Conſenſus concorditer poſtularit; ita ut ſi in aliam forte Perſonam Partium ſe Vota diviſerint, Metropolitani Judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus & ſtudiis juvatur & meritis, &c. [*f*] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hiſpan. p. 172. Ordinatio juſta & legitima, quæ omnium Suffragio & Judicio fuerit examinata.

after:

Bishop, they were usually gratified in their Choice, and no Person was to be put upon them against their Inclination. Sometimes the Bishops in Synod proposed a Person, and the People accepted him: Sometimes again the People proposed, and the Bishops consented; and where they were unanimous in a worthy Choice, we scarce ever find they were rejected. If they were divided, it was the Metropolitan's Care to unite and fix them in their Choice, but not to obtrude upon them an unchosen Person. This we learn from one of *Leo*'s Epistles [g], where he gives us at once both the Church's Rule, and Practice, and the Reasons of it. In the Choice of a Bishop, says he, Let him be preferred, whom the Clergy and People do unanimously agree upon and require: If they be divided in their Choice, then let the Metropolitan give Preference to him who has most Votes and most Merits: Always provided, that no one be ordained against the Will and Desire of the People, lest they contemn or hate their Bishop, and become irreligious or disrespectful, when they cannot have him whom they desir'd. The Transgression of this Rule was objected as a great Crime to *Hilarius Arelatensis* by the Emperor *Valentinian* the 3d, that [h] he ordained Bishops in several Places against the Will and Consent of the People, whom when they would not admit of, because they had not chosen them, he used armed Force to settle them in their Sees, introducing the Preachers of Peace by the Violence of War. *Leo* objects [i] the same thing to him, saying, That he ought to have proceeded by another Rule, and first to have required the Votes of the Citizens, the Testimonies of the People, the Will of the Gentry, and the Election of the Clergy: For he that was to preside over all, was to be chosen by all. This evidently shews, that the Suffrage of the People was then something more than barely Testimonial.

SECT. V.
2dly, *This farther confirmed from Examples of the Bishops Complying with the Voice of the People against their own Inclination.*

2*dly*, ANOTHER Argument is, that in many Cases the Voices of the People prevailed against the Bishops themselves, when they happened to be divided in their first Proposals. Thus it happened in the famous Election of St. *Martin* Bishop of *Tours*, which has been mentioned in the last Chapter, *Sect.* 3. The People were unanimously for him; *Defensor* with a great Party of Bishops at first were against him: But the Voice of the People prevailed, and the Bishops complied and ordained him. *Philostorgius* gives us such another Instance. *Demophilus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, with some other Bishops suspected of *Arianism*, meeting at *Cyzicum* to ordain a Bishop there, the People first made a Protestation against them, that unless they would Anathematize publickly *Aetius* and *Eunomius* both in Word and Writing, they should ordain no Bishop there: And when they had complied to this, they still insisted on their Privilege, That no one should be ordained but one [k] of their own Chusing. Which was one, who as soon as he was ordained, Preached the Catholick Doctrine of the ὁμοούσιον, that the Son was of the same Substance with the Father. Ancient History will furnish the Reader with many other Instances of the like nature.

SECT. VI.
3dly, *From the manner of the Peoples Voting at Elections.*

3*dly*, ANOTHER Evidence of the Peoples Power in Elections is the Manner of their Voting, or the way of giving their Assent or Dissent to the Ordination of any Person: Which was threefold: For either First they were Unanimous in their Vote for or against a Man, and then their way was to express their Mind by a general Acclamation, crying out with one Voice, Ἄξιος, or Ἀνάξιος, *Dignus* or *Indignus*, as the Word then was, he is Worthy, or Unworthy. Instances of which Form the Reader may find in St. *Ambrose* [l], St. *Austin* [m], *Eusebius* [n], *Philostorgius* [o], *Photius* [p], the Author [q] of the Constitutions, and several others. Or else Secondly they were divided in their Choice, and then they expressed their Dissent in particular Accusations of the Parties proposed, and Sidings, and sometimes outragious Tumults. St. *Chrysostom* [r] reflects upon this way in his Books of the Priesthood, when he tells us, that in those Popular Solemnities, which were then customarily held for the Choice of Ecclesiastical Rulers, one might see a Bishop exposed to as many Accusations, as there were Heads among the People. And the Account that is given not only by *Ammianus Marcellinus* [s], but by *Socrates* [t] and the other Historians, of the Tumult raised at *Rome* in the Election of *Damasus*, shews that the People were indulged in something more than barely giving Testimony, else they had hardly run into so great a Heat and ungovernable Tumult. There was also a third way of Expressing their Consent, which was by Subscribing the Decree of Election for greater Security, that no Party might pretend

[g] Leo Ep. 84. c. 5. Si in aliam forte Personam partium se Vota diviserint, Metropolitani Judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus & Studiis juvatur & Meritis: Tantum ut nullus invitis & non petentibus ordinetur, ne Plebs invita Episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, & fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit. [h] Novel. 24. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. Indecenter alios invitis & repugnantibus Civibus ordinavit. Qui quidem, quoniam non facile ab his qui non elegerant, recipiebantur, manum sibi contrahebat armatam —— Et ad sedem quietis Pacem prædicaturos per Bella ducebat. [i] Leo Ep. 89. ad Epis. Vien. Expectarentur certe Vota Civium, Testimonia Populorum, quæreretur Honoratorum Arbitrium, Electio Clericorum. —— Qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur. [k] Philostorg. lib. 9. c. 13. ὃν αὐτῶν αἱ ψῆφοι προσέταξον. [l] Ambr. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 5. In Ordinationibus eorum clamant & dicunt, Dignus es, & Justus es. [m] Aug. Ep. 110. Dignus & Justus est, dictum est vicies. [n] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29. πάντα λαὸν Ἄξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι. [o] Philostorg. lib. 9. c. 10. [p] Phot. Cod. 256. p. 1414. [q] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 4. [r] Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 15. [s] Ammian. lib. 27. c. 2. [t] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 29.

afterward that they had not given assent to it. Thus it was in the Election of *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was chosen by common Consent both of *Catholicks* and *Arians*, each Party presuming him to be of their own Opinion. The Election-Paper was Subscribed by all, *Theodoret* [*u*] says, and put into the hands of *Eusebius Samosatensis*, which *Constantius*, when *Meletius* proved a Catholick, demanded to have had it destroyed, but with all his Menaces he could not extort it from him. St. *Austin* gives the like Account [*w*] of the Election of *Eradius* his Successor at *Hippo*, which for some Reasons he got done in his own Life-time. He first ordered the Notaries of the Church to take the Acclamations of the People in Writing, and then required all that could Write, to Subscribe the Instrument themselves. And this was the common way whenever the Metropolitan could not be present at the Election; then the Decree of the whole Church was drawn up in Writing, and carried to him for his Consent and Approbation. The Remains of which Custom may still be seen in the ancient *Ordo Romanus* [*x*], where there is a Form of a Decree, which the Clergy and People were to Sign upon their Choice of a Bishop, and present it to the Metropolitan and the Synod, in order to his Consecration. In which Case, if the Metropolitan found him upon Examination to be a Person every way qualified, as they represented him, he then confirmed and ratified their Choice, and so proceeded immediately to his Ordination. All which argues that the People had something of a Decisive Power in Elections, and that their Suffrage was not merely Testimonial.

SECT. VII. 4thly, *From the Use and Office of Interventors.*

4thly, THIS is farther evident from the Use and Office of Interventors in the *Latin* Church, whose Business was to promote and procure a speedy Election of a new Bishop in any vacant See, as I have had occasion to shew [*xx*] in another Place. For in the *Roman* and *African* Churches, upon the Vacancy of a Bishoprick, it was usual for the Metropolitan to grant a Commission to some of his Provincial Bishops to go to the Vacant Church, and dispose the Clergy and People to be Unanimous in the Choice of a new Bishop; and when they were agreed, they petitioned the Metropolitan by the Interventor to confirm their Choice, and with a Synod of Provincial Bishops to come and ordain him whom they had Elected. Or else they drew up an Instrument in Writing, subscribed both by the Interventor and themselves, and presented the new Elect Bishop to the Metropolitan, who ordained him in his own Church. This was the Practice of the *Roman* Province in the Time of *Symmachus* and *Gregory* the Great, as appears from their Epistles, which give Directions to the Interventors, or Visitors, as they call them, concerning their Behaviour in the present Case. Let no one, says *Symmachus* [*y*], draw up an Instrument of Election without the Presence of the Visitor, by whose Testimony the Agreement of the Clergy and People may be declared. And *Gregory* writing to *Barbarus* Bishop of *Beneventum*, and Visitor of the Church of *Palermo*, bids him endeavour to make the Clergy and People Unanimous in their Presentation of a worthy Person to be their Bishop, who could not [*z*] be rejected by the Canons; and then drawing up their Petition in Form of a Decree, Signed with all their Hands, and the Letters Testimonial of the Visitor, they should send him to *Rome* for Consecration. Nothing can be plainer, than that here the Clergy and People made the Choice of their Bishop with the Assistance of a Visitor or Interventor, and they presented him to the Metropolitan, who, if he had no Canonical Exception against him, confirmed their Choice, and proceeded to his Ordination.

SECT. VIII. 5thly, *From the Custom of the Peoples taking Persons and having them ordained by Force.*

5thly, AS a farther Evidence of this Power and Privilege indulged to the People, it may be observed likewise, that it was Customary in those Days for the People in many Places to lay violent Hands upon Persons, and bring them by Force to the Bishop to be ordained. Thus *Possidius* [*a*] tells us it was in the Ordination of St. *Austin*, the People seized him and brought him to the Bishop, requiring with one Voice that he would ordain him Presbyter, whilst he in the mean time wept abundantly for the Force that was put upon him. *Paulinus* [*b*] says the same of himself, that he was ordained Presbyter by Force and the irresistable Violence of an inflam'd and zealous People. And there are many other Instances of the like Nature.

[*u*] Theod. lib. 2. c. 31. [*w*] Aug. Ep. 110. A Notariis Ecclesiæ, sicut cernitis, excipiuntur quæ dicimus, excipiuntur quæ dicitis, & meus sermo, & vestræ Acclamationes in terram non cadunt. ----- Hoc ad ultimum rogo, ut Gestis istis dignemini subscribere qui potestis. [*x*] Ordo Rom. Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 10. p. 104. Decretum quod Clerus & Populus firmare (al. formare) debet de electo Episcopo. ----- Ut omnium nostrum Vota in hanc Electionem convenire noscatis, huic Decreto Canonico promptissima voluntate singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus. [*xx*] *Book 2. Chap. 15.* [*y*] Symmach. Ep. 5. c. 9. Decretum sine Visitatoris præsentia nemo conficiat, cujus testimonio Clericorum, ac Civium possit Unanimitas declarari. [*z*] Greg. lib. 11. ep. 16. Dilectio tua Clerum Plebemque ejusdem Ecclesiæ admonere festinet ut remoto studio, uno eodemque Consensu talem sibi præficiendum expetant sacerdotem, qui & tanto Ministerio dignus valeat reperiri, & venerandis Canonibus nullatenus respuatur. Qui dum fuerit postulatus cum Solemnitate Decreti omnium Subscriptionibus roborati, & Dilectionis tuæ Testimonio Literarum, ad nos Sacrandus occurrat. [*a*] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 4. Eum tenuerunt &, ut in talibus consuetum est, Episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, omnibus id uno Consensu & Desiderio fieri perficique petentibus, magnoque studio & clamore flagitantibus, ubertim eo flente. [*b*] Paulin. Ep. 35. inter Epist. August. A Lampio apud Barcilonam in Hispania, per vim inflammatæ subito Plebis sacratus sum. Vid. Paulin. ep. 6. ad Severum. p. 191.

6thly,

SECT. IX. *6thly, from the Title of Fathers, which some Bishops upon this Account by way of Compliment gave to their People.*

6*thly*, I observe but one thing more relating to this Matter, which was the Compliment that some Bishops passed upon their People upon this Account, styling them Fathers, in regard to the Share and Influence they had in their Designation and Election. St. *Ambrose* himself speaking to his People, addresses himself to them in this Style: *Ye are* [*c*] *my Fathers, who chose me to be Bishop: Ye I say, are both my Children and Fathers; Children in particular, Fathers all together.* In which Words he plainly refers to that providential Consent of the People of *Milan*, who when they were divided before into several Factions, as soon as *Ambrose* was named, all unanimously conspired together in his Election. These are some of those Collateral Evidences, that may be brought to prove that anciently the Clergy and People joined in a common Vote in the Election of their Bishop, and that their Suffrage was something more than Testimonial, especially in the Fourth and Fifth Ages, in the *Latin* Church, where, as *De Marca* owns, the Peoples Request was chiefly considered.

SECT. X. *What Power the People had in the Designation of Presbyters.*

NOR was this Privilege only indulged them in the Election of their Bishop, but sometimes in the Designation of Presbyters also. For St. *Austin* and *Paulinus* were but to be ordained Presbyters, when that forcible Constraint, just now spoken of, was laid upon them by the People. Besides St. *Jerom* [*d*] says expressly, that Presbyters and the other Clergy were as much chosen by the People, as the Bishops were. And *Possidius* [*e*] notes this to have been both the Custom of the Church and St. *Austin*'s Practice, in the Ordinations of Priests and Clerks to have regard to the Majority or general Consent of Christian People. And *Siricius*, who speaks the Sense and Practice of the *Roman* Church, says [*f*], that when a Deacon was to be ordained either Presbyter or Bishop, he was first to be chosen both by the Clergy and People. And therefore I cannot so readily subscribe to the Assertion of those Learned Men, who say that Bishops before their Ordination were propounded to the People, but not Presbyters or any other of the Inferior Clergy.

SECT. XI. *Whether the Council of* Nice *made any Alteration in these Matters.*

AS to those who assert, that the People were anciently indulged in these Matters before the Council of *Nice*, but that their Power was abridged by a new Decree of that Council; They are evidently under a Mistake: For it is certain the *Nicene* Fathers made no Alteration in this Affair, but left the whole Matter as they found it. For though in one of their Canons [*g*] it is said, that the Presence, or at least the Consent of all the Provincial Bishops, and the Confirmation or Ratification of the Metropolitan shall be necessary to the Election and Ordination of a Bishop; yet that is not said to exclude any ancient Privilege that the People enjoyed, but only to establish the Rights of Metropolitans and Provincial Bishops, which *Meletius* the Schismatical *Ægyptian* Bishop had particularly invaded, by presuming to ordain Bishops without the Authority of his Metropolitan, or Consent of his Fellow-Bishops in the Provinces of *Ægypt*. That nothing else was designed by that Canon is evident from this, That the same Council in the Synodical Epistle written to the Church of *Alexandria* expressly mentions the Choice of the People, and requires it as a Condition of a Canonical Election. For speaking of such *Meletian* Bishops as would return to the Unity of the Catholick Church, it says, That when any Catholick Bishop died, *Meletian* Bishops might succeed in their Room, provided they were worthy, and that the People [*h*] chose them, and the Bishop of *Alexandria* ratified and confirmed their Choice. Our learned Bishop *Pearson* has rightly observed, that *Athanasius* [*i*] himself was thus chosen after the *Nicene* Council was ended; which is a certain Argument that the Peoples Right was not abrogated in that Council. The *Eusebian* Party made it an Objection against him, that he had not the Choice of the People: But the Bishops of *Ægypt* assembled in Synod, in their Snodical Epistle do with great Earnestness maintain the contrary, asserting, That the whole Multitude of the People of the Catholick Church [*k*], as if they had been all united in one Soul and Body, cried out, requiring *Athanasius* to be ordained Bishop. When *Gregory Nazianzen* [*l*] also says of him, that he was brought to the Throne of St. *Mark*, ψήφῳ τῷ λαῷ πανλὸς, by the Suffrage of all the People. It were easy to add many other Instances and Proofs of the like

[*c*] Ambr. Com. in Luc. lib. 8. c. 17. Vos enim mihi estis Parentes, qui Sacerdotium detulistis: Vos, inquam, Filii vel Parentes, Filii singuli, universi Parentes. [*d*] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Cum te vel Populus vel Pontifex Civitatis in Clerum elegerit, agito quæ Clerici sunt. Id. in Ezek. lib. 10. c. 33. p. 609. Speculator Ecclesiæ, vel Episcopus vel Presbyter, qui à Populo electus est. [*e*] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 21. In ordinandis Sacerdotibus & Clericis consensum majorum Christianorum & Consuetudinem Ecclesiæ sequendam esse arbitrabatur. [*f*] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. 10. Exinde jam accessu temporum, Presbyterium vel Episcoparum, si eum Cleri ac Plebis evocaverit Electio, non immerito sortietur.

[*g*] Conc. Nic. can. 4. [*h*] Conc. Nic. Ep. Synod. ap. Theod. lib. 1. c. 9. & Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9. εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱρεῖτο, σωεπιψηφίσοιτο· ἀυτῷ καὶ ἐπιφερεγγίζοντο τὸ τῆ τ' Ἀλεξανδρέας ἐπισκόπε. [*i*] Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Par. 1. c. 11. p. 324. ed. Antwerp. Eusebiani, qui Creationem Athanasii abrogare voluerunt, defectum Popularis Electionis objiciebant, & Episcopi Ægypti, in Synodo congregati, Epistola ad omnes Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Episcopos scripta, contrarium magna animi contentione asseruerunt.——Quod neque hi neque illi fecissent, si Populi Suffragia in eligendo Episcopo locum nullum habuissent. [*k*] Ep. Synod. Concil. Alex. ap. Athen. Apol. 2. t. 2. p. 726. πᾶς ὁ λαὸς — ἀνεβόων, ἐκραζον, αἰτῦντες Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον. [*l*] Naz. Orat. 21. Tom. 1. p. 377.

Nature

Nature to the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, when the People of *Alexandria* ſtill enjoyed their ancient Privilege, as appears from ſeveral Paſſages in *Liberatus*, who ſays of *Proterius* and ſome other of their Biſhops, that they were choſen by the Nobles, and the Decree [*m*] and Voice of all the People: But I ſhall ſay no more upon this Head, but only alledge two Canons of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, which comprize the whole Practice of the Church in relation to this matter: The one decreeing [*n*], that the Ordination of a Biſhop ſhould always be by the Conſent of Four Parties, the Clergy, the Laity, the Provincial Biſhops, and the Metropolitan, whoſe Preſence or Authority was principally neceſſary in all ſuch Caſes. The other Canon [*o*] orders, that no Biſhop ſhall ordain any Clergy-Men without Conſulting with his Clergy, and asking the Conſent, Approbation and Teſtimony of his People. This ſeems to have been the moſt Common and Ordinary Practice of the Church.

SECT. XII. *Some Exceptions to the General Rule. Firſt, In Caſe the greateſt Part of the Church were Hereticks or Schiſmaticks.*

BUT then as all General Rules have their Exceptions, ſo it cannot be denied but that this Rule varied ſometimes, or at leaſt had its Limitations and Reſtrictions: And I ſhall not do Juſtice to the Reader, nor the Subject neither, unleſs I mention thoſe alſo. Here therefore we are to obſerve in the firſt Place, that this Rule did not hold when the greateſt Part of any Church were turned Hereticks or Schiſmaticks. For in that Caſe, had Elections been made by the general Suffrage of the People, none but Heretical or Schiſmatical Biſhops muſt have been ordained. And therefore in the Time of the great Prevalency of *Arianiſm*, and the long Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, the Church did not tie her ſelf always to Act preciſely by this Rule. We find it objected by the *Donatiſts* in the Collation of *Carthage* [*p*], that the Catholicks made Biſhops in many Places where they had no People; that is, no Catholick People, for they were all *Donatiſts*; conſequently thoſe Biſhops were ordained not only without, but againſt the Conſent of the People. And this I take to be the Caſe of thoſe Biſhops mentioned in the 17th and 18th Canons in the Council of *Antioch*; one of which ſays, That if any Biſhop is ordained to preſide over a People, and does not take upon him his Office, and go to the Church to which he is ordained, he ſhall be Excommunicated, till he complies, or a Provincial Synod determines otherwiſe about him: And the other ſays, if ſuch a Biſhop abſents from his Dioceſe, not by his own Default, but διὰ τὸν τῶ λαῶ παραίτησιν, becauſe the People refuſe to receive him, in that Caſe he ſhall be honoured as a Biſhop, though not admitted to his own Church. Theſe Canons were made at a time when the *Arian* Faction had raiſed great Commotions in the Church, which probably made ſome Biſhops unwilling to go to their Churches, and others could not be admitted, becauſe the Faction ſtrongly prevailed againſt them: And in both of them it is ſuppoſed the Ordinations were made without asking the Peoples Conſent; of which Practice we have frequent Inſtances in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in Caſes of the ſame nature.

SECT. XIII. *2dly, In Caſe of Ordaining Biſhops to far diſtant Places, or Barbarous Nations.*

2*dly*, ANOTHER Exception to the Rule was, when Biſhops were to be ordained for very diſtant Countries or Barbarous Nations. When *Athanaſius* ordained *Frumentius* Biſhop of the *Indies* at *Alexandria*, as the Hiſtorians [*q*] report, no one can imagine that he had the Formal Conſent, though he might have the Preſumptive Approbation, of all his People. As neither can we ſuppoſe the Biſhop of *Tomi* in *Scythia* to be choſen by his People, when he was the only Biſhop [*r*] in all that Region, and commonly ordained at *Conſtantinople*, as by the 28th Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* the Biſhops of Barbarous Nations were appointed to be.

SECT. XIV. *3dly, In Caſe an Interventor or any other Biſhop intruded himſelf into any See without the Conſent of a Provincial Synod.*

3*dly*, IN Caſe an Interventor, or Viſitor, who was ſent to procure a ſpeedy Election in any Vacant See, got himſelf ſettled in the See, by the Intereſt which he had gained in the People during his Adminiſtration; yet he was not allowed to continue in the Poſſeſſion of that See, though he had made never ſo ſtrong a Party among the People, or had the Conſent of them all. As appears from a Canon of the Fifth Council of *Carthage* [*s*], which is alſo inſerted in the *Code* of the *African* Church. The Caſe was the ſame with any Vacant Biſhops, ἐπίσκοποι ἀχολάζοντες, as the Canons call them, who were ordained to ſuch Places as would not receive them: If any of them intruded themſelves into any Vacant Church without the Conſent of the Metropolitan and a Provincial Synod, they were to be rejected, though all the People were unanimous in chuſing

[*m*] Liberat. Breviar. c. 14. Collecti ſunt Nobiles Civitatis, ut eum qui eſſet vita & ſermone Pontificatu dignus, eligerent —— Noviſſime in Proterium omnium ſententia declinavit. Id. c. 15. Scripſit Imperator Leo Duci Alexandriæ Stilæ, ut pelleret quidem ab Epiſcopatu modis omnibus Timotheum, inthronizaret autem alium Decreto Populi, qui Synodum vindicaret.

[*n*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 1. Cum Conſenſu Clericorum & Laicorum, & conventu totius Provinciæ Epiſcoporum, maximeque Metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præſentia ordinetur Epiſcopus. [*o*] Ibid. Can. 22. Ut Epiſcopus ſine Conſilio Clericorum ſuorum Clericos non ordinet; ita ut Civium Aſſenſum, & Conniventiam, & Teſtimonium quærat.

[*p*] Collat. Carth. 1. c. 182. Petilianus Epiſcopus dixit: Imo crebros ubi habes Epiſcopos, ſane & ſine Populis habes.

[*q*] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. Theodoret. lib. 1. c. 23. [*r*] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19. [*s*] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 8. Placuit, ut nulli Interceſſori licitum ſit, Cathedram cui Interceſſor datus eſt, quibuſlibet Populorum ſtudiis, vel ſeditionibus retinere. Vid. Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 75.

them, as the Council of *Antioch* decreed in expreſs terms [*t*] againſt ſuch Invaders: If, ſay they, a Vacant Biſhop transfers himſelf into a Vacant Church, and ſeizes the Throne by ſtealth, without the Authority of a full Synod of the Province, he ſhall be diſcarded, though all the People upon whom he thruſt himſelf ſhould agree in the Choice of him. The ſame Council has another Canon [*u*] which prohibits any Biſhop to remove from one Dioceſe to another, either of his own Accord, or by the Compulſion of the People. Which plainly implies, that in all ſuch Caſes no Regard was had to the Choice of the People, when they pretended to Act without the Concurrence of a Provincial Synod.

SECT. XV. 4thly, *In Caſe of Factions and Diviſions among the People.*

4*thly*, When the People were divided in their Choice, and could not unanimouſly agree upon any one; then to prevent farther Diſputes, and the Miſchievous Conſequences of Faction and Diviſion, it was uſual for the Metropolitan and the Synod to chuſe an indifferent Perſon, whom no Party had named, and prefer him before all the Competitors of the People. And this was uſually done with good Succeſs: For the People commonly were aſhamed of their own Choice, and univerſally acquieſced in this. *Sidonius Apollinarius* gives us a famous Inſtance in the Ordination of *John* Biſhop of *Chalons:* a Triumvirate of Competitors, whoſe Characters were not extraordinary, had by different Intereſts drawn the People into three very great Factions; to remedy which, the Metropolitan privately conſulting with his Fellow Biſhops, but taking none of the People into Council, ordained this *John* to the ſurprize of them all: But as our Author [*w*] obſerves, it was managed with that Prudence, that though the Advice of the People was not taken, yet the Holy Man was ordained, to the Aſtoniſhment of the Factious, and Confuſion of the Wicked, with the general Acclamations of the Good, and the Contradictions and Oppoſitions of none. And this was a common Method in caſe of Incurable Diviſions among the People.

SECT. XVI. 5thly, *The Emperors ſometimes interpoſed their Authority to prevent Tumults in the like Caſes.*

5*thly*, SOMETIMES the Emperors interpoſed their Authority, and themſelves nominated the Perſon whom they would have to be ordained Biſhop, when they found by Experience what dangerous Tumults theſe Popular Elections raiſed among the People. Thus it was in the Caſe of *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who was nominated by *Theodoſius* only. For the People were not ſo much as conſulted in the matter, but the Emperor ordered the Biſhops to give him in a Catalogue of fit Perſons, reſerving the Power of Election entirely to himſelf. Nay, when ſome of the Biſhops objected againſt *Nectarius*, that he was but a Catechumen and Unbaptized, the Emperor notwithſtanding perſiſted in his Choice, and the Biſhops complied, and immediately Baptized and Ordained him, as *Sozomen* [*x*] informs us. *Socrates* takes notices of the ſame Prerogative made uſe of by *Theodoſius* Junior upon the like occaſion, who nominated *Neſtorius* to the See of *Conſtantinople*, διὰ τὰς κενοσωσίας by reaſon of Factions and Vain-glorious Perſons [*y*] in the Church. And for the like reaſon, the ſame Author [*z*] tells us, upon another Vacancy to prevent Tumults in the Election, he gave his Mandate to the Biſhops to inthrone *Proclus* in the Church. *De Marca* [*a*] will furniſh the Reader with other Inſtances, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory with more to the ſame Purpoſe.

SECT. XVII. 6thly, *The People ſometimes reſtrained to the Choice of one out of Three, which were nominated by the Biſhops.*

SOMETIMES again we find the People and Clergy were confined in their Choice, to take one out of Three, that were firſt nominated by the Biſhops in Council. Thus it was in *France* in the Time of the 2d Council of *Arles*, An. 452, when that Council made an Order about Elections to this purpoſe: That in the Ordination of a Biſhop [*b*] this Rule ſhould be obſerved, the Biſhops ſhall nominate Three, out of which the Clergy and People ſhall have Power to chuſe one. Other Laws [*c*] appointed the Clergy and People to nominate Three, and the Metropolitan and Provincial Biſhops to caſt Lots which of the Three ſhould be ordained; which was the Rule of the *Spaniſh* Church in the Time of the Council of *Barcelona*, An. 599.

SECT. XVIII. Laſtly, *by* Juſtinian's *Laws the Elections were confined to the* Optimates, *and the Inferior People wholly excluded.*

Laſtly, WE find alſo in *Juſtinian*'s Laws, that a conſiderable Alteration was made in this Affair, where-ever thoſe Laws took Place. For thereby the Inferior ſort of the Common People were wholly cut off from having any Concern in theſe Elections, which were now confined to the Clergy, and the *Optimates*, or Perſons of better Rank and Quality in every

[*t*] Conc. Antioch. c. 16. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος χολάζων ἐπὶ χολάζουσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπῤῥίψας, ὑφαρπάζει τὸν θρόνον δίχα συνόδου τελείας; τοῦτον ἀπόβλητον εἶναι, κἂν εἰ τῆς ὅλης, ὃν ὑφάρπαξεν, ἕλοιτο αὐτόν. [*u*] Ibid. Can. 21. Ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ παροικίας ἑτέρας εἰς ἑτέραν μὴ μεθίσασθαι, μήτε αὐθαιρέτως ἐπῤῥίπτουσα ἑαυτὸν, μήτε ὑπὸ λαῶν ἐκβιαζόμενον. [*w*] Sidon. lib. 4. ep. 25. Strepitu furentis turbæ deſpecto, ſanctum Johannem, Stupentibus Factioſis, erubeſcentibus Malis, acclamantibus Bonis, reclamantibus nullis, Collegam ſibi conſecravere. [*x*] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 8. [*y*] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 29. [*z*] Idem lib. 7. c. 40. [*a*] Marca de Concord. lib. 8. c. 9. n. 8. [*b*] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 54. Placuit in Ordinatione Epiſcopi hunc ordinem cuſtodiri, ut Tres ab Epiſcopis nominentur, de quibus Clerici vel Cives erga unum habeant eligendi poteſtatem. [*c*] Conc. Barcinon. Can. 3.

Church. For ſo by two of his Novels [*d*] it is expreſly provided, that when a Biſhop is to be ordained for any City, the Clergy and Chief Men of the City ſhall meet, and nominate three Perſons, drawing up an Inſtrument, and inſerting therein upon their Oath that they chuſe them neither for any Gift, nor Promiſe, nor Friendſhip, nor any other Cauſe, but becauſe they know them to be of the true Catholick Faith, and of Honeſt Life, and Good Learning, *&c.* That out of theſe Three, one that is beſt qualified may be choſen by the Diſcretion and Judgment of the Ordainer. *De Marca* thinks the Council of *Laodicea* long before made a Canon to the ſame purpoſe, forbidding the Elections of the Clergy to be committed τοῖς ὄχλοις, *Vili Plebeculæ*, as *de Marca* renders it [*e*], that is, to the Common and Inferior ſort of People. But it is not certain the Canon intended the Prohibition in that Senſe; Or if it did, it was of no Force, for the People continued their ancient Practice for ſome Ages after that Council. However upon the whole matter it appears, that this Power of the People did never ſo univerſally obtain, but that it was limited in ſeveral Caſes by certain Reſtrictions, and varied according to the different State of Times, and Nations.

SECT. XIX.

How and When Princes and Patrons came to have the chief Power of Elections.

AT laſt upon the breaking of the *Roman* Empire, the *Gothick* Kings in *France* and *Spain* were generally complimented with a ſhare in theſe Elections, and their Conſent was as neceſſary as any other to the Ordination of Biſhops within their Dominions. By which means their Power quickly increaſed into a Prerogative of Nominating ſolely, and all others had little elſe to do but to accept their Nominations. Which the Reader that is Curious in this Matter may find diſcourſed at large by *de Marca* [*f*] in his Account of the Change that was made in the *French* and *Spaniſh* Churches in After-ages, which is none of my Buſineſs here farther to purſue. As to the Power of Nomination in inferior Patrons, it is generally agreed by Learned Men [*g*], that it came in upon the Diviſion of Dioceſes into diſtinct Pariſhes, and the Founding of Churches in Country Places. For to give greater Encouragement to ſuch Pious and Uſeful Works, the Founder of any Church, who ſettled an Endowment upon it, was allowed to retain the Right of Preſentation to himſelf, to Nominate a fit Clerk to the Biſhop for his Approbation. That which led the way to this Practice, was a Decree of the firſt Council of *Orange*, An. 441, wherein this Power and Privilege was firſt granted to Biſhops, that if any Biſhop was diſpoſed to found a Church in the Territory of another Biſhop, the Biſhop of the Dioceſe where the Church was built ſhould conſecrate it; Reſerving to the Founder [*h*] the Right of Nominating ſuch Clerks as he ſhould deſire to have in his own Church, whom the Biſhop of the Dioceſe ſhould ordain at his Requeſt; or if they were already ordained, he ſhould allow them to continue without any Moleſtation. And this Canon is repeated in the 2d Council of *Arles* [*i*], in the Editions of *Sirmond* and *Labbe*, though it be wanting in ſome others. After this by the Laws of *Juſtinian*, all Founders of Churches and their Heirs are allowed to Nominate their own Clerks, upon the Right of Patronage, to thoſe Churches. If any Man builds an Oratory, ſays one [*k*] of his Novels, and either he or his Heirs are minded to have Clerks ordained thereto; if they allow Maintenance to them, and they be Worthy Perſons, ſuch as they Nominate ſhall be Ordained. And the Biſhop has no Power to ordain any other, unleſs the Perſon ſo Nominated be unqualified by the Canons. Another Novel [*l*] allows the Biſhop Liberty to examine them, and judge of their Qualifications; but if he finds them Worthy, he is obliged to ordain them, having in that Caſe no Power to refuſe them. They who would ſee more of this Matter may conſult our Learned Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, who gives an Account [*m*] of the Progreſs of it in future Ages; which being foreign to my Subject, I return to the Buſineſs of Elections in the ancient Church, and proceed to give an Account of the ſeveral Qualifications, that were neceſſarily required in Perſons to be Elected and Ordained to any Office or Dignity in the Church.

[*d*] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 1. Sancimus, quoties opus fuerit Epiſcopum ordinari, Clericos & Primates Civitatis, cui Epiſcopus ordinandus eſt, mox in tribus Perſonis Decreta facere, propoſitis Sacroſanctis Evangeliis, periculo ſuarum animarum dicentes in ipſis Decretis, quia neque propter aliquam Donationem, neque propter in aliquam Promiſſionem, aut Amicitiam, aut aliam quamlibet cauſam; ſed Scientes eos rectæ & Catholicæ Fidei, & honeſtæ eſſe Vitæ, & Literas noſſe, hos elegerunt: —— Ut ex tribus illis Perſonis melior ordinetur, Electione & Judicio Ordinantis. *See alſo Novel.* 137. c. 2. & Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 42.

[*e*] Concil. Laodic. c. 13. Marca de Concord. lib. 8. c. 6. n. 8.

[*f*] Marca de Concord. lib. 8. c. 9. & 10. [*g*] See Stillingfleet Unreaſ. of Separ. p. 326. [*h*] Conc. Araſican. 1. c. 9. Reſervata Ædificatori Epiſcopo hac gratia, ut quos deſiderat Clericos in re ſua videre, ipſos ordinet is in cujus Civitatis Territorio eſt; vel ſi jam ordinati ſunt, ipſos habere acquieſcat. [*i*] Conc. Arelat. 2. an. 452. can. 36. [*k*] Novel. 123. c. 18. Si quis Oratorii Domum ædificaverit, & voluerit in ea Clericos ordinare aut ipſe, aut ejus Hæredes: Si expenſas ipſis Clericis miniſtrant, & dignos denominant, denominatos ordinari. Si vero qui ab eis eliguntur, tanquam indignos prohibent ſacræ Regulæ ordinari, tunc Epiſcopus quoſcunque putaverit meliores, ordinari procuret. [*l*] Novel 57. c. 2. [*m*] Stillingfl. Unreaſ. of Separ. Par. 3. p. 327.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Examination and Qualifications of Perſons to be Ordained to any Office of the Clergy in the Primitive Church. And firſt of their Faith and Morals.

SECT. I. *Three Enquiries made about Perſons to be ordained, reſpecting, 1ſt, Their Faith. 2dly, Their Morals. 3dly, Their outward Quality and Condition.*

BEFORE any Perſon could Regularly be Elected or Ordained to any Clerical Office in the Church, the Electors and Ordainers were obliged to make ſeveral Enquiries concerning him, which I think may be reduced to theſe Three Heads: The Examination of his Faith, his Morals, and his Outward State and Condition in the World. The two firſt of theſe they were moſt ſtrict in Canvaſſing and Examining, becauſe they were more Eſſential and Neceſſary to the Miniſtry: but the Third they did not omit, becauſe the peculiar State of thoſe Times did more eſpecially require it. For then Men were tied by the Laws of the Empire to bear the Offices of the State, according to their Quality and Subſtance, and thoſe Offices were commonly inconſiſtent with the Offices of the Church: Which made it neceſſary to enquire, before Men were ordained, Whether they were under any Obligation to the State, or obnoxious to any diſtinct Power, for fear the Church ſhould ſeem to encroach upon other Men's Rights, or bring Trouble upon herſelf, by having her Clergy recalled to a ſecular Life again.

SECT. II. *The Rule and Method of examining their Faith and Learning.*

THE Tryal of their Faith and Orthodoxy, under which I alſo comprehend their Learning, was made three Ways: Partly by obliging the Electors to give in their publick Teſtimony of them; partly by obliging the Perſons elected to anſwer to certain Interrogatories or Queſtions of Doctrine that were put to them; and partly by making them ſubſcribe a Body of Articles, or Confeſſion of Faith at the time of their Ordination. By a Law of *Juſtinian*'s [*a*] the Electors themſelves were to declare upon Oath in the Inſtrument or Decree of Elections, if it were a Biſhop that was choſen, that they knew him to be a Man of the true Catholick Faith, and of a good Life and Converſation, *&c.* And by the ſame Law the Biſhop to be ordained was required to give in a Libel, or Form of Confeſſion of his Faith, ſubſcribed with his own Hand; and to repeat the Form of Prayer uſed at the Oblation of the Holy *Euchariſt*, and at Baptiſm, with the other Prayers of the Church. Which was an Intimation that he allowed and approved the Liturgy or Publick Service of the Church. The 4th Council of *Carthage* preſcribes a particular Form of Examination by way of Interrogatories to the Biſhop who was to be ordained, which is too long to be here inſerted; but it conſiſts chiefly of ſuch Queſtions as relate to the Articles of the Creed, and Doctrines levelled againſt the moſt noted Hereſies [*b*], that either then were, or lately had been predominant in the Church. Orders alſo are there given to examine, whether the Candidate be well inſtructed in the Law of God, and able to expound the Senſe of Scripture, and be throughly exerciſed in the Doctrines of the Church. By which we may judge what due Precaution was then taken, to admit none but Perſons rightly qualified, as to their Faith, to the chief Adminiſtrations of the Church.

SECT. III. *The irregular Ordination of* Syneſius *conſidered.*

UPON which Conſideration it has ſeemed very difficult to ſome Learned Men, to account for the Practice and Conduct of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, in ordaining *Syneſius*, at the ſame time that he profeſſed he could not yet believe the Doctrine of the Reſurrection, and ſome other Articles of the Chriſtian Faith. *Baronius* [*c*] and *Habertus* [*d*], and our Learned Biſhop *Taylor* [*e*], reckon he only diſſembled, and uſed this Stratagem to avoid being ordained. But had this been the Caſe, it had ſtill been a juſt Canonical Exception againſt him: For the Canons [*f*] forbid the Ordination of any one, who accuſes himſelf as guilty of any henious Crime, whether his Accuſation be true or falſe: For he proves himſelf guilty either by confeſſing a Truth, or at leaſt by telling a Lye about it. But indeed the Caſe of *Syneſius* was no feigned Caſe, for he ſpake the real Senſe of his Soul; as appears not only from what the Hiſtorian [*g*] ſays of it, but from the Account which he himſelf gives in one of his Epiſtles [*h*] to his Brother *Euoptius:* You know, ſays he, that Philoſophy

[*a*] Juſtin. Novel. 137. n. 2. Quemque ipſorum jurare ſecundum divina Eloquia, & ipſis Pſephiſmatibus inſcribi —— Quod ſcientes ipſos rectæ & Catholicæ Fidei, honeſtæ vitæ, ipſos elegerint. Ibid. Exigi etiam ante omnia ab eo qui ordinandus eſt, Libellum ejus propria ſubſcriptione complectentem quæ ad rectam ejus Fidem pertinent. Enunciari etiam ab ipſo & ſanctam Oblationis Formulam, quæ in ſancta Communione fit, & eam quæ fit in Baptiſmate Precationem, & reliquas Deprecationes.

[*b*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 1. [*c*] Baron. an. 410. Tom. 5. p. 315. [*d*] Habert. Archieratic. p. 500. [*e*] Taylor Duct. Dubit. Book 3. c. 2. p. 495. [*f*] Conc. Valentin. c. 4. Quicunque ſub ordinatione vel Diaconatus, vel Presbyterii, vel Epiſcopatus, mortali crimine ſe dixerint eſſe pollutos, à ſupradictis ordinationibus eſſe ſubmovendos, reos ſcilicet vel veri Confeſſione, vel Mendacio falſitatis. [*g*] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 15. ἕπω τὸν λόγον τῆ ἀναστάσεως παραδεχόμενον, &c. [*h*] Syneſ. Ep. 105. p. 397.

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teaches the contrary to many of those generally received Doctrines. Therefore I cannot perswade my self, that the Soul is Postnate to the Body; I cannot say that the World and all its Parts shall be dissolved; I look upon the Resurrection to be ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον, a sort of mystical and ineffable thing, and am far from assenting to the vulgar Opinions about it.—And now being called to the Priesthood, I would not dissemble these things, but testify them both before God and Man. This Asseveration seems too solemn and serious, to be the Speech of one who was only acting a Part, and dissembling his Opinion; and therefore it is more probable that he was in earnest, as *Lucas Holstenius* [*i*] more fully shews in a peculiar Dissertation upon this Subject against *Baronius*. *Valesius*, to vindicate *Theophilus*, says [*k*] *Synesius* altered his Opinions before he was ordained: But that is more than can be proved. The best Account of the thing is that which is given by *Holstenius*, that it was the Man's admirable Virtues, and excellent Qualifications in other respects, and a great Want of fit Men to those difficult Times, that encouraged *Theophilus* to ordain him, in hopes that God would enlighten his Mind, and not suffer so excellent a Person long to labour under such Errors in Religion. But the fairest Colours that can be put upon it, will hardly justifie a Fact so contrary to the Rules of the Church. The Instance was singular, and never made a Precedent, or drawn into Imitation; the general Practice of the Church being, as has been shewed, to examine Mens Orthodoxy, and require their Assent and Subscriptions to the Rule of Faith before their Ordination.

SECT. IV. *A strict Enquiry made into the Morals of such as were to be ordained.*

THEIR next Enquiry was into the Morals of the Person to be ordained. And here the Examination was very strict and accurate. For then the Custom was generally to ordain such only as were known to all the People, and of whose Life and Character they were satisfied, and could bear Testimony to them. The Bishops and Presbyters who preside over us, says [*l*] *Tertullian*, are advanced to that Honour only by publick Testimony. The Law is, says [*m*] *Cyprian*, to chuse Bishops in the Presence of the People, who have perfect Knowledge of every Man's Life, and are acquainted with the Tenour of their Actions by their Conversation.

UPON which Account the Laws forbad the Ordination of Strangers in any Church to which they did not belong. *Optatus* makes it an Objection against the Donatists, that in the *Roman* See they never had a Bishop, who was a Citizen of *Rome*, but still their Succession in that City [*n*] was supplied by *Africans* and Strangers. Whereas on the contrary he challenges [*o*] them to shew, whenever the Church at any time brought a *French* Man or a *Spaniard* into *Africk*; or ordained a Stranger to a People that knew nothing of him. In the Civil Law we have a Constitution of *Honorius* the Emperor [*p*] to this Purpose, That no Clerks should be ordained out of any other Possession or Village, but only that where their Church was. Or if any thinks that Decree was made rather for Reasons of State, he may read the same in the Canons of the Church: As in the Council of *Eliberis*, which [*q*] decrees, that no Stranger baptized in a foreign Country, should be ordained out of the Province where he was baptized, because his Life and Conversation could not be known. And this Rule was generally observed, except in some extraordinary Cases, when either Publick Fame had made a Man eminent and noted over all the World; or there were some particular Reasons for going against the Rule, of which I have given an Account in another Place. See *Book* 2. *C.* 10. *Sect* 3.

SECT. V. *For which Reason no Stranger to be ordained in a foreign Church.*

THE Strictness of this Examination, as to Men's Morals, will appear farther from this, that the Commission of any scandalous Crime, for which a Man was obliged to do Penance in the Church, did for ever after, according to the Rules and Discipline of those Times, render that Person irregular and uncapable of Holy Orders. For though they granted Pardon and Absolution and Lay-Communion to all Offenders that submitted to the Discipline of publick Penance; yet they thought it not proper to admit such to Clerical Dignities, but excluded them from the Orders and Promotions of the Church. At least it was thus in most of the Western Churches in the 4th and 5th Centuries, as appears from the *Latin* Writers of those Ages. The Epistles of *Siricius* and *Innocent* shew it to have been the Practice of the *Roman* Church in their Time. For *Siricius* [*r*] says,

SECT. VI. *Nor any one who had done publick Penance in the Church.*

[*i*] Holsten. Dissert. 3. de Synesio, ap. Vales. Not. in Theodor. p. 203. [*k*] Vales. Not. in Evagr. lib. 1. c. 15. It. Petav. Vit. Synes. p. 4. [*l*] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Præsident apud nos probati quique Seniores, Honorem istum non Pretio, sed Testimonio adepti. [*m*] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. p. 172. Episcopus deligatur Plebe præsente. quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit.

[*n*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 48. Quid est hoc, quod Pars vestra in Urbe Roma Episcopum Civem habere non potuit? Quid est quod toti Afri & Peregrini in illa Civitate sibi successisse noscuntur. [*o*] Ibid. p. 51. Nunquid nos adduximus Hispanum aut Gallum? Aut nos ordinavimus ignorantibus Peregrinum? [*p*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. leg. 33. Clerici non ex alia Possessione vel Vico, sed ex eo ubi Ecclesiam esse constiterit, ordinentur.

[*q*] Conc. Eliber. c. 24. Omnes qui peregre fuerint baptizati, eo quod eorum minime sit cognita vita, placuit, ad Clerum non esse promovendos in alienis Provinciis. [*r*] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. 14. Post Pœnitudinem & Reconciliationem nulli unquam Laico liceat honorem Clericatus adipisci: Quia quamvis sint omnium peccatorum contagione mundati, nulla tamen debent gerendorum Sacramentorum Instrumenta suscipere, qui dudum fuerint Vasa vitiorum.

no Layman after publick Penance and Reconciliation was to be admitted to the Honour of the Clergy: Becauſe though they were cleanſed from the Contagion of all their Sins, yet they ought not to touch the Inſtruments of the Sanctuary, who themſelves before had been the Inſtruments and Veſſels of Sin. The Letters of *Innocent* [s] are to the ſame purpoſe. And ſo for the *French* Churches we have the Teſtimony of *Gennadus* [t] and the 2d Council [u] of *Arles*, and *Agde* [w]. And for the *Spaniſh* Churches a Canon of the 1ſt Council [x] of *Toledo*, which allows not Penitents to be ordained, except in Caſe of Neceſſity, and then only to the Offices of the Inferior Orders, Door-keepers and Readers. The Practice of the *African* Churches is evident from the 4th Council of *Carthage*, which decrees [y] that no Penitent ſhould be ordained, though he was a good Man at the preſent. And if any ſuch was ordained by the Biſhop's Ignorance, not knowing his Character, he ſhould be depoſed, becauſe he did not declare that he had been a Penitent, at the Time of his Ordination. By this we may underſtand what *Optatus* means, when ſpeaking of the *Donatiſts*, who made ſome of the Catholick Children do publick Penance in the Church, he ſays they thereby gave them a Wound, which was intended [z] to cut them off from the Benefit of Ordination; plainly referring to this Rule in the Church, that he who had done publick Penance, was thereby made uncapable of Ordination. Which ſeems alſo to be St. *Auſtin*'s Meaning, when ſpeaking of a Chriſtian Aſtrologer, who had done Penance for his Fault, he ſays, his Converſion perhaps [a] might make ſome think he intended to get an Office among the Clergy of the Church: But no, ſays he, he is a Penitent; he ſeeks nothing more but only a Pardon and Abſolution: Meaning that a Perſon in his Circumſtances could not pretend to ſue for Orders by the Rules and Canons of the Church. But we are to note, that this is always to be underſtood of publick Penance, not of private: For the Council of *Girone* or *Gerunda* in *Catalonia* expreſly makes this Diſtinction [b] between publick Penance in the Church, and private Penance in time of Sickneſs; making the one to incapacitate Men from taking Orders, but not the other. And in all other Canons, where this Diſtinction is not expreſſed, it is always to be underſtood. For it was only that Penance which left ſome publick Mark of Diſgrace upon Men, which unqualified them for the Orders of the Church. But this Rule might be diſpenſed with in extraordinary Caſes, and there are ſome Learned Men who think, it was not ſo generally inſiſted on in the three firſt Ages of the Church.

SECT. VII. *No Murderer to be ordained, nor Adulterer, nor one that had lapſed in Time of Perſecution.*

As to particular Crimes, there were a great many that unqualified Men, whether they had done publick Penance for them or not. Such as the three great Crimes of Murder, Adultery, and Lapſing in Time of Perſecution. The Council of *Toledo* [c] ſets Murder in the Front of thoſe Sins which exclude Men from Holy Orders. The Crime of Fornication and Adultery is noted upon the ſame Account by thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [d], the Council of *Neo-Cæſarea* [e], the Council of *Nice* [f], *Eliberis* [g], and ſeveral others. Nay the Council of *Neo-Cæſarea* goes a little farther, and decrees [h] that if any Man's Wife commit Adultery whilſt he was a Layman, he ſhould not be admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Function. Or if ſhe committed Adultery when he was in Office, he muſt give her a Bill of Divorce and put her away; otherwiſe be degraded from his Office. As to the Crime of Lapſing and Sacrificing in time of Perſecution, *Origen* [i] aſſures us it was the Cuſtom of the Church in his Time to exclude ſuch as were guilty of it, from all Eccleſiaſtical Power and Government. And *Athanaſius* [k] ſays the ſame, that they were allowed the Privilege of Repentance, but not to have any Place among the Clergy. Or if any were ignorantly ordained, they were to be depoſed as ſoon as they were diſcovered, by a Rule [l] of the great Council of *Nice*. Which was no new Rule, but the ancient Rule of the whole Catholick Church: For *Cyprian* [m] ſays it was agreed upon at *Rome*, and in *Africk*, and by the Biſhops of the whole World, that ſuch Men might be admitted to Repentance; but ſhould be kept back from the Ordinations of the Clergy, and the Honour of the Prieſthood. Upon this account the *Arians* themſelves, though they were not much given to act by Rules, ſometimes thought fit to deny Men Ordination; As *Athanaſius* [n] and *Socrates* [o] ſay they did by *Auſte-*

[s] Innoc. Ep. 22. c. 3. Ubi Pœnitentiæ remedium neceſſarium eſt: illic Ordinationis honorem locum habere non poſſe.
[t] Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 73. [u] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 25.
[w] Conc. Agath. c. 43. De Pœnitentibus nullus Clericus ordinetur. [x] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 2. Pœnitentes non admittantur ad Clerum, niſi tantum neceſſitas aut uſus exegerit, & tunc inter Oſtiarios deputentur, vel inter Lectores. [y] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 68. Ex Pœnitentibus (quamvis ſit bonus) Clericus non ordinetur. Si per ignorantiam Epiſcopi factum fuerit, deponatur à Clero, quia ſe Ordinationis tempore non prodidit fuiſſe Pœnitentem. [z] Optat. lib. 2. p. 59. Inveniſtis pueros, de Pœnitentia ſauciaſtis, ne aliqui ordinari potuiſſent. [a] Aug. Append. Enarrat. Pſal. 61. Poſſet videri, quia ſic converſus eſt, Clericatum quærere in Eccleſia. Pœnitens eſt: Non quærit niſi ſolam Miſericordiam. Vid. Aug. Ep. 50. ad Bonifac. p. 87.
[b] Conc. Gerundenſ. an. 517. c. 9. Qui ægritudinis languore depreſſus, Pœnitentiæ Benedictionem, quam Viaticum deputamus, per Communionem acceperit; & poſtmodum reconvaleſcens caput Pœnitentiæ in Eccleſia publicè non ſubdiderit; ſit prohibitis vitiis non detinetur obnoxius, admittatur ad Clerum.
[c] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 2. [d] Canon. Apoſt. c. 61.
[e] Conc. Neo-cæſ. c. 9. & 10. [f] Conc. Nic. c. 2.
[g] Conc. Eliber. c. 30. [h] Conc. Neo-Cæſ. c. 8. [i] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 3. p. 143. [k] Athan. Ep. ad Ruffin. Tom. 2. p. 41. [l] Conc. Nic. c. 10. [m] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. p. 174. Cum jampridem nobiſcum, & cum omnibus omnino Epiſcopis in toto mundo conſtitutis, etiam Cornelius Collega noſter —— decreverit, ejuſmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam poſſe admitti; ab ordinatione autem Cleri, atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi. [n] Athan. de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. Tom. 1. p. 887. [o] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 36.

rius the Sophiſt, whom they would not Ordain, becauſe he had Sacrificed in time of Perſecution. But they were far from being conſtant to this Rule; for if *Philoſtorgius* [p] ſays true, the Leading Biſhops of the *Arian* Party, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Leontius* of *Antioch*, *Antonius* of *Tarſus*, *Manophantus* of *Epheſus*, *Numenius*, *Eudoxius*, *Alexander* and *Aſterius* of *Cappadocia*, all Sacrificed in the *Diocletian* Perſecution. But then it muſt be owned, that ſome of theſe were ordained Biſhops in the Church, before the *Arian* Hereſy began to appear: Whence we muſt conclude, that either the Biſhops who ordained them, knew nothing of their Lapſing; or elſe that the Church her ſelf ſometimes granted Diſpenſations in this Caſe alſo. *Baronius* [q] and ſome others, lay it to the charge of *Euſebius* the Hiſtorian, that he Sacrificed in Time of Perſecution: *Petavius* [r], and *Huetius* [s], and Mr. *Pagi* [t] bring the ſame Charge againſt *Origen* out of *Epiphanius*, the firſt Reporter of the Story: Whilſt *Valeſius* [u] and *du Pin* [w] undertake to vindicate the Reputation of *Origen* from ſo foul an Aſperſion; And *Hanckius* [x] and Dr. *Cave* [y] do the ſame for *Euſebius*. I will not interpoſe in theſe Controverſies, but only obſerve, that if the Accuſations brought againſt thoſe two Perſons were true, the Conſequence muſt be, either that Perſons who had lapſed might be ordained, or at leaſt continue in their Orders undepoſed, when the Church ſaw fit to diſpenſe with her Ordinary Rule; which probably was not ſo ſtrict, but that it might admit of ſome Relaxation, when proper Occaſions and Caſes Extraordinary ſeemed to require it.

SECT. VIII. *No Uſurer, or Seditious Perſon.*

ANOTHER Crime which unqualified Men for Orders in thoſe Times, was Sedition or Rebellion: For he that ſtood convicted of Treaſonable Practices was never to be Ordained. This appears from the fourth Council [z] of *Carthage*, which joyns the Seditious and Uſurers together, and excludes them both from Ordination. As to the Crime of Uſury, I ſhall not here ſtand to explain the Nature of it, which will be done in a more convenient Place [zz], but only obſerve, that this Crime in the Senſe in which the Ancients condemned it, was of ſuch an odious and ſcandalous Nature, as to debar Men that had been guilty of it, from the Honour and Privilege of Ordination. Whence *Gennadius* ſpeaking of the Practice of the *Latin* Church, and the Qualifications required in Perſons to be ordained, ſays, they muſt not be Men convicted of taking Uſury [a]. In the *Greek* Church, at leaſt in the Province of *Cappadocia*, the Rule ſeems not to have been altogether ſo ſtrict: For St. *Baſil*'s Canons [b] do not abſolutely exclude ſuch from the Miniſtry, but allow them to be Ordained, provided they firſt gave away to the Poor what they had gained by Uſury, and promiſed not to exerciſe it for the future.

SECT. IX. *Nor one who had voluntarily Diſmembred his own Body.*

ANOTHER Crime which made a Man Irregular, and debarred him from the Privilege of Ordination, was the Disfiguring or Diſmembring of his own Body. If any Man indeed happened to be Born an Eunuch, there was no Law againſt his Ordination: For *Euſebius* [c] ſays, *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch* was an Eunuch from his Mother's Womb; And *Socrates* [d] and *Sozomen* ſay of *Tigris* Presbyter of *Conſtantinople*, that he was made an Eunuch by a Barbarian Maſter. Or if a Man had ſuffered the loſs of any Member by the Cruelty of the Perſecutors, as many Confeſſors in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution had their right Eyes bored out, and their left Legs infeebled; in that Caſe there was no Prohibition of their Ordination, except they were utterly incapacitated from doing the Office of Miniſters, by being made Blind, or Deaf, or Dumb; for ſo thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [e] determined: A Man that had loſt an Eye, or is maimed in his Leg, may be ordained Biſhop, if he be otherwiſe Worthy. For it is not any Imperfection of Body that defiles a Man, but the Pollution of his Soul. Yet if a Man is Deaf or Blind, he ſhall not be made Biſhop; not becauſe he is polluted, but becauſe he will not be able to perform the Duties of his Function. The Council of *Nice* adds a 3d Caſe, in which it was not lawful to ordain diſmembred Perſons, which was when in Caſe of a mortal Diſtemper the Phyſicians thought it neceſſary to cut off one Limb of the Body to ſave the whole. All theſe were excepted Caſes, and the Prohibition of the Canon did not extend to them: But the Crime was when any one diſmembred himſelf in Health, as the *Nicene* Canon [f] words it; ſuch an one was not to be ordained, or if he was ordained when he committed the Fact, he was to be depoſed. The Apoſtolical Canons [g] give this Reaſon for it, becauſe ſuch an one is in effect a Self-Murderer, and an Enemy of the Workmanſhip of God. Nor was it any Excuſe in this Caſe, that a Man made himſelf an Eunuch out of pretended Piety, or to avoid Fornication. For ſuch were liable to the Penalty of the Canon, as well as any others; which is noted by *Gennadius* [h] and the Council [i] of *Arles*. And indeed the firſt Rea-

[p] Philoſtorg. lib. 2. c. 14. [q] Baron. ad an. 335. n. 8. [r] Petav. Animadverſ. in Epiphan. Hær. 64. n. 2. [s] Huet. Origenian. lib. 1. c. 4. [t] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 251. n. 6. [u] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 39. [w] Du Pin Bibliotheque Tom 1. p. 444. [x] Hanckius de Scriptor. Byzantin. Par. 1. c. 1. n. 158. [y] Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 128. [z] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 67. Seditionarios nunquam ordinandos Clericos, ſicut nec Uſuarios. [zz] *Book 6.* [a] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. c. 73. Neque illum qui Uſuras accepiſſe convincitur. [b] Baſil. Can. 14. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Tom. 2. [c] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 32. [d] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 15. Sozom. lib. 8. c. 24. [e] Canon. Apoſt. c. 76. & 77. [f] Conc. Nic. c. 1. [g] Canon. Apoſt. c. 21. [h] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. c. 73. [i] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 7. Si qui ſe, carnali vitio repugnare neſcientes, abſcindunt, ad Clerum pervenire non poſſunt.

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ſon of making the Canon was to prevent the miſtaken Notion of Piety, which had once poſſeſſed *Origen* [k], who taking thoſe Words of our Saviour, *There are ſome that make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*, in a wrong Senſe, fulfilled them Literally upon himſelf. And the *Valeſian* Hereticks carried the Matter a little farther, aſſerting, that Men ought to ſerve God after that Manner; and therefore they both made themſelves Eunuchs, and all that came over to them, as St. *Auſtin* [l] informs us. It was to correct and diſcountenance theſe enormous Opinions and Practices, that the Church at firſt made this Rule; which was ſo nicely obſerved, that we ſcarce meet with two Inſtances to the contrary in After-ages. *Leontius* made himſelf an Eunuch, to avoid Suſpicion in his Converſe with the Virgin *Euſtolium*; but he was depoſed from the Office of Presbyter for the Fact, and it gave occaſion to the Council of *Nice* to renew the ancient Canon againſt ſuch Practices; ſo that when the *Arians* afterward ordained him Biſhop of *Antioch*, the Hiſtorians [m] tell us, the Catholicks generally declaimed againſt his Ordination as Uncanonical. The only Inſtance that looks like a Diſpenſation with this Rule, is what we have in *Baronius* concerning *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* his Ordaining *Ammon* the *Egyptian* Monk, who to avoid being Ordained had cut off his own right Ear, to make himſelf Irregular; notwithſtanding which, *Baronius* [n] ſays, *Timotheus* ordained him, and juſtified what he did with this Expreſſion: That this Law indeed was obſerved by the *Jews*; but for his own part, if they brought to him a Man without a Noſe, that was but of good Morals, he would ordain him Biſhop. But there is ſome reaſon to queſtion the Truth of this Narration; for not only *Palladius*, whom *Baronius* cites, but *Socrates* and [o] *Sozomen* in telling the Story, ſeem rather to intimate that he was not Ordained. However ſuppoſing it to be true, it is a ſingular Inſtance, and we ſhall hardly find ſuch another in all the Hiſtory of the Church. Which ſhews how cautious the Ancients were in obſerving this Rule, that they might not bring any Diſrepute or Scandal upon the Church.

SECT. X.

Men only accountable for Crimes committed after Baptiſm, as to what concerned Ordination.

BUT in all theſe and the like Caſes there is one thing particularly to be obſerved, that the Crimes which made Men irregular, were generally underſtood to be ſuch only as were committed after Baptiſm. For all Crimes committed before Baptiſm were ſuppoſed to be ſo purged away in the Waters of Baptiſm, as that a perfect Amneſty paſſed upon them, and Men notwithſtanding them were capable of Ordination. So that not only the Crimes which Men committed whilſt they were Heathens, but ſuch as they fell into when they were Catechumens, were overlooked in this Enquiry, when their Morals came to be examined for Ordination. This is evident not only from the known Caſe of St. *Auſtin*, whoſe Faults were never objected to him at his Ordination, becauſe they were only ſuch as preceded his Baptiſm; but alſo from the Rule made in the Council of *Ancyra*, in the Caſe of ſuch as lapſed into Idolatry whilſt they were only Catechumens. For the Canon [p] ſays, That ſuch as Sacrificed before Baptiſm, and were afterward Baptized, might be promoted to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, as Perſons that were cleanſed from all Crimes by the Sanctification of Baptiſm. 'Tis true, only that one Crime of Sacrificing is here ſpecified; but by Parity of Reaſon the Rule muſt be underſtood to extend to all other Caſes of the like Nature: And ſo the Practice of the Church has commonly determined it.

SECT. XI.

Except any great Irregularity happened in their Baptiſm it ſelf. As in the Caſe of Clinick Baptiſm.

YET here again we muſt obſerve, that if any great Irregularity happened in Men's Baptiſm it ſelf, ſuch Crimes were always objected againſt them, to debar them from Ordination. Thus it was frequently with thoſe who were Baptized only with Clinick Baptiſm, in Time of Sickneſs or urgent Neceſſity, when they had careleſly deferred their Baptiſm to ſuch a Critical Moment, and might have had it ſooner, had it not been their own Default. This Delaying of Baptiſm was always eſteemed a very great Crime, and worthy of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure: And therefore the Church, among other Methods which ſhe took to diſcountenance the Practice of it, thought fit to puniſh Perſons who had been Guilty of it, and had put themſelves upon the Fatal Neceſſity of a Clinick Baptiſm, by denying them Ordination. We have a Canon in the Council of *Neo-Cæſarea* [q], to this purpoſe: If any Man is Baptized only in Time of Sickneſs, he ſhall not be Ordained a Presbyter; becauſe his Faith was not Voluntary, but as it were of Conſtraint; except his ſubſequent Faith and Diligence recommend him, or elſe the ſcarcity of Men make it neceſſary to ordain him. And that this was an old Rule of the Church, appears from the Account which *Cornelius* [r] gives of the Ordination of *Novatian* to be Preſbyter. He ſays, the Clergy and many of the People objected againſt it, alledging, that it was not Lawful to Ordain one who had been Baptized upon his Bed in Time of Sickneſs; and that the Biſhop was forced to intercede with them, to give way to his Ordination, as a Matter of Grace and Favour. Which ſhews, that the Ordination of ſuch was contrary to the common Rule and Practice of the Church.

[k] Vid. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 8. Epiphan. Hær. 64. n. 3. [l] Aug. de Hæreſ. c. 37. Valeſii & ſeipſos caſtrant, & hoſpites ſuos, hoc modo exiſtimantes Deo ſe debere ſervire. [m] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 26. Theodor. lib. 2. c. 24. [n] Baron. an. 385. p. 613. [o] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. Sozom. lib. 7. c. 30. Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 12. [p] Conc. Ancyr. c. 12. [q] Conc. Neo-Cæſ. c. 12. [r] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43.

SECT. XII. *And Heretical Baptiſm.*

IN like manner they who were Baptized by Hereticks, were not ordinarily allowed Clerical Promotion, when they returned to the Boſom of the Catholick Church. The Council of *Eliberis* is very peremptory [s] in its Decree, That whatever Hereſy they came from, they ſhould not be Ordained: Or if any ſuch were already Ordained, they ſhould be undoubtedly degraded. Pope *Innocent* [t] teſtifies for the ſame Practice in the *Roman* Church, ſaying, It is the Cuſtom of our Church, to grant only Lay-Communion to thoſe that return from Hereticks, by whom they were Baptized, and not to admit any of them to the very loweſt Order of the Clergy. But it muſt be confeſt, that the Council of *Nice* diſpenſed with the *Novatians* [u] in this reſpect, allowing their Clergy, though both Baptized and Ordained among them, to be received with Impoſition of Hands, and retain their Orders in the Church. And the *African* Fathers granted the ſame Indulgence to the *Donatiſts*, to encourage them to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church. For in the Council of *Carthage*, An. 397, which is inſerted into the *African* [w] Code, a Propoſal was made, that ſuch as had been Baptized among the *Donatiſts* in their Infancy, by their Parents Fault, without their own Knowledge and Conſent, ſhould upon their Return to the Church, be allowed the Privilege of Ordination: And in the next Council [x] the Propoſal was accepted, and a Decree paſt accordingly in favour of them. By which we may underſtand, that this was a Piece of Diſcipline, that might be inſiſted on or waved, according as Church-Governors in Prudence thought moſt for the Benefit and Advantage of the Church. But in caſe the Perſons ſo returning had been baptized by ſuch Hereticks, whoſe Baptiſm was null, and to be reiterated in the Church; as the Baptiſm of the *Paulianiſts*, or *Samoſatenian* Hereticks was; in that Caſe it was determined by the great Council of *Nice*, that ſuch Perſons when they were rebaptized, might be [y] ordained. For Baptiſm, as has been noted before, ſet Men clear of all Crimes: And their former Baptiſm being null, that was reckoned their only Baptiſm, which they received at their Return to the Catholick Church; and no Crimes committed before that were then to prejudice their Ordination in the Church.

SECT. XIII. *No Man to be ordained, who had not made all his Family Catholick Chriſtians.*

I cannot here omit to mention another Qualification required of Perſons to be ordained, becauſe it was of great Uſe and Service in the Church; which was, That none ſhould be admitted at leaſt to the Superior Degrees of Biſhops, Presbyters, or Deacons, before they had made all the Members of their Family Catholick Chriſtians. This is a Rule we find in the 3d Council of *Carthage* [z], which was equally deſigned to promote the Converſion of *Pagans*, *Jews*, *Hereticks*, and *Schiſmaticks*, who are all oppoſed to Catholick Chriſtians: And it was a very proper Rule in that Caſe; ſince nothing could be more diſadvantageous or diſhonourable to Religion, than to have any Countenance or ſecret Encouragement given to its Oppoſers, by thoſe who were deſigned to ſerve at the Altar. Beſides that this was but a proper Way of making Repriſals upon the Heathen Religion. For *Julian* had made a like Decree for his *Pagan* Prieſts, in Oppoſition to the Chriſtians; charging *Arſacius*, High-Prieſt of *Galatia*, that he ſhould admit none [a] to the Prieſt's Office, who tolerated either Servants or Children, or Wives that were *Galilæans*; and did not come with their whole Family and Retinue to the Worſhip of the Gods in the Idol-Temples. It had been a great Omiſſion and Overſight in the Governors of the Chriſtian Church, had they not been as careful to ſecure the Intereſt of the true Religion in the Families of their Miniſters, as that *Pagan* Prince was to ſecure a falſe Religion among his Idol-Prieſts: And therefore had there been nothing more than Emulation in the Caſe, yet that had been a ſufficient Reaſon to have laid this Injunction upon all the Candidates of the Chriſtian Prieſthood.

SECT. XIV. *What Methods were anciently taken to prevent Simoniacal Promotions.*

THERE is but one Qualification more I ſhall mention under this Head, which was, That Men ſhould come honeſtly and legally to their Preferment, and uſe no indirect or ſiniſter Arts to procure themſelves an Ordination. Merit, and not Bribery, was to be their Advocate, and the only thing to be conſidered in all Elections. In the three firſt Ages, whilſt the Preferments were ſmall, and the Perſecutions great, there was no great Danger of ambitious Spirits, nor any great Occaſion to make Laws againſt Simoniacal Promotions. For then Martyrdom was as it were a Thing annexed to a Biſhoprick; and the firſt Perſons that were commonly aimed and ſtruck at, were the Rulers and Governors of the Church. But in After-ages, Ambition and Bribery crept in among other Vices, and then ſevere Laws were made both in Church and State to check and prevent them. *Sulpitius Severus* takes notice of this Difference betwixt the Ages of Perſecution, and thoſe that follow'd, when he

[s] Conc. Eliber. c. 51. Ex omni Hæreſi qui ad nos Fidelis venerit, minime eſt ad Clerum promovendus. Vel ſi qui ſunt in præteritum ordinati, ſine dubio deponentur. [t] Innoc. Ep. 22. Noſtræ Lex Eccleſiæ eſt, venientibus ab Hæreticis, qui tamen illic baptizati ſunt, per manus Impoſitionem Laicam tantum tribuere Communionem, nec ex his aliquem in Clericatûs honorem vel exiguum ſubrogare. [u] Conc. Nic. c. 8. χειροθετηθέντες οὕτως μένειν ἔτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. [w] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 48. al. 47. [x] Ibid. c. 58. al. 57. [y] Conc. Nic. c. 19. ἀναβαπτιζομένους ὅμως τοὺς ἱερωσαν. [z] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 18. Ut Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi non ordinentur, priuſquam omnes qui ſunt in domo eorum Chriſtianos Catholicos fecerint. [a] Julian. Ep. ad Arſac. ap. Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 16.

ſays

ſays [b], that in the former, Men ſtrove who ſhould run faſteſt to thoſe glorious Combats, and more greedily ſought for Martyrdom by honourable Deaths, than in After-times by wicked Ambitions they ſought for the Biſhopricks of the Church. This implies, that in the Age when *Sulpitius* lived, in the 5th Century, ſome irregular Arts were uſed by particular Men to advance themſelves to the Preferments of the Church. To correct whoſe Ambition and ill Deſigns, the Church inflicted very ſevere Cenſures upon all ſuch as were found guilty of Simony, or as ſome then [c] called it, χρεμπορίαν, the ſelling of Chriſt. The Council of *Chalcedon* decreed [d], That if any Biſhop gave Ordination, or an Eccleſiaſtical Office or Preferment of any kind for Money, he himſelf ſhould loſe his Office, and the Party ſo preferred be depoſed. And the Reader may find ſeveral other Conſtitutions of the ſame Import in thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [e], the Council of *Conſtantinople* [f] under *Gennadius*, Ann. 459, the 2d Council of *Orleans* [g], *Bracara* [h] and many others. The Imperial Laws alſo were very properly contriv'd to prevent this Abuſe. For by one of *Juſtinian*'s Laws [i] it was enacted, That whenever a Biſhop was to be choſen, the Electors themſelves ſhould take an Oath, and inſert it into the Election-Paper, that they did not chuſe him for any Gift, or Promiſe, or Friendſhip, or any other Cauſe, but only becauſe they knew him to be a Man of the true Catholick Faith, and an unblameable Life, and good Learning. And in another of his Laws, where the ſame Injunction is repeated, 'tis farther provided, That the Party elected ſhall alſo at the time of his Ordination take an Oath, upon the Holy Goſpels, that he neither gave [k] nor promiſed, by himſelf or others, nor hereafter will give to his Ordainer, or to his Electors, or any other Perſon, any thing to procure him an Ordination. And for any Biſhop to ordain another without obſerving the Rule preſcribed, is Depoſition by the ſame Law, both for himſelf and the other whom he ordained. Theſe were ſome of thoſe ancient Rules to be obſerved in the Examination of Men's Lives and Morals, before they were conſecrated to the ſacred Function, or admitted to ſerve in any of the chief Offices of the Church.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Qualifications of Perſons to be ordained, reſpecting their outward State and Condition in the World.

SECT. I. *No Soldier to be ordained.*

A Third Enquiry was made into Men's outward State and Condition in the World. For there were ſome Callings and States of Life, which debarred Men from the Privilege of Ordination, not becauſe they were eſteemed abſolutely ſinful Vocations, but becauſe the Duties attending them were commonly incompatible and inconſiſtent with the Offices of the Clergy. Of this Nature were all thoſe Callings, which come under the general Name of *Militia Romana*, which we cannot ſo properly engliſh, the Military Life, as, the Service of the Empire. For it includes ſeveral Offices, as well Civil, as Military: The *Romans*, as *Gothofred* and other Learned [a] Perſons have obſerved, calling all Inferior Offices by the Name of *Militia:* So there were three ſorts of it, *Militia Palatina*, *Militia Caſtrenſis* or *Armata*, and *Militia Præſidialis* or *Cohortalis:* The firſt including the Officers of the Emperor's Palace; the ſecond, the armed Soldiery of the Camp; and the third, the Apparitors and Officials of Judges and Governors of Provinces; all which were ſo tied to their Service, that they could not forſake their Station: And for that Reaſon the Laws of the State forbad any of them to be entertained as Eccleſiaſticks, or ordained among the Clergy. *Honorius* [b] the Emperor particularly made a Law to this purpoſe, That no one who was originally tied to the Military Life, as ſome were even by Birth, ſhould either before or after they were entred upon that Life, take upon them any Clerical Office, or think to excuſe themſelves from their Service under the Notion of becoming Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. The Canons of the Church ſeem to have carried the Matter a little farther: For they forbad the Ordination of

[b] Sever. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 99. Certatim in glorioſa certamina ruebatur, multoque avidius tum Martyria glorioſis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc Epiſcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. [c] Vid. Epiſt. Alexandri Alexandrini ap. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 4. [d] Conc. Chalced. c. 2. [e] Canon. Apoſt. c. 29. [f] Conc. CP. Epiſt. Synod. Con. Tom. 4. p. 1025. [g] Conc. Aurel. 2. c. 3. & 4. [h] Bracar. 2. c. 3. [i] Juſtin Novel. 123. c. 1. Propoſitis eis ſacroſanctis Evangeliis, periculo ſuarum animarum dicentes in ipſis Decretis, quia neque propter aliquam Donationem, nec Promiſſionem, aut Amicitiam, aut aliam quamlibet cauſam, ſed ſcientes eos rectæ & Catholicæ Fidei, & honeſtæ eſſe Vitæ, & literas noſſe, hos elegerunt. [k] Novel. 137. c. 2. Jusjurandum autem ſuſcipere eum qui ordinatur, per Divinas Scripturas, quod neque per ſe ipſum neque per aliam Perſonam dedit quid, aut promiſit, neque poſthac dabit, vel Ordinanti ipſum, vel his qui ſacra pro eo Suffragia fecerunt, vel alii cuiquam Ordinationis de ipſo faciendæ nomine, &c. [a] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 63. Valeſ. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 4. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 375. n. 11. [b] Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 20. de Veteranis leg. 12. Quoniam plurimos vel ante militiam, vel poſt inchoatam, nec peractam, latere objectu piæ Religionis agnovimus, dum ſe quidam vocabulo Clericorum —— defendunt, nulli omnino tali excuſari objectione permittimus, &c.

any who had been Soldiers after Baptiſm, becauſe they might perhaps have embrued their Hands in Blood. This appears from the Letters of *Innocent* I. who blames the *Spaniſh* Churches [c] for admitting ſuch Perſons into Orders, alledging the Canons of the Church againſt it. The firſt Council of *Toledo* forbids any ſuch to be ordained Deacons, though they had never been concerned in ſhedding of Blood; becauſe [d] though they had not actually ſhed Blood, yet by entering upon the Military Life they had obliged themſelves, if Occaſion had ſo required, to have done it. Which ſeems to import, that Soldiers might be allowed in the Inferior Services, but were not to be admitted to the Sacred and Superior Orders of the Church.

SECT. II.

Nor any Slave or Freedman without the Conſent of his Patron.

ANOTHER State of Life, which debarred Men from the Privilege of Ordination, was that of Slaves or Vaſſals in the *Roman* Empire; who being originally tied by Birth or Purchaſe to their Patron's or Maſter's Service, could not legally be ordained, becauſe the Service of the Church was incompatible with their other Duties; and no Man was to be defrauded of his Right under Pretence of an Ordination. In this Caſe therefore the Patron was always to be conſulted, before the Servant was ordained. Thus in one of thoſe called the Apoſtolical [e] Canons we find a Decree, that no Servants ſhould be admitted among the Clergy without the Conſent of their Maſters, to the Grievance of the Owners, and Subverſion of their Families. But if a Servant be found worthy of an Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, as *Oneſimus* was, and his Maſter give his Conſent, and grant him his Freedom, and let him go forth from his Houſe, he may be ordained. The Council of *Toledo* [f] has a Canon to the ſame Purpoſe. And the Council of *Eliberis* [g] goes a little farther, and ſays, Though a ſecular Maſter, that is, an Heathen, as *Albaſpinæus* interprets it, had made his Servant a Freeman, he ſhould not be Ordained. The Reaſon of which is conceived to be, that ſuch Maſters gave them only a Conditional Freedom, and ſtill retained a Right to exact certain Services and Manual Labours of them, which would not conſiſt with the Service of the Church. The Imperial Laws alſo [h] made Proviſion in this Caſe, that no Perſons under ſuch Obligations ſhould be admitted to any Office of the Clergy; Or if they were admitted, merely to evade their Obligations, their Maſters ſhould have Power to recall them to their Service, unleſs they were Biſhops or Presbyters, or had continued thirty Years in ſome other Office of the Church. By which it appears, that the Ordination of ſuch Perſons was prohibited only upon a Civil Account; not becauſe that State of Life was Sinful, or that it was any Undervaluing or Diſgrace to the Function to have ſuch Perſons Ordained, but becauſe the Duties of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State would not well conſiſt together.

SECT. III.

Nor any Member of a Civil Company or Society of Tradeſmen, who were tied to the Service of the Common-wealth.

FOR the ſame Reaſon the Laws forbad the Ordination of any Perſons, who were incorporated into any Society for the Service of the Common-wealth, unleſs they had firſt obtained the leave of the Society, and Prince, under whom they ſerved. This is the meaning of that Law [i] of *Juſtinian*, which forbids any of thoſe called ϖαξεῶται, or *Cohortales*, that is, the Officers or Apparitors of Judges, to be Ordained, unleſs they had firſt ſpent Fifteen Years in a Monaſtick Life. And the firſt Council of *Orleans* [k] requires expreſly either the Command of the Prince, or the Conſent of the Judge, before any ſuch ſecular Officer be Ordained. By the Laws of *Theodoſius Junior* [l] and *Valentinian* 3d [m], all Corporation-Men are forbidden to be Ordained; and if any ſuch were Ordained among the inferior Clergy, they were to be reconciled by their Reſpective Companies; If among the Superior, Biſhops, Presbyters, or Deacons, they muſt provide a proper Subſtitute, qualified with their Eſtate to ſerve in the Company from whence they were taken. The Reader that is curious in this matter, may find ſeveral other Laws in the *Theodoſian* Code [n] made by the elder *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius* the Great, with reſpect to particular Civil Societies ſo incorporated for the Uſe of the Publick; no Member of which might be Ordained, but either they muſt quit their Eſtates, or be liable to be recalled to the Service which they had unwarrantably forſaken.

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[c] Innoc. Ep. 24. c. 2. Quantos ex Militia, qui cum Poteſtatibus obedierunt, ſevera neceſſario præcepta ſunt executi. Ibid. c. 4. Ne quiſpiam qui poſt Baptiſmum militaverit, ad ordinem debeat Clericatûs admitti. Vid. Ep. 2. ad Victricium Rothomagenſ. c. 2. [d] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 8. Si quis poſt Baptiſmum militaverit, & Chlamydem ſumpſerit, aut Cingulum ad necandos Fideles, etiamſi gravia non admiſerit, ſi ad Clerum admiſſus fuerit, Diaconii non accipiat dignitatem. [e] Canon. Apoſt. c. 12. [f] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 10. Clericos, ſi quidem obligati ſint vel pro Æquatione, vel de genere alicujus domûs non ordinandos, niſi probatæ vitæ fuerint, & Patroni conſenſus acceſſerit. [g] Conc. Eliber. c. 80. Prohibendum eſt, ut Liberti, quorum Patroni in ſæculo fuerint, ad Clerum provehantur. [h] Valent. 3. Novel. 12. ad Calcem Cod. Th. Nullus Originarius, Inquilinus, Servus, vel Colonus ad Clericale munus accedat —— ut vinculum debitæ conditionis evadat. —— Originarii ſane vel Servi, qui jugum Natalium declinantes, ad Eccleſiaſticum ſe Ordinem tranſtulerunt, exceptis Epiſcopis & Presbyteris, ad Dominorum jura recedant, ſi non in eodem Officio annum Triceſimum complerunt. [i] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 15. Sed neque Cohortales, neque Decuriones Clerici fiunto. —— Dempto ſi Monachicam aliquis ex ipſis vitam non minus quindecim annis tranſegerit. [k] Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 4. Nullus Sæcularium ad Clericatûs Officium præſumatur, niſi aut cum Regis juſſione, aut cum judicis voluntate. [l] Theodoſ. Novel. 26. de Corporatis Urbis Romæ, ad Calcem Cod. Th. [m] Valentin. Novel. 12. ibid. [n] Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 4. de Suariis. Leg. 8. Eos qui ad Clericatûs ſe Privilegia contulerunt, aut agnoſcere oportet propriam Functionem, aut ei Corpori, quod declinant, proprii Patrimonii facere ceſſionem. Vid. Ibid. l. 14. tit. 3. de Piſtoribus leg. 11. It. lib. 8. tit. 5. de Curſu Publico. Leg. 46.

FOR

SECT. IV. *Nor any of the* Curiales, *or* Decuriones *of the* Roman *Government.*

FOR Reasons of the same Nature, the Canons were precise in forbidding the Ordination of any of those, who are commonly known by the Name of *Curiales*, or *Decuriones*, in the *Roman* Government; that is, such as were Members of the *Curia*, the Court, or Common-Council of every City. These were Men, who by vertue of their Estates were tied to bear the Office of their Country; so that out of their Body were chosen all Civil Officers, the Magistrates of every City, the Collectors of the Publick Revenue, the Overseers of all Publick Works, the Pontifices or Flamens, who exhibited the Publick Games and Shews to the People, with abundance of others, whose Offices are specified by *Gothofred* [o] to the number of Twenty Two, which I need not here recite. These were always Men of Estates, whose substance amounted to the Value of Three Hundred Solids; which is the Sum that is specified by *Theodosius Junior* [p], as qualifying a Man to be a Member of the *Curia*; And both they and their Estates were so tied to Civil Offices, that no Member of that Body was to be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Office, till he had first discharged all the Offices of his Country, or else provided a proper Substitute, one of his Relations qualified with his Estate to bear Offices in his Room: Otherwise the Person so Ordained was liable by the Laws of the Empire (of which I give a more particular Account hereafter [pp] in the next Book) to be called back by the *Curia* from an Ecclesiastical to a secular Life again. Which was such an Inconvenience to the Church, that she her self made Laws to prohibit the Ordination of any of these *Curiales*, to avoid the Trouble and Molestation, which was commonly the Consequent of their Ordination. St. *Ambrose* [q] assures us, that sometimes Presbyters and Deacons, who were thus Ordained out of the *Curiales*, were fetch'd back to serve in *Curial* Offices, after they had been Thirty Years and more in the Service of the Church. And therefore to prevent this Calamity, the Council of *Illyricum*, mentioned by *Theodoret* [r], made a Decree, that Presbyters and Deacons should always be chosen out of the Inferior Clergy, and not out of these *Curiales*, or any other Officers of the Civil Government. *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome* frequently refers to this Rule of the Church [s] in his Epistles, where he gives two Reasons against their Ordination: First, That they were often recalled by the *Curia* to serve in Civil Offices, which brought some Tribulation upon the Church. Secondly, Because many of them had served in the Office of *Flamens* [t] after Baptism, and were crowned as the Heathen High-Priests were used to be, while they Exhibited the Publick Games and Shews to the People. Which though it was indulged by the Civil Law in Christian Magistrates, yet the Church reckoned it a Crime, for which Men were sometimes obliged to do Publick Penance, as appears from the Canons [u] of the Council of *Eliberis*; and consequently such a Crime, as made Men irregular and uncapable of Ordination. So that upon both Accounts these *Curiales* were to be excluded from the Orders of the Church. And though this Rule by the Importunity of Men was sometimes Transgressed, yet the Laws both of Church and State always stood in force against such Ordinations; and sometimes the Ordainers themselves were Punished with Ecclesiastical Censures. Of which there is a famous Instance related by *Sozomen* [w], who says the Council of *Constantinople*, Ann. 360, deposed *Neonas* from his Bishoprick for ordaining some of these *Curiales* Bishops. *Sozomen* indeed calls them Πολιτεύμενοι: but that is but another Name for *Curiales*, whom the *Greeks* otherwise term βουλευταὶ, Counsellors; and the *Latins*, *Municipes*, Burghers or Corporation-Men; and *Minor Senatus* [x], The little Senate of every City, in opposition to the Great Senate of *Constantinople* and *Rome*. These Persons, whatever Denomination they went by, were so intirely devoted to the Service of the Common-wealth, that till they had some way or other discharged that Duty, they might not (as appears) be admitted to serve in any Office of the Church.

SECT. V. *Nor any Proctor or Guardian, till his Office expired.*

INDEED it was a General Rule in this matter, as we learn from one of the Councils [y] of *Carthage*, That no one was to be Ordained, who was bound to any secular Service. And for that Reason it was decreed by the same Council, at least for the Churches of *Africk*, that no Agent or Factor in other Men's Business, nor any Guardian of Orphans should be Ordained, till his Office and Administration was perfectly expired; because the Ordination of such [z] would otherwise turn to the Reproach and Defamation of the Church. But if I mistake not, this Prohibition did not extend to the Inferior Orders, but only to those whose Office was to serve at the Altar.

[o] Gothofred. Paratitl. Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurionibus t. 4. p. 339. [p] Theodos. Novel. 38. ad Calcem Cod. Th. [pp] *See Book 5. Chap. 3. Sect 15.* [q] Ambr. Ep. 29. Per triginta & innumeros annos Presbyteri quidam gradu functi, vel Ministri Ecclesiæ retrahuntur à munere sacro, & Curiæ deputantur. [r] Ap. Theodor. lib. 4. c. 9. ἐκ τῶ ἱερατικῶ τάγματος, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλευτικῆς καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἀρχῆς. [s] Innoc. Ep. 4. c. 3. De Curialibus manifesta ratio est, quoniam etsi inveniantur hujusmodi viri qui debeant Clerici fieri, tamen quoniam sæpius ad Curiam repetuntur, cavendum ab his est propter tribulationem, quæ sæpe de his Ecclesiæ provenit.
[t] Innoc. Ep. 24. c. 4. Neque de Curialibus aliquem ad ecclesiasticum Ordinem venire posse, qui post Baptismum vel coronati fuerint, vel Sacerdotium, quod dicitur, sustinuerint, & Editiones publicas celebraverint, &c. [u] Conc. Eliber. c. 3. [w] Sozom. lib. 4. c. 24. [x] Majorian. Novel. 1. ad Calcem. Cod. Theod. Curiales servos esse Reipublicæ ac vicera Civitatum nullus ignorat, quorum cœtum recte appellavit antiquitas Minorem Senatum. [y] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 9. Obnoxii alienis negotiis non ordinentur. [z] Ibid. c. 8. Procuratores & Actores, etiam Tutores Pupillorum —— si ante libertatem Negotiorum vel Officiorum, ab aliquo sine consideratione fuerint ordinati, Ecclesia infamatur.

SECT. VI. *Pleaders at Law denied Ordination in the* Roman *Church.*

IN ſome Churches there ſeems alſo to have been an Abſolute Prohibition and Rule againſt Ordaining Advocates or Pleaders at Law, not only whilſt they continued in their Profeſſion, but for ever after. This ſeems to have been the Cuſtom of the *Roman* and *Spaniſh* Churches. For *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome* in a Letter [*a*] to the Council of *Toledo* complains of an Abuſe then crept into the *Spaniſh* Church, which was, That many who were exerciſed in Pleading at the Bar, were called to the Prieſthood. To correct which Abuſe, as he deemed it, he propoſed this Rule to them to be obſerved, That no one who had pleaded Cauſes after Baptiſm [*b*], ſhould be admitted to any Order of the Clergy. What particular Reaſons the Church of *Rome* might then have for this Prohibition, I cannot ſay; but it does not appear, that this was the General Rule of the whole Catholick Church. For the Council of *Sardica* [*c*] allows a Lawyer even to be Ordained Biſhop, if he firſt went regularly through the Offices of Reader, Deacon, and Presbyter. Which ſhews, that the Cuſtom, as to this particular, was not one and the ſame in all Churches.

SECT. VII. *Alſo Energumens, Actors, Stage-players, &c. in all Churches.*

THE Reader may find ſeveral other Cautions given by *Gennadius* [*d*] againſt Ordaining any who had been Actors or Stage-players; or Energumens, during the Time of their being poſſeſt; or ſuch as had Married Concubines, that is, Wives without Formality of Law, or that had Married Harlots; or Wives Divorced from a former Husband. But I need not inſiſt upon theſe, ſince the very naming them ſhews all ſuch Perſons to have been in ſuch a State of Life, as might reaſonably be accounted a juſt Impediment of Ordination. It will be more Material to enquire, What the Ancients meant by *Digamy*, which after the Apoſtle they always reckoned an Objection againſt a Man's Ordination? And whether any Vow of Perpetual Celibacy was exacted of the ancient Clergy, when they were admitted to the Orders of the Church? Which becauſe they are Queſtions that come properly under this Head, it will not be amiſs to reſolve them Diſtinctly, but briefly, in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Of the State of Digamy *and* Celibacy *in particular: And of the Laws of the Church about theſe, in reference to the ancient Clergy.*

SECT. I. *No* Digamiſt *to be Ordained by the Rule of the Apoſtle.*

AS to what concerns *Digamy*, it was a Primitive Apoſtolical Rule, That a Biſhop or a Deacon ſhould be one who was the Husband of one Wife only: On which Rule all the Laws againſt *Digamy* in the Primitive Church were founded. But then we are to obſerve, That the Ancients were not exactly agreed about the Senſe of that Apoſtolical Rule; and That occaſioned different Notions and different Practices among them in reference to the Ordination of *Digamiſts*.

SECT. II. *Three different Opinions among the Ancients about* Digamy. *Firſt, That all Perſons were to be refuſed Orders as* Digamiſts, *who were twice married after Baptiſm.*

ONE very Common and Prevailing Notion was, That all Perſons were to be refuſed Orders, as *Digamiſts*, who were twice married after Baptiſm, though Legally and Succeſſively to two Wives one after another. For though they did not condemn ſecond Marriages as Sinful and Unlawful, with the *Novatians* and *Montaniſts:* Yet upon Preſumption that the Apoſtle had forbidden Perſons twice married to be Ordained Biſhops, they repell'd ſuch from the Superior Orders of the Church. That this was the Practice of ſome Churches in the Time of *Origen*, may appear from what he ſays in his Comments upon St. *Luke*, That not only [*a*] Fornication, but Marriages excluded Men from the Dignities of the Church: For no *Digamiſt* could be either Biſhop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or Deaconneſs in the Church. *Tertullian*, when he became a *Montaniſt*, laid hold of this Argument, and urged it to decry ſecond Marriages in all Perſons; pleading [*b*], that a Layman could not in Decency deſire a Licence of the Eccleſiaſticks to be married a ſecond Time, ſeeing the Eccleſiaſticks themſelves, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, were but once Married. Which he repeats frequently [*c*] in ſeveral Parts of his Writings. And it cannot be denied, but that many other ancient Writers, St. *Ambroſe* [*d*], St. *Je-*

[*a*] Innoc. Ep. 24. ad Concil. Tolet. c. 2. Quantos ex eis, qui poſt acceptam Baptiſmi Gratiam, in Forenſi Exercitatione verſati ſunt, & obtinendi pertinaciam ſuſceperunt, accitos ad Sacerdotium eſſe comperimus? [*b*] Ibid. c. 4. Ne quiſpiam ad Ordinem debeat Clericatûs admitti, qui Cauſas poſt acceptu Baptiſmum egerint. [*c*] Conc. Sardic. c. 10. ἐὰν τις σχολαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀξιοῖτο ἐπίσκοπος γίνεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον καθίσταται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγνώστης καὶ διάκονος καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελέσῃ. [*d*] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. c. 73.

[*a*] Orig. Hom. 17. in Luc. p. 228. Ab Eccleſiaſticis Dignitatibus non ſolum Fornicatio, ſed & nuptiæ repellunt: Neque enim Epiſcopus, nec Presbyter, nec Diaconus, nec Vidua, poſſunt eſſe Digami. [*b*] Tertul. de Monogam. c. 11. Qualis es id matrimonium poſtulans, quod eis, à quibus poſtulas, non licet habere? ab Epiſcopo Monogamo, à Presbyteris & Diaconis ejuſdem Sacramenti, &c. [*c*] Vid. Tertul. de Pœnitent. c. 9. De Exhort. Caſtitat. c. 7. Ad Uxor. Lib. 1. c. 7. [*d*] Ambroſ. de Offic. Lib. 1. c. 50.

rom [e], *Gennadius* [f], *Epiphanius* [g], and the Councils of *Agde* [h] and *Carthage* [i], put the ſame Senſe upon the Words of the Apoſtle. Only *Epiphanius* puts a Diſtinction between the Superior and Inferior Orders, making the Rule in this Senſe Obligatory to the former, but not to the latter.

SECT. III.
2. *Others extended the Rule to all Perſons twice married, whether before or after Baptiſm.*

SOME there are again, who gave the Rule a ſtricter Expoſition, making it a Prohibition not only of ordaining Perſons twice married after Baptiſm, but alſo ſuch as were twice married before it, or once before and once after; as many *Gentiles* and Catechumens happened to be in thoſe Times, when Baptiſm was adminiſtred to Adult Perſons. St. *Ambroſe* [k] was of Opinion, that even theſe were to be excluded from Ordination: And ſo it was decreed by *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome* [l], and the Council of *Valentia* [m] in *France*. But this Opinion was generally rejected by others, as fartheſt from the Senſe of the Apoſtle.

SECT. IV.
3. *The moſt probable Opinion of thoſe, who thought the Apoſtle by* Digamiſts *meant* Polygamiſts, *and ſuch as married after Divorce.*

THE moſt probable Opinion is that of thoſe ancient Writers, who interpret the Apoſtle's Rule as a Prohibition of ordaining *Polygamiſts*, or ſuch as had married many Wives at the ſame time; and ſuch as had cauſeleſly put away their Wives, and married others after Divorcing of the former; which were then very common Practices both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*, but ſcandalous in themſelves, and ſuch as the Apoſtles would have to be accounted juſt Impediments of Ordination. This is the Senſe which *Chryſoſtom* [n] and *Theodoret* [o] propoſe and defend, as moſt agreeable to the Mind of the Apoſtle. And it is certain, that ſecond Marriages in any other Senſe were not always an inſuperable Objection againſt Mens Ordination in the Chriſtian Church. For *Tertullian* owns [p] that there were Biſhops among the Catholicks who had been twice married; though in his Stile, that was an Affront to the Apoſtle. And it appears from the Letters of *Siricius* [q] and *Innocent* [r], that the Biſhops of *Spain* and *Greece* made no Scruple to ordain ſuch generally among the Clergy, for they take upon them to reprove them for it. *Theodoret*, agreeably to his own Notion, ordained one *Irenæus* Biſhop, who was twice married: And when ſome objected againſt the Legality of the Ordination upon that Account, he defended it by the common Practice of other Churches: Herein, ſays he, [s], I followed the Example of my Predeceſſors. *Alexander* Biſhop of the Apoſtolical See of *Antioch*, with *Acacius* of *Beræa* ordained *Diogenes* a *Digamiſt*; and *Praylius* ordained *Domninus* of *Cæſarea* a *Digamiſt* likewiſe. *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* received and approved the Ordination of many ſuch; and ſo do the Biſhops of *Pontus* and *Paleſtine*, among whom no Controverſy is made about it. From hence it appears, that the Practice of the Church varied in this Matter; and that therefore *Bellarmin* and other *Romaniſts* very much abuſe their Readers, when they pretend that the Ordination of *Digamiſts*, meaning Perſons twice lawfully married, is both againſt the Rule of the Apoſtle, and the univerſal Conſent and Practice of the Church.

SECT. V.
No Vow of Celibacy required of the Clergy as a Condition of their Ordination for the 3 firſt Ages.

THEY ſtill more abuſe their Readers, in pretending that a Vow of perpetual Celibacy, or Abſtinence from Conjugal Society, was required of the Clergy, as a Condition of their Ordination, even from the Apoſtolical Ages. For the contrary is very evident from innumerable Examples of Biſhops and Presbyters, who lived in a State of Matrimony without any Prejudice to their Ordination or Function. 'Tis generally agreed by ancient Writers, that moſt of the Apoſtles were married. Some ſay, all of them except [t] St. *Paul* and St. *John:* Others ſay, St. *Paul* was married alſo, becauſe he writes to his Yoke-Fellow, whom they interpret his Wife, *Phil.* 4. 3. This was the Opinion of *Clemens* [u] *Alexandrinus*, wherein he ſeems to be followed by *Euſebius* [w], and *Origen* [x], and the Author of the Interpolated Epiſtle [y] to the Church of *Philadelphia* under the Name of *Ignatius*; whom ſome Modern *Romaniſts*, miſtaking him for the true *Ignatius*, have moſt diſingenuouſly mangled, by Eraſing the Name of *Paul* out of the Text; which foul Dealing Biſhop *Uſher* [z] has expoſed, and *Cotelerius* [a] does in Effect confeſs it, when he owns that the Author himſelf wrote it, and that he therein followed the Authority of *Clemens*, *Origen*, and *Euſebius*. But paſſing by this about St. *Paul*, (which is a Matter of Diſpute among Learned Men, the major Part inclining to think that he always lived a ſingle Life) it cannot be denied that others of the Apoſtles were married: And in the next Ages after them we have Accounts of married Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, without any

[e] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Ep. 11. ad Geront. Ep. 83. ad Ocean. [f] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. c. 73. [g] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [h] Conc. Agathen. c. 1. [i] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 69. [k] Ambroſ. Ep. 82. ad Vercellenſes. [l] Innoc. Ep. 2. c. 6. Ep. 22. c. 2. Ep. 24. c. 6. [m] Conc. Valentin. c. 1. [n] Chryſoſt. Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. 3. 2. Hom. 2. in Tit. 1 6. [o] Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. 2. [p] Tertul. de Monogam. c. 12. Quot enim & Digami præſident apud vos, inſultantes utique Apoſtolo? [q] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. 8. [r] Innoc. Ep. 22. ad Epiſc. Maced. c. 1. [s] Theod. Ep. 110. ad Domnum. [t] Ambroſ. ad Hilar. in 2 Cor. 11. Omnes Apoſtoli, exceptis Johanne & Paulo, uxores habuerunt. Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 78. Antidicomarianit. n. 10. Cotelerius *cites* Euſebius, Baſil *and ſome others for the ſame Opinion.* Not. in Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. Interpolat. n. 4. [u] Clem. Alex. Strom. 3. p. 448. [w] Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 30. [x] Orig. Com. in Rom. 1. p. 459 Paulus ergo (ſicut quidam tradunt) cum Uxore vocatus eſt: de qua dicit, ad Philippenſes ſcribens: Rogo te etiam germana compar, &c. [y] Pſeudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. 4. [z] Uſſer. Diſſert. in Ignat. c. 17. [a] Cotelcr. Not. in Loc.

Reproof or Mark of Diſhonour ſet upon them. As to Inſtance in a few, *Valens*, Presbyter of *Philippi*, mentioned by *Polycarp* [b]; *Chæremon* Biſhop of *Nilus*, an exceeding old Man, who fled with his Wife to Mount *Arabion* in time of Perſecution, where they both periſhed together, as *Euſebius* informs us [c]. *Novatus* was a married Presbyter of *Carthage*, as we learn from *Cyprian*'s [d] Epiſtles. *Cyprian* himſelf was alſo a married Man, as Mr. *Pagi* [e] confeſſes. And ſo was *Cæcilius* [f] the Presbyter that converted him. As alſo *Numidicus* another Presbyter of *Carthage*, of whom *Cyprian* [g] tells us this remarkable Story, That in the *Decian* Perſecution he ſaw his own Wife with many other Martyrs burnt by his Side; whilſt he himſelf lying half burnt, and covered with Stones, and left for dead, was found expiring by his own Daughter, who drew him out of the Rubbiſh, and brought him to life again. *Euſebius* aſſures us, that *Phileas* [h] Biſhop of *Thmuis*, and *Philoromus* had both Wife and Children: For they were urged with that Argument by the Heathen Magiſtrate to deny their Religion in the *Diocletian* Perſecution; but they generouſly contemned his Argument, and gave Preference to the Laws of Chriſt. *Epiphanius* [i] ſays, *Marcion* the Heretick was the Son of a Biſhop, and that he was excommunicated by his own Father for his Lewdneſs. *Domnus* alſo Biſhop of *Antioch* [k] is ſaid to be Son to *Demetrian*, who was Biſhop of the ſame Place before him. It were eaſy to add abundance more ſuch Inſtances; but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew, that Men of all States were admitted to be Biſhops and Presbyters in the Primitive Ages of the Church.

SECT. VI. *The Vanity of the contrary Pretences.*

THE moſt Learned Advocates of the *Roman* Communion have never found any other Reply to all this, ſave only a groundleſs Pretence of their own Imagination, that all married Perſons when they came to be ordained, promiſed to live ſeparate from their Wives by Conſent, which anſwered the Vow of Celibacy in other Perſons. This is all that *Pagi* [l] or *Schelſtrate* [m] have to ſay in the Caſe, after all the Writers that have gone before them: Which is ſaid not only without Proof, but againſt the cleareſt Evidences of ancient Hiſtory, which manifeſtly prove the contrary. For *Novatus* Presbyter of *Carthage*, whoſe Caſe *Pagi* had under Conſideration, was certainly allowed to cohabit with his Wife after Ordination: As appears from the Charge that *Cyprian* brings againſt him, That he had ſtruck and abuſed his Wife [n], and thereby cauſed her to miſcarry; for which Crime he had certainly been thruſt out not only from the Preſbytery, but the Church alſo, had not the Perſecution coming on ſo ſuddenly prevented his Tryal and Condemnation. *Cyprian* does not accuſe him for cohabiting with his Wife, or begetting Children after Ordination; but for murdering his Children which he had begotten; which was indeed a Crime that made him liable both to Depoſition and Excommunication: But the other was no Crime at all by any Law then in force in the *African*, or in the univerſal Church. There ſeems indeed in ſome Places to have been a little Tendency toward introducing ſuch a Law by one or two zealous Spirits; but the Motion was no ſooner made, but it was quaſhed immediately by the Prudence and Authority of wiſer Men. Thus *Euſebius* obſerves, That *Pinytus* Biſhop of *Gnoſſus* in *Crete* was for laying the Law of Celibacy upon his Brethren: But *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* wrote to him, that he ſhould conſider the Weakneſs of Men, and not impoſe [o] that heavy Burthen upon them. And thus Matters continued for three Centuries, without any Law that we read of, requiring Celibacy of the Clergy at the Time of their Ordination.

SECT. VII. *The Clergy left to their Liberty by the* Nicene *Council.*

IN the Council of *Nice*, An. 325, the Motion was again renewed, That a Law might paſs to oblige the Clergy to abſtain from all Conjugal Society with their Wives, which they had married before their Ordination. But the Propoſal was no ſooner made, but *Paphnutius* a famous *Ægyptian* Biſhop, and one himſelf never married, vigorouſly declaimed againſt it; ſaying, So heavy a Burthen was not to be laid upon the Clergy; that the Marriage-Bed was honourable, and that they ſhould not by too great Severity bring Detriment on the Church: For all Men could not bear ſo ſevere an Exerciſe, and the Chaſtity of the Wives ſo ſeparated would be endangered alſo. Conjugal Society, he ſaid, was Chaſtity; and it was enough, that ſuch of the Clergy as were not married before their Ordination, ſhould continue unmarried, according to the ancient Tradition of the Church; but it was not proper to ſeparate any one from his Wife, which he had married whilſt he was a Layman. This ſaid, the whole Council agreed to ſtifle the Motion that had been made, and left every Man to his Liberty as before. So *Socrates* [p] and *Sozomen* tell the Story. To which all that *Valeſius* [q] after *Bellarmin* has to ſay, is, That he ſuſpects the Truth of the thing, and deſires leave to diſſent from his Hiſtorians. Which is

[b] Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. n. 11. [c] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 42. [d] Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. ad Cornel. [e] Pagi Crit. in Baron. ad an. 248. n. 4. [f] Pontius Vit. Cyprian. [g] Cypr. Ep. 35. al. 40. Numidicus Presbyter Uxorem adhærentem lateri ſuo, concrematam ſimul cum cæteris, vel conſervatam magis dixerim, lætus aſpexit, &c. [h] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 9. [i] Epiphan. Hær. 42. [k] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 30. [l] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 248. n. 4. [m] Schelſtrat. Eccleſ. Afric. Diſſert. 3. c. 4. ap. Pagi ibid. [n] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 49. p. 97. Uterus Uxoris calce percuſſus, & abortione properante in parricidium partus expreſſus, &c. [o] Dionyſ. Ep. ad Pinytum ap. Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 23. μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον τὸ ἐκ ἀγνείας ἐπαναγκὲς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι. [p] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. c. 23. [q] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 11.

but

but a poor Evasion in the Judgment of *Du Pin* himself, who thus [r] reflects upon them for it: Some question the Truth of this Story, says he; but I believe they do it for fear the Story might prejudice the present Discipline, rather than from any solid Proof they have for it. But they should consider, that this Canon is purely a Matter of Discipline, and that the Discipline of the Church may change according to the Times, and that 'tis not necessary for the Defence of it, to prove that it was always uniform in all Places. So that in the Judgment of that learned *Romanist* there is no Question to be made, but that the Council of *Nice* decreed in Favour of the married Clergy, as the Historians relate it did; and that then the Practice was different from that of the present Church of *Rome*, which others are so unwilling to have the World believe.

SECT. VIII. *And other Councils of that Age.*

It is as evident from other Councils of the same Age, that the married Clergy were allowed to continue in the Service of the Church, and no Vow of Abstinence required of them at their Ordination. *Socrates* observes that the Council of *Gangra* anathematized *Eustathius* the Heretick, because he taught Men to separate [s] from such Presbyters as retained their Wives, which they married while they were Laymen, saying, their Communion and Oblations were abominable. The Decree is still extant among the Canons of that Council [t], and runs in these Words: If any one separate from a married Presbyter, as if it were unlawful to participate of the *Eucharist*, when such an one ministers, let him be *Anathema*. The Council of *Ancyra* gives Leave to Deacons to marry after Ordination; if they protested [u] at their Ordination that they could not continue in an unmarried State, they might marry, and yet continue in their Office, having in that Case the Bishop's License and Permission to do it. And though the Council of *Neo-Cæsarea* in one Canon forbids [w] unmarried Presbyters to marry after Ordination; yet such as were married before Ordination, are allowed by another Canon to continue [x] without any Censure, being only oblig'd to separate from their Wives in case of Fornication. The Council of *Eliberis* [y] indeed, and some others in this Age, began to be a little more rigorous toward the married Clergy: But it does not appear, that their Laws were of any great Force. For *Socrates* [z] says, even in his Time in the Eastern Churches many eminent Bishops begat Children of their Lawful Wives; and such as abstained, did it not by Obligation of any Law, but their own voluntary Choice. Only in *Thessaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas*, the Clergy were obliged to abstain under Pain of Ecclesiastical Censure. Which, he says, was occasioned by Bishop *Heliodore*'s writing his Book called, *His Ethiopicks*. So that as yet there was no universal Decree against married Bishops in the *Greek* Church, much less against Presbyters and Deacons. But the Council of *Trullo*, Ann. 692, made a Difference between Bishops and Presbyters; allowing Presbyters, Deacons and all the Inferior Orders to cohabit [a] with their Wives after Ordination; and giving the *Roman* Church a smart Rebuke for the contrary Prohibition: But yet laying an Injunction upon Bishops [b] to live separate from their Wives, and appointing the Wives [c] to betake themselves to a Monastick Life, or become Deaconnesses in the Church. And so the matter was altered in the *Greek* Church, as to Bishops, but not any others. In the *Latin* Church also the Alteration was made but by slow Steps in many Places. For in *Africk* even Bishops themselves cohabited with their Wives at the Time of the Council of *Trullo*, as appears from one of the fore-mentioned [d] Canons of that Council. But it is beyond my Design to carry this Enquiry any farther; what has been already said, being sufficient to shew, that the Married Clergy were allowed to Officiate in the first and Primitive Ages; and that Celibacy in those Times was no necessary Condition of their Ordination, as is falsly pretended by the Polemical Writers of the present Church of *Rome*. I have now gone through the several Qualifications of the ancient Clergy, concerning which Enquiry was made before their Ordination. I come now in the next place to consider the Solemnity of the thing it self, together with the Laws and Customs which were generally observed at the Time of Ordination.

[r] Du Pin Bibliotheque Vol. 2. p. 253. Edit. Anglic.
[s] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 43. πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἣν νόμῳ λαικὸς ὢν ἠγάγετο τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὡς μῦσος ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευε. [t] Conc. Gangr. c. 4. εἴ τις διακείνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.
[u] Conc. Ancyr. c. 10. εἰ ἐμαρτάραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως μένειν; οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ. &c. [w] Conc. Neo-Cæs. c. 1.
[x] Ibid. c. 8. [y] Conc. Elib. c. 33. Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 2.
[z] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. [a] Conc. Trull. c. 13. [b] Ibid. c. 12. [c] Ibid. c. 48. [d] Conc. Trull. c. 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Ordinations of the Primitive Clergy, and the Laws and Customs generally observed therein.

SECT. I. *The Canons of the Church to be read to the Clerk, before the Bishop ordained him.*

WHEN the Election of a Person duly qualified according to the forementioned Rules was made, then it was the Bishop's Office, or the Metropolitan's, if the Party Elect was himself a Bishop, to ordain him. But before they proceeded to Ordination, there were some other Laws and Rules to be observed. For not to mention here again the Oath against *Simony*, and the Subscriptions, which I have shewed before [†], were anciently required of Persons to be Ordained: I must not forget to Note, that in the *African* Church a Rule was made in the 3d Council of [*a*] *Carthage*, and thence transferred into the *African* [*b*] Code, That before any Bishop, or other Clergy-Man was Ordained, the Ordainers should cause the Canons of the Church to be Read in his Hearing; that they might not have cause to Repent afterward, that they had Transgressed any of them. This Rule was made at the Instance and Request of St. *Austin*, as *Possidius* [*c*] Notes in his Life, who says, that because he was Ordained Bishop of *Hippo* while *Valerius* was alive; which was contrary to the Rule of the Council of *Nice*, which he was Ignorant of at the Time of his Ordination; he therefore prevailed with the *African* Fathers to make a Decree, that the Canons of the Church should be Read at every Man's Ordination. This Rule implied a Tacit Promise, that the Party Ordained would observe the Canons that were Read to him: But for greater Security it was afterward improved into an Explicit Promise by a Law of *Justinian* [*d*], which requires every Clerk after the Reading of the Canons to profess, that as far as it was possible for Man to do, he would fulfil what was contained in them. Whence, no doubt, came those later Forms of Professing Obedience to the Canons of the seven General Councils, in the *Greek* Church; and the Oath to St. *Peter* taken by the Bishops of *Rome* in the *Latin* Church, that they would observe the Decrees of the Eight General Councils. The first of which Forms may be seen at length in *Habertus* [*e*], and the other in *Baronius* [*f*], and the Book called, *Liber Diurnus*, by the Reader, that is Curious to consult them.

SECT. II. *No Clerk to be Ordained* ἀπολελυμένως.

2*dly*, ANOTHER Rule to be observed in this Case was, That every Man should be fixed to some Church at his Ordination, and not be left at Liberty to Minister wherever he would, because of several Inconveniences that attended that Practice. This Rule concerned Bishops, as well as the Inferior Clergy: For the *Nullatenenses* of later Ages, as *Panormitan* calls *Titular* and *Utopian* Bishops, were rarely known in the Primitive Church. For though every Bishop was in some Sense ordained Bishop of the Catholick Church, as I have shewed before; yet for Order's sake he was always confined to a certain District in the Ordinary Exercise of his Power. And so Presbyters and all other Inferior Clergy were confined to the Diocese of their own Bishop, and might not be Ordained, unless they had some Place wherein to exercise their Function. This was the ancient Custom of the Church, which the Council of *Chalcedon* confirmed by a Canon, That no Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other Ecclesiastick should be Ordained [*g*] at large; but be assigned either to the City-Church, or some Church or Oratory in the Country, or a Monastery: Otherwise his Ordination to be Null and Void. This the *Latins* called, *Ordinatio Localis*, and the Persons so Ordained, *Locales*, from their being fixed to a certain Place. As in the Council of *Valentia* [*h*] in *Spain* we find a Canon, that obliges every Priest before his Ordination to give a Promise, that he will be *Localis*; to the intent that no one should be permitted to transgress the Rules and Discipline of the Church with Impunity; which they might easily do, if they were allowed to rove about from one place to another. This in the Stile of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* is, Ordination [*i*] founded upon a Place, or as we would say now, a Title; without which, he says, the Ordination was not to be looked upon as Authentick. But it must be observed, that a Title then did not always signifie a Parochial Church, or distinct Cure: For this was a Rule before Dioceses were divided in Parishes: But the Confinement laid upon Men at their Ordination was, that they should be fixed to their own Bishop's Diocese, and Officiate in the Place where he appointed them.

[†] *See Chap.* 3. *Sect.* 2. *and* 14. [*a*] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 3. Placuit, ut ordinandis Episcopis vel Clericis prius ab Ordinatoribus suis Decreta Conciliorum auribus eorum inculcentur; ne se aliquid contra statuta Concilii feciſse pœniteat. [*b*] Cod. Eccles. Afr. c. 19. [*c*] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. Quod in seipso fieri non debuisse, ut vivo suo Episcopo ordinaretur, postea & dixit & scripsit, propter Concilii Universalis vetitum, quod jam ordinatus didicit: nec quod sibi factum esse doluit, aliis fieri voluit. Unde etiam fategit, ut Conciliis constitueretur Episcoporum, ab Ordinatoribus deberi Ordinandis, vel Ordinatis, omnium statuta sacerdotum in notitiam esse deferenda. [*d*] Justin. Novel. 6. c. 1. n. 8. [*e*] Habert. Archieratic. p. 496. [*f*] Baron. an. 869. Tom. 10. p. 433. [*g*] Conc. Chalced. c. 6. μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι —— εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως, ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ ἐπικηρύττοιτο. [*h*] Conc. Valentin. c. 6. Nec ullum Sacerdotem quispiam ordinet, qui Localem se futurum primitus non spoponderit: Ut per hoc nullus a Regula vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ deviare permittatur impune. [*i*] Leo Ep. 92. ad Rustic. c. 1. Vana est habenda Ordinatio, quæ nec Loco fundata est, nec Auctoritate munita.

SECT. III. *Exceptions to this Rule very rare.*

THERE were indeed ſome few Exceptions to this Rule, but very Rare, and upon Extraordinary Occaſions. *Paulinus* and St. *Jerom* ſeem to have had the Privilege granted them, of being Ordained without Affixing to any Church. *Paulinus* ſays [k] expreſly of himſelf, that he was Ordained Presbyter at *Barcelona* with this Condition, that he ſhould not be confined to that Church, but remain a Prieſt at large. And St. *Jerom* gives the ſame Account [kk] of his own Ordination at *Antioch*; that he was conſecrated Presbyter with Licenſe to continue a Monk, and return to his Monaſtery again. *Sozomen* [l] relates the like of *Barſes* and *Eulogius*, two Monks of *Edeſſa*, that they were both ordained Biſhops, not of any City, but only Honorary Biſhops within their own Monaſteries, out of Reſpect to their eminent Virtues. And it was ſuch a ſort of Ordination that, *Theodoret* [m] ſays, *Flavian* Biſhop of *Antioch* gave to *Macedonius* the famous *Syrian Anchoret*, whom he drew from his Cell in the Deſart, only to Ordain him Presbyter, and ſo let him return to the Deſart again. Theſe are all the Inſtances of this kind, which I remember in ancient Hiſtory. It was not as yet the Cuſtom to ordain Biſhops *Partibus Infidelium*, that never meant to ſee their Biſhopricks. Though After-ages deſpiſed this Rule, as *Zonaras* [n] complains of the *Greek* Church, and *Habertus* [o] cannot but lament it in the *Latin*; yet the ancient Church was more punctual in obſerving the Laws, ſcarce ever Ordaining either Biſhop or Inferior Clerk without fixing them to a certain Dioceſe, from which without the Conſent of their Superiors they were not to remove to any other.

SECT. IV. *No Biſhop to ordain another Man's Clerk without his Conſent.*

3dly, AND from hence aroſe a Third Rule about Ordinations, That no Biſhop ſhould Ordain, or admit into his Church any Clerk belonging to another Church, without the Conſent of the Biſhop to whom he formerly belonged. The Councils [p] are very peremptory in this Decree; particularly the great Council of *Nice* [q], and That of *Sardica* [r], and the ſecond of *Arles* [s] declare all ſuch Ordinations null and void. The firſt Council of *Carthage* [t] extends the Prohibition even to Laymen belonging to another Dioceſe: For it decrees, that as no Clerk ſhall be received by another Biſhop without the Letters Dimiſſory of his own Biſhop; ſo neither ſhall any Biſhop take a Layman out of another People, and ordain him, without the Conſent of that Biſhop, out of whoſe People he is taken. The Reaſon of which Laws was, that every Biſhop was ſuppoſed to have a peculiar Right in all the Clergy and People of his own Dioceſe; and it was very Conducive to the Peace and good Order of the Church to have ſuch Rules maintained and obſerved. Only in the *African* Church the Biſhop of *Carthage* was allowed a Privilege in this Caſe, as he was Exarch or Primate of all the *African* Provinces. For by ancient Cuſtom, confirmed by a Canon in the 3d Council of *Carthage* [u], which is alſo inſerted into the *African* Code [w], the Biſhop of *Carthage* is allowed to take a Clerk out of another Church, and ordain him for the Service of any Church under his Juriſdiction. But an Exception in his particular Caſe confirms the Rule in all the reſt.

SECT. V. *No Biſhop to ordain in another Man's Dioceſe.*

4thly, ANOTHER Rule for the Preſervation of Order in this Affair was, that every Biſhop ſhould confine himſelf to his own Church, and not aſſume to himſelf the Power of Ordaining in the Dioceſe of another Man. So the Council of *Antioch* [x], and thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [y] determined, that a Biſhop ſhould not preſume to ordain out of his own Bounds, in Cities or Countries not Subject to him. St. *Auſtin* had occaſion to inſiſt upon this Rule in the Caſe of *Pinianus*, when the People of *Hippo* required him to ordain him Presbyter againſt his Will, and threatned that if he would not, they would have another Biſhop to ordain him: St. *Auſtin* told [z] them, that no Biſhop could ordain him in his Church without firſt asking his Leave and Permiſſion; and that having given him a Promiſe, that he would not ordain him againſt his Will, he could not in Honour conſent that any other Biſhop ſhould come and ordain him. *Socrates* [a] ſays, *Epiphanius* took upon him to ordain a Deacon in the Dioceſe of *Chryſoſtom* at *Conſtantinople*: But *Chryſoſtom* told him, that he acted contrary to Canon, in ordaining in Churches that were not under his Juriſdiction. Which ſhews, that this was an univerſal Law, prevailing both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches. And by the ſame Rule all Metropolitans with their Provincial Biſhops were confined to their

[k] Paulin. Ep. 6. ad Sever. p. 101. Ea conditione in Barcinonenſi Eccleſia conſecrari adductus ſum, ut ipſi Eccleſiæ non alligater; in ſacerdotium tantum Domini, non in Locum Eccleſiæ dedicatus. [kk] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Pammach. Tom. 2. p. 181. [l] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 34. [m] Theod. Hiſtor. Relig. c. 13. Tom. 3. [n] Zonar. Not. in Conc. Chalced. c. 6. [o] Habert. Archieratic. p. 351. [p] Vid. Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 21. Conc. Chalced. c. 20. Arauſican. 1. c. 8, 9. [q] Conc. Nic. c. 16. ἄκυρος ἔσω ἡ χειροτονία. [r] Conc. Sardic. c. 15. [s] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 13. Si aliquis, invito Epiſcopo ſuo, in aliena Eccleſia habitans, ab Epiſcopo loci Clericus fuerit ordinatus, hujuſmodi Ordinatio irrita habeatur. [t] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 5. Non licere Clericum alienum ab aliquo ſuſcipi ſine Literis Epiſcopi ſui, neque apud ſe retinere, nec Laicum uſurpare ſibi de Plebe aliena, ut eum ordinet ſine Conſcientia ejus Epiſcopi, de cujus Plebe eſt. [u] Concil. Carth. 3. c. 45. [w] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 55. περὶ τῶ ἀξιῶσαι τὸν ἐπισκόπον Καρχηδόνος. ὅθεν, καλὸν εἶναι χειροτονεῖν. [x] Conc. Antioch. c. 22. [y] Canon. Apoſt. c. 35. ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας. [z] Aug. Ep. 225. ad Albinam. Dicebam ego quibus poteram, qui ad nos in Abſidem Honoratiores & graviores aſcenderant, nec à promiſſi fide me poſſe dimoveri, nec ab alio Epiſcopo in Eccleſia mihi tradita, niſi me interrogato ac permittente, poſſe ordinari. [a] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 22. & 14.

own Province, and might not ordain any Biſhop in another Province, except they were invited by the Biſhops of that Province to come and give them their Aſſiſtance. Which Rule was made in the general Council [*b*] of *Conſtantinople*, and confirmed in the Council of *Epheſus* [*c*], upon the Controverſy that aroſe between the Churches of *Cyprus* and the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who laid Claim to the Power of Ordinations in thoſe Churches, but was rejected in his Claim, becauſe they were out of his Diſtrict, and under another Juriſdiction. But it is to be obſerved, that theſe Rules were only made for Ordinary Caſes, to preſerve Peace and a good Underſtanding among the Biſhops of the Church, whilſt every one acted in his proper Sphere, and kept to thoſe Bounds and Limits which the Laws appointed. For otherwiſe, as I have ſhewed heretofore [*cc*], every Biſhop was a Biſhop of the whole Catholick Church, and in that Capacity authorized to ordain, or perform any other Acts of the Epiſcopal Office in any part of the World upon urgent Neceſſity and Extraordinary Occaſions. As *Athanaſius* and *Euſebius Samoſatenſis* did in the Times of the great Prevalency of the *Arian* Hereſy, ordaining Biſhops and Presbyters in any Province or Dioceſe (though contrary to the Letter of this Law) in order to preſerve the Catholick Faith, and a Succeſſion of Orthodox Men in the Service of the Church. So that this was only a Rule for Common and Ordinary Caſes. And in *Cyprus*, *Epiphanius* [*d*] ſays, they did not inſiſt upon the Rule at all one among another, but any Biſhop ordained in any other Man's Dioceſe, as Occaſion required, without Breach of Charity; for they gave a ſort of general Leave to one another, as finding it moſt expedient for the Church in that Province to uſe ſuch a Liberty among themſelves; though they ſtifly maintained their Privilege againſt the Encroachments of all foreign Sees, and more eſpecially that of *Antioch*.

SECT. VI. *The Original of the Four ſolemn Times of Ordination.*

THE next things to be noted in this Affair, are ſuch as concern the Time and Place of Ordination. Concerning the Time there may ſeveral Enquiries be made. 1. Whether they had originally any ſet and conſtant Times of Ordination, as the Church now has Four times a Year? 2. Whether *Sunday* was always the Day of Ordination? 3. Whether Ordinations were always confined to Morning-Service? As to the firſt Enquiry, it does not certainly appear, that the Church had any conſtant annual Times of Ordination before the 4th Century. For *Habertus* truly obſerves [*e*], that then it was more uſual to ordain Men ſingly, as the preſent Occaſions of every Church required. Pope *Leo* indeed [*f*] derives the *Jejunia quatuor temporum*, the Faſts of the Four Seaſons of the Year, which are now commonly called *Ember-Weeks*, from Apoſtolical Tradition. But as Mr. *Pagi* [*g*] and *Queſnel* [*h*] in their Cenſures of that Author obſerve, there is nothing more uſual with him, than to call every thing an Apoſtolical Law, which he found either in the Practice of his own Church, or decreed in the Archives of his Predeceſſors *Damaſus* and *Siricius*. So that all other Authors before *Leo* being ſilent upon this Matter, we can lay no great Streſs upon his Authority for it. Beſide, he does not ſo much as once intimate, that theſe Faſts were appointed upon the Account of any ſet and ſolemn Times of Ordinations, but upon other more general Reaſons. So that it is not certain, that the Church had any fixt Times of Ordination when *Leo* wrote, *Ann.* 450. And in the Ages before it is more evident ſhe had not. For as to Biſhops, it is certain the Church never confined herſelf to any ſet Times for the Ordination of them; but as ſoon as any Biſhop was dead, another was choſen and ordained in his Room with all convenient Speed; and in ſome Places this was done within a Day or two after his Deceaſe, as has been ſhewed in a former [†] Book. As to Presbyters and Deacons, and others below them, it is evident alſo, that for the three firſt Ages they were ordained at all Times, as the Occaſions of the Church required. *Cyprian* ordained *Aurelius* a Reader upon the 1ſt of *December*, as Biſhop *Pearſon* [*i*] computes by the Critical Rules of Calculation; and he ordained *Saturus* a Reader, and *Optatus* a Subdeacon in the Month of *Auguſt* [*k*]; neither of which were ſolemn Times of Ordination. *Paulinus*, who lived in the 4th Century, was ordained on *Chriſtmas-Day*, as he himſelf [*l*] informs us: Yet neither was that one of the four Days, which afterwards became the ſtated Times of Ordination. The *Roman* Pontifical under the Name of *Damaſus*, in the Life of almoſt every Biſhop, takes Notice of the Ordinations which they made, in the *Roman* Province, of Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons, during their whole Life; and always the Ordinations are ſaid to be made in the Month of *December*. Which, if that Book were of any great Authority, would prove, that there was one fixt Time of Ordination at *Rome*; but not four. But I confeſs, the Credit of that Book cannot much be depended upon for the Hiſtory of the Primitive Ages one way or other; it being of much later Date than the Title pretends; and perhaps the Author only ſpake of ancient things according to the Cuſtom of his own Times, when one

[*b*] Conc. Conſtant. c. 2. [*c*] Conc. Epheſ. Act. 7. Decret. de Epiſ. Cypr. [*cc*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 5. [*d*] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hieroſolym. t. 2. p. 313. Multi Epiſcopi communionis noſtræ Presbyteros in noſtra ordinaverunt Provincia, &c.

[*e*] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 8. Obſerv. 4. p. 130. Tunc ſinguli, & quidem rari, non vero tam multi ac hodie ordinabantur.

[*f*] Leo Serm. 2. de Jejun. Pentecoſt. p. 77. It. Serm. 9. de Jejun. 7. Menſis, ſive de Jejunio quatuor Temporum. p. 88. It. Serm. 7.

[*g*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 67. n. 15. [*h*] Queſnel ap. Pagi. ibid. [†] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 11. *Sect.* 2. [*i*] Pearſon. Annal. Cypr. an. 250. n. 20. p. 25. [*k*] Pearſon. ibid. n. 15.

[*l*] Paulin. Ep. 6. ad Sever. p. 101. Die Domini, quo naſci carne dignatus eſt, repentina vi multitudinis —— Presbyteratu initiatus ſum.

of these four Times might be brought into Use: Which seems to have been before the Time of *Simplicius*, *an.* 467. For the Pontifical in his Life [*m*] adds *February* to *December*; as it does also in the Life of *Gelasius*. And in one of the Decrees of *Gelasius* [*n*] there are no less than five stated Times of Ordination appointed, *viz. June*, *September*, *December*, the beginning of *Lent*, and the Middle of *Lent*, and *Saturday* in the Evening in all these Times to be the precise Time of Ordination. *Amalarius Fortunatus* [*o*] takes notice of the Change that was made in the Time of *Simplicius*; telling us, that all the Bishops of *Rome* before *Simplicius* made their Ordinations always in the Month of *December*, and that he was the first that ordained in *February*. Which no doubt he had from the forementioned Passages of the Pontifical, which in some Places speaks of one, and in others of two solemn Times of Ordination, but never of four: Which argues, that these four were not as yet determined, when that Book was written, which with the Interpolations that it has now was not till after the Time of *Justinian*, as learned Men generally agree. So that I leave it to farther Enquiry, whether there were any such fixed Times of Ordination in the Church of *Rome*, as these Authors mention, for four or five of the first Centuries. In other Churches we read of none, but the Instances that have been produced rather prove the contrary. The Inquisitive Reader will be able to furnish himself with many other such Instances, from which it may be concluded, that the Times of Ordination were not fixt for four of the first Centuries, since no ancient Writer within that Space makes any mention of them. And therefore there is no Necessity, with *Baronius* [*p*] and *Bellarmine* [*q*], to make the *Jejunia quatuor temporum* an Apostolical Tradition, but it is sufficient to speak of them as an useful Order of the Church, founded upon Ecclesiastical Institution, some Ages after.

SECT. VII. *Ordinations indifferently given on any Day of the Week for three Centuries.*

THE same must be said in answer to the 2d Question, Whether *Sunday* was always the Day of Ordination? It is evident, that for the three first Centuries it was not. For Mr. *Pagi* has unanswerably proved [*r*] against *Papebrochius*, from the most certain Rules of Chronology, that before the Time of *Constantine* the Ordinations of the Bishops of *Rome* themselves were performed indifferently upon any Day of the Week, and that the affixing them to the Lord's Day and other solemn Festivals was the Business of the 4th Century. So that when Pope *Leo* [*s*] says, that such Ordinations as were made upon other Days than *Sundays*, were against the Canons and the Tradition of the Fathers, he is to be understood as before, to mean only the Custom of his own Times; if yet it were the Custom when *Leo* lived: For there is some reason to doubt of the Authority either of *Leo*'s Epistle, or that of *Gelasius*, who lived not long after. For *Gelasius* says [*t*] the Ordinations of Presbyters and Deacons were to be made on *Saturday* in the Evening. So that either one of these Epistles is spurious, or else the Custom varied in the same Century in the Church of *Rome*.

SECT. VIII. *The Ceremony usually perform'd in the Time of the Oblation at Morning-Service.*

I confess *Gelasius* is singular in that Part of his Decree, which fixes Ordinations to Evening-Service. For though the Ancients were not always precise to a certain Day of the Year, or a certain Day of the Week; yet they more punctually observed the Time of the Day, to give Ordinations at Morning-Service. This was a very ancient Rule of the Church, as we may learn from the Objection that was made against *Novatian*, that among his other Irregularites he was ordained at an uncanonical Hour, ὥρᾳ δεκάτῃ, at ten a Clock, or four in the Afternoon, as *Cornelius* [*u*] in his Epistle to *Fabian* lays the Charge against him. The Council of *Laodicea* is still more punctual to the Time, that Ordinations should not be given while the Hearers or Catechumens [*w*] were present, but at the Time of the Oblation. The reason of which was, that the Person ordained might either consecrate, or at least participate of the *Eucharist* at the Time of his Ordination. Whence *Theodoret* speaking of the Ordination of *Macedonius* the *Anchoret*, says it was done [*x*], τῆ μυστικῆς ἱερουργίας προκειμένης, in the Time of the Mystical, that is the Communion-Service. And so *Epiphanius* [*y*] represents the Ordination of *Paulinianus*, St. *Jerom*'s Brother, whom he ordained Presbyter, whilst he ministred in the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. But this is to be understood chiefly, if not only, of the three Superior Orders of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons: For as to the rest, it was indifferent what Time they were ordained, so long as it was in the Church in any Part of Divine Service.

SECT. IX. *The Church the only Regular Place of Ordination.*

BUT out of the Church no Ordination could be regularly performed. Though there was this Difference between the Su-

[*m*] Pontifical. Vit. Gelas. Hic. fecit Ordinationes in Urbe Roma tres, per Mensem Decembrem & Februarium. [*n*] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniæ. c. 11. al. 13. Ordinationes etiam Presbyterorum & Diaconorum nisi certis temporibus & diebus exerceri non debent, id est, Quarti Mensis Jejunio, Septimi, & Decimi, sed & etiam Quadragesimalis initii, ac Mediana Quadragesimæ die, Sabbati Jejunio circa Vesperam noverint celebrandas. [*o*] Amalar. de Offic. Eccl. Lib. 2. c. 1. Primi Apostolici semper in Decembrio Mense Consecrationes ministrabant usque ad Simplicium, qui fuit à B. Petro Quadragesimus monus. Ipse primus sacravit in Februario. [*p*] Baron. an. 57. n. 209. [*q*] Bellarm. de Verbi Dei non scripto. Lib. 4. c. 3. p. 206. [*r*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 67. n. 14. & 16. [*s*] Leo Ep. 91. ad Dioscorum c. 1. [*t*] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. c. 11. Ordinationis Sabbati Jejunio circa Vesperiam noverint celebrandas. [*u*] Ap. Euseb. Lib. 6. c. 43. [*w*] Conc. Laodic. c. 4. περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκροαμένων γίνεσθαι. [*x*] Theod. Hist. Relig. c. 13. [*y*] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. Cum ministraret in sanctis sacrificiis, ordinavimus Presbyterum.

perior

perior and Inferior Orders, that the one were conferred within the Sanctuary, or Altar-Part, and the other without; yet they both agreed in this, that the Church was ſtill the proper Place to give Birth to all ſuch Orders, as were to be employed in any Eccleſiaſtical Service. And therefore *Gregory Nazianzen* [z] juſtly upbraids *Maximus* the Cynick, who intruded himſelf into his See of *Conſtantinople*, that being excluded from the Church, he was ordained in the Houſe of a Minſtrel. Which was alſo objected to *Urſinus*, who was Competitor with *Damaſus* for the See of *Rome*, that he was not ordained [a] in a Church, but in an obſcure Corner of the Hall called *Sicona*.

SECT. X. *Ordination received kneeling at the Altar.*

As to the Ceremonies uſed in the Act of Ordination it ſelf, beſide what has been noted before in ſpeaking of each particular Order, it will be proper to obſerve ſome things of them in general. As Firſt, That the Ordinations of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons were always received Kneeling before the Altar. So the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [b] repreſents the Matter in his *Rationale* upon the Church's Service. And *Theodoret* mentions it [c] as the Cuſtomary Rite, when ſpeaking of the Ordination of a Biſhop, he ſays, they brought him to the Holy Table, and made him kneel on his Knees by Force.

SECT. XI. *Given by Impoſition of Hands and Prayer.*

Secondly, The Solemnity itſelf in giving the Superior Orders was always performed by Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. Which is evident from St. *Jerom*, who ſays, that Impoſition of Hands was therefore added to compleat the Ordinations [d] of the Clergy, leſt any one by a ſilent and ſolitary Prayer ſhould be ordained without his Knowledge. *Gregory Nyſſen* [e] indeed tells us a very ſtrange Story of the Ordination of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, how *Phædimus* Biſhop of *Amaſea* ordained him only by Prayer without Impoſition of Hands: For he was abſent, being fled to the Wilderneſs, to avoid Ordination: Notwithſtanding which *Phædimus* conſecrated him to the Biſhoprick of *Neo-Cæſarea*, which he afterwards accepted. But as a learned Man [f] Conjectures, it is moſt likely that he had another Ordination; or if not, this Act muſt paſs for a ſingular Inſtance, contrary to the common Rule and eſtabliſhed Order of the Church. The *Greeks* call this Impoſition of Hands both χειροτονία, and χειροθεσία, as may be ſeen in the Canons of the Council of *Nice* [g] and *Chalcedon*. Yet ſometimes thoſe Words are diſtinguiſhed, as in the Author of the Conſtitutions, where [h] he ſays, πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ, ὁ χειροτονεῖ, a Presbyter gives Impoſition of Hands, but does not ordain. Where it is plain, that Impoſition of Hands means not Ordination, but ſome other Benediction of the Church, wherein Impoſition of Hands was uſed, as well as in Ordination. Neither does χειροτονία always ſignify Ordination in ancient Writers; though it does moſt commonly ſo, as *Fronto Ducæus* [i] and other learned Perſons have ſhewed: But ſometimes it denotes no more than Deſignation or Election; as when *Ignatius* uſes the Phraſe, χειροτονῆσαι Θεοπρεσβύτην [k], only to ſignify the Election or Appointment of a Meſſenger to go upon an Errand of the Church. Which I note, to caution the Reader againſt Miſtakes committed by ſome Authors, who confound Ordinations with Elections, for want of diſtinguiſhing the critical Senſes of Words, as the Subject Matter requires.

SECT. XII. *The Sign of the Croſs uſed in Ordination.*

I muſt farther obſerve, that as the Sign of the Croſs was uſed upon many Occaſions by the Primitive Chriſtians, ſo particularly in their Ordinations. Which we learn from *Chryſoſtom*, who more than once mentions it upon this occaſion. If, ſays he, we are to be regenerated, the Croſs is uſed, *viz.* in Baptiſm; or if we [l] are to eat the Myſtical Food, the *Euchariſt*; or to receive an Ordination, we are ſigned with the Sign of the Croſs. Upon this Account, *Suicerus* [m] notes out of the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius*, that the Impoſition of Hands in Ordination was called σφραγὶς, Conſignation, and σταυροειδὴς σφραγὶς, Conſignation in Form of a Croſs [n], becauſe the Sign of the Croſs was made on the Head of him that was ordained.

SECT. XIII. *But no Unction, or the Ceremony of delivering Veſſels into the Hands of Preſbyters and Deacons.*

As to the Ceremony of Unction I have already had occaſion to ſhew its Novelty [*] in another Place; together with the Cuſtom of delivering ſome of the Holy Veſſels into the Hands of the Perſon ordained. Which *Habertus* ſays was never uſed in giving any of the Superior Orders, but only the Inferior, by the Rule of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, which makes that the chief Part of their Ordination. Though *Habertus* [o] and ſome others queſtion the Authority of that very Council, and reckon all its Canons ſpurious. But that only by the way.

[z] Naz. Carm. de Vita p. 15. εἰς γὰρ χορεμίλης λυπρὸν οἰκητήριον, κυνῶν τυπῆσι ἢ κάκιστον ποιμένα. [a] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 29. [b] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 5. Contempl. 3. n. 7. & 8. [c] Theod. lib. 4. c. 15. [d] Hieron. lib. 16. in Iſai. c. 58. p. 265. χειροτονία, id eſt, Ordinatio Clericorum non ſolum ad imprecationem vocis, ſed ad Impoſitionem impletur manus: Ne ſcilicet vocis imprecatio clandeſtina Clericos ordinet neſcientes. [e] Nyſſen. Vit. Greg. Thaum. Tom. 3. p. 544. [f] Cave Hiſt. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 94. [g] Conc. Nic. c. 19. Chalced. c. 15. [h] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 11. [i] Fronto Ducæ. Not. in Chryſoſt. Hom. 1. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 1. [k] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 11. It. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. 10. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 7. [l] Chryſ. Hom. 55. in Matth. κἂν ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέῃ, σταυρὸς παραγίνεται· κἂν τραφῆναι ἢ μυστικὴν ἐκείνην τροφὴν· κἂν χειροτονηθῆναι, &c. [m] Suicer. Theſaur. Voce σφραγὶς, Tom. 2. p. 1199. [n] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 5. p. 312. & 314. [*] *Book* 2, *Chap.* 19. *Sect.* 17. [o] Habert. Archieratic. p. 323.

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SECT. XIV. *Ordinations concluded with the Kiſs of Peace.*

WHEN the Ceremony of Conſecration was ended, it was uſual for the Clergy then preſent to ſalute the Perſon newly ordained, with the Kiſs of Peace [p]. And ſo being conducted to his proper Station belonging to his Office, if he was a Biſhop or a Presbyter, he made his firſt Sermon to the People. But of this, as it relates to Biſhops, I have given an Account before; as it relates to Preſbyters in the *Greek* Church, where it was more uſual for Presbyters to preach, the Reader may find Examples of ſuch Sermons among thoſe of *Chryſoſtom* [q], and *Gregory Nyſſen* [r], which they preached upon the Day of their Ordination.

SECT. XV. *The Anniverſary Day of a Biſhop's Ordination kept a Feſtival.*

I cannot omit to mention one thing more, which ſhould have been mentioned in another Place, becauſe it was an Honour peculiarly paid to the Order of Biſhops; which was, That in many Places the Day of their Ordination was Solemnly kept among the Anniverſary Feſtivals of the Church. On theſe Days they had Church-Aſſemblies, and Sermons, and all the other Solemnities of a Feſtival. Which appears from St. *Auſtin*'s Sermons, two of which [s] were Preached upon the Anniverſary of his own Ordination. And in another [t] Publiſhed by *Sirmondus*, he alſo mentions the Day under the ſame Title of his own Anniverſary. In a fourth he ſpeaks alſo of the Anniverſary of *Aurelius* [u] Biſhop of *Carthage*, inviting the People to come and keep the Feſtival in *Baſilica Fauſti*, which was a noted Church in *Carthage*. Among the Homilies alſo of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* the three firſt are upon the Anniverſary Day of his Aſſumption to the Pontificate. And a late Learned Critick [w] has obſerved, that in St. *Jerom*'s, and ſome other ancient Martyrologies, there ſometimes occur ſuch Feſtivals under the Titles of *Ordinatio Epiſcopi*, & *Natale Epiſcopatus* N. that is, the Ordination or Birth-Day of ſuch or ſuch a Biſhop. Which doubtleſs at firſt were the Anniverſaries of their Ordination, which they themſelves kept in their Life-time; and which were continued in Memory of them after Death: By which means they came to be inſerted into the Martyrologies as Standing Feſtivals, denoting there neither the Day of their Natural Birth, nor their Death (as ſome miſtake) but the Day of their Ordination, or Advancement to the Epiſcopal Throne. But of this more when we come to ſpeak of the Feſtivals of the Church.

CHAP. VII.

The Caſe of forced Ordinations and Re-ordinations conſidered.

SECT. I. *Forced Ordinations very frequent in the Primitive Church.*

FOR the Cloſe of this Book I ſhall add ſomething concerning forced Ordinations, and Re-ordinations, which were things that very often happened in the Primitive Church. For anciently, while Popular Elections were indulged, there was nothing more common than for the People to take Men by Force, and have them ordained even againſt their Wills. For though, as *Sulpicius Severus* complains, many Men were too Ambitious in Courting the Preferments of the Church; yet there were ſome, who ran as eagerly from them as others ran to them; and nothing but Force could bring ſuch Men to ſubmit to an Ordination. We have ſeen an Inſtance or two of this already in the Caſes of St. *Auſtin* [†] and *Paulinus:* And Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory affords us many others. For not to mention ſuch as only fled or abſconded to avoid Ordination; ſuch as *Cyprian* [a], and *Gregory Thaumaturgus* [b], and *Athanaſius* [c], and *Evagrius* [d], and St. *Ambroſe* [e]: There were ſome who were plainly ordained againſt their Wills: As *Nepotian*, of whom St. *Jerom* ſays, that when his Uncle *Heliodore* ordained him Presbyter, he wept [f] and lamented his Condition, and could not forbear expreſſing his Anger againſt his Ordainer, though that was the only Time he ever had occaſion to do it. St. *Martin* Biſhop of *Tours* was ſo averſe from taking the Biſhoprick that he was forc'd to be drawn out of his Cell by Craft, and carried under a Guard to his Ordination, as the Sacred [g] Hiſtorian informs us. And the Ordination of *Macedonius* the *Anchoret* by *Flavian* Biſhop of *Antioch* was ſo much againſt his Will, that they durſt not let him know what they were about, till the Ceremony was over; and when he came to underſtand that he was ordained Presbyter, he broke forth into a Rage againſt *Flavian*, and all that were concern-

[p] Dionyſ. Hierarch. Eccl. c. 5. p. 367. Conſtitut. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 5. [q] Chryſ. Homil. cum Presbyter eſſet deſignatus. Tom. 4. p. 933. [r] Nyſſen. Hom. in ſuam Ordinat. Tom. 2. [s] Aug. Homil. 24, & 25. ex Quinquaginta. [t] Hom. 39. edit. à Sirmond. Tom. 10. p. 841. [u] Hom. 32. de Verb. Dni. Dies Anniverſarius Ordinationis Domini Senis Aurelii craſtinus illuceſcit, Rogat & admonet per humilitatem meam Charitatem veſtram, ut ad Baſilicam Fauſti devotiſſime venire dignemini. [w] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 67. n. 14.

[†] *See before Chap. 2. Sect.* 8. [a] Pontius Vit. Cypr. [b] Greg. Nyſſen. Vita Greg. Thaumaturg. [c] Sozomen, lib. 2. c. 17. [d] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. [e] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. [f] Hieron. Ep. 3. Epitaph. Nepotian. Presbyter ordinatur. Jeſu bone, qui gemitus, qui ejulatus, quæ cibi interdictio, quæ fuga oculorum omnium? Tunc primum & ſolum Avunculo iratus eſt. [g] Sulp. Sever. Vit. St. Martin. lib. 1. p. 224. Diſpoſitis in itinere Civium turbis, ſub quadam Cuſtodia ad Civitatem uſque deducitur, &c.

ed in the Action, as thinking that his Ordination would have obliged him to another ſort of Life, and deprived him of his Retirement and Return to the Mountains. So *Theodoret* in his Lives of the Eaſtern *Anchorets* [*h*] relates the Story. And that this was a very common Practice in thoſe Times, appears from what *Epiphanius* [*i*] ſays of the Cuſtom in *Cyprus*, That it was uſual in that Province, for Perſons that fled to avoid Ordination by their own Biſhop, to be ſeized by any other Biſhop, and to be ordained by them, and then be returned to the Biſhop from whom they were fled. Which argues, that forced Ordinations in thoſe Times were both practiſed and allowed.

SECT. II.
No Excuſe admitted in that Caſe, except a Man proteſted upon Oath that he would not be ordained.

NOR was it any kind of Remonſtrance or Sollicitation whatſoever, which the Party could make, that would prevent his Ordination in ſuch Caſes, except he chanced to proteſt Solemnly upon Oath againſt Ordination. For in that Caſe he was to be ſet at Liberty, and not to be ordained againſt ſo Solemn a Proteſtation. This is evident from one of the Canons of St. *Baſil*, which ſays, That they who Swear they will not [*k*] be ordained, are not to be compelled to forſwear themſelves by being ordained. And this, I think, alſo may be collected from the Account which *Epiphanius* gives of his own Tranſaction with *Paulinianus*, St. *Jerom*'s Brother, upon ſuch an Occaſion. *Paulinianus*, he ſays, was one of thoſe who fled from the Biſhop for fear of Ordination; but Providentially coming [*l*] where *Epiphanius* was, he cauſed him to be ſeized by his Deacons, not dreaming or ſuſpecting any thing of Ordination; and when he came to it, he cauſed them to hold his Mouth, for fear he ſhould have adjured him by the Name of Chriſt to ſet him free. Thus he ordained him Deacon firſt, and Presbyter ſome time after in the very ſame manner. Which ſeems to imply, that if he had ſuffered him to have made his Proteſtation in the Name of Chriſt, he could not have proceeded to his Ordination. But it ſeems nothing elſe but ſuch an Adjuration was available to ſet him free: And that is a farther Argument, that in thoſe Times Men might be Ordained againſt their Wills, and yet their Ordination ſtand good, and be accounted as Valid as any others.

SECT. III.
This Practice afterward prohibited by the Imperial Laws, and Canons of the Church.

BUT in the next Age this Practice was prohibited, becauſe of ſeveral Inconveniences that were found to attend it. The Emperors *Leo* and *Majorian* made a Law with *Sanctions* and *Penalties* to prevent it. For they decreed, that no one ſhould be ordained [*m*] againſt his Will. And whereas ſome Biſhops did impoſe the Burden of Orders upon Men againſt their Conſent, they granted Liberty in that Caſe, either to the Party himſelf, or any other Accuſer to bring an Action at Law againſt the Archdeacon, who was liable to be fined Ten Pounds of Gold, to be paid to the injured Party, or to the Informers, or to the States of the City: The Biſhop alſo was to be cenſured by his Superiors, and the Party ordained to be ſet at Liberty, as if he had never been ordained. Purſuant to this Law, *John* Biſhop of *Ravenna* for a Tranſgreſſion of this kind was threatned to be deprived of the Power of Ordination by *Simplicius* [*n*] Biſhop of *Rome*, Ann. 482. And the 3d Council of *Orleans* [*o*] Ann. 538, made a Decree for the *French* Churches, That if any Biſhop ordained a Clerk againſt his Will, he ſhould do Penance for the Fact a whole Year, and remain ſuſpended from his Office till that Term was expired. So great an Alteration was there made in one Age in the Rules and Practice of the Church, from what they had been in the former.

SECT. IV.
Yet a Biſhop ordained againſt his Will, had not the Privilege to Relinquiſh.

BUT I muſt Note, that after this Correction was made, there was ſtill ſome Difference to be obſerv'd between the forced Ordination of a Biſhop, and that of an Inferior Clerk, Presbyter, Deacon, or any other. For though the forementioned Imperial Law gave Liberty to all Inferiors ſo Ordained, to relinquiſh their Office that was forced upon them, if they pleaſed, and betake themſelves to a ſecular Life again; yet it peremptorily denied [*p*] this Privilege to Biſhops, decreeing that their Ordination ſhould ſtand good; and that no Action brought againſt their Ordainers ſhould be of force to evacuate or diſanul their Conſecration. Which ſeems to be grounded upon that ancient Rule of the Church, mentioned in the Council of *Antioch* [*q*], and confirmed in the Council of *Chalcedon* [*r*], That if any Biſhop was ordained to a Church, to which he

[*h*] Theod. Hiſt. Relig. c. 13. [*i*] Epiph. Ep. ad Johan. Hieroſol. Multi Epiſcoporum Communionis noſtræ & Presbyteros in noſtra ordinaverunt Provincia, quos nos comprehendere non poteramus, & miſerunt ad nos Diaconos & Hypodiaconos, quos ſuſcepimus cum Gratia. [*k*] Baſil. Ep. Canon. ad Amphiloch. c. 10. οἱ ὀμνύοντες μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἠναγκάζωσαν ὁμόσαι. [*l*] Epiphan. Ibid. Ignorantem eum, & nullam penitus habentem Suſpicionem, per multos Diaconos apprehendi juſſimus, & teneri os ejus, ne forte liberari ſe cupiens, adjuraret nos per nomen Chriſti, &c.

[*m*] Leo. Novel. 2. in Append. Cod. Theod. Nonnullorum perſuaſio ſacerdotum reluctantibus onus iſtud imponit, &c. Eo ergo licentiam hujus Præſumptionis excludimus, ut ſi quiſpiam probatus fuerit vi coactus ſub contumelia publica Clericatus Officiis ſucceſſiſſe, ſpontaneis accuſatoribus, vel ſi ipſe voluerit allegare perpeſſam licentiam, commodemus apud Judices Competentes hujuſmodi admiſſa damnare, ut ſi inter Leges objecta conſtiterint, decem Libras auri Archidiaconus cogatur inferre ei qui pertulerit exſolvendas: dehinc ſi ille deſiſtit, accuſatoris cenſibus & Civitatis Ordini profuturas: Illo ſuæ reddito voluntari, qui coactus non potuit conſecrari, &c. [*n*] Simplic. Ep. 2. ad Johan. Ravennatenſ. [*o*] Con. Aurelian. 3. c. 7. Epiſcopus qui invitum vel reclamantem præſumpſerit ordinare, annuali Pœnitentiæ ſubditus Miſſas facere non præſumat. [*p*] Leo. Novel. 2. Ibid. Si qui ſane Epiſcopus invitus fuerit ordinatus, hanc Conſecrationem nulla violari accuſatione permittimus. [*q*] Conc. Antioch. c. 17.

[*r*] Conc. Chalced. Act. 11.

refuſed

refuſcd to go, he ſhould be Excommunicated till he complied, or ſomething were determined in his Caſe by a Provincial Synod. Which ſeems to authorize the Uſing a ſort of Violence in compelling Men to undergo the Burden of the Epiſcopal Function; agreeable to that other Law of *Leo* and *Anthemius* in the *Juſtinian* Code [s], which puts this among other Qualifications of a Biſhop, that he ſhall be ſo far from Ambition, as to be one rather that muſt be ſought for and compelled to take a Biſhoprick. Such were anciently the Laws of Church and State relating to forced Ordinations.

SECT. V. *Re-ordinations generally condemned.*

As to Re-ordinations, before we can anſwer to the Queſtion about them, we muſt diſtinguiſh between the Orders that were given Regularly and Canonically by Perſons rightly qualified in the Church, and ſuch as were given irregularly by Perſons unqualified, or by Hereticks and Schiſmaticks out of the Church. As to ſuch Orders as were given Regularly in the Church, they were ſuppoſed, like Baptiſm, to impreſs a ſort of Indelible Character, ſo as that there was no Neceſſity upon any Occaſion to repeat them; but on the contrary it was deemed a Criminal Act ſo to do. The 3d Council of *Carthage*, following the Steps of the Plenary Council of *Capua*, or *Capſa*, decreed, That it was equally unlawful [t] to Re-baptize and Re-ordain. And thoſe called the Apoſtolical [u] Canons made it Depoſition both for the Ordainer and Ordained to give or receive a ſecond Ordination. St. *Auſtin* [w] ſays, it was not the Cuſtom of the Catholick Church to repeat either Orders or Baptiſm. For Men did not loſe their Orders [x], as to the Internal Character and Virtue, though they were ſuſpended from the Execution of their Office for ſome Miſdemeanour. *Optatus* [y] teſtifies the ſame, telling us, that *Donatus* was condemned in the Council of *Rome* under *Melchiades*, for Re-ordaining ſuch Biſhops as had lapſed in Time of Perſecution; which was contrary to the Cuſtom of the Catholick Church. And others [z] accuſe the *Arians* upon the ſame account, for Re-ordaining ſuch of the Catholick Clergy as went over to their Party.

SECT. VI. *The Propoſal made by Cæcilian to the Donatiſts, examined.*

THERE is indeed a Paſſage in *Optatus* concerning *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, which at firſt View ſeems to import as if *Cæcilian* had been willing to have ſubmitted to a Re-ordination. For *Optatus* [a] ſays, *Cæcilian* ſent this Meſſage to the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, That if *Felix* had given him no true Ordination, as they pretended, they ſhould ordain him again, as if he were ſtill only a Deacon. But St. *Auſtin*, who perhaps beſt underſtood *Cæcilian*'s meaning, ſays [b] he only ſpoke this Ironically to deride them, not that he intended to ſubmit to a ſecond Ordination, but becauſe he was certain that *Felix* and the reſt of his Ordainers were no Traditors, as they accuſed them. So that we have no Inſtances of Re-ordaining ſuch, as were regularly ordained, in the Catholick Church: It being eſteemed unlawful, as *Theodoret* [c] words it, to give any Man the ſame Ordination twice. Whence neither in the Tranſlation of Biſhops from one Church to another do we ever Read of a new Ordination, but only of an Inthronization or Inſtalment; as of a new Matriculation of Presbyters and Deacons, when they were taken out of one Church to be ſettled in another. *Cyprian* ſpeaking of his Admiſſion of *Numidicus* into his own Church from another, where he was Preſbyter before, does not ſay, he gave him a new Ordination, but only [d] a Name and a Seat among the Presbyters of *Carthage*. And this was the conſtant Practice of the Church in all ſuch Caſes, for any thing that appears to the contrary.

SECT. VII. *Schiſmaticks ſometimes re-ordained.*

As to ſuch as were ordained out of the Church by Schiſmatical or Heretical Biſhops, the Caſe was a little different. For the Church did not always allow of their Ordinations, but ſometimes for Diſcipline's ſake, and to put a Mark of Infamy upon their Errors, made them take a new Ordination. This was decreed by the great Council of *Nice* in the Caſe of thoſe Biſhops and Presbyters, whom *Meletius* the Schiſmatick ordained in *Egypt*, after he had been depoſed by his Metropolitan of *Alexandria*. They were not to be admitted to ſerve in the Catholick Church, till they were firſt Authorized by a more ſacred [e] Ordination, as that Council words it in her Synodical Epiſtle or Directions to the Church of *Alexandria*. In purſuance of this Decree, *Theodore* Biſhop of *Oxyrinchus* Re-ordained the *Meletian* Presbyters

[s] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 31. Tantum ab ambitu debet eſſe ſepoſitus, ut quæratur cogendus, &c.

[t] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 38. In Capſenſi Plenaria Synodo ſtatutum, quod non liceat fieri Rebaptizationes, & Reordinationes, vel Tranſlationes Epiſcoporum. [u] Canon. Apoſt. c. 67.

[w] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 13. In Catholica utrumque non licet iterari. [x] Id. de Bona Conjugal. c. 24. Tom. 6. Manet in illis ordinatis Sacramentum Ordinationis; & ſi aliqua culpa quiſquam ab Officio removeatur, Sacramento Domini ſemel impoſitio non carebit, &c. [y] Optat. lib. 1. p. 44. In Donatum ſunt hæ ſententiæ latæ: Quod confeſſus ſit ſe rebaptizaſſe, & Epiſcopis lapſis manum impoſuiſſe: quod ab Eccleſia alienum eſt. [z] Vid. Valeſ. Not. in Sozom. lib. 6. c. 26. ex Marcellin. Libel. Precum. [a] Optat. Lib. 1. p. 41. A Cæciliano mandatum eſt, ut ſi Felix in ſe, ſicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contuliſſet, ipſi tanquam adhuc Diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum.

[b] Aug. Brevic. Collat. Die 3. c. 16. Quod quidem ſi dictum eſt, ideo dici potuit ad illos deridendos, quibus hoc mandaſſe perhibetur, quoniam certus erat Ordinatores ſuos non eſſe Traditores.

[c] Theod. Hiſtor. Relig. c. 13. ὃ δυνατὸν δὶς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτεθεῖται χειροτονίαν. [d] Cypr. Ep. 35. al. 40. Admonitos nos & inſtructos ſciatis Dignatione Divina, ut Numidicus Preſbyter adſcribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginienſium numero & nobiſcum ſedeat in Clero. [e] Ep. Synod. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9. & Theodor. lib. 1. c. 9. μυσιωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας, &c.

upon

upon their return to the Church; as *Valeſius* [f] ſhews out of *Marcellinus* and *Fauſtinus*'s Petition to the Emperor *Theodoſius*: And other Learned Men [g] are of the ſame Opinion. Yet in ſome Caſes the Church conſented to receive Schiſmatical Biſhops and Presbyters without obliging them to take a new Ordination. As in *Africk*, St. *Auſtin* [h] aſſures us, it was the Cuſtom to allow of the Ordinations of the *Donatiſts*, and to admit them to Officiate in whatever Station they ſerved before their Return to the Unity of the Church, without Repeating their Ordination any more than their Baptiſm. He repeats this in ſeveral Places of his Writings. And that it was ſo, appears both from the Canons of the *African* [i] Councils, and the Conceſſions made [k] in the Collation of *Carthage*, where the Propoſal was, that the *Donatiſt* Biſhops ſhould enjoy their Honours and Dignities, if they would return to the Unity of the Catholick Church. This had before been determined in the *Roman* Council under *Malchiades*, where the *Donatiſts* had their firſt Hearing. For there, as St. *Auſtin* informs us [l], it was alſo decreed, that only *Donatus* the Author of the Schiſm ſhould be caſhiered; but for all the reſt, though they were ordained out of the Church, they ſhould be received upon their Repentance, in the very ſame Offices and Quality, which they enjoyed before. So that the Rigour of Church-Diſcipline was quickened or abated in this Reſpect, according as the Benefit or Neceſſities of the Church ſeemed to require.

SECT. VIII. *And Hereticks alſo upon their Return to the Church, in ſome Places.*

AND the Treatment of Perſons ordained by Hereticks was much of the ſame nature. Some Canons require all ſuch without Exception to be re-ordained. It was ſo in the *Greek* Church, at the Time when thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons were made. For the ſame Canon [m] that condemns Re-ordinations in the Church, makes an Exception in the Caſe of ſuch as were ordained by Hereticks; pronouncing their Ordination void, and requiring them to be ordained again. And this was generally the Practice of all thoſe Churches in the 3d Century, which denied the Validity of Heretical Baptiſm: For by much ſtronger Reaſon they denied their Ordinations. Therefore *Fermilian*, who was of this Opinion, tells us alſo, that the Council [n] of *Iconium* Ann. 256, decreed, that Hereticks had no Power to Miniſter either Baptiſm, or Confimation, or Ordination. Nay, ſome of thoſe who allowed the Baptiſm of Hereticks, yet ſtill continued to condemn their Ordinations. As *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, who determines againſt ſuch as [o] were ordained by the *Arians* and ſuch other Hereticks, that they were not to be admitted with their Honours in the Catholick Church; though their Baptiſm might ſtand good being adminiſtred in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. In another Place [p] he ſays, it was the ancient Rule of the Church of *Rome* to cancel and diſanul all ſuch Ordinations; though in ſome Places, he owns, they were allowed: For *Aniſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* with a Council of his Provincial Biſhops, agreed to receive thoſe whom *Bonoſus*, an Heretical Biſhop of *Macedonia*, had ordained; that they might not continue to ſtrengthen his Party, and thereby bring no ſmall Damage upon the Church. *Liberius* not only admitted the *Macedonian* Biſhops to Communion, but alſo allowed them to continue in their Office, upon their Subſcription to the *Nicene* Creed, and Abjuration of their former Hereſy; as *Socrates* [q], and *Sozomen* [r], and St. *Baſil* [s], and others teſtify. In *France* the Cuſtom was in the Time of *Clodoveus* to give a new Impoſition of Hands to the *Arian* Clergy, that returned to the Catholick Faith; as appears from the firſt Council of *Orleans*, which made a Decree [t] about it: But that perhaps does not mean a new Ordination, but only ſuch a Reconciliatory Impoſition of Hands, as was uſed to be given to Penitents in Abſolution. But if otherwiſe, it proves that the Church had different Methods of Proceeding in this Caſe, as ſhe judged it moſt Expedient and Beneficial for her Service; ſometimes reverſing and diſannulling the Ordinations of Hereticks for Diſcipline's ſake, and to ſhew her Reſentments of their Errors; and ſometimes allowing them to ſtand good for her own ſake, to prevent greater Scandals, and to encourage the Unity of the Catholick Faith. Upon which account the General Council of *Epheſus* [u] made an Order concerning the *Maſſalian* Hereticks, otherwiſe called *Euchites* and *Enthuaſts*, that if any of their Clergy would return to the

[f] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9. [g] Du Pin Biblioth. Cent. 4. p. 251. [h] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 13. Si viſum eſt opus eſſe, ut eadem Officia gererent quæ gerebant, non ſunt rurſus ordinati, ſed ſicut Baptiſmus in eis, ita Ordinatio manſit integra, &c. Vid. cont. Creſcon. lib. 2. c. 11. It. Ep. 50. p. 87. Ep. 162. p. 279. [i] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 69. & 70. [k] Collat. Carth. Die 1. c. 16. [l] Aug. Ep. 50. ad Bonifac. p. 87. Damnato uno quodam Donato, qui Author Schiſmatis fuiſſe manifeſtatus eſt, cæteros correctos, etiamſi extra Eccleſiam ordinati eſſent, in ſuis honoribus recipiendos eſſe cenſuerunt. [m] Canon. Apoſt. c. 67. [n] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cyprian p. 221. Hæretico ſicut Ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere, ita nec Baptizare. [o] Innoc. Ep. 18. ad Alexand. c. 3. Non videtur Clericos eorum cum Sacerdotii aut Miniſterii cujuſpiam ſuſcipi debere Dignitate; quoniam iis ſolum Baptiſma ratum eſſe permittimus, &c. [p] Id. Ep. 22. ad Epiſc. Macedon. c. 5. Aniſii quondam fratris noſtri, aliorumque Conſacerdotum ſumma deliberatio hæc fuit, ut quos Bonoſus ordinaverat, ne cum eodem remanarent ac ne fieret mediocre Scandalum, ordinati reciperentur.—— Jam ergo quod pro Remedio ac neceſſitate temporis ſtatutum eſt, conſtat primitus non fuiſſe. [q] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 12. [r] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 10. [s] Baſil. Ep. 74. ad Epiſcopos Occident. [t] Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 12. De Hæreticis Clericis, qui ad Fidem Catholicam plena fide & voluntate venerint, id cenſuimus obſervari —— ut Officium, quo eos Epiſcopus dignos eſſe cenſuerit, cum impoſitæ manus Benedictione ſuſcipiant. [u] Conc. Epheſ. Act. 7. Decret. cont. Meſſalian. Tom. 3. p. 809. Si Clerici fuerint, maneant Clerici.—— Quod ſi renuerint anathematizare, ſi Presbyteri vel Diaconi fuerint, vel in alio quopiam Gradu Eccleſiæ, excidant & à Clero & à Gradu & à Communione.

Church,

Church, and in Writing Anathematize their former Errors, they ſhould continue in the ſame Station they were in before; otherwiſe they ſhould be degraded, and enjoy neither Clerical Promotion nor Communion in the Church. The Council of *Nice* is thought to have made the like Decree [w] in favour of the *Novatian* Clergy, only giving them a Reconciliatory Impoſition of Hands by way of Abſolution, not Re-ordination. And there is nothing more certain than that the *African* Fathers ſo treated the *Donatiſts*; particularly St. *Auſtin* in all his Writings pleads as much for the Validity of Heretical Ordinations, as Heretical Baptiſm; and ſays farther, that when the Church [x] judged it expedient not to ſuffer the *Donatiſt* Biſhops to Officiate upon their Return to the Church, ſhe did not thereby intend to deny the Reality or Validity of their Ordination, but ſuppoſed that to remain ſtill perfect and entire in them. And this is what St. *Auſtin* meant by the Sacrament of Ordination, as he words it, or the Indelible Character which was thereby imprinted; that though a Man turned Apoſtate, or was ſuſpended or deprived for any Crime, yet if upon his Repentance and Satisfaction the Church thought fit to admit him to Officiate again, there was no neceſſity of giving him a new Ordination, no more than a new Baptiſm; for the Character of both remained entire. This was the Doctrine and Practice of the *African* Church, and moſt others, in the Time of St. *Auſtin*.

[w] Conc. Nic. c. 8. [x] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 13. Cum expedire hoc judicatur Eccleſiæ, ut Præpoſiti eorum venientes ad Catholicam Societatem, Honores ſuos ibi non adminiſtrent; non eis tamen ipſa Ordinationis Sacramenta detrahuntur ſed manent ſuper eos.

BOOK V.

Of the PRIVILEGES, IMMUNITIES, and REVENUES of the CLERGY, in the Primitive Church.

CHAP. I.

Some Inſtances of Reſpect which the Clergy paid mutually to one another.

SECT. I. *The Clergy obliged to give Entertainment to their Brethren, travelling upon neceſſary Occaſions.*

HAVING thus far diſcourſed of the neceſſary Qualifications of the Clergy, and the ſeveral Cuſtoms obſerved in the Deſignation of them to the Miniſterial Office: It will be proper in the next Place to ſpeak of the Reſpect and Honour, that was generally paid them upon the Account of their Office. Under which Head I ſhall comprize whatever relates to the Privileges, Exemptions, Immunities, and Revenues of the ancient Clergy. Some particular Marks of Honour, as they were peculiar to this or that Order, have already been mentioned in ſpeaking of thoſe Orders: But now I ſhall treat of thoſe which were more Univerſal, and common to all Orders. And here it will not be amiſs in the firſt Place to ſay ſomething of that courteous Treatment and Friendſhip, wherewith the Clergy of the ancient Church were obliged to receive and embrace one another. Two or three Inſtances of which it will be ſufficient to obſerve at preſent. 1*ſt*, That where-ever they travelled upon neceſſary Occaſions, they were to be entertained by their Brethren of the Clergy in all Places out of the Publick Revenues of the Church: And it was a ſort of Crime for a Biſhop or other Clerk, to refuſe the Hoſpitality of the Church, and take it from any other. The Hiſtorians *Socrates* and *Sozomen* [*a*] tacitly reflect upon *Epiphanius* for an Action of this Nature, That when he came to *Conſtantinople*, where *Chryſoſtom* ſhewed him all imaginable Reſpect and Honour, ſending his Clergy out to meet him, and inviting him to an Apartment according to Cuſtom in his Houſe, he refuſed the Civility, and took up his Habitation in a ſeparate Manſion. This was interpreted the ſame thing as breaking Catholick Communion with him, as it proved in Effect; for he came on purpoſe, by the Inſtigation of *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to form an Accuſation againſt him. On the other Hand, to deny any of the Clergy the Hoſpitality of the Church upon ſuch Occaſions was a more unpardonable Crime, and looked upon as the rudeſt Way of denying Communion. Therefore *Firmilian* [*b*] ſmartly reproves the Behaviour of Pope *Stephen*, both as Inſolent and Unchriſtian, towards the *African* Biſhops, who were ſent as Legates from their Churches to him, That he neither admitted them to Audience himſelf, nor ſuffered any of the Brethren to receive them to his Houſe; ſo not only denying them the Peace and Communion of the Church, but the Civility of Chriſtian Entertainment alſo. Which was ſo much the greater Deſpite and Affront to them, becauſe every private Chriſtian travelling with Letters of Credence from his own Church, might have challenged that Privilege upon the Conteſſeration of Hoſpitality, as *Tertullian* [*c*] words it; and much more the Biſhops and Clergy from one another. By the Laws of the *African* Church, every Biſhop that went as a Legate of a Provincial Synod to that which they called a General and Plenary Synod, was to be provided of all things neceſſary in his Travels from this Liberality of the Church: As appears from a Canon in the 3d Council of *Carthage*, which orders [*d*], that no Province ſhould ſend above two or three Legates; that ſo they might appear with leſs Pomp and Envy, and be leſs Charge to their Entertainers. This implies that every Church was obliged, by Cuſtom at leaſt, to give them Entertainment in their Paſſage.

SECT. II. *And to give them the Honorary Privilege of Conſecrating the* Euchariſt *in the Church.*

ANOTHER Inſtance of cuſtomary Reſpect, which the Clergy were obliged to ſhew to one another, was, that when any Biſhop or Presbyter came to a foreign Church, they were to be complimented with the Honorary Privilege of performing Divine Offices, and conſecrating the *Euchariſt* in the Church. This was a very ancient Cuſtom, as appears from what *Irenæus* ſays of *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome*, that when *Po-*

[*a*] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 12. Sozom. lib. 8. c. 14. [*b*] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 228. Ut venientibus non ſolum Pax & Communio, ſed & Tectum & Hoſpitium negaretur. [*c*] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 20. [*d*] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 2. Ut & minus invidioſi, minuſque Hoſpitibus ſumptuoſi exiſtant.

lycarp came to ſettle the Paſchal Controverſy with him, παρεχώρησεν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ [e], which does not barely ſignify, he gave him the *Euchariſt*, as the firſt Tranſlators of *Euſebius* render it; but, he gave Place to him, or Liberty to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* in his Church. The Council of *Arles*, which turned this Cuſtom into a Law, uſes the very ſame Expreſſion about it, That in every Church they ſhould give Place [f] to the Biſhop that was a Stranger to offer the Oblation or Sacrifice. And the 4th Council of *Carthage* more plainly, That a Biſhop or Presbyter [g] viſiting another Church, ſhall be received each in their own Degree, and be invited to Preach, and Conſecrate the Oblation. So they were to be admitted to all the Honours which the Church could ſhew them; the Biſhop was to ſeat his Fellow-Biſhop in the ſame Throne with himſelf, and the Presbyters to do the ſame by their Fellow-Presbyter. For that the Canon means by receiving them in their own Degree. Which Cuſtom is referr'd to by the Catholick Biſhops in the Collation [h] of *Carthage*, where they promiſe the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, that if they would return to the Church, they ſhould be treated by them as Fellow-Biſhops, and ſit upon the ſame Thrones with them, as Strangers were uſed to do. The Author of the Conſtitutions joyns all theſe things together, ſaying, Let the Biſhop that is a Stranger ſit with the Biſhop, and be invited to preach; Let him alſo be permitted to offer the *Euchariſt*; or if in Modeſty he refuſes it, let him at leaſt be conſtrained to give the Bleſſing to the People.

SECT. III. *The Uſe of the* Literæ Formatæ, *or Commendatory Letters, in this Reſpect.*

BUT then it is to be obſerved, that theſe Honours were not to be ſhewed to Strangers, as mere Strangers, but as they could ſomeways give Proof of their Orthodoxy and Catholiciſm to the Church to which they came. And in this Reſpect the *Literæ Syſtaticæ*, or Commendatory Letters, as they called them, were of great Uſe and Service in the Church. For no ſtrange Clergy-man was to be admitted ſo much as to communicate, much leſs to officiate, without theſe Letters of his Biſhop, in any Church where he was a perfect Stranger, for fear of ſurreptitious, or paſſive Communion, as the Canons [i] call it. And Biſhops were under the ſame Obligations to take the Letters of their Metropolitan, if they had occaſion to travel into a foreign Country, where they could not otherwiſe be known. The 3d Council of *Carthage* has a Canon [k] to this purpoſe, That no Biſhop ſhould go beyond Sea without conſulting the Primate of his Province, that he might have his *Formatæ*, or Letters of Commendation. And that the ſame Diſcipline was obſerved in all Churches, ſeems clear from one of thoſe Canons of the *Greek* Church, among thoſe which go by the Name of Apoſtolical, which ſays, no ſtrange Biſhops, [l] Presbyters, or Deacons ſhall be received ἄνευ συστατικῶν, unleſs they bring Commendatory Letters with them: But without them they ſhall only be provided of Neceſſaries, and not be admitted to communicate, becauſe many things are ſurreptitiouſly obtained. The Tranſlation of *Dionyſius Exiguus* indeed denies them Neceſſaries alſo: But that is a manifeſt Corruption of the *Greek* Text, which allows them to communicate in outward good things, but not in the Communion of the Church. And this is what ſome think the Ancients meant by *Communio Peregrina*, the Communion of Strangers, when ſuch as travelled without Letters of *Credence*, were hoſpitably entertained, and provided of Suſtenance, but not admitted to participate of the *Euchariſt*, becauſe they had no Teſtimonials of their Life and Converſation. But others give a different Account of this, which I ſhall more nicely examine, when I come to ſpeak of the Diſcipline of the Church, under which Head the *Communio Peregrina* will come to be conſidered, as a Species of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure.

SECT. IV. *The Clergy obliged to end all their own Controverſies among themſelves.*

A Third Inſtance of Reſpect which the Clergy ſhewed to one another, was, That if any Controverſies happened among themſelves, they freely conſented to have them determined by their Biſhops and Councils, without having Recourſe to the Secular Magiſtrate for Juſtice. Biſhops, as I have had occaſion to ſhew [*] before, were anciently authorized by the Imperial Laws to hear and determine Secular Pecuniary Cauſes even among Lay-men, when both the Litigants would agree upon Compromiſe to take them for Arbitrators: But among the Clergy there needed no ſuch particular Compromiſe, but by the Rules and Canons of the Church they were brought under a general Obligation not to moleſt one another before a Secular Magiſtrate, but to end all their Controverſies under the Cognizance of an Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal. The Caſe was ſomewhat different when a Layman and a Clergyman had occaſion to go to Law together: For then the Layman was at Liberty to chuſe his Court, and was not obliged to refer his Cauſe to any Eccleſiaſtical Judge, unleſs by Compromiſe he brought himſelf under ſuch an Obligation. For ſo the Imperial Laws

[e] Iren. Ep. ad Victor. ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 24. [f] Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 20. Ut Peregrino Epiſcopo Locus ſacrificandi detur. [g] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 33. Ut Epiſcopi vel Presbyteri, ſi cauſa viſendæ Eccleſiæ alterius Epiſcopi, ad Eccleſiam venerint, & in Gradu ſuo ſuſcipiantur, & tam ad Verbum faciendum, quam ad Oblationem conſecrandam invitentur. [h] Collat. Carthag. Die 1. c. 16. Sicut Peregrino Epiſcopo juxta conſidente Collega.
[i] Conc. Carthag. 1. c. 7. Clericus vel Laicus non communicet in aliena Plebe ſine Literis Epiſcopi ſui. Niſi hoc obſervatum fuerit, Communio fiet Paſſiva. Vid. Conc. Laodicen. c. 41. Conc. Antioch. c. 7. Agathenſ. c. 38. Chalcedon. c. 11. [k] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 28. Ut Epiſcopi trans mare non proficiſcantur, niſi conſulto Primæ Sedis Epiſcopo, ut ab Epiſcopo præcipuè (leg. præcipuo) poſſint ſumere Formatam vel Commendationem.
[l] Canon. Apoſt. c. 11. [*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 7.

[m] in this Caſe had provided. Though in *France* in the Time of the *Gothick* Kings it was otherwiſe: For Laymen there were not to ſue a Clerk in a Secular Court without the Biſhop's Permiſſion; as appears from a Canon of the Council [n] of *Agde*, made under *Alarick* Ann. 506, which equally forbids a Clergyman to ſue a Layman in a Secular Court, or to anſwer to any Action brought againſt him there, without the Biſhop's Permiſſion. But whatever Difference there was betwixt the *Roman* and *Gothick* Laws in this particular, it is evident, that as to any Controverſies ariſing among the Clergy themſelves, they were to be determined before Eccleſiaſtical Judges; as appears from a Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which is in theſe Words, If any Clergyman hath a Controverſy with another, he ſhall not leave his own Biſhop, and betake himſelf [o] to any Secular Court, but firſt have a Hearing before his own Biſhop, or ſuch Arbitrators as both Parties ſhould chuſe with the Biſhop's Approbation. Otherwiſe he ſhould be liable to Canonical Cenſure. Which Cenſure in the *African* Church was the Loſs of his Place, whether he were Biſhop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other Inferior Clerk, that declined the Sentence of an Eccleſiaſtical Court, either in a civil or criminal Cauſe, and betook himſelf to a Secular Court for Juſtice: Though he carried his Cauſe, and Sentence was given on his ſide, in a criminal Action, yet he was to be depoſed; or if it was a civil Cauſe, he muſt loſe whatever Advantage he gained by the Action, as the 3d Council of *Carthage* [p] in this caſe determined, becauſe he deſpiſed the whole Church, in that he could not confide in any Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to be his Judges. Many other Councils determined the ſame thing, as that of *Vannes* [q], *Chalons* [r], and *Maſcon* [s]. And the Council of *Milevis* [t] decreed, That no one ſhould petition the Emperor to aſſign him Secular Judges, but only Eccleſiaſtical [u], under Pain of Deprivation. So great Confidence did the Clergy generally place in one another, and pay ſuch a Deference to the Wiſdom, Integrity, and Judgment of their Brethren, that it was then thought they had no need to have Recourſe to Secular Courts for Juſtice, but they were willing to determine all Controverſies of their own among themſelves: And as the Imperial Laws did not hinder this, but encourage it; ſo we ſeldom find any Eccleſiaſticks inclined to oppoſe it, but either ſome Factious and Turbulent Men, or ſuch whoſe Crimes had made them ſo obnoxious, that they had Reaſon to dread an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure.

SECT. V. *What Care was taken in receiving Accuſations againſt the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church.*

I ſhall but obſerve one thing more upon this Head, which is, the great Care the Clergy had of the Reputation and Character of one another; which being a ſacred and neceſſary thing in Perſons of their Function, they did not think fit to let it be expoſed to the malicious Calumnies and Slanders of every baſe and falſe Accuſer. But firſt in all Accuſations, eſpecially againſt Biſhops, the Teſtimony of two or three Witneſſes was required, according to the Rule of the Apoſtle. Therefore when the Synod of *Antioch* proceeded to condemn *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch* upon a ſingle Teſtimony, the Hiſtorian cenſures it [w] as an arbitrary Proceeding in them againſt that Apoſtolical Canon, *Receive not an Accuſation againſt an Elder, but before two or three Witneſſes.* 2dly, The Character of the Witneſſes was to be examined, before their Teſtimony was to be allowed of. An Heretick was not to give Evidence againſt a Biſhop, as may be collected from thoſe Canons which bear the Name of the Apoſtles, one of which joins theſe two things together: *Receive* [x] *not an Heretick to teſtify againſt a Biſhop; Nor a ſingle Witneſs, though he be one of the Faithful:* For the Law ſaith, *In the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes ſhall every Word be eſtabliſhed.* *Athanaſius* pleaded the Privilege of this Law, when he was accuſed for ſuffering *Macarius* his Presbyter to break the Communion-Cup; he urged [y], that his Accuſers were *Meletians*, who ought not to be credited, being Schiſmaticks, and Enemies of the Church. By the 2d Council of *Carthage* not only Hereticks, but any others that were known to be guilty [z] of ſcandalous Crimes, were to be rejected from giving Teſtimony againſt any Elder of the Church. The 1ſt general Council of *Conſtantinople* diſtinguiſhes the Cauſes, upon which an Accuſation might be brought againſt a Biſhop: For a Man might have a private Cauſe of Complaint againſt him, as that he was defrauded in his Property, or in any the like Caſe injured by him: In which Caſe his Accuſation was to be heard, without conſidering at all the Quality of the Perſon or his Religion. For a Biſhop was to keep a good Conſcience, and any Man that complained of being injured by him, was to

[m] Valentin. Novel. 12. ad Calcem Cod. Th. In Clerico Petitore conſequens erit, ut ſecundum lege Pulſati Forum ſequatur, ſi adverſarius ſuus ad Epiſcopi vel Presbyteri Audientiam non præſtat adſenſum. [n] Conc. Agathenſ. c. 32. Clericus nec quenquam præſumat apud ſæcularem Judicem, Epiſcopo non permittente, pulſare. Sed ſi pulſatus fuerit, non reſpondeat, nec proponat, nec audeat criminale negotium in Judicio ſeculari proponere. [o] Conc. Chalced. c. 9. εἴ τις κληρικὸς πρὸς κληρικὸν πρᾶγμα ἔχει, μὴ ἐγκαταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω, &c. [p] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 9. Quiſquis Epiſcoporum, Presbyterorum, & Diaconorum ſeu Clericorum, cum in Eccleſia ei crimen fuerit intentatum, vel Civilis Cauſa fuerit commota, ſi derelicto Eccleſiaſtico Judicio Publicis Judiciis purgari voluerit, etiamſi pro ipſo prolata fuerit ſententia, Locum ſuum amittat, & hoc in Criminali Actione. In Civili vero perdat quod evicerit, ſi Locum ſuum obtinere maluerit, &c. [q] Conc. Venetic. c. 9. [r] Conc. Cabillon. c. 11. [s] Conc. Matiſcon. c. 5. [t] Conc. Milev. c. 19. [u] Conc. Milev. c. 19. Quicunque ab Imperatore Cognitionem Judiciorum Publicorum petierit, Honore proprio privetur: Si autem Epiſcopale Judicium ab Imperatore poſtulaverit, nihil ei obſit. [w] Theod. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 20. [x] Canon. Apoſt. c. 75. [y] Athan. Apol. ad Conſtant. T. 1. p. 731. [z] Conc. Carth. 2. c. 6. Qui aliquibus ſceleribus irretitus eſt, vocem adverſus Majores Natu non habeat accuſandi. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 1.

have

have Juſtice done him, whatever Religion he was of. But if the Crime was purely Eccleſiaſtical, that was alledged againſt him; then the Perſonal Qualities of the Accuſers were to be examined; ſo that no Hereticks ſhould be allowed to accuſe [r] Orthodox Biſhops in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; nor any Excommunicate Perſons, before they had firſt made Satisfaction for their own Crimes; nor any who were impeached of Crimes, of which they had not proved themſelves Innocent. The Council of *Chalcedon* [s] adds, that no Clergyman or Layman ſhould be admitted to impeach a Biſhop or a Clerk, till his own Reputation and Character were firſt enquired into and fully examined. So careful were they in this Matter not to expoſe the Credit of the Clergy to the malicious Deſigns or wicked Conſpiracies of any profligate Wretches, whom Malice and Bribery might induce to accuſe them. 3*dly*, In caſe of falſe Accuſation, whether publick or private, the Penalty againſt the Offender was very ſevere. If any Clergyman, ſays one [t] of the Apoſtolical Canons, unjuſtly reproach a Biſhop, he ſhall be depoſed: For it is written, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People.* And by a Canon [u] of the Council of *Eliberis*, for any Man to charge a Biſhop, Presbyter, or Deacon with a falſe Crime, which he could not make good againſt them, was Excommunication without Hopes of Reconciliation at the Hour of Death. Which was the uſual Penalty that was inflicted by that Council upon very great and notorious Offenders; for which ſome have cenſured the *Spaniſh* Church as guilty of *Novatianiſm*, but without Reaſon, as I ſhall ſhew when I come to diſcourſe of the Diſcipline of the Church. Here it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that they thought this Crime one of the firſt Magnitude, ſince they refuſed to give the external Peace of the Church to ſuch Offenders, even at their laſt Hour. Many other Inſtances of the like Reſpect might here be added, but by theſe few the Reader will be able to judge, with what Candor and Civility the Clergy of the Primitive Church were obliged to receive and treat one another. And it would have been happy for all Ages, had they walked in the ſame Steps, and copied after ſo good an Example.

CHAP. II.

Inſtances of Reſpect ſhewed to the Clergy by the Civil Government. Where particularly of their Exemption from the Cognizance of the Secular Courts in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

SECT. I. *Biſhops not to be called into any ſecular Court to give their Teſtimony.*

NEXT to the Reſpect which the Clergy ſhewed to one another, it will be proper to ſpeak of the Honours which were done them by the Civil Magiſtrates, which were more or leſs, according as either the Inclination and Piety of the Emperors led them, or as the State of the Times required. Theſe Honours chiefly conſiſted in Exempting them from ſome ſort of Obligations to which others were liable, and in granting them certain Privileges and Immunities which others did not enjoy. Of this kind was that Inſtance of Reſpect, which by the Laws of *Juſtinian* was granted to all Biſhops, that no ſecular Judge ſhould compel [a] them to appear in a Publick Court to give their Teſtimony before him, but he ſhould ſend one of his Officers to take it from their Mouth in Private. This Law is alſo repeated in the *Juſtinian* [b] Code, and there ſaid to be enacted firſt by *Theodoſius* the Great, a Law of whoſe is ſtill extant in the ſame Words in the *Theodoſian* Code [c]. But *Gothofred* will have it, that this Law as firſt enacted by *Theodoſius*, meant no more than to exempt the Clergy from being bound to give an Account to the Civil Magiſtrates, of what Judgments or Sentences they paſſed upon any ſecular Cauſes, that were referred to their Arbitration. And indeed it is evident, that the Law-Terms, *ad Teſtimonium devocari*, and εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, are taken in this Senſe by the *African* Fathers in the fifth Council of *Carthage*, where it was agreed [d] to Petition the Emperors, to make a Decree, that if any Perſons referred a Civil Cauſe to the Arbitration of the Church, and one of the Parties chanced to be diſpleaſed with the Deciſion or Sentence that was given againſt him; it ſhould

[r] Conc. Conſtant. Gen. 1. c. 6. [s] Conc. Chalced. c. 21. [t] Canon. Apoſt. c. 47. [u] Conc. Eliber. c. 75. Si quis Epiſcopum, Presbyterum, vel Diaconum falſis Criminibus appetierit, & probare non potuerit, nec in fine dandam ei Communionem. [a] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 7. Nulli Judicum licebit Deo amabiles Epiſcopos cogere ad Judicium venire pro exhibendo Teſtimonio; ſed Judex mittat ad eos quoſdam ex Perſonis Miniſtrantium ſibi, &c. [b] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Epiſc. Leg. 7. Imperator Theodoſius dixit, Nec Honore nec Legibus Epiſcopus ad Teſtimonium decendum flagitetur. [c] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 39. de Fide Teſtium Leg. 8. [d] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 1. It. Cod. Can. Afr. c. 59. Et Conc. vulgo dict. Africanum. c. 26. Petendum ut ſtatuere dignentur, ut ſi qui forte in Eccleſia quamlibet Cauſam, jure Apoſtolico Eccleſiis impoſito, agere voluerint, & fortaſſe Deciſio Clericorum uni parti diſplicuerit; non liceat Clericum in judicium ad Teſtimonium devocari eum, qui cognitor vel præſens (forſan Præſes) fuerit. Et nulla ad Teſtimonium dicendum Eccleſiaſtici cujuſlibet Perſona pulſetur.

not be lawful to draw the Clergyman, who was Judge in the Cauſe, into any ſecular Court, to make him give any Teſtimony or Account of his Determination. This was not intended to exempt Clergymen in general from being called to be Witneſſes in a ſecular Court, but only to free them from the Proſecutions of Vexatious and Troubleſome Men, who when they had choſen them for their Arbitrators, would not ſtand to their Arbitration, but Proſecuted them in the Civil Courts, as if they had given a Partial Sentence againſt them: And though it was contrary to the Law to give them any ſuch Trouble; becauſe, as I have ſhewed [*] in another Place, all ſuch Determinations were to be abſolutely Deciſive and Final without Appeal; yet 'tis probable ſome ſecular Judges in *Africk* might give Encouragement to ſuch Proſecutions: Which made the *African* Fathers complain of the Grievance, but deſire to have it redreſs'd, in the forementioned Canon, to which *Gothofred* thinks the Law of *Theodoſius* refers. But whether the Law of *Theodoſius* be thus to be limited, is a matter that may admit of farther Enquiry. *Gothofred* himſelf confeſſes that *Juſtinian* took it in a larger Senſe; and that is enough for me to found this Privilege of Biſhops upon, that they were not to be called into a ſecular Court, to give their Teſtimony there in any Caſe whatſoever.

SECT. II. *Nor obliged to give their Teſtimony upon Oath, by the Laws of* Juſtinian.

ANOTHER Privilege of this kind, which alſo argued great Reſpect paid to Biſhops, was, That when their Teſtimony was taken in private, they were not obliged to give it upon Oath, as other Witneſſes were, but only upon their Word, as became the Prieſts of God, laying the Holy Goſpels before them. For the ſame Law of *Juſtinian* [e] which grants them the former Privilege, enacted this in their Favour and Behalf alſo. And in purſuance of that Law probably the Council of *Tribur* ſome Ages after [f] decreed, that no Presbyter ſhould be queſtioned upon Oath, but inſtead of that only be Interrogated upon his Conſecration; becauſe it did not become a Prieſt to Swear upon a light Cauſe. But it does not appear, that this Indulgence was granted to Biſhops before the Time of *Juſtinian*. For the Council of *Chalcedon* [g] exacted an Oath in a certain Caſe of the *Egyptian* Biſhops; and the Council of *Tyre* [h] required the ſame of *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*. And there are many other Inſtances of the like Nature.

SECT. III. *Whether the ſingle Evidence of one Biſhop was good in Law againſt the Teſtimony of many others.*

Conſtantine the Great granted many Privileges to the Clergy; but there are ſome that go under his Name, which were certainly never granted by him: As his famed Donation to the Biſhops of *Rome*, which *Baronius* [i] himſelf gives up for a Forgery, and *De Marca* [k] and *Pagi* [l] prove it to be a ſpurious Fiction of the 9th Century, invented moſt probably by the ſame *Iſidore Mercator*, who forged the Decretal Epiſtles of the ancient Biſhops of *Rome*. There are other Privileges fathered upon *Conſtantine*, which though not ſuch manifeſt Forgeries as the former, are yet by Learned Men reputed of a doubtful Nature; ſuch as that which is comprized in a Law under the Name of *Conſtantine* [m], at the end of the *Theodoſian* Code, where all Judges are commanded to take the ſingle Evidence of one Biſhop as good in Law, againſt all others whatſoever. *Gothofred* is of Opinion, that this whole Title in the *Theodoſian* Code is ſpurious; and for this Law in Particular, there are two Arguments that ſeem to prove it not Genuine. *Firſt*, Becauſe *Conſtantine* himſelf in another Law [n] ſays, The Teſtimony of a ſingle Witneſs ſhall not be heard in any Caſe, no not though the Witneſs be a Senator. *Secondly*, Becauſe the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, as well as the Civil, require two Witneſſes, as has been Noted in the laſt Chapter. Which, I think, are ſufficient Arguments to prove, that no ſuch Extravagant Privilege could be granted to Biſhops by *Conſtantine*: But I leave the Reader to Judge for himſelf, if he can find better Arguments to the contrary.

SECT. IV. *Presbyters privileged againſt being Queſtioned by Torture, as other Witneſſes were.*

WE have better Proof for another Privilege that we find granted to Presbyters, which was, That if any of them were called to give Teſtimony in a publick Court, they ſhould not be examined by Scourging or Torture, as the Law directed in other Caſes. For by the *Roman* Laws Witneſſes might be examined upon the Rack in ſome Caſes, to make them declare the whole Truth: As we learn not only from the Laws [o] themſelves, but from St. *Auſtin* [p], and *Syneſius* [q], who mentions ſeveral new ſorts of Torture, which *Andronicus* the Tyrannical Prefect of *Ptolemais* invented beyond what the Law directed. But now nothing of this kind could be impoſed upon any Presbyter of the Church: For they were exempted from it by a Law of *Theodoſius* the Great, which is ſtill

[*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 7. *Sect.* 3. & 4. [e] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 7. Propoſitis SS. Evangeliis, ſecundum quod decet Sacerdotes, dicant quod noverint, non tamen jurent. [f] Conc. Tribur. c. 21. Presbyter vice Juramenti per ſanctam Conſecrationem interrogetur; quia ſacerdotes ex levi cauſa jurare non debent, &c. [g] Conc. Chalced. Act. 4. Tom. 4. p. 518. [h] Conc. Tyr. in Act. 9. Concil. Chalced. p. 629. [i] Baron. an. 324. n. 118. [k] Marca de Concord. lib. 6. c. 6. n. 6. [l] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 324. n. 13. [m] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 12. de Epiſc. Audient. Leg. 1. Teſtimonium etiam ab uno licet Epiſcopo perhibitum, omnes Judices indubitanter accipiant, nec alius audiatur, cum Teſtimonium Epiſcopi à qualibet parte fuerit repromiſſum. [n] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 32. de Fide Teſtium. Leg. 3. Sancimus, ut unius omnino Teſtis Reſponſio non audiatur, etiamſi præclare Curiæ honore præfulgeat. [o] Vid. Cod. Juſtin. lib. 9. tit. 41. de Quæſtionibus. It. Cod. Theodoſian. lib. 13. tit. 9. de Naufragiis Leg. 2. [p] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diverſ. Tom. 10. p. 520. [q] Syneſ. Ep. 58.

extant

extant in both the Codes [r], by which it alſo appears that it was a peculiar Privilege granted to Biſhops and Presbyters, but to none below them: For the reſt of the Clergy are excepted, and left to the common way of Examination, which in other Caſes the Law directed to be uſed.

SECT. V. *The Clergy exempt from the Ordinary Cognizance of the ſecular Courts in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*

BUT the next Privilege I am to mention, was a more Univerſal one, that extended to all the Clergy; which was their Exemption from the Ordinary Cognizance of the ſecular Courts in ſeveral ſorts of Cauſes. To underſtand this Matter aright, we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh two things. *Firſt*, The different Kinds of Cauſes in which the Clergy might be concerned; and *Secondly*, the different Powers of the Inferior Courts from that of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, who was inveſted with a peculiar Prerogative-Power above them. The want of attending to which Diſtinctions is the thing that has bred ſo much Confuſion in Modern Authors upon this Subject, and eſpecially in the *Romiſh* Writers, many of which are intolerably Partial in their Accounts; and highly injurious to the Civil Magiſtrates, under Pretence of aſſerting and maintaining the Rights and Liberties of the Church. In the firſt Place therefore, to have a right Underſtanding in this Matter, we muſt diſtinguiſh the ſeveral ſorts of Cauſes in which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons might be concerned. Now theſe were of four kinds. *Firſt*, Such as related to Matters purely Eccleſiaſtical, as Crimes committed againſt the Faith, or Canons and Diſcipline and good Order of the Church, which were to be Puniſhed with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. *Secondly*, Such as related to mere Civil and Pecuniary Matters between a Clergyman and a Layman. *Thirdly*, Such as related to Political Matters, as Groſs and Scandalous Crimes committed againſt the Laws, and to the Detriment of the Common-Wealth, as Treaſon, Rebellion, Robbery, Murder, and the like, which in the Laws are called, *Atrocia Delicta*. *Fourthly*, Such as related to leſſer Crimes of the ſame Nature, which the Law calls *Levia Delicta*, ſmall or petty Offences. Now according to this Diſtinction of Cauſes the Clergy were, or were not, Exempt from the Cognizance of the Civil Courts, by the Laws of the *Roman* Empire. In all Matters, that were purely Eccleſiaſtical they were abſolutely Exempt, as *Gothofred* [s] the great Civilian ſcruples not to own. For all Cauſes of that Nature were reſerved to the Hearing of Biſhops and their Councils, not only by the Canons of the Church, but the Laws of the State alſo.

SECT. VI. *This Evidenced from the Laws of* Conſtantius:

THIS may be Evidenced from the Reſcripts of ſeveral Emperors ſucceſſively one after another, moſt of which are extant in both the Codes. *Conſtantius*, Ann. 355, Publiſhed a Law [t], wherein he prohibited any Accuſation to be brought againſt a Biſhop before a ſecular Magiſtrate; but if any one had any Complaint againſt him, his Cauſe ſhould be heard and tryed by a Synod of Biſhops. This at leaſt muſt ſignify in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; though *Gothofred* and ſome others ſay, it extended alſo to Civil and Criminal Cauſes; and that though it looked like a Privilege, yet it was intended as a Snare to the Catholick Biſhops, to oppreſs them by his *Arian* Synods in thoſe Times, when the Majority of Biſhops in any Synod were commonly ſuch as favoured the *Arian* Party; and a Catholick Biſhop might expect more Favour and Juſtice from a ſecular Court, than from them. But whether this Law extended to all Civil and Criminal Cauſes, is not very eaſy to determine: Thus much is certain, that if it did, it was not long after in that Part revoked, whilſt in the other Part it ſtood good, and was confirmed by the Laws of the ſucceeding Emperors.

SECT. VII. *And thoſe of* Valentinian *and* Gratian:

FOR *Valentinian* granted the Clergy the ſame Immunity in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. As appears from what St. *Ambroſe* writes to the younger *Valentinian* concerning his Father, ſaying, Your Father of Auguſt Memory [u] did not only ſay it in Words, but enacted it into a Law, that in Maters of Faith and Eccleſiaſtical Order, they ought to judge, who were qualified by their Office, and of the ſame Order. For thoſe are the Words of his Reſcript. That is, he would have Prieſts to judge of Prieſts. This Law is not now extant in the *Code*, but there is another of *Valentinian* and *Gratian* to the ſame Purpoſe; wherein it is decreed [w], that the ſame Cuſtom ſhould be obſerved in Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs, as was in Civil Cauſes: That if there aroſe any Controverſies about Matters of Religion, either from the Diſſentions of Men, or other ſmall Offences, they ſhould be heard and determined in the Places where they

[r] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 39. de Fide Teſtium. Leg. 10. Preſbyteri citra injuriam Quæſtionis Teſtimonium dicant; ita tamen ut falſa non ſimulent. Cæteri vero Clerici, qui eorum Gradum vel Ordinem ſubſequuntur, ſi ad Teſtimonium dicendum petiti fuerint, prout Leges præcipiunt, audiantur. Vid. Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 8. [s] Gothofr. Comment. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 23. [t] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. Leg. 12. Manſuetudinis noſtræ Lege prohibemus in Judiciis Epiſcopos accuſari.——Si quid eſt igitur quærelarum, quod quiſpiam defert, apud alios potiſſimum Epiſcopos convenit explorari, &c.

[u] Ambroſ. Ep. 32. Auguſtæ Memoriæ Pater tuus non ſolum ſermone reſpondit, ſed etiam Legibus ſuis ſanxit, in Cauſa Fidei, vel Eccleſiaſtici alicujus Ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec Munere impar, nec jure diſſimilis. Hæc enim verba Reſcripti ſunt. Hoc eſt, Sacerdotes de Sacerdotibus voluit judicare. [w] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. Leg. 23. Qui mos eſt Cauſarum Civilium, iidem in Negotiis Eccleſiaſticis obtinendi ſunt: Ut ſiqua ſunt ex quibuſdam Diſſenſionibus, levibuſque Delictis, ad Religionis obſervantiam pertinentia, locis ſuis, & à ſuæ Diœceſeos Synodis audiantur: Exceptis quæ Actio Criminalis ab Ordinariis Extraordinariiſque Judicibus, aut inluſtribus Poteſtatibus audientia (leg. audienda) conſtituit.

aroſe,

aroſe, or in the Synod of the whole Dioceſe: Except only ſuch Criminal Actions, as were reſerved to the Hearing of the Ordinary Judges, the Proconſuls and Prefects of every Province, or the Extraordinary Judges of the Emperor's own appointing, or the Illuſtrious Powers, *viz.* the *Præfectus-Prætorio* of the Dioceſe. Here it is plain, that though Criminal Actions againſt the State-Laws are excepted, yet all Matters Eccleſiaſtical were to be heard by Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and no other.

SECT. VIII. *And* Theodoſius *the Great:*

IN the laſt Title of the *Theodoſian* Code there is a Law under the Name of *Theodoſius* the Great to the ſame Purpoſe, wherein it is decreed, That no Biſhop [*x*] or any other Miniſter of the Church ſhall be drawn into the Civil Courts of any Ordinary or Extraordinary Judges, about Matters or Cauſes of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature; becauſe they have Judges of their own, and Laws diſtinct from thoſe of the State. This Law is cited in *Gratian*'s Decree, but the Words, *Quantum ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas tamen pertinet*, are there [*y*] fraudulently left out, to ſerve the Current Doctrine and Hypotheſis of his own Times, and make the Reader believe, that the Clergy anciently enjoyed an Exemption not only in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, but all others. I the rather mention this Corruption, becauſe none of the Correctors of *Gratian* have taken any Notice of it. The *Roman Cenſors* ſilently paſs it over, and it has eſcaped the Diligence of *Antonius Auguſtinus* and *Baluzius* alſo. *Gothofred* indeed queſtions the Authority of the Law itſelf; but I ſhall not ſtand to diſpute that, ſince there is nothing in it contrary to the preceding Laws, or thoſe that followed after.

SECT. IX. *And* Arcadius *and* Honorius:

FOR *Arcadius* and *Honorius* continued the ſame Privilege to the Clergy, confirming the ancient Laws, that whenever any Cauſe relating to Religion was debated, the Biſhops [*z*] were to be Judges; but other Cauſes belonging to the Cognizance of the Ordinary Judges, and the Uſe of the Common Laws, were to be heard by them only.

SECT. X. *And* Valentinian 3*d, and* Juſtinian.

Theodoſius Junior and *Valentinian* 3d refer to this Law of *Honorius*, as the ſtanding Law then in force concerning the Immunities and Liberties of the Clergy, ſaying in one of their Decrees, That [*a*] Biſhops and Presbyters had no Court of Secular Laws, nor any Power to judge of other Cauſes except ſuch as related to Religion, according to the Conſtitutions of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* inſerted in the *Theodoſian* Code. So that all the ſame Laws that denied them Power in Secular Cauſes, allowed them the Privilege of judging in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; and the very excepting of other Cauſes is a manifeſt Proof, that there was no Conteſt made about theſe to the Time of *Juſtinian*, who confirmed the Privilege which ſo many of his Predeceſſors had granted before him. For in one of his Novels [*b*] we find it enacted, That all Eccleſiaſtical Crimes, which were to be puniſhed with Eccleſiaſtical Penalties and Cenſures, ſhould be judged by the Biſhop; the Provincial Judges not intermeddling with them. For, ſaith he, it is our Pleaſure that ſuch Matters ſhall not be heard by the Civil Judges.

SECT. XI. *The Clergy alſo exempt in leſſer Criminal Cauſes.*

Gothofred is alſo of Opinion [*c*], that ſome of the leſſer Criminal Cauſes of Eccleſiaſticks were to be determined by the Biſhops and their Synods likewiſe. For in the forementioned Law of *Gratian* (*See before Sect.* 7.) the *Levia Delicta*, or leſſer Crimes, are reſerved to the Hearing of Biſhops. And St. *Ambroſe* having ſpoken of the Decree of *Valentinian*, that orders all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to be judged by Biſhops only, adds alſo, That if in other Reſpects a Biſhop was to be cenſured, and his Morals [*d*] came under Examination, ſuch Cauſes as thoſe likewiſe ſhould appertain to the Epiſcopal Judgment. Which ſeems to put ſome Diſtinction between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil criminal Cauſes, and reſerve both to the Hearing of Biſhops and their Synods. But then, as *Gothofred* rightly obſerves, this muſt only be underſtood of leſſer criminal Cauſes: For in greater criminal Actions the Clergy were liable to the Cognizance of the Secular Judges, as well as all others. Which is freely owned by *de Marca*, and ſome other ingenuous Writers of the *Romiſh* Church. For *de Marca* [*e*] quits the Poſitions of *Baronius* and the Canoniſts, and confeſſes, that as it appears from the *Theodoſian* Code, that the Eccleſiaſtical Crimes, and leſſer Civil Crimes of the Clergy were left to the Hearing of Biſhops, and the

[*x*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 12. de Epiſ. Judicio. Leg. 3. Continua Lege ſancimus, ut nullus Epiſcoporum, vel eorum qui Eccleſiæ neceſſitatibus ſerviunt, ad Judicia ſive Ordinariorum ſive Extraordinariorum Judicum (quantum tamen ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas pertinet) pertrahatur, &c. [*y*] Gratian. Cauſ. 11. Quæſt. 1. c. 5. [*z*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 11. de Religione Leg. 1. Quotiens de Religione agitur, Epiſcopos convenit judicare: Cæteras vero Cauſas, quæ ad Ordinarios Cognitores, vel ad uſum Publici juris pertinent, Legibus oportet audiri. [*a*] Valentin. Novel. 12. ad Calcem. Cod. Theod. Conſtat Epiſcopos & Presbyteros Forum Legibus non habere: Nec de aliis Cauſis, ſecundum Arcadii & Honorii Divalia Conſtituta, quæ Theodoſianum Corpus oſtendit, præter Religionem poſſe cognoſcere. [*b*] Juſtin. Novel. 83. Si vero Eccleſiaſticum ſit delictum, egens Caſtigatione Eccleſiaſtica & multa, Deo amabilis Epiſcopus hoc diſcernat, nihil communicantibus clariſſimis Provinciæ Judicibus. Neque enim volumus talia negotia omnino ſcire Civiles Judices. [*c*] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 23. [*d*] Ambr. Ep. 33. Quinetiam ſi alias quoque arguretur Epiſcopus, ad Morum eſſet examinanda Cauſa, etiam hanc voluit ad Epiſcopale Judicium pertinere. [*e*] Marca Diſſert. in Cap. Clericus ad Calcem Antonii Auguſtini de Emendar. Gratiani p. 577. In Codice Theodoſiano Controverſiæ quæ ad Religionem pertinent, in quibus ſunt Crimina Eccleſiaſtica, & Minora Delicta è Civilium numero, Epiſcopis & cujuſque Diœceſeos ſive Provinciæ Synodis relinquuntur. Servatâ Judiciis Publicis Atrocium Criminum, quo numero quinque, adverſus Clericos Cognitione: ut docent Leges aliquot editæ cum Sirmondi in Appendice Codicis Theodoſiani.

Synods

Synods of every Dioceſe or Province: So the greater Civil Crimes of the Clergy, which he reckons five in Number, were reſerved to the Hearing of the Publick Courts and Civil Judges; which, he ſays, appears from the Laws publiſhed by *Sirmondus* in his Appendix to the *Theodoſian* Code.

SECT. XII. *But not in greater criminal Cauſes.*

SOME reckon thoſe Laws to be of no very great Authority, and therefore I ſhall rather chuſe to confirm this Poſition from the undoubted Laws which occur in the Body of the *Theodoſian* Code. Such as that of *Theodoſius* and *Gratian*, which particularly excepts theſe greater [*f*] criminal Actions, and reſerves them to the Hearing of the ordinary or extraordinary Judges, or the *Præfectus-Prætorio* of the Dioceſe. And thoſe other Laws of *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, and *Valentinian* 3d, which have been cited in the foregoing Sections [*], and need not here be repeated. To which we may add that Law of the Elder *Valentinian*, which orders [*g*] all ſuch Eccleſiaſticks to be proſecuted in the Civil Courts, that were found guilty of creeping into the Houſes of Widows and Orphans, and ſo inſinuating into their Affections, as to prevail upon them to diſinherit their Relations, and make them their Heirs. And that other Law of the Emperor *Marcian*, which in criminal Cauſes exempts the Clergy of *Conſtantinople* [*h*] from the Cognizance of all Inferior Courts, but not from the High Court of the *Præfectus-Pretorio* of the Royal City. Which appears alſo to have been the Practice at *Rome*. For *Socrates* [*i*] obſerves, that when in the Conflict which happened at the Election of Pope *Damaſus*, ſome Perſons were ſlain, many both of the Laity and Clergy upon that Account were puniſhed by *Maximinus*, who was then *Præfectus-Prætorio* at *Rome*. It appears farther from the Novels [*k*] of *Valentinian* 3d, that in ſuch criminal Actions as thoſe of Murder, Robbing of Graves, or the like, Biſhops as well as any other Clerks, were bound to anſwer before the Civil Magiſtrate by their Proctors. But *Juſtinian* a little inlarged the Privilege with reſpect to Biſhops, making [*l*] a Decree, That no one ſhould draw a Biſhop in any Pecuniary or Criminal Cauſe before a Secular Magiſtrate againſt his Will, unleſs the Emperor gave particular Order to do it. This was the plain State of the Matter, as to what concerned the Exemption of the Clegy in this ſort of criminal Cauſes, notwithſtanding what *Baronius* or any others of that Strain have ſaid to the contrary. Nay, ſome Ages after, ſuch Crimes as Murder, Theft and Witchcraft were brought before the Secular Judges in *France*, as appears from the Council of [*m*] *Maſcon*, Ann. 581.

SECT. XIII. *Nor in Pecuniary Cauſes with Laymen.*

THE Caſe was much the ſame in all Civil Pecuniary Controverſies which the Clergy had with Laymen. For though they might end all ſuch Cauſes which they had one with another, in their own Courts, or before a Synod of Biſhops; and the Canons obliged them ſo to do, as has been noted in the laſt [*] Chapter; yet if their Controverſy happened to be with a Layman, the Layman was not bound to refer the Hearing of his Cauſe to an Eccleſiaſtical Court, unleſs he voluntarily conſented by way of Compromiſe to take ſome Eccleſiaſtical Perſons for his Arbitrators. This is evident from one of the Conſtitutions of *Valentinian* 3d, which ſays, That if the Plaintiff was a Layman, he might compel any Clergyman, with whom he had a Civil Conteſt, to anſwer in a Civil Court, if he [*n*] rather choſe it. And the Council of *Epone* [*o*], according to the Reading of *Sirmond*'s Edition, ſays the ſame, that the Clergy, if they were ſued in a Secular Court, ſhould make no Scruple to follow the Plaintiff thither. But *Juſtinian* at the Inſtance of *Mennas* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* granted the Clergy of the Royal City a peculiar Privilege, that in all Pecuniary Matters [*p*] their Cauſe ſhould firſt be brought before the Biſhop; and if the Nature of the Cauſe happened to be ſuch that he could not determine it, then Recourſe might be had to the Civil Judges, but not otherwiſe. From all which it appears, that anciently Exemptions of this Nature were not challenged as Matters of Divine Right, but depended wholly upon the Will and Pleaſure of Chriſtian Princes, however After-ages came to put another kind of Gloſs upon them.

SECT. XIV. *Of the neceſſary Diſtinction between the Supreme and Subordinate Magiſtrates in this Buſineſs of Exemptions.*

NAY, it muſt be obſerved, that even in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, a great Difference was always obſerved between the Power of the Prince or Supreme Magiſtrate, and that of the Subordinate and Inferior Judges. For though the Ordinary Judges were bound by the Laws not

[*f*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. Leg. 23. Exceptis quæ Actio Criminalius ab Ordinariis Extraordinariiſque Judicibus aut Inluſtribus Poteſtatibus audienda conſtituit. [*] *See Sect.* 8, 9, 10. [*g*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 20. Eccleſiaſtici —— Viduarum ac Pupillarum domos non adeant: Sed publicis exterminentur Judiciis, ſi poſthac eos affines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos. [*h*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſ. leg. 25. Actor. in nullo alio Foro, vel apud quenquam alterum Judicem eoſdem Clericos Litibus irretire, & Civilibus vel Criminalibus Negotiis tentent innectere. [*i*] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 29. διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ λαικοὶ τε καὶ κληρικοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τότε ἐπάρχου Μαξιμίνου τιμωρηθῆναι. [*k*] Valent. Novel. 5. de ſepulcr. violat. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. It. Novel. 12. Quam formam etiam circa Epiſcoporum Perſonam obſervari oportere cenſemus. Ut ſi in hujuſmodi ordinis hominis Actionem Pervaſionis & Atrocium Injuriarum dirigi neceſſe fuerit, per Procuratorem ſolemnitur ordinatum, apud Judicem Publicum inter Leges & Jura confligant. [*l*] Juſtin. Novel. 123. n. 8. Sed neque ut Epiſcopus pro Pecuniaria aliqua aut Criminali Cauſa ad Civilem Militaremve Magiſtratum invitus perducatur, ſiſtaturve ſine Imperiali Juſſione concedimus. [*m*] Conc. Matiſcon. 1. Can. 7. [*] *Chap.* 1. *Sect.* 4. [*n*] Valent. Novel. 12. Petitor Laicus, ſeu in Civili ſeu in Criminali Cauſa, cujuſlibet loci Clericum adverſarium ſuum, ſi id magis eligat, per auctoritatem legitimam in publico Judicio reſpondere compellat. [*o*] Conc. Epaunenſ. c. 11. Si pulſati fuerint, ſequi ad ſeculare Judicium non morentur. *Yet Note that other Editions, as that of* Crab *and* Binius, *read it to a contrary Senſe*, Sequi ad ſeculare Judicium non præſumant. [*p*] Juſtin. Novel. 83.

to intermeddle with Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; yet in ſome Caſes the Prince himſelf interpoſed and appointed Extraordinary Judges, and ſometimes heard and decided the Cauſes himſelf, or reverſed the Deciſions of Eccleſiaſticks by his Sovereign Power, which no Ordinary Judges were qualified to do. But this belongs to another Subject, that will have a more proper Place in this Work, when we come to ſpeak of the Power of Chriſtian Princes.

CHAP. III.

Of the Immunities of the Clergy in reference to Taxes and Civil Offices and other burdenſome Employments in the Roman *Empire.*

SECT. I. *No Divine Right pleaded by the ancient Clergy to exempt themſelves from Taxes.*

ANOTHER Privilege which the Clergy enjoyed by the Favour of Chriſtian Princes, was, That in ſome certain Caſes, according to the Exigency of Times and Places, they were exempt from ſome of the Taxes that were laid upon the reſt of the *Roman* Empire. But whatever they enjoyed of this kind, they did not pretend to as matter of Divine Right, but freely acknowledged it to be owing to the Pious Munificence and Favour of Chriſtian Emperors. Therefore [*a*] *Baronius* does them great Injuſtice, and is Guilty of very great Prevarication, in pretending that they claimed a Freedom from Tribute by the Law of Chriſt; and that no Emperor ever impoſed any Tax upon them, except only *Julian* the Apoſtate, and *Valens* the *Arian*, and the younger *Valentinian*, who was wholly governed by his Mother *Juſtina* an *Arian* Empreſs; that when St. *Ambroſe* paid Tribute under this *Valentinian*, he did it only out of his Chriſtian Meekneſs, not that he was otherwiſe under any Obligation to have done it. How true this Repreſentation is, the Reader may judge in part from the Words of St. *Ambroſe*, which are theſe [*b*], If the Emperor demands Tribute of us, we do not deny it: The Lands of the Church pay Tribute. We pay to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar*'s, and to GOD the things that are GOD's. Tribute is *Cæſar*'s, and therefore we do not refuſe to pay it. This is ſo far from challenging any Exemption by Divine Right, that it plainly aſſerts the contrary. As in another Place he argues, that all Men are under an Obligation to pay Tribute, becauſe [*c*] the Son of GOD himſelf paid it, *Mat.* 17. 23. And yet *Baronius* cites [*d*] that very Paſſage of the Evangeliſt to prove that the Clergy are *Jure Divino* exempt, becauſe our Saviour ſays, Then are the Children free. For if, ſays he, the Children be free; much more ſo are the Fathers, that is, the Paſtors, under whoſe Care Princes are. *Bellarmin* is much more ingenuous in handling this Queſtion; for he aſſerts [*e*] againſt the *Canoniſts* (whoſe Opinion *Baronius* labours to maintain) that the Exemption of the Clergy in Political Matters, whether relating to their Perſons, or their Goods, was introduced by Human Right only, and not Divine: And that in Fact they were never Exempted from any other but Perſonal Tribute till the Time of *Juſtinian*, when they were freed from Taxes upon their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions alſo. So little Agreement is there betwixt theſe two great Cardinals of the *Romiſh* Church in their Accounts of this Matter, either as to Fact or Right, that in every thing their Aſſertions are point blank contrary to one another.

SECT. II. *Yet generally excuſed from Perſonal Taxes, or Head-money.*

To ſet the Matter in a clear Light, it will be neceſſary for me to give the Reader a diſtinct Account of the ſeveral ſorts of Tribute that were impoſed upon Subjects in the *Roman* Empire, and to ſhew how far the Clergy were concerned in each of them; which will be beſt done by having Recourſe to the *Theodoſian* Code, where moſt of the Laws relating to this Affair are ſtill extant. And this I ſhall the rather do, becauſe *Baronius* makes uſe of the ſame Authority, but with great Partiality, diſſembling every Thing that would not ſerve the *Hypotheſis* he had undertaken to maintain.

Now the firſt ſort of Tribute I ſhall take notice of, is that which is commonly called *Cenſus Capitum*, or Perſonal Tribute, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Cenſus Agrorum*, or Tribute ariſing from Men's Eſtates and Poſſeſſions. That the Clergy were generally freed from this ſort of Tribute is agreed on all Hands, only *Gothofred* has a very ſingular Notion about it. For he aſſerts [*f*] that under the Chriſtian Emperors there was no ſuch Tribute as this paid by any Men; ſo that the Exemption of the Clergy in

[*a*] Baron. an. 387. Tom. 4. p. 538. [*b*] Ambr. Orat. cont. Auxent. de iradent. Baſilicis poſt. Ep. 32. Si tributum petit Imperator, non negamus; Agri Eccleſiæ ſolvunt tributum. —— Solvimus quæ ſunt Cæſaris Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei Deo. Tributum Cæſaris eſt, non negatur. [*c*] Ambr. lib. 4. in Luc. 5. & ap. Gratian. Cauſ. 11. Q. 1. c. 21. Si cenſum Filius Dei ſolvit, quis tu tantus es, qui non putes eſſe ſolvendum? [*d*] Baron. an. 387. p. 538. [*e*] Bellarm. de Clericis lib. 1. c. 28. Exceptio Clericorum in rebus Politicis, tam quoad Perſonas, quam quoad Bona, jure Humano introducta eſt, non Divino. Hæc Propoſitio eſt contra Canoniſtas. [*f*] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 1. de Annon. & Tribut. leg. 15. It. Com. in lib. 13. tit. 10. de Cenſu. leg. 4.

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this Case was no peculiar Privilege belonging to them, but only what they enjoyed in common with all other Subjects of the *Roman* Empire. But in this that Learned Man seems evidently to be mistaken. For first, he owns there was such a Tribute under the Heathen Emperors, from which, as *Ulpian* [g] relates, none were excused save only Minors under Fourteen, and Persons Superannuated, that is, above Sixty-five: Nor does he produce any Law to shew when or by whom that Tribute was ordered to be laid aside. Secondly, *Theodosius* Junior, the Author of the *Theodosian* Code, makes express mention of it, when in one of his Novels [h] he distinguishes betwixt the *Census Capitum*, and *Census Agrorum*. Thirdly, there are several Laws in the *Theodosian* Code, exempting the Clergy from Tribute, which cannot be fairly understood of any other Tribute but this sort of Capitation. As when *Constantius* grants the Clergy the same Immunity from Tribute as Minors had, he plainly refers to the old Law about Minors mentioned by *Ulpian*, and puts the Clergy upon the same Foot with them, granting them this Privilege, That not only they themselves, but [i] their Wives and Children, their Men-Servants and their Maid-Servants should all be free from Tribute; meaning Personal Tribute, or that sort of Capitation called *Capitis Census*. After the same manner we are to understand those two Laws of *Valentinian* [k], where he grants to Devoted Virgins, and Widows, and Orphans under twenty Years of Age, the same Immunity from Tribute, or as it is there called, The Capitation of the Vulgar. As also that other Law [l] of his, where he grants the like Privilege to Painters, together with their Wives and Children. From all which we may very reasonably conclude, that this Exemption from Personal Taxes was not a thing then common to all, but a peculiar Privilege of some certain Arts and Professions, among which the most Honourable was that of the Clergy.

This may be farther confirmed from an Observation or two out of *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Basil*. *Nazianzen* in one of his Epistles [m] to *Amphilochius* complains, that the Officers of the Government had made an illegal Attempt upon one *Euthalius* a Deacon, to oblige him to pay Taxes: Therefore he desires *Amphilochius* not to permit this Injury to be done him; since otherwise [n] he would Suffer an Hardship above other Men, not being allowed to enjoy the Favour of the Times, and the Honour which the Emperors had granted to the Clergy. Here he plainly refers to some Immunity from Tribute, which the Imperial Laws granted particularly to the Clergy; which could not be any Exemption of their Estates from Tribute, for there was no such Law then in Force to be appealed to: It must therefore mean their Exemption from Personal Taxes, from which they were freed by the Laws of *Valentinian* and *Constantius* already mentioned. This will still receive greater Light and Confirmation from the Testimony of St. *Basil*, who had occasion to make a like Complaint to *Modestus* (who was *Præfectus-Prætorio Orientis* under *Valens*) of some who had infringed the Privilege of the Clergy in exacting Tribute of them against the Laws. The ancient way of Taxing, says he, excused such as were consecrated to GOD [o], Presbyters and Deacons, from paying Tribute: But now they who are set over this Affair, pretending to have no Warrant from your Eminency to excuse them, have taxed them all, except such as could claim a Privilege from their Age. Therefore his Request to him was, συγχωρηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον τὴν συντέλειαν τοῖς ἱερατεύουσιν, That the Clergy might be exempt from Tribute according to the ancient Laws. St. *Basil* in this Passage refers to two sorts of Laws exempting Persons from Tribute; The one, those ancient Laws of the Heathen Emperors, which only excused Minors and Superannuates from Personal Tribute; The other, those Laws of *Constantius* and *Valentinian*, which exempted the Clergy also, granting them that Immunity which only Minors enjoyed before. And this is the thing he complains of, that the Clergy were not allowed the Benefit of the Christian Laws, but only those Laws of the Heathen Emperors, whereby if they chanced to be Minors or Superannuated, that is, under Twenty or above Sixty-five, they were excused, but not otherwise. From all which it evidently appears, that the Clergy might claim a peculiar Privilege by the Laws to be exempted from Personal Tribute, and that this was not common to all the Subjects of the Empire, whatever *Gothofred* and *Pagi* [p] from him have Suggested to the contrary.

[g] Digest. lib. 50. tit. 15. de Censibus leg. 3. Quibusdam ætas tribuit, ne Tributo onerentur. Veluti in Syriis à Quatuordecim annis Masculi, à Duodecim Fœminæ usque ad Sexagesimum Quintum annum Tributo Capitis onerentur.

[h] Theodos. Novel. 21. [i] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. & Cler. leg. 10. & 14. Clericis ac Juvenibus præbeatur Immunitas. —— Quod & Conjugibus & Liberis eorum & Ministeriis majoribus pariter ac Fœminis indulgemus; quos à censibus etiam jubemus perseverare immunes.

[k] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 10. de Censu leg. 4. In virginitate perpetua viventes, & eam Viduam de qua ipsa maturitas pollicetur ætatis nulli jam eam esse nupturam, à Plebeiæ Capitationis injuria vindicandas esse decernimus: Item Pupillos in virili sexu usque ad viginti annos ab istiusmodi functione immunes esse debere, mulieres autem donec virum unaquæque fortitur. Ibid. leg. 6. Nulla Vidua, nemo Pupillus exactionem Plebis agnoscat, &c. [l] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 4. de Excusat. Artific. leg. 4. Picturæ Professores, si modo ingenui sunt, placuit, neque sui Capitis Censione, neque Uxorum, aut etiam Liberorum nomine, Tributis esse munificos. [m] Naz. Ep. 159. διαγέφυρεν ὑπερχεῖσι χρυσὸν οἱ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως. [n] Ibid. δεινότατα ἂν πάθοι μόνος ἀνθρώπων μὴ τυγχάνων τῆς παρὰ καιρῶν φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ τῆς διδομένης τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τιμῆς.

[o] Basil. Ep. 279. ad Modest. τῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἱερωμένους, πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους ὁ παλαιὸς κῆνσος ἀτελεῖς ἀφῆκεν. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑπογεγραμμένοι, ὡς ὁ λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς ὑπερτάτης σε ἐξουσίας πρόσταγμα, ἀπεγράψαντο, πλὴν εἰ μή τινες ἄλλως ἔχουσι ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τὴν ἄρσιν. [p] Pagi Crit. in Baron. an. 353. n. 10.

SECT. III. *But not excuſed for their Lands and Poſſeſſions.*

THE next ſort of Tribute was that which was exacted of Men for their Lands and Poſſeſſions, which goes by ſeveral Names in the Civil Law and ancient Writers. Sometimes it is called Κανών, as by *Athanaſius* [q] where he complains how he was unjuſtly accuſed of impoſing a Tax upon *Egypt* for the Uſe of the Church of *Alexandria*. So in the *Theodoſian* Code [r] there is a whole Title, *De Canone Frumentario Urbis Romæ*, which ſignifies the Tribute of Corn that was exacted of the *African* Provinces for the Uſe of the City of *Rome*. It is otherwiſe called *Jugatio* from *Juga*, which as *Gothofred* notes [s] ſignifies as much Land as a Yoke of Oxen could Plough in a Year: And becauſe the Taxation was made according to that Rate, it had therefore the Name of *Jugatio* and *Juga*. It has alſo frequently the Name of *Capitatio* and *Capita:* And becauſe Men's Servants and Cattle were reckoned into their Taxable Poſſeſſions as well as their Lands, therefore in ſome Laws [t] the one is called *Capitatio terrena*, and the other *Capitatio Humana & Animalium*, or *Animarum Deſcriptio*. Theſe Taxes were uſually paid three times a Year, once every four Months; whence *Sidonius Apollinaris* [u] ſtiles them *Tria Capita*, or the Monſter with three Heads, which he deſired the Emperor *Majorianus* to free him from, that he might live and ſubſiſt the better: For thus he addreſſes himſelf to him in his Poetical Way:

Geryones nos eſſe puta, Monſtrumque Tributum:
Hic Capita, ut vivam, Tu mihi tolle Tria.

In which Words, which none of the Commentators rightly underſtood, he refers to a Law [w] of *Valentinian*'s, and ſeveral others in the *Theodoſian* Code, where this ſort of Tribute is required to be paid by three certain Portions in a Year, or once in four Months, which in his Phraſe is the *Tria Capita*, or Monſter with three Heads. The Collectors of this Tax were alſo hence called *Cephaleotæ*, Collectors of the Capitation [x] in ſome Laws of the *Theodoſian* Code. And becauſe this Tribute was commonly paid in Specie, as in Corn, Wine, Oyl, Iron, Braſs, *&c.* for the Emperor's Service, therefore it is often called *Specierum Collatio*. And being the ordinary ſtanding Tax of the Empire, it is no leſs frequently [y] ſtiled *Indictio Canonica*, in Oppoſition to the *Superindicta & Extraordinaria*, that is, ſuch Taxes as were levied upon extraordinary Occaſions. I have noted theſe Things here all together, that I may not be put to explain the Terms at every turn hereafter, as I have occaſion to make uſe of them, which are indeed a little uncommon, and not eaſily underſtood, but by ſuch as are converſant in the Civil Law.

Now to the Queſtion in hand, Whether the Clergy in general were exempt from this ordinary Canonical Tribute laid upon Men's Goods and Poſſeſſions? I anſwer in the Negative againſt *Baronius*, who aſſerts the contrary. Some particular Churches indeed had ſpecial Favours granted them by indulgent Princes, to exempt them from all Tribute of this kind: But thoſe very Exceptions prove, that what was Matter of Grace to ſome particular Churches, could not be the common Privilege of all Churches. *Theodoſius* Junior granted a ſpecial Exemption to the Church of *Theſſalonica*, that ſhe ſhould pay no Capitation [z] for her own Eſtate, provided ſhe did not take other Lands into her Protection, to the Detriment of the Commonwealth under the Pretence of an Eccleſiaſtical Title. He alſo allowed the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria* the ſame Privilege [a] upon the like Condition, That they ſhould not take any Villages, great or ſmall, into their Patronage, to excuſe them from paying their ancient Capitation. *Gothofred* is alſo of Opinion, That in the beginning of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, while the Church was poor, and her ſtanding Revenues but ſmall, her Eſtates and Poſſeſſions were univerſally excuſed from Tribute: For there is a Law in the *Theodoſian* Code which may be interpreted to this purpoſe: Though the Words are ſo obſcure [b], that without the help of ſo wiſe an Interpreter one would hardly find out the Senſe of them. However admitting them to ſignify ſuch a Privilege, it is certain it laſted not many Years: For in the next Reign under *Conſtantius*, when the Church was grown pretty Wealthy, all the Clergy that were poſſeſſed of Lands, were obliged to pay Tribute, in the ſame manner as all others did: As appears from a Law of *Conſtantius* directed to *Taurus Præ-*

[q] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 778. ὡς ἐμοῦ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβάλλοντος, &c. [r] Cod. Th. lib. 14. Tit. 15.
[s] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. 13. tit. 10. de Cenſu leg. 2. p. 118. Ego juga putem dicta Terræ modum, cui colendo per annum Jugo bonum opus eſt. [t] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 20. de Conlat. Donat. leg. 6. [u] Sidon. Carm. 13. ad Majorian.
[w] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 1. de Annona & Tribut. leg. 15. Unuſquiſque annonarias Species, pro modo Capitationis & ſortium, præbiturus, per Quaternus Menſes anni curriculo diſtributo, Tribus vicibus ſummam conlationis implebit.
[x] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 24. de Patrocin. Vicor. leg. 5.
[y] Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 26. de Proximis Comitib. &c. leg. 14.
[z] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 1. de Annona & Tribut. leg. 33. Sacroſancta Theſſalonicenſis Eccleſia Civitatis excepta: Ita tamen ut aperte ſciat, propriæ tantummodo Capitationis modum beneficio mei Numinis ſublevandum: Nec externorum gravamine Tributorum Rempublicam Eccleſiaſtici nominis abuſione lædendam. [a] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 24. de Patrocin. Vicorum. leg. 5. Quicquid Eccleſiæ venerabiles, (id eſt, Conſtantinopolitana & Alexandrina) poſſediſſe dereguntur, id pro intuitu Religionis ab his præcipimus firmiter retineri: Sub ea videlicet ſorte, ut in futurum functiones omnes quæ Metrocomiæ debent, & publici vici pro antiquæ Capitationis profeſſione debent, ſciant ſubeundas.
[b] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 1. de Annon. & Tribut. leg. 1. Præter privatas Res noſtras, & Eccleſias Catholicas, & domum clariſſimæ memoriæ Euſebii Ex-conſule, & Arſacis Regis Armenium, nemo ex noſtra juſſione præcipuis emolumentis Familiaris juvetur ſubſtantiæ.

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fœtus-Prætorio, which is ſtill extant [*c*] in both the Codes. This is farther evident from the Teſtimony of *Valentinian*, who in an Epiſtle to the Biſhops of *Aſia*, recorded by *Theodoret* [*d*], ſays, all good Biſhops thought themſelves obliged to pay Tribute, and did not reſiſt the Imperial Power. And thus matters continued to the Time of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* Junior, in one of whoſe Laws [*e*] the Church Lands are ſtill made liable to this Ordinary or Canonical Tribute, as it is there worded, though excuſed from all other. So little reaſon had *Baronius* to aſſert with that Confidence, That no Prince except *Julian* the Apoſtate, and *Valens* the *Arian*, and the younger *Valentinian*, who was under the Conduct of an *Arian* Woman, ever exacted any Tribute of the Clergy: When as it appears that every Emperor after *Conſtantine* did exact it, and *Baronius* could not be ignorant of this, having viewed and peruſed the *Theodoſian* Code, where theſe things are recorded.

SECT. IV. *Of the Tribute called*, Aurum Tironicum, Equi Canonici, *&c.*

IF in any thing of this Tribute they were exempt, it muſt be from the Obligation ſome Provinces lay under to furniſh the Emperors with new Soldiers, called *Tirones*, and freſh Horſes for the Wars; which becauſe they were exhibited by way of Tribute, they are called in the Law *Equi Canonici*, from the Civil-Law Term Canon, and *Canonica*, which, as I obſerved before, ſignifies the Tribute that was laid upon Men's Lands and Poſſeſſions. Sometimes this Tribute was exacted in Money inſtead of Horſes, and then it was called [*f*] *Equorum Canonicorum Adæratio*, Horſe-money: In like manner as the Sum that was paid inſtead of the *Tirones*, was called *Aurum Tironicum*, *& Stratioticum*, Soldiers-money, which we find mentioned in *Syneſius*, where ſpeaking [*g*] of *Andronicus* Governor of *Ptolemais*, he ſays, He ſet one *Thoas* to collect this *Aurum Tironicum*; which the Editor by Miſtake ſays was ſo called, *quia ſolvebatur Tironibus*, becauſe it was paid to the *Tirones*; whereas indeed it was the Money that was paid inſtead of the *Tirones* by way of Tribute into the Treaſury of the Empire. Now that ſome Biſhops, at leaſt in *Africk*, were excuſed from this Tribute, is concluded by ſome learned Men from a Law [*h*] of *Theodoſius* Junior, which excuſes certain Perſons from it under the Title of *Sacerdotales* in the Proconſular *Africk*, and that becauſe they were otherwiſe oblig'd to be at great Expences in that Province. But now the Queſtion is, who are meant by the Name, *Sacerdotales*. The learned *Petit* [*i*] ſays it denotes Chriſtian Biſhops: And if ſo, the Caſe would be clear as to their Exemption: But *Gothofred* rather inclines [*k*] to think it means the High Prieſts among the Heathens, who were ſtill in being, and obliged by their Office to be at great Expences in exhibiting the *Ludi Sacerdotales* to the People. I will not venture to decide ſo nice a Diſpute betwixt two ſuch learned Men, but think however I may ſafely infer even from *Gothofred*'s Notion, That if the Chriſtian Emperors were ſo liberal to the Heathen High Prieſts, they would at leaſt be as liberal to their own Biſhops, and grant them the ſame Immunity. But I leave this Matter to farther Enquiry.

SECT. V. *The Church obliged to ſuch Burthens as Lands were tied to before their Donation.*

ONE thing is more certain, That whatever Burthens any Lands were originally encumbered with, they were liable to the ſame even after their Donation to the Church, unleſs diſcharged of them by ſome particular Grant and Favour of the Emperors. This we learn from a memorable Inſtance in a particular Caſe wherein St. *Auſtin* was concerned, the Account of which we have from his own Relation For the right underſtanding of which I muſt firſt acquaint the Reader, that by the Laws of the *Roman* Polity many times a Company of Tradeſmen were ſo incorporated into a Society for the Service of the Empire, that their Eſtates were tied to that Office and Duty, ſo that whoever had the Propriety of them, he was bound to the Duty annexed to them. Thus it was particularly with the Incorporated Company of the *Navicularii* of *Africk* and *Egypt*, who were concerned in tranſporting the yearly Tribute of Corn from thoſe Provinces to *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*. Their Eſtates were tied to the Performance of this Service, as appears from a Title in the *Theodoſian* Code [*l*], which is *de Prædiis Naviculariorum*: And they were ſo tied, that if any Ship chanced to be loſt in the Paſſage, the whole Body was obliged to make good the Effects to the Empeperor's Coffers; and the Maſter of the Ship was obliged [*m*] to give up his Men that eſcaped the Shipwreck, to be examined by Torture afterwards; otherwiſe he muſt have born the whole Burthen himſelf alone, on Preſumption

[*c*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. & Cler. leg. 15. De his ſane Clericis qui Prædia poſſident, ſublimis auctoritas tua non ſolum eos aliena juga nequaquam ſtatuet excuſare, ſed etiam his quæ ipſi poſſident eoſdem ad penſitanda Fiſcalia perurgeri: Univerſos namque Clericos Poſſeſſores duntaxat Provinciales Penſitationes recognoſcere jubemus. Vid. Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3.

[*d*] Theod. lib. 4. c. 8. τὰ δημόσια χρήματα νόμως ἁπαιτίζειν ἅπασι. καὶ οὐκ ἀνθιλέγουσι τῇ τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίᾳ. [*e*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. & Cler. leg. 40. Nihil præter Canonicam Inlationem —— ejus Functionibus adſcribatur.

[*f*] Cod. Th. lib. 11. t. 17. de Equor. Conlat. leg. 3. Equos Canonicos militari Diœceſeos Africanæ —— juſſimus adærari, &c. [*g*] Syneſ. Ep. 79. ad Anaſtaſ. p. 293. ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσιν ἔταξε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν χρυσίον τὸ καλούμενον τιρωνικόν.

[*h*] Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 13. de Tironibus leg. 22. Præcipimus Proconſularis Provinciæ non eandem Sacerdotalium, quæ eſt de cæteris, in præbendis Tironibus habendum eſſe rationem: Non inique ſiquidem ea potiſſimum ab hoc officio Provincia videtur excepta, quæ omnium intra Africam Provinciarum obtinet Principatum, cujuſque majoribus fatigantur expenſis. [*i*] Petit. Variar. Lection. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 28. [*k*] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. 7. 13. 22. [*l*] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 6. [*m*] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 9. de Naufragiis leg. 2. Si quando Cauſatio eſt de impetu procellarum, medium ex eis nautis numerum Navicularius exhibeat Quæſtioni —— Quo eorum tormentis plenior veritas poſſit inquiri.

that he was guilty of ſome Fraud in the Matter againſt the reſt of his Society. Now it happened while St. *Auſtin* was Biſhop of *Hippo*, that one of theſe *Navicularii*, *Boniface* a Maſter of a Ship, left his whole Eſtate to the Church; which yet St. *Auſtin* refuſed to receive, becauſe of theſe Burthens that lay upon it. For, ſays he [n], I was not willing to have the Church of Chriſt concerned in the Buſineſs of Tranſportation. 'Tis true indeed there are many who get Eſtates by Shipping: Yet there is one Temptation in it, if a Ship ſhould chance to go and be loſt, then we ſhould be required to give up our Men to the Rack, to be examined by Torture according to Law about the drowning of the Ship; and the poor Wretches that had eſcaped the Waves muſt undergo a new Severity from the Hands of the Judge: But we could not thus deliver them up; for it would not become the Church ſo to do. Therefore ſhe muſt anſwer the whole Debt to the Exchequer. But whence ſhould ſhe do this? For our Circumſtances do not allow us to keep a Treaſury. A Biſhop ought not to lay up Gold in Bank, and mean while refuſe to relieve the Poor. Theſe Words of St. *Auſtin* do plainly evince what has been obſerved, that the Donation of an Eſtate to the Church did not ordinarily free it from the Tribute or Duty, that the Publick otherwiſe demanded of it; but if the Church would receive it, ſhe muſt take it with the uſual Burthens that lay upon it. I confeſs indeed the Senſe of the Paſſage, as it lies in St. *Auſtin* without a Comment, is not very eaſy to be underſtood; nor have any of his Editors, no not the laſt *Benedictins*, thought fit to expound it; but for that Reaſon, as well as to make good my own Obſervation, I have recited it in this Place, and explained it from thoſe Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire, to which it manifeſtly refers. And ſuch a Digreſſion, if it were a Digreſſion, I preſume would not be unacceptable to the Curious Reader.

SECT. VI. *Of the* Chryſargyrum, *or* Luſtral *Tax, and the Exemption of the Clergy from it.*

BUT now to proceed. Another ſort of Tribute, in which the Clergy had ſome Concern, was the Tax upon Trade and Commerce. This in ancient Writers [o] is known by the Name of χρυσάργυρον, *Chryſargyrum*, The Silver and Gold Tax, becauſe it was paid in thoſe Coins. *Zoſimus* [p] indeed makes the *Chryſargyrum* another thing, *viz.* A Scandalous Tax exacted of lewd Men and Women; and in his ſpite to Chriſtianity he repreſents *Conſtantine* as the Author of it; in which his groundleſs Calumny he is abundantly refuted by *Baronius* [q], and more eſpecially by the Learned [r] *Gothofred*, and *Pagi*, whom the curious Reader may conſult. Here I take the *Chryſargyrum* in the common notion only for the Tax upon Lawful Trade and Commerce, which St. *Baſil* calls [s] πραγματευτικὸν χρυσίον, Commerce-Money. In the Civil Law it is known by the Name of *Luſtralis Collatio*, The *Luſtral* Tax, becauſe it was exacted at the return of every *Luſtrum*, or four Years end. It was indeed a very grievous Tax, eſpecially upon the Poor; for not the meaneſt Tradeſman was exempted from it. *Evagrius* [t] ſays it was exacted even of thoſe who made Begging their Trade, ἀξ ἐράνε τὴν τροφὴν περίζεσι. Whence *Libanius* [u] calls it the Intolerable Tax of Silver and Gold, that made Men dread the terrible *Pentaeteris*, or Return of every Fifth Year. And for the ſame Reaſon, as the Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [w] takes Notice, it was commonly called, *Aurum Pannoſum*, The Poorman's Tax, or as ſome Editions read it, *Aurum Pœneſum*, The Cruel Tax, becauſe it was exacted of the Poor. But now a particular Reſpect was paid to the Church in this Matter; for when her Revenues were ſcanty, and not ſufficient to give all the Clergy a Decent Maintenance, the Inferior Orders, the *Clerici*, were allowed to Traffick to ſupport themſelves, without paying any Tribute of this Nature. This Indulgence was firſt granted by *Conſtantius* without any Reſtriction, That if any of them [x] was minded to follow a Calling to maintain themſelves, they ſhould be freed from Cuſtom. But that none of them might abuſe this Privilege to Covetouſneſs, they were confined afterwards by ſeveral Laws to Trade within a certain Sum, which if they exceeded, they were to pay Cuſtom for it. This appears from a ſecond Law of the ſame [y] *Conſtantius*, and another of *Gratian*'s [z], where the *Italian* and *Illyrican Clerici* are confined to the Sum of Ten Solids, and the *Gallican* to Fifteen. Yet if any would Trade farther, only with a Charitable Deſign, to raiſe Funds

[n] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diverſis. Tom. 10. p. 520. Bonifacii hæreditatem ſuſcipere nolui; non miſericordia, ſed timore. Navicularium nolui eſſe Eccleſiam Chriſti. Multi ſunt quidem qui etiam de navibus acquirunt: Tamen una tentatio eſt, ſi iret navis & naufragaret, homines ad Tormenta daturi eramus, & de ſubmerſione navis ſecundum conſuetudinem quæreretur: & torquerentur à Judice qui eſſent à fluctibus liberati: Sed non eos daremus: Nullo enim pacto hoc facere deceret Eccleſiam Onus ergo Fiſcale perſolveret. Sed unde perſolveret? En thecam nobis habere non licet, &c. [o] Evagr. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 39. [p] Zoſim. lib. 2. [q] Baron. an. 330. n. 36. [r] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 1. de Luſtrali Collatione leg. 1. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 330. n. 6. [s] Baſil. Ep. 243. [t] Evagr. lib. 3. c. 39. [u] Liban. Orat. 14. cont. Florent. T. 2. p. 427. φόρῳ ἀφόρητῳ, ἀργυρῳ καὶ χρυσὸς, φείσασθαι παρασκάσας ποιῶν τὰς δεινὰς πενταετείδας. [w] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. c. 75. Didrachma Capitum vel Tributi exactio intelligitur; quod nunc Pannoſum Aurum appellatur, quia & pauperes exiguntur. [x] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. & Cler. leg. 8. Si qui de vobis Alimoniæ cauſa negotiationem exercere volunt, Immunitate potientur. It. Cod. lib. 13. tit. 1. de Luſtrali Collatione leg. 1. Negotiatores omnes protinus convenit aurum argentumque præbere: Clericos excipi tantum, (&) qui Copiatæ appellantur, nec alium quenquam eſſe immunem.
[y] Ibid. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 15. Clerici vero, vel hi quos Copiatas recens uſus inſtituit nuncupari, ira à Sordidis Muneribus debent immunes atque à Conlatione præſtari, Si exiguis admodum mercimoniis tenuem ſibi victum veſtitumque conquirent. [z] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 1. de Luſtrali Collat. leg. 11. Etſi omnes Mercatores ſpectat Luſtralis auri depenſio, Clerici tamen intra Illyricum & Italiam in denis Solidis; intra Galliam in Quinis denis Solidis immunem uſum Converſationis exerceant. Quicquid autem ſupra hunc modum negotiationis verſabitur, id oportet ad Functionem Aurariam devocari.

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and *Monte-Pio's* for the Uſe of the Poor, they were allowed by two [a] other Laws of *Conſtantius* to employ what Sums they pleaſed, and pay none of this Tribute for them. It is to be noted farther, that this Immunity was granted by *Honorius* to the Catholick [b] Clergy only, and to no others. And the Privilege was eſteemed ſo great, that ſome Covetous Tradeſmen would uſe Means to get themſelves admitted to a Titular Office among the Inferior Clergy of the Church, with no other Deſign but to enjoy this Immunity, and to follow their Trade without paying the *Luſtral* Duty. Againſt whoſe Fraudulency and Corruptions the Emperor *Arcadius* made a ſevere [c] Law, commanding all ſuch, if they followed their Merchandize, to be deprived of this Immunity of the Clergy; or if they would devote themſelves to the ſacred Service, then they ſhould abſtain from all ſuch fraudulent and crafty ways of Gain: For, ſaith he, the Wages of Religion and Craft are very different from one another. And for this Reaſon probably when the Revenues of the Church were become Sufficient to maintain all the Clergy, *Valentinian* the third [d] enacted a Law, that none of the Clergy ſhould Negotiate as formerly; otherwiſe they ſhould come under the Cognizance of the ſecular Judges, and not enjoy the Privilege of the Clergy. *Evagrius* [e] adds, that the Emperor *Anaſtatius* quite aboliſhed the *Chryſargyrum* or *Luſtral* Tax itſelf; and that is the Reaſon why there is no mention at all made of it afterward in the *Juſtinian* Code.

SECT. VII. *Of the* Metatum. *What meant thereby, and the Exemption of the Clergy from it.*

ANOTHER ſort of Duty incumbent on the Subjects of the Empire, was the Burden and Charge of giving Entertainment to the Emperor's Court and Retinue, when they had occaſion to Travel; or to the Judges, or Soldiers as they paſſed from one Place to another. This the Civil Law [f] calls *Metatum*, and the *Greeks* Μιτάτον, from the word *Metatores*, which ſignifies the Emperor's Harbingers or Fore-runners, which were ſent before to provide Lodging and Entertainment for them. In alluſion to which, *Cyprian* [g] ſpeaking of *Rogatian* an eminent Preſbyter of *Carthage*, who was the firſt Martyr that was ſent to Priſon in the *Decian* Perſecution, ſays, he was *Metator* to the reſt, their Harbinger, that went before them to prepare a Place in Priſon for them. And in the ſame Senſe *Lucian* the Martyr in *Cyprian*, elegantly ſtiles *Decius* himſelf [h] *Metatorem Antichriſti*, the Harbinger of *Antichriſt*, who by that terrible Perſecution made Preparation for his Coming into the World. From this Notion of the Word *Metator*, that Duty of yielding Entertainment to the Emperour's Retinue, &c. has the Name of *Metatum* in the two *Codes* of the Civil Law. But the Clergy were excuſed from this by a Law [i] of *Conſtantius*, where he ſays they ſhould not be obliged to entertain Strangers; by which he cannot be ſuppoſed to excuſe them from the Chriſtian Duty of Hoſpitality to the Indigent, but from this Civil Duty of the *Roman* State, to which other Subjects were obliged. Whence *Gothofred* [k] very truly obſerves, that the Clergy in this reſpect hath equal Privileges with Senators Houſes, and Jewiſh Synagogues, and Chriſtian Churches; all which were exempt from this Duty of Entertaining. And if the *Greek* Collector of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions out of the *Code*, publiſhed by *Fabrottus*, miſtake not, this Immunity extended to their Servants alſo. For he ſays [l], neither the Clergy nor their Servants were ſubject to any new Impoſitions or to this Burden called the *Metatum*.

SECT. VIII. *Of the* Superindicta *and* Extraordinaria. *The Clergy exempt from them.*

AND hence it appears farther, that they were freed from all Exactions that went by the Name of *Superindicta*, and *Extraordinaria*, that is, ſuch Impoſitions as the Emperors thought neceſſary to lay upon the Empire, or any part of it, beyond the Ordinary Canonical Taxes, upon great Exigencies and Extraordinary Occaſions. For as the Ordinary Taxes were called Indictions, ſo theſe Extraordinary were called [m] Superindictions. From theſe the Clergy were univerſally exempted by ſeveral Laws of Chriſtian Emperors. As by that of *Conſtantius* [n] in the *Theodoſian Code*, where he refers to a Preceding Law to the ſame purpoſe. According to the Decree, ſays he, which you are ſaid to have obtained heretofore, no one ſhall impoſe any New Taxes upon you or your Servants, but you ſhall enjoy a perfect Immunity in that reſpect. *Gothofred* upon the Place ſays,

[a] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. & Cler. Leg. 10. Negotiatorum diſpendiis minime obligentur (Clerici), cum certum ſit, quæſtus quos ex Tabernaculis (leg. Tabernis) atque Ergaſteriis colligunt, Pauperibus profuturos. Ibid. Leg. 14. Si quid Mercatura congeſſerint, in uſum Pauperum atque egentium miniſtrari oportet, &c. [b] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 36. Catholicæ Religionis Clerici - - - - ab Auraria Penſione habeantur immunes. [c] Ibid. Lib. 13. Tit. 1. de Luſtralis Collat. Leg. 16. Omnes Corporatos - - - præcipimus conveniri, ut aut commoda negotiatorum ſequentes, à Clericorum excuſatione diſcedant: aut Sacratiſſimo Numini Servientes, verſutis quæſtibus abſtineant; diſtincta enim Stipendia ſunt Religionis & Calliditatis. [d] Valentin. Novel. 12. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. Jubemus ut Clerici nihil prorſus negotiationis exerceant. Si velint negotiari, Sciant ſe Judicibus ſubitos, Clericorum Privilegio non muniti. [e] Evagr. Lib. 3. 39. [f] Cod. Th. Lib. 7. Tit. 8. de Onere Metati. Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 12. Tit. 41. de Metatis. [g] Cypr. Ep. 81. al. 6. Edit. Oxon. Primum Hoſpitium vobis in carcere præparavit, & Metator quodammodo veſter nunc quoque vos antecedit. [h] Lucian ap. Cypr. Ep. 20. al. 22. [i] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. Leg. 8. Præterea neque hoſpites ſuſcipietis. [k] Gothofred. Paratitlon ad Cod. Th. Lib. 7. Tit. 8. de Onere Metati. Tom. 2. p. 264. Immunes erant à Metato Clerici, Senatorum Domus, Synagoguæ Judæorum, & Religionum Loca. [l] Collect. Conſtit. Eccleſ. ex Cod. Lib. 1. Tit. 3. Sect. 1. οἱ κληρικοὶ ἢ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτῶν ἐν ὑποκειται καιναῖς ἐπιτραῖς ἢ μιτάτοις. [m] Vid. Cod. Theod. Lib. 11. Tit. 6. de Superindicto, & Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 10. Tit. 18. de eodem. [n] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. & Cler. Leg. 8. Juxta Sanctionem quam dudum meruiſſe perhibemini, & vos & mancipia veſtra nullus. Novis Collationibus obligavit (id eſt, obligabit), ſed vacatione gaudebitis. Gothofred. in Loc. Ab extraordinariis Collationibus immunes facti fuerunt, at nondum ab Ordinariis, & Canonicis.

by this Law they were freed from all extraordinary Tribute, and only bound to the Ordinary and Canonical Taxes. And so it was in the Time of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* Junior, *an.* 412, when by a Law granting many other Privileges to the Church relating to her Possessions, they insert this among the rest, that no Extraordinary Tribute or Superindiction, but only the common [*o*] Canonical Tax should be required of her. Which was finally Confirmed by *Justinian* [*p*], and made the standing Law of the *Roman* Empire.

SECT. IX. *The Clergy sometimes exempt from Contributing to the Reparation of Highways and Bridges.*

As to some other Duties and Burdens, the Laws a little varied: For sometimes the Clergy were exempted, and sometimes not; as particularly in the Case of contributing to the Maintenance and Reparation of Publick Ways and Bridges. By the forementioned Law of *Honorius*, *an.* 412, all Church-Lands are excused [*q*] from those Duties, and it is called an Injury to bind them to any Contribution toward them. Yet not long after, *an.* 423, *Theodosius* Junior made a Law for the *Eastern* Empire, which excepts no Order of Men from bearing a share in this matter, but obliges as well his own Possessions, (called *Domus Divinæ* in the Stile and Language of those Times) as Churches [*r*] to take their Proportion in it. And about the same time *Valentinian* the third made a Law [*s*] to the same Effect in the *West*. *Justinian* confirmed the Law of *Theodosius* by inserting it [*t*] into his *Code*, and added another Law of his own among his Novels, where [*u*] though he grants the Clergy an Immunity from extraordinary Taxes, yet he adds, That if there was Occasion to make a Way, or build or repair a Bridge, then Churches as well as other Possessors should contribute to those Works, if they had Possessions in any City where such Works were to be done.

SECT. X. *As also from the Duty call'd* Angariæ, *and* Parangariæ, *&c.*

THE Laws varied likewise in another Instance of Duty required of the Subjects, which was to furnish out Horses and Carriages for Conveying of Corn for the Soldiers, and such other Things as belonged to the Emperor's Exchequer. This Duty in the Civil Law [*w*] goes by the Name of *Cursus Publicus*, and *Angariæ*, and *Parangariæ*, and *Translatio*, and *Evectio*, and the Horses used in this Service are particularly called *Paraveredi*, and *Equi Cursuales*. Now the Clergy at first were exempt from this Service by two Laws of *Constantius* [*x*] made in the former Part of his Reign, which expresly excuse both their Persons and their Estates from the Duty of the *Parangariæ*. But by another Law made in the last Year of his Reign, *An.* 360, he revoked this Privilege, obliging the Clergy to the Duty of Translation, as it is there worded [*y*], by which he means the Duty of furnishing Horses and Carriages for the Emperor's Service. And this he did, notwithstanding that the Council of *Ariminum* had Petitioned for an Immunity, being at a Time when *Constantius* was displeased with them. However this Law continued in force, not only under *Julian*, but under *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, till by a contrary [*z*] Law about twenty Years after, *An.* 382, they restored the Clergy to their ancient Privilege. Which was farther confirmed to them by *Honorius*, *An.* 412, whose Law is still extant [*a*] in both the *Codes*. Yet *Theodosius* Junior and *Valentinian* the third, *an.* 440, took away their Privilege again, and by two Laws [*b*] made Church-Lands liable to these Burdens of the *Angariæ*, *Parangariæ*, *&c.* (whenever the Emperor should be upon any March or Expedition) as well as all others. From all which it appears, that there was no certain Rule observed in this Matter, but the Clergy had, or had not this Privilege, according as the State of Affairs would bear, or the Emperors were inclined to grant it.

SECT. XI. *Of the Tribute called,* Denarismus, Unciæ, *and* Descriptio Lucrativorum, *And the Church's Exemption from it.*

BESIDES these publick Taxes and Duties, there was also one private Tax, from which all Lands given to the Church, or to any Charitable Use, were exempt by the Laws of the Empire. This in the Civil Law is called *Denarismus*, or *Unciæ*, and *Descriptio Lucrativorum*.

[*o*] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. & Cler. Leg. 40. Nihil Extraordinarium ab hac Superindictiumve flagitetur. - - - Nihil præter Canonicam Inlationem ejus functionibus ascribatur.
[*p*] Justin. Novel. 131. c. 5. Sancimus omnium Sanctarum Ecclesiarum Possessiones, neque sordidas Functiones, neque extraordinarias Descriptiones sustinere. [*q*] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. & Cler. Leg. 40. Nullam Jugationem, quæ talium Privilegiorum sorte gratulatur, muniendi itineris constringat injuria. - - - Nulla Pontium instauratio: Nulla Translationum sollicitudo gignatur. [*r*] Cod. Th. Lib. 15. Tit. 3. De Itin. muniendo. Leg. 6. Ad Instructiones Reparationesque Itinerum Pontiumque nullum genus hominum - - - - cessare oportet. Domos etiam Divinas, ac venerandas Ecclesias tam laudabili Titulo libenter adscribimus.
[*s*] Valentin. Novel. 21. ad Calcem Cod. Th. [*t*] Cod. Just. Lib. 1. Tit. 2. Leg. 7. [*u*] Just. Novel. 131. c. 5. Si tamen Itineris sternendi aut Pontium ædificii vel reparationis opus fuerit, ad instar aliorum Possessorum, hujusmodi opus & Sanctas Ecclesias & venerabiles domos complere, dum sub illa possident Civitate, sub qua tale sit opus. [*w*] Cod. Th. Lib. 8. Tit. 5. de Cursu Publico, Angariis, & Parangariis. Cod. Justin. Lib. 12. Tit. 51. [*x*] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. & Cler. Leg. 10. Parangariarum quoque parili modo (à Clericis) cesset Exactio. Ibid. Leg. 14. Ad Parangariarum quoque Præstationem non vocentur, nec eorundem Facultates atque Substantiæ. [*y*] Cod. Th. Ibid. Leg. 15. Ut præterea ad universa munia sustinenda, Translationesque faciendas, omnes Clerici debeant adtineri. [*z*] Cod. Theod. Lib. 11. Tit. 16. de Extraord. & Sordidis Muner. Leg. 15. Circa Ecclesias, Rhetores, atque Grammaticos eruditionis utriusque, vetusto more durante. - - - Ne Paraveredorum hujusmodi viris aut Parangariarum præbitio mandetur, &c. [*a*] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. & Cler. Leg. 40. Nulla Translationum Sollicitudo gignatur, &c. al. Signatur, *as it is in the Justin. Code*. Lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacrosanct. Eccl. Leg. 5. [*b*] Cod. Justin. Lib. 1. Tit. 2. Leg. 11. Neminem ab Angariis, vel Parangariis, vel Plaustris, vel quolibet munere excusari præcipimus, cum ad felicissimam Expeditionem nostri Numinis, omnium Provincialium per loca, quà iter arripimus, debeant solita nobis ministeria exhiberi; licet ad Sacrosanctas Ecclesias Possessiones pertineant. It. Lib. 12. Tit. 51. de Cursu Publico. Leg. 21. Nullus penitus cujuslibet Ordinis seu Dignitatis, vel Sacrosancta Ecclesia, vel domus Regia tempore Expeditionis excusationem Angariarum seu Parangariarum habeat.

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The Reaſon of which Names will be underſtood by explaining the Nature of the Tribute. It was a ſort of Tax paid, not to the Emperors, but to the *Curia* or *Curiales* of every City, that is, to that Body of Men who were obliged by vertue of their Eſtates to be Members of the Court or Common-Council, and bear the Offices of their Country. Now it ſometimes happened, that one of theſe *Curiales* left his Eſtate to another that was not of the *Curia*; and an Eſtate ſo deſcending was ſaid to come to him *ex Cauſa Lucrativa*, which being oppoſed to *Cauſa Oneroſa*, is when a Man enjoys an Eſtate by Gift or Legacy, and not by Purchaſe. But now leſt in this caſe the Giving away an Eſtate from the *Curia* might have brought a greater Burden upon the remaining Part of the *Curiales*, the Perſon ſo enjoying it was obliged to pay an Annual Tribute to the *Curia* of the City, which from the nature of his Tenure was called *Deſcriptio Lucrativorum*, the *Lucrative* Tax. And becauſe every Head of Land, every *Jugum* or *Caput*, as the Law terms it, was obliged to pay annually a *Denarius*, or Ounce of Silver, therefore the Tax it ſelf was called *Unciæ*, and *Denariſmus:* As in the Laws [c] of *Theodoſius M.* cited in the Margin. *Theodoſius Junior* and *Valentinian* the third made this Tax double, laying [d] Four *Siliquæ*, which is Two Ounces of Silver, upon every Head of Land. According to which Rate, every Poſſeſſor who held any Eſtate by the aforeſaid Tenure, was obliged to pay Tribute out of it to the *Curia* of the City, to which it belonged. But if any ſuch Eſtate was given to the Church, it was exempt from this Tribute, if not before, yet at leaſt in the Time of *Juſtinian*. For there are two Laws of his to this purpoſe, [e] the one in his Code, the other in his Novels, in both which ſuch Lands as any of the *Curiales* gave to a Church, or a Monaſtery, or Hoſpital of any kind, are particularly excepted from this *Lucrative* Tax; and that, *Pietatis intuitu*, as it is there worded, in Regard to Religion, and becauſe it was fit to put ſome difference between Things Humane and Divine. But whether the Church enjoyed this Immunity under any other Prince before *Juſtinian*, is what I leave the Curious to make the Subject of a farther Enquiry; whilſt I proceed to conſider another ſort of Immunity of the Clergy, which was their Exemption from Civil Offices in the *Roman* Empire.

SECT. XII. *The Clergy exempt from all Civil Perſonal Offices.*

OF theſe Offices ſome were Perſonal, and other Predial, that is, ſuch as were tied to Mens Eſtates and Poſſeſſions: Some again were called *Honores*, Honourable Offices; and others, *Munera ſordida*, Mean and Sordid Offices. Now from all theſe, as well Patrimonial as Perſonal, Honourable as well as Sordid, by the firſt Laws of *Conſtantine* the Clergy were univerſally and entirely exempt. But After-ages made a little Diſtinction as to ſuch of the Clergy, who enjoyed Patrimonial Secular Eſtates of their own, diſtinct from thoſe of the Church: For ſuch of the Clergy were ſometimes forced to leave their Eccleſiaſtical Employment, and bear the Civil Offices of the Empire; of which more by and by. But as to Offices which were purely Perſonal, the Clergy were entirely exempt from them; as appears from a Law of *Valentinian* and *Gratian* [f] ſtill extant in both the Codes, where every Order of the Clergy, not only Presbyters and Deacons, but Subdeacons, Exorciſts, Readers, Door-keepers and Acolythiſts, are ſpecified as exempt from Perſonal Offices. And that is the meaning of that Law of *Conſtantius*, mentioned both by *Athanaſius* [g], and *Socrates* [h], and *Sozomen* [i], where they ſay, he granted the Clergy of *Ægypt* ἀλειτουργησίαν, and ἀτέλειαν λειτουργημάτων, Exemption from ſuch Offices, as had been forced upon them in the *Arian* Perſecution.

SECT. XIII. *And from Sordid Offices both Predial and Perſonal.*

AGAIN, for thoſe called Sordid Offices, not only the Perſons of the Clergy, but the Eſtates of the Church were diſcharged of all Burthens of that nature. *Conſtantius* made two Laws [k] to this purpoſe, which *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius* confirmed, granting the Clergy, and ſome other Orders of Men, the ſame Immunity in this reſpect, as they did to the chief Officers and Dignitaries of the Empire: And they intimate [l] alſo, that this was no new Privilege, but what by ancient Cuſtom they had always enjoyed. The ſame is ſaid by *Honorius*, that this was an ancient Privilege of the Church, conferred upon her by his Royal

[c] Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurionibus, leg. 107. Quincunque Hæres Curiali——vel ſi quem liberalitas locupletaverit forte viventis, quos à Curiæ nexu conditio ſolet dirimere, Sciant, Pecuniariis Deſcriptionibus —— ad Denariſmum ſive Uncias, ſeſe Auctoris ſui nomini retinendum. It. leg. 123. Ibid.

[d] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 4. de Imponenda Lucrativis Deſcriptione Leg. unic. Hi qui ex Lucrativa Cauſa Poſſeſſiones detinent, quæ aliquando Curialium fuerint, pro ſingulis earum Jugis & Capitibus Quaternas Siliquas annuæ (leg. annuas) Ordinibus nomine Deſcriptionis exſolvant. [e] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 2. de ſacroſanct. Eccleſ. leg. 22. Sancimus res ad venerabilis Eccleſias, vel Xenones, vel Monaſteria, vel Orphanotrophia, vel Gerontocomia, vel Ptochotrophia, &c. deſcendentes ex qualicunque Curiali Liberalitate —— à Lucrativorum Inſcriptionibus liberas immuneſque eſſe. —— Cur enim non faciamus diſcrimen inter res Divinas & Humanas? Id. Novel. 131. c. 5. Si quæ vero res ex Curialium ſubſtantiis ad quamlibet Sacroſanctam Eccleſiam, aut aliam venerabilem domum ſecundum Leges venerunt, aut poſtea venerint, liberas eas eſſe ſancimes Deſcriptione Lucrativorum.

[f] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. & Cler. leg. 24. Preſbyteros, Diaconos, Subdiaconos, Exorciſtas, Lectores, Oſtiarios etiam, & omnes perinde qui primi ſunt, Perſonalium Munerum expertes eſſe præcipimus. *The Juſtinian Code.* lib. 1. tit. 3. leg. 6. *has the ſame, only inſtead of the Words,* Omnes qui Primi ſunt, *it reads* Acolythos. [g] Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 772.

[h] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 23. [i] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 21.

[k] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 10, & 14. Repellatur ab his exactio munerum Sordidorum. [l] Ibid. lib. 11. tit. 16. de Extraord. & Sordid. Muner. leg. 15. Maximarum Culmina Dignitatum——ab omnibus ſordidis muneribus vindicentur —— Circa Eccleſias, Rhetores, atque Grammaticos eruditionis utriuſque vetuſto more durante, &c.

Anceſtors, and that it ought not to be diminiſhed: Therefore he made two Laws particularly in Behalf [m] of the Biſhop of *Rome*, That no Extraordinary Office or Sordid Function ſhould be impoſed upon him. Nor do we ever find the Clergy called to bear any ſuch Office in the Empire. For though *Gothofred* in his Notes upon the forementioned Law [n] of *Theodoſius*, where ſeveral of theſe Offices are ſpecified, reckons the *Angariæ*, and Building and Repairing of Ways and Bridges, among Sordid Offices; yet I have ſhewed before, that what was exacted of the Clergy in reference to thoſe two Things, was under the Notion of a Tribute, and not an Office: And the Laws which require the Clergy to contribute toward them ſay expreſly [o] that they are not to be looked upon as Sordid Offices, nor any Duty to be exacted under that Notion.

SECT. XIV. *Alſo from Curial or Municipal Offices.* As to the other ſort of Offices, called *Honores*, Honourable or Municipal Offices, which are otherwiſe termed Curial Offices, becauſe they who bare them were called *Curiales & Decuriones*, Men of the Court or *Curia* of every City: All the Clergy who had no Lands of their own, but lived upon the Revenues and Poſſeſſions of the Church, were entirely exempt from them; becauſe the Duties of the Church and State were not thought well conſiſtent in one and the ſame Perſon; and it was deemed unreaſonable to burden the Lands of the Chnrch with the Civil Duties of the Empire. When *Conſtantine* was firſt quietly ſettled in his Government, immediately after the great Decennial, commonly called the *Diocletian* Perſecution, he ſeems to have granted a full and unlimited Immunity in this reſpect to all the Clergy, as well thoſe who had Lands or Patrimony of their own, as thoſe who lived wholly upon the Revenues of the Church. For thus he expreſſes himſelf in a Law directed to *Anulinus* Proconſul of *Aſrick*, recorded by *Euſebius*, which bears Date *An.* 312, or 313. Our Pleaſure is, That all thoſe in your Province, who miniſter in the Catholick Church, over which *Cæcilian* preſides, who are commonly called the Clergy, be exempted [p] from all Publick Offices whatſoever, that they may not be let or hindered in the Performance of Divine Service by any Sacrilegious Diſtraction. *Anulinus* has alſo an Epiſtle ſtill extant in St. *Auſtin* [q] written to *Conſtantine* not long after, wherein he mentions this Grant as ſent to him, to be intimated to *Cæcilian* and the Catholick Clergy, *viz.* That by the kind Indulgence of his Majeſty that were exempt from all manner of Offices, that they might with due Reverence attend Divine Service. And this Epiſtle of *Anulinus* is alſo related, but not ſo correctly, in the Collation [r] of *Carthage*. In this Grant it is very obſervable, that this Privilege was only allowed to the Catholick Clergy: Which made the *Donatiſts* very uneaſy, becauſe they could not enjoy the ſame Favour: And upon this they became tumultuous and troubleſome to the Catholicks, procuring the Clergy in ſome Places to be nominated to publick Offices, and to be made Receivers of the publick Revenues, *&c.* But Complaint hereof being made to *Conſtantine*, it occaſioned the Publiſhing of a new Order in *Africk*, purſuant to the former, That whereas he was given to underſtand, that the Clergy of the Catholick Church [s] were moleſted by the Heretical Faction, and by their Procurement nominated to publick Offices, and made Suſceptors or Receivers of Tribute in Derogation of the Privileges which he had formerly granted them: He now ſignified his Pleaſure again, That if the Magiſtrates found any Perſons ſo aggrieved, they ſhould ſubſtitute another in his room, and take care for the future that no ſuch Injuries ſhould be offered to the Men of that Profeſſion. This Law was publiſhed *An.* 313, and it is the firſt of this kind that is extant in the *Theodoſian Code*. About ſix Years after, *An.* 319. he put forth another, upon a like Complaint made in *Italy*, that the Clergy were called away from their proper Function to ſerve in publick Offices: And in this he grants them the ſame [t] general Immunity as before. So again *An.* 330, a Complaint being made againſt the *Donatiſts* in *Numidia*, that when they could not have their Will upon the Superior Clergy by reaſon of the former Immunity that was granted them, they notwithſtanding forced the Inferior Clergy to bear Offices in *Curia*, upon Pretence that the Exemption did not extend to them; *Conſtantine*, to cut off all Diſpute, publiſhed another Law, wherein [u] he particularly exempts the Inferior Clergy, Readers, Subdeacons, and

[m] Ibid. Leg. 21, & 22. Privilegia venerabilis Eccleſiæ, quæ Divi Principes contulerunt, imminui non oportet: Proinde etiam quæ circa Urbis Romæ Epiſcopum, obſervatio intemerata cuſtodiet: Ita ut nihil Extraordinarii muneris vel Sordidæ Functionis agnoſcat. [n] Gothofred. in Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 16. leg. 15. [o] Cod. Th. lib. 15. tit. 3. de Itin. muniendo. leg. 6. Honor. & Theodoſ. Jun. Abſit ut nos inſtructionem viæ publicæ, & Pontium, ſtratarumque operam. ——— inter ſordida munera numeremus, &c. Vid. Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 2. de SS. Eccleſ. leg. 7. Ejuſdem Honorii & Theodoſ. [p] Conſt. Ep. ad Anulin. ap. Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 7. ὥσπερ κληρικὰς ἐπονομάζειν εἰώθασιν, ὑπὸ πάντων ἁπαξαπλῶς τῶ λειτουργῶν βέλομαι ἀλεθρεγήτας διαφυλαχθῆναι. &c. [q] Anulin. Ep. ad Conſtant. ap. Aug. Ep. 68. Scripta cœleſtia Majeſtatis veſtræ accepta atque adorata, Cæciliano & his qui ſub eodem agunt, quique Clerici appellantur, devotio Parvitatis meæ inſinuare curavit, eoſdemque hortata eſt, ut Unitate conſenſu omnium facta, cum *omni omnino Munere* indulgentia Majeſtatis veſtræ liberati eſſe videantur Catholici, cuſtodita ſanctitate Legis, debita reverentia Divinis rebus inſerviant. [r] Collat. Carth. Die. 3. c. 216, & 220. [s] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 1. Hæreticorum Factione comperimus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Clericos ita vexari, ut nominationibus ſeu ſuſceptionibus aliquibus, quas publicus mos expoſcit, contra indulta ſibi Privilegia, prægraventur. Ideoque placet, ſi quem tua Gravitas invenerit ita vexatum, eidem alium ſubrogari, & deinceps à ſupradictæ Religionis hominibus hujuſmodi injurias prohiberi. [t] Cod. Th. ibid. leg. 2. Qui divino cultui miniſteria Religionis impendunt, id eſt, hi qui Clerici appellantur, ab omnibus omnino Muneribus excuſentur: Ne ſacrilego livore quorundam a divinis obſequiis avocentur. [u] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 7. Lectores Divinorum Apicum, & Hypodiaconi, cæterique Clerici, qui per injuriam Hæreticorum ad Curiam devocati ſunt, abſolvantur: & de cætero ad ſimilitudinem Orientis minime ad Curias devocentur, ſed immunitate pleniſſima potiantur.

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the reſt from bearing Offices in *Curia*; and orders, that they ſhould enjoy in *Africk* the ſame perfect Immunity as they did in the Oriental Churches.

SECT. XV. *But this laſt Privilege confined to ſuch of the Clergy, as had no Eſtates but what belong'd to the Church, by the Laws of* Conſtantine.

Now this Immunity was ſo great a Privilege, that it not only became the Envy of Hereticks, but alſo provoked ſome Catholick Laymen, (who were poſſeſs'd of Eſtates qualifying them to bear the Offices of their Country) to get a ſort of Titular Ordination to ſome of the Inferior Offices of the Church, on Purpoſe to enjoy this Immunity; when yet they neither deſigned to do the Duty of that Office, nor to ariſe to any higher Order in the Church. Which being interpreted a mere fraudulent Colluſion to deprive the State of fit Men to ſerve the Commonwealth, and no ways benefit the Church, it was preſently reſented by *Conſtantine* as an Abuſe; and various Laws were made both by him and his Succeſſors, as Occaſion required, to reſtrain and correct it. *Conſtantine* at firſt, as I obſerved before, granted this Immunity indifferently to all the Clergy, as well Poſſeſſors, as not Poſſeſſors of private Eſtates, whom he found actually engaged in the Service of the Church, when he came to the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Empire: Nor did he for ſome Years after perhaps reſtrain any ſorts of Men from taking Orders in the Church: But when he found this Indulgence to the Church, by the Artifice of cunning Men, only turned to the Detriment of the State; and that rich Men ſheltered themſelves under an Eccleſiaſtical Title only to avoid the Offices of their Country; he then made a Law, that no rich *Plebeian*, who was qualified by his Eſtate to ſerve in *Curia*, and bear Civil Offices in any City, ſhould become an Eccleſiaſtic; or if he did, he ſhould be liable from the Time that Law was made, to be fetch'd back and returned in *Curiam*, to bear the Offices of his Country as a Layman. What Year that Law was made, is not very certain, ſave only that it was before *An.* 320, when a ſecond Law was made upon the ſame Subject, referring to the firſt. And from this we learn what was the Import of both; That it was *Conſtantine*'s Deſign to put a Diſtinction betwixt ſuch of the Clergy as were ordained before that firſt Law, and ſuch as were ordained afterward; the former he exempted from Civil Offices, though they were poſſeſſed of Eſtates, but not the latter: Which plainly appears from the Words of the ſecond Law, which are theſe [*w*]: Whereas by a former Law we ordained, that from thenceforward no Counſellour or Counſellour's Son, or any one who by his Eſtate was ſufficiently qualified to bear publick Offices, ſhould take upon him the Name or Function of the Clergy; but only ſuch whoſe Fortune is ſmall, and they not tied to any Civil Offices: We are now given to underſtand, that ſuch of the Clergy who were ordained before the Promulgation of that Law, are moleſted upon that Account: Wherefore our Command is, That thoſe be diſcharged of all further Trouble; and that ſuch only as entered themſelves among the Clergy ſince the Law was made, with Intention to decline Publick Offices, ſhall be returned to the *Curia* and States of their City, to ſerve in the Civil Offices of their Country. There is another Law of *Conſtantine*'s publiſhed after this [*x*] *An.* 326, a Year after the Council of *Nice*, which ſpeaks to the ſame Effect, and ſhews that this was the ſtanding Rule of the latter Part of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, to exempt none among the Clergy, who were qualified by Eſtates of their own, from bearing perſonally the publick Offices of the Empire.

SECT. XVI. Conſtantine's *Laws a little altered by the ſucceeding Emperours in Favour of the Church.*

But however this might be well deſigned at firſt by him to prevent ſome Abuſes, yet in proceſs of Time it became very prejudicial to the Church. For by this means ſometimes Presbyters and Deacons, after they had been Twenty or Thirty Years in the Church's Service, were called upon by Litigious Men to bear Civil Offices inconſiſtent with the Spiritual, and thereupon they were forced to forſake their Eccleſiaſtical Function. This was ſo great an Inconvenience, that it well became the Wiſdom of the following Emperours to find out ſome ſuitable Remedy for it: Which they did by new modifying *Conſtantine*'s Law, and abating ſomething of the Rigour of it. For they did not lay the Burden of Civil Offices upon the Perſons of the Clergy, but only upon their Patrimonial Eſtates, not belonging to the Church, and in ſome Caſes they excuſed thoſe alſo. *Conſtantius* acquitted all Biſhops of this Burden both as to their Eſtates and Perſons; for by his [*y*] Laws they might keep their Eſtates to themſelves, and neither be obliged to bear Civil Offices in Perſon, nor ſubſtitute any other in their Room. And he allowed the ſame Privilege to Presbyters and Deacons and all others, provided they were ordained by the Conſent of the Civil Court or *Curia*, and the general Requeſt of the People.

[*w*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 3. Cum conſtitutio emiſſa præcipiat, nullum deinceps Decurionem, vel ex Decurione progenitum, vel etiam inſtructum idoneis facultatibus, atque obeundis publicis Muneribus opportunum, ad clericorum nomen obſequiumque confugere; ſed eos—— qui fortuna tenues, neque Muneribus Civilibus teneantur obſtricti: Cognovimus illos etiam inquietari, qui ante Legis promulgationem Clericorum ſe conſortio ſociaverint: Ideoque præcipimus, his ab omni moleſtia liberatis, illos qui poſt legem latam obſequia publica declinantes, ad Clericorum numerum confugerunt, Curiæ Ordinbuſque reſtitui, & Civilibus obſequiis inſervire. [*x*] Ibid. leg. 6. Si inter Civitatem & Clericos ſuper alicujus nomine dubitetur, ſi eum æquitas ad publica trahat Munera, & progenie Municeps, vel Patrimonio idoneus dignoſcetur exemptus Clericis Civitati tradatur: Opulentos enim Sæculi ſubire neceſſitas oportet, Pauperes Eccleſiarum divitiis ſuſtentari. [*y*] Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 49. Epiſcopum facultates ſuas Curiæ, ſicut ante fuerat conſtitutum, nullus adigat mancipare, ſed Antiſtes maneat, nec faciat Subſtantiæ ceſſionem, &c.

But if they were not ſo ordained, all that they were obliged to do was only to part with two Thirds of their Eſtate to their Children or next Relations, and ſubſtitute them in their room: Or in Defect of ſuch Relations, to give up two Parts of their Eſtate to the *Curia*, and retain the third to themſelves. *Valentinian* in the firſt Year of his Reign, *An.* 364, made the Law a little ſtricter, That ſuch Perſons [z] when they were ordained, ſhould give all their Eſtate to one of their Relations, and ſubſtitute him as a *Curialis* in their room, or elſe give it up to the *Curia* itſelf: Otherwiſe they ſhould be liable to be called back to ſerve in Civil Offices as Lay-men. But he extended this Obligation no farther than to the Beginning of his own Reign; for by another Law made ſeven Years after, *An.* 371, he exempted all ſuch as were in the Service of the Church [a] when he came to the Crown, though they had Eſtates of their own qualifying them to bear Civil Offices. *Valens* exempted all ſuch as had been ten Years [b] in the Church's Service; ſo that if they were not called upon by the Civil Courts within that Term, they were for ever after to be excuſed. *Valentinian* the ſecond exempted them [c], provided they put a Subſtitute in their Room. *Theodoſius* exempted all that were ordained [d] before the Year 388, which was the tenth Year of his Reign: And of thoſe that were ordained afterward he only required [e] the aforeſaid Conditions, that they ſhould either provide a proper Subſtitute, or give up their Eſtates to the Court at their Ordination. Which is alſo taken Notice of by St. *Ambroſe* in his Anſwer to *Symmachus*, where he ſhews [f] how unreaſonable it was for him to plead for the Exemption of the Heathen Prieſts in this reſpect, when the Laws did not grant it to the Chriſtian Clergy but upon ſuch Conditions. *Arcadius* indeed by the Inſtigation of *Eutropius*, An. 398, cancelled all theſe favourable Laws, and brought the Clergy again to the hard Rule of *Conſtantine*, That if any [g] of the *Curiales* were ordained in the Church, they ſhould by Force be returned to the Civil Courts again in Perſon, and not enjoy the Benefit of thoſe Laws, which allowed them to take Orders, provided they diſpoſed of their Eſtates to proper Subſtitutes, who might bear Offices in their Stead. But this Law was but very ſhort-lived; for *Chryſoſtom* and ſome others very juſtly declaiming againſt it, *Arcadius* diſannulled it the Year following by a new Law, wherein [h] he granted ſuch of the Clergy as were taken and ordained out of the Body of the *Curiales*, the ſame Privilege that they had under his Father *Theodoſius*, which was, That all that were ordained before the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, An. 388, ſhould enjoy a perfect Immunity without any Moleſtation: And ſuch as were ordained after that Term, if they were of the Superior Clergy, Biſhops, Presbyters or Deacons, they might continue in the Church's Service, either providing a Subſtitute to bear the Offices of the *Curia* for them, or giving up their Eſtates to the *Curia*, as former Laws in that caſe had directed. Only it was required that the Inferior Clergy, Readers, Subdeacons, *&c.* ſhould be returned to the *Curia* again, and obliged to bear Offices in Perſon. And the ſame was determined by *Theodoſius* [i] Junior, and *Valentinian* the third [k], and *Majorian* [l] whoſe Laws are extant at the end of the *Theodoſian* Code. *Juſtinian* alſo has a Novel to the ſame purpoſe, wherein [m] he orders ſuch of the Inferior Clergy, as were taken out of any *Curia*, to be returned thither again, unleſs they had lived fifteen Years a Monaſtick Life; and then they were to give three parts of their Patrimony to the *Curia*, and retain one to themſelves: But he allowed Biſhops to put in a Subſtitute, and be free from bearing Civil Offices in Perſon, as *Julianus Anteceſſor* [n] in his *Epitome* of the *Authenticks* underſtands him: Though I confeſs there is ſomething to incline a Man to think *Juſtinian* at firſt was a little more ſevere to ſuch Biſhops, becauſe he revived that Antiquated Law of *Arcadius* [o] in his Code. But however this be, upon the whole matter it appears, that the Chriſtian Princes from firſt to laſt always made a wide difference between the Publick Patrimony of the Church, which was properly Eccleſiaſtical, and the Private Eſtates of ſuch of the Clergy as had Lands of a Civil or ſecular Tenure: For the one the Clergy were obliged to no Duty or Burden of civil Offices, but for the other they were, and could not be excuſed from them, but either by parting with ſome portion of their Eſtates, or providing proper Subſtitutes to Officiate for them. The Reaſon of which

[z] Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 59. Qui partes eligit Eccleſiæ, aut in Propinquum bona propria conferendo eum pro ſe faciet Curialem, aut facultatibus Curiæ cedat, quam reliquit; ex neceſſitate revocando eo qui neutrum fecit, cum Clericus eſſe cœpiſſet, &c. [a] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 21. Qui Eccleſiæ juge obſequium deputarunt, Curiis habeantur immunes, ſi tamen ante otrum Imperii noſtri ad cultum ſe Legis noſtræ contuliſſe conſtiterit. [b] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. leg. 19. Si in conſortio Clericatus Decennium quietis impleverit, cum Patrimonio ſuo habeatur immunis: Si vero intra finitos annos fuerit à Curia revocatus, cum Subſtantia ſua Functionibus ſubjaceat Civitatis. [c] Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 99. [d] Ibid. leg. 121, & 123. [e] Ibid. lib. 104, & 115. [f] Ambroſ. cont. Symmach. [g] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccleſ. confug. leg. 3. Decuriones manu mox injecta revocentur: Quibus ulterius Legem prodeſſe non patimur, quæ ceſſione Patrimonii ſubſecuta, Decuriones eſſe Clericos non vetabat. [h] Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 163. Si qui ex ſecundo Divi Patris noſtri Conſulatu Curiam reliquentes, Clericorum ſe conſortio manciparunt, ſi jam Epiſcopi, vel Presbyteri, vel Diaconi eſſe meruerunt, in Sacris quidem & Secretoribus Dei Myſteriis perſeverent, ſed aut Subſtitutum pro ſe Curiæ offerre cogantur, aut juxta Legem dudum latum tradant Curiæ facultates. Reſidui omnes, Lectores, Subdiaconi vel hi Clerici quibus Clericorum Privilegia non debentur, debitis mox Patriæ Muneribus præſententur. [i] Theod. Novel. 26, & 38. [k] Valentin. Novel. 12. [l] Majorian. Novel. 1. [m] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 15. Ex. Epitom. Julian. Anteceſs. [n] Vid. Julian. Epit. Novel. 123. c. 4. poſt leg. 38. Cod. de Epiſc. Epiſcopalis Ordo liberat à fortuna ſervili, ſed non à Curiali ſive Officiali; nam & poſt ordinationem durat; ita ut per ſubjectam vel interpoſitam Perſonam Officium ad impleatur, &c. [o] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 12.

was, that ſuch of the Clergy were looked upon as irregularly promoted: It being as much againſt the Rules of the Church, as the Laws of the State, to admit any of the *Curiales* to an Eccleſiaſtical Function, without firſt giving Satisfaction to the *Curia* whence they were taken, as has been ſhewed in another place. I have been the more curious in ſearching to the bottom this Buſineſs about Tribute and Civil Offices, and given a particular and diſtinct Account of them from the grounds of the Civil Law, becauſe but few Men have recourſe to thoſe Fountains, whence this matter is to be cleared; and the Reader will ſcarce find this Subject handled, but either very Imperfectly, or with ſome Partiality, or ſome Confuſion, in Modern Authors.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Revenues of the ancient Clergy.

SECT. I. *Several ways of providing a Fund for the Maintenance of the Clergy. 1ſt, by Oblations. Some of which were Weekly.*

THE next thing that comes in order to be conſidered is the Maintenance of the ancient Clergy. Where it will be proper firſt to enquire into the Ways and Methods that were taken for raiſing of Funds for their Subſiſtence. And here to ſet aſide a little the Conſideration of Tithes, which will be ſpoken of in the next Chapter, we find other ways, by which in ancient Times a decent Proviſion was made for them. As *1ſt*, by the voluntary Oblations of the People, of which ſome Learned Perſons think there were two Sorts; *1ſt*, The Weekly or Daily Oblations that were made at the Altar: *2dly*, The Monthly Oblations that were caſt into the Treaſury of the Church. The firſt ſort of Oblations were ſuch as every rich and able Communicant made at his coming to partake of the *Euchariſt*; where they offered not only Bread and Wine, out of which the *Euchariſt* was taken, but alſo other Neceſſaries, and ſometimes Sums of Money for the Maintenance of the Church and Relief of the Poor. As is evident from thoſe words of St. *Jerom* in his Comments upon *Ezekiel* [*a*], where he tells us, that Thieves and Oppreſſors made their Oblations among others, out of their ill-gotten Goods, that they might glory in their Wickedneſs, while the Deacon in the Church publickly recited the Names of thoſe that offered: Such an one offers ſo much, ſuch an one hath promiſed ſo much: And ſo they pleaſe themſelves with the Applauſe of the People, while their own Conſcience laſhes and torments them. Thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [*b*] ſpeak alſo of the Oblation of Fruits and Fowls and Beaſts, but order ſuch to be ſent home to the Biſhop and Presbyters, who were to divide them with the Deacons and the reſt of the Clergy.

SECT. II. *And others Monthly.*

ANOTHER ſort of Oblations were made Monthly, when it was uſual for Perſons that were able and willing, to give as they thought fit ſomething to the Ark or Treaſury of the Church. Which ſort of Collation is particularly taken notice of by *Tertullian* [*c*] who ſays, it was made *Menſtrua die*, once a Month, or when every one pleaſed, and as they pleaſed; for no Man was compelled to it: It was not any ſtated Sum, but a voluntary Oblation. *Baronius* [*d*] thinks this Ark or Treaſury was called the *Corban* of the Church, becauſe *Cyprian* [*e*] uſes that word when he ſpeaks of the Offerings of the People; rebuking a rich and wealthy Matron for coming to celebrate the *Euchariſt* without any Regard to the *Corban*, and partaking of the Lord's-Supper without any Sacrifice of her own. Others [*f*] conceive, that *Corban* is not a Name for the Treaſury, but ſignifies the Gift or Oblation it ſelf; and that *Cyprian* ſo uſes it, making it the ſame with the Sacrifices or Offerings of the People. But the Evangeliſt, *Mat.* 27. 6. ſeems rather to favour the Opinion of *Baronius:* For when he ſays, the Chief Prieſts did not think it lawful to put *Judas*'s Money εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν, it is evident, he there by *Corban*, means the Treaſury, as moſt Tranſlators render it.

SECT. III. *Whence came the Cuſtom of a Monthly Diviſion among the Clergy.*

BUT however this be, it is very probable, that hence came the Cuſtom of Dividing theſe Oblations once a Month among the Clergy. For as *Tertullian* ſpeaks of a Monthly Collation, ſo *Cyprian* frequently mentions [*g*] a Monthly Diviſion, in which the Presbyters had their Shares by equal Portions, and other Orders after the ſame manner. Whence the Clergy are alſo ſtiled in his Language [*h*] *Sportulantes Fratres*, Partakers of

[*a*] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. 18. p. 537. Multos conſpicimus, qui opprimunt per Potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, & in ſuis ſceleribus glorientur, publiceque Diaconus in Eccleſia recitet Offerentium Nomina: Tantum offert ille, tantum ille pollicitus eſt: placentque ſibi ad Plauſum populi, torquente Conſcientia. [*b*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 3, 4, 5.

[*c*] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Si quod Arcæ genus eſt, non de Ordinaria Summa, quaſi redemptæ Religionis congregatur: Modicam unuſquiſque ſtipem Menſtrua die, vel quum velit, & ſi modo velit, & ſi modo poſſit, apponit: Nam nemo compellitur, ſed ſponte confert. [*d*] Baron. an. 44. n. 69. [*e*] Cypr. de Oper. & Eleemoſ. p. 203. Locuples & Dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non reſpicis; quæ in Dominicum ſine ſacrificio venis; quæ partem de ſacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, ſumis? [*f*] Baſnag. Exercit. in Baron. p. 597.

[*g*] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Ut & ſportulis iiſdem cum Presbyteris honoreatur, & Diviſiones Menſurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur. [*h*] Id. Ep. 66. al. 1. Sportulantes Fratres, tanquam Decimas ex fructibus accipientes.

the

the Distribution; and what we now call, *Suspensio a Beneficio*, is in his Stile [*i*] *Suspensio a Divisione Mensurna*, Suspension from the Monthly Division. Which plainly implies, that this sort of Church-Revenues was usually divided once a Month among the Clergy. And perhaps in Conformity to this Custom it was, that the *Theodotian* Hereticks having perswaded one *Natalius* a Confessor to be ordained a Bishop among them, promised him a Monthly Salary of one hundred and fifty *Denarii*, μηνιαῖα δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, as *Eusebius* [*k*] words it, referring to the usual way of Distribution once a Month among the Clergy.

SECT. IV. *2dly, Other Revenues arising from the Lands and Possessions of the Church.*

ANOTHER sort of Revenues which the Clergy enjoyed, were such as arose annually from the Lands and Possessions which were given to the Church. These indeed at first were but small, by reason of the continual Vexations and Persecutions which the Church underwent for the three first Ages, when immoveable Goods were always most exposed to Danger. It was the Custom of the Church of *Rome* therefore never to keep any Immoveable Possessions, no not for many Ages, if we may credit [*l*] *Theodorus Lector*, who speaks of it as Customary in his own Time, *An.* 520. But if any such were given to the Church, they immediately sold them, and divided the Price into three Parts, giving one to the Church, another to the Bishop, and the third to the rest of the Clergy. And *Valesius* finds no Exception to this till near the Time of *Gregory* the Great. But if this was the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, it was a very singular one. For other Churches had their Immoveables, both Houses and Lands, even in the times of Persecution: As appears from the Edicts of *Maximinus*, wherein he revoked his former Decrees that had raised the Persecution, and in these latter Edicts granted the Christians Liberty not only to rebuild their Churches, but also ordered, that if any Houses or Lands belonging to them had been confiscated, or sold, or given away [*m*], they should be restored to them again. That this was meant of Houses and Lands belonging to the Church, as well as private Christians, is evident from the Decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius* publish'd the same Year, *An.* 313, wherein they give Orders, that whereas the Christians were known to have not only Places of Assembly, but also other Places belonging not to any private Man, but to the whole Body, all such Places [*n*] should be restored to the Body and to every particular Assembly among them. Which is repeated again in *Constantine*'s Letter to *Anulinus* [*o*], and other publick Acts of his recorded by *Eusebius* [*p*] in his Life, where he makes mention of Houses, Gardens, Lands, and other Possessions belonging to the Church, of which she had been plundered and despoiled in the late Persecutions. These are undeniable Evidences, that some Part of the Ecclesiastical Revenues were anciently raised from Houses and Lands settled upon the Church, even before any Christian Emperors could give Encouragement to them.

SECT. V. *These very much augmented by the Laws of* Constantine.

BUT when *Constantine* was quietly settled upon the Throne, the Church-Revenues received great Augmentations in this kind. For he enacted a Law at *Rome*, which is still extant in both the Codes [*q*], That any one whatsoever should have Liberty at his Death to bequeath by Will what Part of his Goods he pleased to the Holy Catholick Church. By which means the Liberality of pious Persons was very much encouraged, and great Additions were made to the standing Revenues of the Church. Therefore *Baronius* is very injurious [*r*] to the Memory of *Constantine*, and justly corrected by *Gothofred* [*s*] and Mr. *Pagi* [*t*] for it, in that he insinuates as if *Constantine* had relapsed toward Heathenism at this very time, *An.* 321, when he published this Law so much in favour of the Church.

SECT. VI. *Whose Lands were confirmed, and not revoked by the succeeding Emperors, as some mistake.*

OTHERS are no less injurious to some of his Successors, when they represent them as injurious to the Church, in forbidding Widows and Orphans to leave any Legacies to the Church. *Baronius* cannot help complaining also upon this Point, though he contradicts himself about it. For in one Place [*u*] he says, the foresaid Law of *Constantine* did so augment the Church's Wealth, that the following Emperors began to dread the Consequences of it, that it would turn to the Detriment and Poverty of the Commonwealth, and therefore they made Laws to restrain the Faithful from being so profuse in their Donations to the Church. Yet when he comes to speak particularly of those Laws, he owns, they were not designed [*w*] against the Church, but only to correct the scandalous Practices of some sordid Monks and Ecclesiasticks, who being of an Avaricious and Parasitical Temper, made a Gain of Godliness, and under Pretence of Religion so screwed themselves into the Favour and

[*i*] Id. Ep. 28. al. 34. Interim se à Divisione Mensurna tantum contineant, &c. [*k*] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 28. [*l*] Theodor. Lect. Collectan. lib. 2. p. 567. ἔθος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀκίνητα μὴ κρατεῖν δίκαια, &c. [*m*] Euseb. lib. 9. c. 10. [*n*] Ap. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5. [*o*] Constant. Ep. ad Anulin. ap. Euseb. ibid. [*p*] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 2. c. 37, & 39. [*q*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. leg. 4. It. Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 2. de sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. 1. Habeat unusquisque Licentiam sanctissimo Catholico venerabilique Concilio, decedens Bonorum quod optaverit relinquere. [*r*] Baron. an. 321. n. 18. [*s*] Gothofred Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 26. tit. 10. de Paganis leg. 1. [*t*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 321. n. 4, & 5. [*u*] Baron. an. 321. n. 17. [*w*] Baron. an. 370. Tom. 4. p. 270. Qua quidem sanctione nequaquam prohibentur Ecclesiæ hæreditates accipere vel Legata, sed Ecclesiasticæ Personæ sive Clerici, sive Monachi——Ut plane intelligas hosce Nebulones, tanquam Harpyias quasdam inhiantes Matronarum divitiis, &c.

Affections

Affections of ſome rich Widows and Orphans, that they prevailed upon them to leave them great Legacies, and ſometimes their whole Eſtates, to the Prejudice of the right Heirs and next Relations. Which was ſo diſhoneſt and unbecoming a Practice in ſuch Perſons, that *Valentinian* made a Law to prevent it; decreeing, that [x] no Eccleſiaſticks, or any that profeſſed the Monaſtick Life ſhould frequent the Houſes of Widows or Orphans; nor be qualified to receive any Gift or Legacy from the Donation or laſt Will of any ſuch Perſons. Which Law, as *Gothofred* [y] rightly obſerves, did not prohibit them from leaving any thing to the Church; though ſome Learned Men ſo miſunderſtand it; but only tended to correct this unworthy Practice of ſome particular Perſons, which is equally complained of by the ancient Writers of the Church. St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Jerom*, and others mention this Law, but they do not at all inveigh againſt it, but againſt thoſe Vices that occaſioned it. I do not complain of the Law, ſays St. *Jerom* [z], but am grieved that we ſhould deſerve ſuch a Law; that when Idol-Prieſts, and Stage-Players, and Carters, and Harlots may inherit, only Clerks and Monks are prohibited; and that not by perſecuting Emperors, but Chriſtian Princes. He adds, That it was a very prudent Caution in the Law, but yet it did not reſtrain the Avarice of ſuch Perſons, who found out an Artifice to elude the Law, *per Fidei-commiſſa*, by getting others to receive in Truſt for them. Which ſhews us the Senſe St. *Jerom* had of this Matter, that he did not think the Emperors were injurious to the Church in making ſuch a Law, but thoſe Perſons were only to be blamed, whoſe Avarice and Sordid Flatteries compelled them to make it. And any one that will conſult St. *Ambroſe* [a], or the Author under his Name [b], will find that they give the ſame Account of it. *Theodoſius* indeed ſome Years after made a Law, relating particularly to ſuch Deconneſſes of the Church as were of Noble Families, That they ſhould not [c] diſpoſe of their Jewels, or Plate, or Furniture, or any other ſuch Things as were the ancient Marks of Honour in their Families, under Pretence of Religion, while they lived; nor make any Church, or Clerk, or Poor their Heirs when they died. But as this Law was made upon ſome particular Reaſons of State; ſo it did no Harm to the Church: For within two Months the ſame Emperor recalled [d] it by a contrary Law, which granted Liberty to ſuch Deaconneſſes to diſpoſe of their Goods in their Lifetime to any Church or Clerk whatſoever. And *Marcian* made the Law a little more extenſive, allowing [e] Deaconneſſes and all other Religious Women, to diſpoſe of any Part of their Eſtate, by Will, or Codicill, to any Church or Oratory, or Clerk, or Monk, or Poor whatſoever. Which Law *Juſtinian* alſo confirmed, and inſerted it [f] into his Code. So that *Conſtantine*'s Law continued always in its full Force, and the ſucceeding Princes did not derogate from the Privilege which he had granted the Church in this reſpect, for Fear (as *Baronius* pretends) leſt the Liberality of the Subjects to the Church ſhould impoveriſh the Commonwealth. Men were very Liberal indeed in their Gifts and Donations to the Church in this Age, but yet not ſo profuſe as to need Statutes of *Mortmain* to reſtrain them.

SECT. VII. 3dly. *Another Part of Church-Revenues raiſed by Allowances out of the Emperor's Exchequer.*

FOR beſides the Liberality of the Subjects, the Emperors in thoſe Ages found it neceſſary to make the Clergy an Allowance out of the Publick Revenues of the Empire; which was another way of providing a Maintenance for them. *Conſtantine* both gave the Clergy particular Largeſſes, as their Occaſions required, and alſo ſettled upon them a ſtanding Allowance out of the Exchequer. In one of his Epiſtles to *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, recorded by *Euſebius* [g], he acquaints *Cæcilian* with his Orders which he had given to *Urſus*, his General Receiver in *Africk*, to pay him Three Thouſand *Polles*, τρισχιλίας φόλλεις, to be divided at his Diſcretion among the Clergy of the Provinces of *Africa*, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritania's*. And if this Sum would not anſwer all their preſent Neceſſities, he gave him farther Orders to demand of his Procurator *Heraclides*, whatever he deſired more. I need not ſtand here to enquire critically what this Sum of Three Thouſand *Polles* was (though it may be computed above Twenty Thouſand Pounds) ſince *Conſtantine* gave the Biſhop unlimited Orders, to demand as much as the Needs of the Clergy ſhould require. But he not only ſupplied their preſent Neceſſities, but alſo gave Orders for a ſtanding Allowance to be made them out of the Publick Treaſury. For *Theodoret* [h], and

[x] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 20. Eccleſiaſtici, vel qui Continentium ſe volunt nomine nuncupari, Viduarum aut Pupillarum domos non adeant—— Cenſemus etiam, ut memorati nihil de ejus mulieris Liberalitate quacunque vel extremo Judicio poſſint adipiſci. [y] Gothofred in Loc. [z] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Sacerdotes, dicere pudet, Idolorum, Mimi, & Aurigæ, & Scorta hæreditates capiunt; ſolis Clericis & Monachis prohibetur: Et prohibetur non à Perſecutoribus, ſed à Principibus Chriſtianis. Nec de Lege conqueror, ſed doleo cur meruimus hanc Legem, &c. [a] Ambroſ. Ep. 31. ad Valentin. p. 145. [b] Idem. Homil. 7. [c] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 27. Nihil de Monilibus & ſupellectili, nihil de Auro, Argento, cæteriſque Claræ Domus Inſignibus, ſub Religionis defenſione conſumat.——Ac ſi quando diem obierit, nullam Eccleſiam, nullum Clericum, nullum Pauperem ſcribat hæredes, &c. [d] Ibid. leg. 28. Legem, quæ Diaconiſſis vel Viduis nuper eſt promulgata, ne quis videlicet Clericus, neve ſub Eccleſiæ nomine, Mancipia, prædam, velut infirmi ſexus deſpoliator, & remotis Adfinibus & Propinquis, ipſe ſub prætextu Catholicæ Diſciplinæ ſe ageret viventis hæredem, ęatenus animadvertat eſſe revocatam. [e] Marcian. Novel. 5. ad calcem Cod. Th. Generali Lege ſancimus, ſive Vidua, ſive Diaconiſſa, ſive Virgo Deo dicata, vel Sanctimonialis mulier, ſive quocunque alio nomine religioſi honoris vel dignitatis fœmina nuncupetur, Teſtamento vel Codicillo ſuo——Eccleſiæ, vel Martyrio, vel Clerico, vel Monacho, vel Pauperibus aliquid vel ex integro vel ex parte, in quacunque Re vel Specie credidit relinquendum, id modis omnibus ratum firmumque conſtet. [f] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 2. de ſacroſanct. Eccl. leg. 13. [g] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 6. [h] Theod. lib. 1. c. 11.

Sozomen

Sozomen [*i*] ſay, he made a Law, requiring the Chief Magiſtrates in every Province to give the Clergy, and Virgins, and Widows of the Church, an Annual Allowance of Corn, ἐτήσια σιτηρέσια, out of the yearly Tribute of every City. And thus it continued to the Time of *Julian*, who withdrew the whole Allowance. But *Jovian* reſtored it again in ſome meaſure, granting them a Third Part of the former Allowance only, becauſe at that Time the Pubick Income was very low, by reaſon of a ſevere Famine; but he promiſed them the whole, ſo ſoon as the Famine was ended, and the Publick Store-houſes were better repleniſhed. But either *Jovian*'s Death prevented his Deſign, or the Neceſſities of the Clergy did not afterward require it. For tho' *Sozomen* ſeems to ſay, the whole was reſtored; yet *Theodoret*, who is more Accurate, affirms, that it was only, τριτήμοριον, a Third Part, and that ſo it continued to his own Times. In this Senſe therefore we are to underſtand that Law of the Emperor *Marcian*, which *Juſtinian* [*k*] has inſerted into his Code, decreeing, that the Salaries which had been always given to the Churches in diverſe Sorts of Grain out of the Publick Treaſures, ſhould be allowed them, without any Diminution. This did not entitle them to the whole Allowance firſt made them by *Conſtantine* (as ſome may be apt to imagine from the general Words of the Law) but only to the Third Part, which had been the Cuſtomary Allowance from the Time of *Jovian*.

SECT. VIII. 4thly, *The Eſtates of Martyrs and Confeſſors dying without Heirs ſettled upon the Church by* Conſtantine.

ANOTHER Way by which ſome ſmall Addition was made to the Revenues of the Church, was from a Law of *Conſtantine* mentioned by *Euſebius* [*l*] in his Life, where he tells us, That as he ordered all the Eſtates of Martyrs and Confeſſors, and whoever had ſuffered in Time of Perſecution, to be reſtored to their next Relations; ſo if any of them died without Relations, the Church ſhould become their Heir, and in every Place where they lived, ſucceeded to their Inheritance.

SECT. IX. 5thly, *The Eſtates of Clergy-Men dying without Heirs and Will, ſettled in like manner.*

Theodoſius Junior and *Valentinian* the 3d made ſuch another Law in reference to the Temporal Poſſeſſions of the Clergy: That if any Presbyter [*m*], or Deacon, or Deaconneſs, or Subdeacon, or other Clerk, or any Man or Woman profeſſing a Monaſtick Life, died without Will and without Heirs, the Eſtates and Goods they were poſſeſs'd of ſhould fall to the Church or Monaſtery to which they belonged, unleſs they were antecedently tied to ſome Civil Service. This implies that the Clergy were at Liberty to diſpoſe of their own Temporal Eſtates as they pleaſed; and they fell to the Church only in caſe they died Inteſtate. But the Council of *Agde* in *France* under *Alarick* the *Goth*, *An.* 506, went a little farther, and decreed, That [*n*] every Biſhop, who had no Children or Nephews, ſhould make the Church his Heir, and no other: As *Caranza*'s Edition and *Gratian* and ſome others read it. And the Council of *Sevil* [*o*] made a like Decree for the *Spaniſh* Churches; upon which *Caranza* [*p*] makes this Remark, That the Canon was fit to be renewed in Council, that the Church ſhould be the Biſhop's Heir, and not the Pope. And that it was againſt the Mind of thoſe Fathers, that Biſhops ſhould ſet up Primogenitures, or enrich their Kindred out of the Revenues of the Church. Which Reflection among other things might perhaps contribute toward his being brought into the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, though he was Archbiſhop of *Toledo*; after which he underwent a Ten Years Impriſonment at *Rome*, and had ſome of his Books prohibited in the *Roman Index*, of which *Spondanus* [*q*] in his *Annals* will give the Reader a farther Account. But I return to the Primitive Church,

SECT. X. 6thly, *Heathen Temples and their Revenues ſometimes given to the Church.*

WHERE we may obſerve another Addition made to the Revenues of the Clergy, by the Donation of Heathen Temples and ſometimes the Revenues that were ſettled upon them. For though the greateſt Part of theſe went commonly to the Emperor's Coffers, or to Favourites that begged them, upon the Demoliſhing of the Temples; as appears from the Laws of *Honorius* [*r*] and *Gratian*, and ſeveral others in the *Theodoſian Code*; yet ſome of them were given to the Church: For *Honorius* [*s*] takes notice of ſeveral Orders and Decrees of his own, whereby ſuch Settlements had been made upon the Church, which were to continue the Church's Property and Patrimony for ever. And 'tis probable ſome other Emperors might convert the Revenues of the Temples to the ſame Uſe. At leaſt the Fabricks themſelves, and the Silver and Golden Statues that were in them, were ſometimes ſo diſpoſed of. For *Sozomen* [*t*] ſays, the Μιθρεον, or Temple of the Sun at *Alexandria*, was given to the Church by *Conſtantius*. And we learn from *Socrates* [*u*], that in the Time of *Theodoſius* the Statues of *Serapis*, and many other Idols at *Alexandria* were melted down for the Uſe of the

[*i*] Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 5. [*k*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 2. de SS. Eccleſ. leg. 12. Salaria quæ Sacroſanctis Eccleſiis in diverſis ſpeciebus de Publico hactenus miniſtrata ſunt, jubemus nunc quoque inconcuſſa, & à nullo prorſus imminuta præſtari. [*l*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. lib. 2. c. 36. [*m*] Cod. Th. lib. 5. tit. 3. de Bonis Clericor. leg. 1. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 20. [*n*] Conc. Agathen. c. 24. al. 33. ap. Gratian. Cauſ. 12. Q. 2. c. 34. Epiſcopus qui Filios aut Nepotes non habuerit, alium quam Eccleſiam non relinquat Hæredem. [*o*] Conc. Hiſpalenſ. 1. c. 6 [*p*] Caranz. in Loc. Hic Canon erat renovandus in Concilio, ut hæres defuncti Epiſcopi eſſet Eccleſia, non tamen Papa. Secundo alienum eſt à Sententia horum Patrum licere Epiſcopo inſtituere Primogenituras, vel locupletare Conſanguineos. [*q*] Spondan. Annal. Eccl. an. 1559. n. 29. [*r*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 10. de Paganis, leg. 19, & 20. [*s*] Ibid. leg. 20. Ea autem quæ multiplicibus Conſtitutis ad venerabilem Eccleſiam voluimus pertinere, Chriſtiana ſibi merito Religio vindicavit, id eſt, vindicabit. [*t*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 7. [*u*] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 16.

Church;

Church; the Emperor giving Orders that the Gods ſhould help to maintain the Poor.

SECT. XI. 7thly, *As alſo Heretical Conventicles and their Revenues.*

Honorius made a like Decree, *An.* 412, in reference to all the Revenues belonging to Heretical Conventicles, that both the Churches or Conventicles themſelves, and all the Lands [w] that were ſettled upon them ſhould be forfeited, and become the Poſſeſſion and Property of the Catholick Church, as by former Decrees he had appointed. And I ſuppoſe, it was by vertue of theſe Laws, that *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhut up all the *Novatian* Churches, and ſeiſed upon all their Revenues, and deprived *Theonas* their Biſhop of his Subſtance; though *Socrates* [x] in telling the Story repreſents the matter a little more invidiouſly, as if *Cyril* had done all this by his own Private Uſurped Authority and Arbitrary Power: Which will hardly gain Credit with any one that conſiders, that thoſe Laws of *Honorius* were Publiſhed before *Cyril* came to the Epiſcopal Throne, which was not till the Year 412, when thoſe Laws were reinforced by the Imperial Power.

SECT. XII. 8thly, *The Eſtates of Clerks deſerting the Church, to be forfeited to the Church.*

WHILE I am upon this Head, it will not be improper to obſerve farther, that by *Juſtinian*'s Laws [y] if any Clergymen or Monks, who were poſſeſt of Temporal Eſtates, forſook their Church or Monaſtery, and turned Seculars again, all their Subſtance was forfeited to the Church or Monaſtery to which they belonged. Theſe were the ſeveral Methods that were anciently taken for Augmenting and Improving the Revenues of the Church, beſides thoſe of Firſt-fruits and Tithes, of which more hereafter.

SECT. XIII. *No diſreputable ways of Augmenting Church-Revenues encouraged. Fathers not to diſinherit their Children to make the Church their Heirs.*

BUT I muſt obſerve, that as theſe Methods were generally reputed Legal and Allowable, ſo there were ſome other as generally diſallowed and condemned. Particularly we find in St. *Auſtin*'s time, that it was become a Rule in the *African* Church, to receive no Eſtates that were given to the Church to the great Detriment and Prejudice of the common Rights of any others. As if a Father diſinherited his Children to make the Church his Heir, in that caſe no Biſhop would receive his Donation. *Poſſidius* tells [z] us St. *Auſtin* refuſed ſome Eſtates ſo given, becauſe he thought it more juſt and equal, that they ſhould be poſſeſſed by the Children, or Parents, or next Kindred of the Deceaſed Perſons. And that he did ſo, is evident from his own Words in his Diſcourſe *de Vita Clericorum* [a], where he ſays, he had returned an Eſtate to a Son, which an angry Father at his Death had taken from him: And he thought he did well in it; profeſſing for his own Part, that if any diſinherited his Son, to make the Church his Heir, he ſhould ſeek ſome one elſe to receive his Donation, and not *Auſtin*; and he hoped by the Grace of God there would be none that would receive it. He adds in the ſame Place a very remarkable and laudable Inſtance of great Generoſity and Equity in *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, in a caſe of the like nature. A certain Man [b] having no Children, nor Hopes of any, gave away his whole Eſtate to the Church, only reſerving to himſelf the Uſe of it for Life. Now it happened afterwards, that he had Children born to him; upon which the Biſhop generouſly returned him his Eſtate, when he did not at all expect it. The Biſhop indeed, ſays St. *Auſtin*, had it in his Power to have kept it, *ſed jure Fori, non jure Poli*, only by the Laws of Man, but not by the Laws of Heaven. And therefore he thought himſelf obliged in Conſcience to return it. This ſhews how tender they were of augmenting the Revenues of the Church by any Methods, that might be thought Unequitable, or ſuch as were not Reputable, Honeſt, or of good Report; herein obſerving the Apoſtle's Rule, to let their Moderation, τὸ ἐπιεικὲς, their Equity, be known to all Men; not doing any Hard Thing for Lucre's Sake, nor taking Advantages by Rigour of Law, when Conſcience and Charity were againſt them.

SECT. XIV. *Nothing to be demanded for adminiſtring the Sacraments of the Church, nor for Conſecrating Churches, nor Interment of the Dead.*

TO avoid Scandal alſo, and to provide Things honeſt in the ſight of all Men, they forbad any Thing to be demanded for adminiſtring the Sacraments of the Church. The Council of *Eliberis* ſeems to intimate, that it was cuſtomary with ſome Perſons at their Baptiſm to caſt Money into a Baſon by way of Gratuity to the Miniſter; but even this is there forbidden by a Canon, leſt the Prieſt [c] ſhould ſeem to ſell what he freely receiv'd. Whence we may conclude, that if the People might not offer, the Prieſt might much leſs exact or demand any thing for adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſm. In other Churches a Voluntary Oblation was allowed of, from Perſons that were able and willing to make it; but all

[w] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 5. de Hæret. leg. 52. Eccleſiis eorum vel Conventiculis, Prædiiſque, ſiqua in eorum Eccleſias Hæreticorum largitas prava contulit, Proprietati Poteſtatique Catholicæ, ſicut jamdudum Statuimus, vindicatis. [x] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 7. [y] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 55. Si illi Monaſteria aut Eccleſias relinquant, atque mundani fiant; omne ipſorum Jus ad Monaſterium aut Eccleſiam pertinet. Vid. Novel. 5. c. 4. & 6. It. Novel. 123. c. 42. [z] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. [a] Aug. Serm. 42. de Diverſis. Tom. 10. p. 520. Quando donavi filio, Quod iratus Pater moriens abſtulit, bene feci.— Quid plura, Fratres mei? Quicunque vult exhæredato filio hæredem facere Eccleſiam, quærat alterum qui ſuſcipiat, non Auguſtinum; imo Deo propitio neminem inveniat. [b] Id. ibid. Quidam cum filios non haberet, neque ſperaret, res ſuas omnes, retento ſibi Uſu fructu, donavit Eccleſiæ. Nati ſunt illi filii, & reddidit Epiſcopus nec opinanti quæ ille donaverat. In poteſtate habebat Epiſcopus non reddere, ſed jure Fori, non jure Poli. [c] Conc. Eliber. c. 48. Emendari placuit, ut hi qui baptizantur (ut fieri ſolebat) Nummos in Concham non mittant; ne ſacerdos, quod gratis accepit, pretio diſtrahere videatur.

Exactions of that nature from the Poor were ſtill prohibited, for fear of diſcouraging them from offering themſelves or their Children to Baptiſm. Thus it was in the *Roman* Church in the time of *Gelaſius*, as we learn from [*d*] his Epiſtles; and in the *Greek* Church in the time of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who takes occaſion to anſwer this Objection [*e*] which Poor Men made againſt coming immediately to Baptiſm, becauſe they had not wherewith to make the uſual Preſent that was then to be offered, or to purchaſe the ſplendid Robe that was then to be worn, or to provide a Treat for the Miniſter that baptized them. He tells them, no ſuch things would be expected or exacted of them: They need only make a Preſent of themſelves to Chriſt, and entertain their Miniſter with their own Good Life and Converſation, which would be more Acceptable to him than any other Offerings. This implies, a Voluntary Caution at their Baptiſm; but not the Cuſtom for Miniſters to demand it, as a matter of Right, for fear of giving Scandal. Some Editions of *Gratian* [*f*], and *Vicecomes* [*g*] alledge a Canon of the 3d or 4th Council of *Carthage* to the ſame purpoſe; which if the Allegation were true, would prove that the ſame Cuſtom obtained in the *African* Church. But, as *Antonius* [*h*] *Auguſtinus*, and the *Roman* [*i*] Correctors of *Gratian* have obſerved, there is no ſuch Canon to be found in any *African* Council; but it is a Canon of the 2d Council of *Bracara* in *Spain*, which finding a corrupt Practice crept in among the Clergy (notwithſtanding the former Prohibition of the *Eliberitan* Council) that Miniſters did exact Pledges of the Poor, who had not Ability to make any Offering; endeavoured to redreſs this Corruption, by paſſing a New Order, That though [*k*] Voluntary Oblations might be received; yet no Pledge ſhould be extorted from the Poor, who were not able to offer; becauſe many of the Poor for fear of this kept back their Children from Baptiſm. The ſame Council of *Bracara* made a Decree, That no Biſhop ſhould exact [*l*] any thing as a Due of any Founders of Churches for their Conſecration; but if any thing was voluntarily offered, he might receive it. And ſo in like manner for Confirmation [*m*], and adminiſtring the *Euchariſt* [*n*], all Biſhops and Presbyters are ſtrictly injoyned not to exact any thing of the Receivers, becauſe the Grace of GOD was not to be ſet to Sale, nor the Sanctification of the Spirit to be imparted for Money. St. *Jerom* aſſures us farther, that it was not very honourable in his time to exact any thing for the Burying-places of the Dead: For he cenſures thoſe that practiſed it, as falling ſhort [*o*] of the Merit of *Ephron* the *Hittite*, whom *Abraham* forced to receive Money for the Burying-place which he bought of him: But now, ſays he, there are ſome who ſell Burying-places, and take Money for them, not by Compulſion, as *Ephron* did, but by Extortion rather from thoſe that were unwilling to pay. By which we may underſtand, that in his time it was hardly allowable to demand any thing for the Uſe of a publick or private Cemetery: Nor was this any part of the Church-Revenues in thoſe Days, when as yet the Cuſtom of Burying in Churches was not generally brought in, but was the Practice of later Ages; of which more when we come to ſpeak of the Funeral Rites of the Church.

SECT. XV.

The Oblations of the People anciently one of the moſt valuable Parts of Church-Revenues.

IF any one is deſirous to know, what Part of the Church-Revenues was anciently moſt ſerviceable and beneficial to the Church, he may be informed from St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Auſtin*, who give the greateſt Commendations to the Offerings and Oblations of the People, and ſeem to ſay, that the Church was never better provided, than when her Maintenance was raiſed chiefly from them. For then Mens Zeal prompted them to be very Liberal in their daily Offerings: But as Lands and Poſſeſſions were ſettled upon the Church, this Zeal ſenſibly abated; and ſo the Church came to be worſe provided for, under the Notion of growing Richer. Which is the thing that St. *Chryſoſtom* complains of in his own Times, when the ancient Revenue ariſing from Oblations was in a great meaſure ſunk, and the Church with all her Lands left in a worſe Condition than ſhe was before. For now her Miniſters were forced to ſubmit to Secular Cares, to the Management of Lands, and Houſes, and the Buſineſs of Buying and Selling, for fear the Orphans, and Virgins, and Widows of the Church ſhould ſtarve. He exhorts the People therefore to return to their ancient Liberality of Oblations; which would at once eaſe the Miniſtry of all ſuch Cares, and make a good Proviſion for the Poor, and take off all the little Scoffs and Objections that ſome were ſo ready to make and caſt upon the Clergy, that they were too much given to Secular Cares and Employments; when indeed it was not Choice, but Neceſſity that forced them to it. There are, ſays he, in

[*d*] Gelaſ. Ep. 1. al. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucaniæ. c. 7. Baptizandis conſignandiſque Fidelibus pretia nulla Presbyteri præfigant, nec Illationibus quibuſdam impoſitis exagitare cupiant renaſcentes; quoniam quod gratis accipimus, gratis dare mandamur. Et ideo nihil à prædictis exigere moliantur, quo vel paupertate cogente deterriti, vel Indignatione revocati, Redemptionis ſuæ cauſas adire deſpiciant.
[*e*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. t. 1. p. 655. [*f*] Gratian. Cauſ. 1. Q. 1. c. 103. [*g*] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 4. c. 2.
[*h*] Anton. Aug. de Emend. Gratiani lib. 1. Dial. 14. [*i*] Gratian. Ibid. Edit. Rom. an. 1582. [*k*] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 7. edit. Crab. al. 3. Bracar. Ed. Labbe. Qui infantes ſuos ad Baptiſmum offerunt, ſi quid voluntarie pro ſuo offerunt voto, ſuſcipiatur ab eis; ſi vero per neceſſitatem Paupertatis aliquid non habent quod offerant, nullum illis pignus violenter tollatur à Clericis. Nam multi Pauperes hoc timentes, filios ſuos à Baptiſmo retrahunt.
[*l*] Ibid. can. 5. [*m*] Gelaſ. Ep. 1. al. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucan. c. 7. [*n*] Conc. Trul. c. 23. [*o*] Hieron. Quæſt. Hebraic. in Gen. 23. Tom. 3. p. 214. Poſtquam pretio victus eſt, ut ſepulcrum venderet, &c. appellatus eſt Ephran: Significante ſcriptura, non eum fuiſſe conſummatæ perfectæque virtutis, qui potuerit Memorias vendere mortuorum. Sciant igitur qui ſepulcra venditant, & non coguntur ut accipiant pretium, ſed à nolentibus etiam extorquent, immutari nomen ſuum, & perire quid de merito eorum, &c.

this place (at *Antioch* he means) by the Grace of God an hundred thousand Persons that come to Church. Now if every one [p] of these would but give one Loaf of Bread daily to the Poor, the Poor would live in plenty. If every one would contribute but one Half-penny, no Man would want; neither should we undergo so many Reproaches and Derisions, as if we were too intent upon our Possessions. By this Discourse of *Chrysostom*'s it plainly appears, that he thought the Oblations of the People in Populous Cities, when Men were acted with their Primitive Zeal, was a better Provision for the Clergy, than even the Lands and Possessions of the Church. And St. *Austin* seems to have had the same Sense of this Matter. For *Possidius* (q) tells us in his Life, that when he found the Possessions of the Church were become a little invidious, he was used to tell the Laity, that he had rather live upon the Oblations of the People of GOD, than undergo the care and trouble of those Possessions; and that he was ready to part with them, provided all the Servants and Ministers of GOD might live as they did under the *Old Testament*, when, as we read, they that served at the Altar, were made Partakers of the Altar. But though he made this Proposal to the People, they would never accept of it. Which is an Argument, that the People also thought, that the reducing the Clergy's Maintenance to the precise Model of the *Old Testament*, would have been a more chargeable way to them than the other: since the Oblations of the *Old Testament* included Tithes and First-fruits; concerning the State and Original of which, as to what concerns the Christian Church, I come now to make a more particular Enquiry.

CHAP. V.

Of Tithes and First-fruits in particular.

SECT. I. *Tithes anciently reckoned to be due by Divine Right.*

CONCERNING Tithes, so far as relates to the Ancient Church, it will be proper to make three Enquiries. 1*st*, Whether the Primitive Fathers esteemed them to be due by Divine Right? 2*dly*, If they did, why they were not always strictly demanded? 3*dly*, In what Age they were first generally settled upon the Church? As to the first Enquiry, it is generally agreed by Learned Men, That the Ancients accounted Tithes to be due by Divine Right. *Bellarmin* indeed [a], and *Rivet* [b], and Mr. *Selden* [c] place them upon another Foot: But our Learned Bishop *Andrews* [d] and Bishop *Carleton* [e] who wrote before Mr. *Selden*, and Bishop *Mountague* [f] and *Tillesly* [g], who wrote in Answer to him (not to mention many others who have written since) have clearly proved, that the Ancients believed the Law about Tithes not to be merely a Ceremonial or Political Command, but of Moral and Perpetual Obligation. It will be sufficient for me in this Place to present the Reader with two or three of their Allegations. *Origen* in one of his Homilies [h] on *Numbers*, thus delivers his Opinion about it: How does our Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, if they dare not taste of the Fruits of the Earth, before they offer the First-fruits to the Priests, and separate the Tithes for the *Levites?* Whilst I do nothing of this, but only so abuse the Fruits of the Earth, that neither the Priest, nor the *Levite*, nor the Altar of GOD shall see any of them? St. *Jerom* [i] says expressly, that the Law about Tithes and First-fruits was to be understood to continue in its full force in the Christian Church, where Men were commanded not only to give Tithes, but to sell all that they had, and give to the Poor. But, says he, if we will not proceed so far, let us at least imitate the *Jewish* Practice, and give Part of the Whole to the Poor, and the Honour that is due to the Priests and *Levites*. Which he that does not, defrauds GOD, and makes himself liable to a Curse. St. *Austin* as plainly favours the same Opinion, telling Men [k], that they ought to se-

[p] Chrys. Hom. 86. in Matth. [q] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 23. Dum forte (ut adsolet) de Possessionibus ipsis invidia Clericis fieret, alloquebatur Plebem Dei, malle se ex Collationibus Plebis Dei vivere, quam illarum Possessionum curam vel gubernationem pati; & paratum se illis cedere, ut eo modo omnes Dei servi & Ministri viverent, quo in Veteri Testamento leguntur Altari de servientes de eodem comparticipari. Sed nunquam id Laici suscipere voluerunt.

[a] Bellarmin. de Clericis. lib. 1. c. 25. [b] Rivet. Exerc. 80. in Gen. 14. p. 386. [c] *Selden. Hist. of Tithes.* c. 4. [d] Andrew de Decimis, inter Opuscula. [e] *Carleton Divine Right of Tithes*, c. 4. [f] Montague Diatribæ, &c. [g] *Tillesly Answer to Selden.* [h] Orig. Hom. 11. in Num. 18. tom. 1. p. 210. Quomodo ergo abundat Justitia nostra plusquam Scribarum & Pharisæorum, si illi de fructibus terræ suæ gustare non audent, priusquam Primitias suas sacerdotibus offerant, & Levitis Decimæ separentur? Et ego nihil horum faciens, fructibus terræ ita abutar, ut Sacerdos nesciat, Levites ignoret, Divinum Altare non sentiat? [i] Hieron. Com. in Mal. 3. Quod de Decimis Primiciisque diximus, quæ olim dabantur à Populo sacerdotibus ac Levitis, in Ecclesiæ quoque Populis intelligite: Quibus præceptum est, non solum Decimas dare & Primitias, sed & vendere omniaque habent & dare pauperibus, & sequi Dominum salvatorem. Quod si facere nolumus saltem Judæorum imitemur exordia, ut pauperibus partem demus ex toto, & sacerdotibus & Levitis honorem debitum deferamus. Quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare & supplantare convincitur, &c. [k] Aug. Com. in Psal. 146. tom. 8. p. 698. Præcidite ergo aliquid, & deputate aliquid fixum vel ex annuis fructibus, vel ex quotidianis Quæstibus vestris — Decimas vis? Decimas exime, quanquam parum sit. Dictum est enim, quia Pharisæi Decimas dabant, &c. Et quid ait Dominus? Nisi abundaverit Justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum & Pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum. Et ille, super quem debet abundare Justitia tua, Decimas dat: Tu autem nec Millesimam das. Quomodo superabis eum, cui non æquaris?

parate ſomething out of their yearly Fruits, or daily Income; and that a Tenth to a Chriſtian was but a ſmall Proportion. Becauſe it is ſaid, the *Phariſees* gave Tithes: *I faſt twice in the Week, I give Tithes of all that I poſſeſs.* And our Lord ſaith, *Except your Righteouſneſs exceed the Righteouſneſs of the* Scribes *and* Phariſees, *ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* But if he, whoſe Righteouſneſs ye are to exceed, give Tithes; and you give not a thouſandth part; how can you be ſaid to exceed him, whom you do not ſo much as equal? By theſe few Allegations the Reader may be able to judge, what Notion the Ancients had of Tithes, as due by Divine Right under the Goſpel, as well as under the Law; and that the Precept concerning them was not a meer Ceremonial or Political Command given to the *Jews* only.

SECT. II.
Why not exacted in the Apoſtolical Age and thoſe that immediately followed.

BUT why then, it may be ſaid, were not Tithes exacted by the Apoſtles at firſt, or by the Fathers in the Ages immediately following? For it is generally believ'd, that Tithes were not the Original Maintenance of Miniſters under the Goſpel. To this Biſhop *Carleton* [*l*] has returned ſeveral very ſatisfactory Anſwers, which the Reader may take in his own Words. 1*ſt*, That Tithes were paid to the Prieſts and *Levites* in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: Now the Synagogue muſt firſt be buried, before theſe Things could be orderly brought into uſe in the Church. 2*dly*, In the Times of the *New Teſtament*, and ſomewhat after, there was an extraordinary Maintenance by a Community of all Things, which ſupplied the want of Tithes: But this Community was extraordinary, and not to laſt always. 3*dly*, The uſe of paying Tithes, as the Church then ſtood, was ſo incommodious and cumberſome, that it could not well be practiſed. And therefore as Circumciſion was laid aſide for a Time, whilſt *Iſrael* travelled through the Wilderneſs, not becauſe the People of right ought not then alſo to have uſed it, but becauſe it was ſo incommodious for that Eſtate and Time of the Church, that it could not without great trouble be practiſed: Even ſo the uſe of Tithes in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles was laid aſide, not becauſe it ought not, but becauſe it could not without great incumbrance be done. And as Circumciſion was reſumed, as ſoon as the Eſtate of the Church could bear it: So Tithes were re-eſtabliſhed, as ſoon as the Condition of the Church could ſuffer it. For Tithes cannot well be paid, but where ſome whole State or Kingdom receiveth Chriſtianity, and where the Magiſtrate doth favour the Church, which was not in the time of the Apoſtles. To theſe Reaſons ſome other learned Perſons [*m*] have added a fourth, which is alſo worth noting, That the Tithes of Fruits were not ſo early paid to Chriſtian Prieſts, becauſe the Inhabitants of the Country were the lateſt Converts; whence alſo the Name Pagans ſtuck by the Heathens, becauſe the greateſt Relicks of them were in Country Villages.

SECT. III.
In what Age they were firſt generally ſettled upon the Church.

AS to the laſt Enquiry, When Tithes began firſt to be generally ſettled upon the Church? The common Opinion is, That it was in the 4th Century, when Magiſtrates began to favour the Church, and the World was generally converted from Heatheniſm. Some think [*n*] *Conſtantine* ſettled them by Law upon the Church: So *Alſted*, who cites *Hermannus Gigas* for the ſame Opinion. But there is no Law of *Conſtantine*'s now extant that makes expreſs mention of any ſuch thing. That which comes the neareſt to it, ſeems to be the Law about an annual Allowance of Corn to the Clergy in all Cities out of the Publick Treaſuries, which has been ſpoken of in the laſt Chapter: But this was not ſo much as a Tenth of the yearly Product; for the whole Tribute it ſelf ſeems to have been no more: For in ſome Laws of the *Theodoſian* Code [*o*] the Emperor's Tribute is called *Decimæ*, Tithes; and the *Publicans*, who collected it, are upon that Account by *Tully* [*p*] called *Decumani*; and in *Heſychius* the Word δεκατεύειν, to Tithe, is explained by τελωνεῖν & δεκάτην εἰσπράττεσθαι, to pay Tribute or pay their Tithes to the Collectors of the Tribute. Unleſs therefore we can ſuppoſe, that *Conſtantine* ſettled the whole Tribute of the Empire upon the Church (which it is evident he did not) we cannot take that Law for a Settlement of Tithes upon the Clergy. Yet it might be a Step towards it: For before the end of the 4th Century, as Mr. *Selden* [*q*] himſelf not only confeſſes, but proves out of *Caſſian*, *Eugippius*, and others, Tithes were paid to the Church. St. *Auſtin* lived in this Age, and he ſays, Tithes were paid before his time, and much better than they were in his own time, for he makes a great Complaint of the Non-payment of them. Our Forefathers, ſays he [*r*], abounded in all things, becauſe they gave Tithes to GOD, and Tribute to *Cæſar*. But now becauſe our Devotion to GOD is ſunk, the Taxes of the State are raiſed upon us. We would not give GOD his Part in the Tithes, and therefore the whole is taken away from us. The Exchequer devours what we would not give to Chriſt. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*s*] and the Author of the *Opus Im-*

[*l*] Carleton *Div. Right of Tithes.* cap. 4. p. 21.
[*m*] Biſhop Fell Not. in Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. [*n*] Alſted. Supplement. Chamier de Membris Eccleſ. c. 10.
[*o*] Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 19. de Metallis. leg. 10, & 11.
[*p*] Vid. Cicer. Orat. 3. in Ver. n. 21, & 22. [*q*] *Selden Hiſt. of Tith.* c. 5. p. 47, &c. [*r*] Aug. Hom. 48. ex 50. tom. 10. p. 201. Majores noſtri ideo copiis omnibus abundabant, quia Deo Decimas dabant, & Cæſari cenſum reddebant. Modo autem quia deceſſit Devotio Dei, acceſſit Indictio Fiſci. Nolumus partiri cum Deo Decimas, modo totum tollitur. Hoc tollit Fiſcus, quod non accipit Chriſtus. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Epheſ. p. 1058.

perfectum

perfectum [*t*] on St. *Matthew*, that goes under his Name, teſtify for the practice of other Churches about the ſame time. And it were eaſy to add a Liſt of many other Fathers and Councils of the next Age, which ſpeak of Tithes [*u*] as then actually ſettled upon the Church: But ſince they who diſpute moſt againſt the Divine Right of them, do not deny this as to Fact, it is needleſs to proſecute this matter any farther; which they that pleaſe may ſee Hiſtorically deduced through many Centuries by Mr. *Selden* [*w*].

SECT. IV. *The Original of Firſt-fruits, and the manner of Offering them.*

THERE is one Part more of Church-Revenues, whoſe Original remains to be enquired into, and that is Firſt-fruits, which are frequently mentioned in the primitive Writers. For not only thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [*x*] and Conſtitutions [*y*] ſpeak of them, as Part of the Maintenance of the Clergy; but Writers more ancient and more authentick, as *Origen* and *Irenæus*, mention them alſo as Oblations made to GOD. *Celſus*, ſays *Origen* [*z*], would have us dedicate Firſt-fruits to *Dæmons*; but we dedicate them to him, who ſaid, *Let the Earth bring forth Graſs, the Herb yielding Seed and the Fruit-tree yielding Fruit after his Kind.* To whom we give our Firſt-fruits, to him alſo we ſend up our Prayers, having a great High-Prieſt that is entered into Heaven, *&c.* In like manner *Irenæus* [*a*] ſays, Chriſt taught his Diſciples to offer the Firſt-fruits of the Creatures to GOD, and that this was the Church's continual Oblation with Thankſgiving for the Enjoyment of all the reſt. Which implies, either that they had a particular Form of Thankſgiving, as there is in both the *Greek* and *Latin* Rituals; or elſe that theſe Firſt-fruits were offered with other Oblations at the time of the *Euchariſt*. However this be, it is evident, that as they were principally deſigned for agnizing the Creator, ſo they were ſecondarily intended for the Uſe of his Servants. And therefore we find the *Euſtathian* Hereticks cenſured by the Synod of *Gangra*, *An.* 324, for that they took the Firſt-fruits, which were anciently given to the Church, and divided them among the Saints of their own Party [*b*]; in oppoſition to which Practice there are two Canons [*c*] made by that Council, forbidding any one to receive or diſtribute ſuch Oblations out of the Church, otherwiſe than by the Directions of the Biſhop, under pain of Excommunication. Some other Rules are alſo given by one of the Councils [*d*] of *Carthage*, inſerted into the *African Code*, concerning theſe Firſt-fruits, that they ſhould be only of Grapes and Corn; which ſhews that it was alſo the Practice of the *African* Church. *Nazianzen* likewiſe mentions the Firſt-fruits of the Wine-preſs and the Floor, which were to be dedicated [*e*] to GOD. And the Author of the Conſtitutions has a Form of Prayer [*f*], ἐπίκλησις ἐπὶ ἀπαρχῶν, an Invocation upon the Firſt-fruits, to be uſed at their Dedication. So that it ſeems very clear, that the Offering of Firſt-fruits was a very ancient and general Cuſtom in the Chriſtian Church, and that this alſo contributed ſomething toward the Maintenance of the Clergy; whoſe Revenues I have now conſidered ſo far as concerns the ſeveral Kinds and firſt Original of them.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Management and the Diſtribution of the Revenues of the Ancient Clergy.

SECT. I. *The Revenues of the whole Dioceſe anciently in the hands of the Biſhop.*

THE next thing to be conſidered is the ancient way of Managing and Diſtributing theſe Revenues among the Clergy, and ſuch others as were Dependants upon the Church. Which being a little different from the Ways of later Ages, ſince Settlements were made upon Parochial Churches; for the right underſtanding of it we are in the firſt place to obſerve, that anciently the Revenues of the whole Dioceſe were all in the hands of the Biſhop; who with the Advice and Conſent of his Senate of Presbyters diſtributed them as the Occaſions of the Church required. This will appear evident to any one that will conſider theſe two things (which will hereafter be proved, when we come to ſpeak of Parochial Churches and their Original) firſt, that there were anciently no Presbyters or other Clergy fixt upon particular Churches or Congregations in the ſame City or Dioceſe; but they were ſerved indifferently by any Presbyter from the *Eccleſia Matrix*, the Mother or Cathedral Church, to which all the Clergy of the City or Dioceſe belonged, and not to any particular Congregation. *2dly*, That when Presbyters were fixt to particular Churches or Aſſemblies in ſome Cities, yet ſtill thoſe Churches had no ſeparate Revenues; but the Maintenance of the Clergy officiating in them was from the common Stock of the Mother-Church,

[*t*] Opus Imperf. in Mat. Hom. 44. Si Populus Decimas non obtulerit, murmurant omnes: At ſi peccantem Populum viderint, nemo murmurat contra eum. [*u*] Con. Aurelian. 1. an. 511. can. 17. Conc. Matiſcon. 2. an. 588. c. 5. [*w*] *Selden Hiſt. of Tithes, c. 5. &c.* [*x*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 4. [*y*] Conſtit. lib. 2. c. 25. lib. 8. c. 30. [*z*] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 400. [*a*] Iren. lib. 4. c. 32. Sed & ſuis Diſcipulis dans conſilium Primitias Deo offerre ex ſuis Creaturis, &c. Ibid. c. 34. Offerre igitur oportet Deo Primitias ejus creaturæ, &c. [*b*] Conc. Gagr. in Præfat. καρποφορίας τε τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς τὰς ἀνέκαθεν διδομένας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἁγίοις, τὰς διαδόσεις ποιούμενοι. [*c*] Ibid. can. 7, & 8. [*d*] Cod. Can. Afr. 37. al. 40. Conc. African. c. 4. [*e*] Naz. Ep. 80. [*f*] Conſtit. lib. 8. c. 40.

into

into which all the Oblations of particular Churches were put, as into a common Fund, that from thence there might be made a general Diſtribution. That thus it was at *Conſtantinople* till the middle of the fifth Century, is evident from what we find in *Theodorus Lector*, who ſays [a], that *Marcian* the *Oeconomus* or Guardian of that Church under *Gennadius*, *An.* 460, was the firſt that ordered the Clergy of every particular Church to receive the Offerings of their own Church, whereas before the great Church received them all.

SECT. II. *And by his Care diſtributed among the Clergy.*

Now this being the ancient Cuſtom, it gives us a clear Account how all the Revenues of the Church came to be in the hands of the Biſhop, and how it was made one Part of his Office and Duty by the Canons to concern himſelf in the Care and Diſtribution of them. Of which becauſe I have already [b] ſpoken elſewhere, I ſhall ſay no more in this Place, ſave only that the Biſhop himſelf, to avoid Suſpicion and prevent Miſmanagement, was obliged to give an account of his Adminiſtration in a Provincial [c] Synod; as alſo at his Election to exhibit a Liſt of his own Goods and Eſtate, that ſuch things as belonged to him [d] might be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that belonged to GOD and the Church. And for the ſame Reaſon the great Council of *Chalcedon* [e] ordered, that every Biſhop ſhould have an *Oeconomus*, or Guardian of the Church, and he to be choſen by the Vote of all the Clergy, as has been noted in another Place. *See Book* 3. *Chap.* 12. *Sect.* 4.

SECT. III. *Rules about the Diviſion of Church-Revenues.*

As to the Diſtribution it ſelf, in the moſt Primitive Ages we find no certain Rules about it; but as it was in the Apoſtles days, ſo it contiuued for ſome time after: What was collected, was uſually depoſited with the Biſhop, and Diſtribution was made to every Man according as he had need. But the following Ages brought the matter to ſome certain Rules, and then the Revenues were divided into certain Portions, monthly or yearly, according as occaſion required, and theſe proportioned to the State or Needs of every Order. In the Weſtern Church the Diviſion was uſually into three or four Parts; whereof one fell to the Biſhop; a ſecond to the reſt of the Clergy; a third to the Poor; and the fourth was applied to the Maintenance of the Fabrick and other neceſſary Uſes of the Church. The Council of *Bracara* [f] makes but three Parts, one for the Biſhop, another for the Clergy, and the third for the Fabrick and Lights of the Church. But then it was ſuppoſed that the Biſhop's Hoſpitality ſhould out of ſuch a Proportion provide for the Neceſſities of the Poor. By other Rules, the Poor, that is all diſtreſſed People, the Virgins and Widows of the Church, together with the Martyrs and Confeſſors in Priſon, the Sick and Strangers, have one fourth [g] in the Dividend expreſly allotted them. For all theſe had Relief (though not a perfect Maintenance) from the Charity of the Church. At *Rome* there were fifteen hundred ſuch Perſons beſides the Clergy [h] provided for this way in the Time of *Cornelius*; and above three thouſand at *Antioch* [i] in the Time of *Chryſoſtom:* By which we may make an Eſtimate of the Revenues and Charities of thoſe populous Churches.

SECT. IV. *In ſome Churches the Clergy lived all in common.*

In ſome Churches they made no ſuch Diviſion, but lived all in common, the Clergy with the Biſhop, as it were in one Manſion, and at one Table. But this they did not by any general Canon, but only upon Choice, or particular Combination and Agreement in ſome particular Churches. As *Sozomen* [k] notes it to have been the Cuſtom at *Rinocorura* in *Egypt*, and *Poſſidius* affirms [l] the ſame of the Church of St. *Auſtin*. What was the Practice of St. *Auſtin* and his Clergy we cannot better learn than from St. *Auſtin* himſelf, who tells us, that all his Clergy [m] laid themſelves voluntarily under an Obligation to have all things in common; and therefore none of them could have any Property, or any thing to diſpoſe of by Will; or if they had, they were liable to be turned out, and have their Names expunged out of the Roll of the Clergy: which he reſolved to do, though they appealed to *Rome*, or to a thouſand Councils againſt him; by the help of GOD they ſhould not be Clerks where he was Biſhop. For his own part, he tells us, he was ſo punctual to this Rule, that if any one preſented him with a Robe finer than ordinary, he was uſed to ſell it; that ſince his Clergy could not wear the ſame in kind, they might at leaſt [n] partake of the Benefit, when it was ſold and made common. But as this way of Living would not comport with the State of all Churches, ſo there were but few that embraced it; and thoſe that did, were not compelled to it by any general Law, but only by local Statutes of their own appointment.

[a] Theod. Lect. lib. 1. p. 553. [b] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 4. *Sect.* 6. [c] Conc. Antioch. c. 25. [d] Canon. Apoſt. c. 39. al. 40. [e] Conc. Chalced. c. 25. [f] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 25. Placuit, ut de Rebus Eccleſiaſticis fiant tres æquæ Portiones, id eſt, una Epiſcopi, alia Clericorum, tertia in reparatione vel in Luminariis Eccleſiæ. [g] Gelaſ. Ep. 1. al. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucaniæ. c. 29. Quatuor tam de Redditu quam de Oblatione Fidelium——convenit fieri Portiones: Quarum ſit una Pontificis, altera Clericorum, Tertia Pauperum, Quarta fabriciis applicanda. Vid. Simplici Ep. 3. ad Florent. Gregor. Magn. lib. 3. Ep. 11. [h] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 67. in Matth. [k] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 31. [l] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 25. [m] Aug. Ser. 50. de Diverſis ſive de Communi Vita Clericorum. Tom. 10. p. 523. Quia placuit illis Socialis hæc vita, quiſquis cum hypocriſi vixerit, quiſquis inventus fuerit habens proprium, non illi permitto ut inde faciat Teſtamentum, ſed delebo eum de Tabula Clericorum. Interpellet contra me mille Concilia, naviget contra me quo voluerit, ſit certe ubi potuerit, adjuvabit me Deus, ut ubi ego Epiſcopus ſum, illic Clericus eſſe non poſſit. [n] Ibid. Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo, quod & facere ſoleo, ut quando non poteſt veſtis eſſe communis, Pretium veſtis ſit commune.

SECT. V. *Alterations made in these matters by the Endowment of Parochial Churches.*

YET in one of these two ways the Clergy were commonly provided for out of the Revenues of the great Church, till such times as Endowments and Settlements began to be made upon Parochial Churches; which was not done in all Places at the same time, nor in one and the same way: But it seems to have had its Rise from particular Founders of Churches, who settled *Manse* and *Glebe* upon the Churches which they builded, and upon that score were allowed a Right of Patronage, to present their own Clerk, and invest him with the Revenues of the Church, wherewith they had endowed it. This Practice was begun in the Time of *Justinian*, *An.* 500, if not before, for there are two of his Laws which [o] authorize and confirm it. About the same time a Settlement of other Revenues, as Oblations, *&c.* was also made in some Places upon Parochial Churches, as has been observed before out of *Theodorus Lector*'s Accounts of the Churches of *Constantinople*. Yet the Change is thought by some [p] to be much latter in *England:* For they collect out of *Bede* [q], that the ancient course of the Clergy's officiating only *pro tempore* in Parochial Churches, whilst they received Maintenance from the Cathedral Church, continued in *England* more than an hundred Years after the coming of *Austin* into *England*, that is, till about the Year 700. For *Bede* plainly intimates, that at that time the Bishop and his Clergy lived together, and had all Things common, as they had in the Primitive Church in the Days of the Apostles.

SECT. VI. *No Alienations to be made of Church-Revenues or Goods, but upon Extraordinary Occasions.*

I have but one thing more to observe upon this Head, which is, That such Goods or Revenues as were once given to the Church, were always esteemed Devoted to God; and therefore were only to be employed in his Service, and not to be diverted to any other Use, except some Extraordinary case of Charity absolutely required it. As if it was to redeem Captives, or relieve the Poor in time of Famine, when no other Succours could be afforded them: In that case it was usual to sell even the Sacred Vessels and Utensils of the Church, to make Provision for the Living Temples of God, which were to be preferred before the Ornaments of the Material Buildings. Thus St. *Ambrose* melted down the Communion-Plate of the Church of *Milan* to redeem some Captives, which otherwise must have continued in Slavery: And when the *Arians* objected this to him invidiously as a Crime, he wrote a most Elegant Apology and Vindication for himself, where among other things worthy the Reader's perusal, he pleads his own Cause after this manner: Is it not better that the Bishop [r] should melt the Plate to sustain the Poor, when other Sustenance cannot be had, than that some Sacrilegious Enemy should carry it off by Spoil and Plunder? Will not our LORD expostulate with us upon this Account? Why did you suffer so many helpless Persons to die with Famine, when you have Gold to provide them Sustenance? Why were so many Captives carried away and sold without Redemption? Why were so many suffered to be Slain by the Enemy? It had been better to have preserved the Vessels of Living Men, than Lifeless Metals. What Answer can be returned to this? For what shall a Man say, I was afraid lest the Temple of GOD should want its Ornaments. But Christ will answer: My Sacraments do not require Gold, nor please me the more for being ministred in Gold, which are not bought with Gold. The Ornament of my Sacraments is the Redemption of Captives: And those are truly Precious Vessels, which redeem Souls from Death. Thus that holy Father goes on to justify the Fact, which the *Arians* called Sacrilege, but he by a truer Name, Charity and Mercy; for the sake of which he concludes it was no Crime for a Man to break, to melt, to sell the Mystical Vessels of the Church, though it were a very great Offence for any Man to convert them to his own private Use. After the same Example we find [s] St. *Austin* disposed of the Plate of the Church for the Redemption of Captives. *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida* did the same for the Redemption of seven thousand *Persian* Slaves from the Hands of the *Roman* Soldiers, as *Socrates* [t] informs us. From whence we also learn, that in such cases they did not consider what Religion Men were of, but only whether they were Indigent and Necessitous Men, and such as stood in need of their Assistance. We have the like Instances in the Practice of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, mentioned by *Theodoret* [u] and *Sozomen*, and in *Deogratias* Bishop of *Carthage*, whose Charity is extolled by *Victor Uticensis* [w] upon the same Occasion. For he sold the Communion-Plate to redeem the *Roman* Soldiers, that were taken Captives in their Wars with the *Vandals*. This was so far from being esteemed Sacrilege or unjust Alienation, that the Law against Sacrilege excepted this case, though they did no other whatsoever. As may be seen in the Law of *Justinian*, which [x] forbids the Selling or Pawning the Church Plate, or Vestments, or any other Gifts, except in case of Captivity or Famine, to redeem Slaves, or relieve the Poor; because in such cases the Lives or Souls of Men were to be preferred before any Vessels or Vestments whatsoever. The Poverty of the Clergy was a pitiable case of the same Nature: And

[o] Justin. Novel. 57. c. 2. Novel. 123. c. 18. [p] *Cawdrey Disc. of Patronage.* c 2. p. 8. *Selden of Tithes.* c. 9. p. 255. [q] Bede Hist. Gentis Anglor. Lib. 4. c. 27. [r] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 2. c. 28. [s] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. [t] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 21. [u] Theod. lib. 2. c. 27. Sozom. lib. 4. c. 25. [w] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 7. p. 591. [x] Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 2. de sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. 21. Sancimus, nemini licere sacratissima atque arcana Vasa, vel Vestes, cæteraque Donaria, quæ ad Divinam Religionem necessaria sunt ---- vel ad Venditionem vel ad Hypothecam vel ad Pignus trahere ---- Excepta causa Captivitatis & Famis in locis quibus hoc contigerit. Nam si necessitas fuerit in Redemptione Captivorum, tunc & Venditionem præfatarum rerum divinarum, & Hypothecam & Pignorationes fieri concedimus, quoniam non absurdum est, animas hominum quibuscunque Vasis vel Vestimentis præferri.

therefore

therefore if the Annual Income of the Church would not maintain them, and there was no other Way to provide them of Neceſſaries; in that caſe ſome Canons [*y*] allowed the Biſhop to Alienate or Sell certain Goods of the Church, to raiſe a preſent Maintenance.

SECT. VII. *And that with the joynt Conſent of the Biſhop and his Clergy, with the Approbation of the Metropolitan or ſome Provincial Biſhops.*

BUT that no Fraud might be committed in any ſuch caſes, the ſame Canons did ſpecially provide, that when any urgent Neceſſity compelled the Biſhop to take this extraordinary Courſe, he ſhould firſt conſult his Clergy, and alſo the Metropolitan, and others his comprovincial Biſhops, that they might judge of the Neceſſity; and whether it were a Reaſonable Ground for ſuch a Proceeding. The 4th Council of *Carthage* [*z*] diſanuls all ſuch Acts of the Biſhop, whereby he either gives away, or ſells, or commutes any Goods of the Church, without the Conſent and Subſcription of his Clergy. And the 5th Council of *Carthage* [*a*] requires him to intimate the Caſe and Neceſſity of his Church firſt to the Primate of the Province, that he with a certain Number of Biſhops may Judge, whether it be fitting to be done. The Council of *Agde* [*b*] ſays, He ſhould firſt conſult two or three of his Neighbouring Biſhops, and take their Approbation. Thus ſtood the Laws of the Church, ſo long as the Biſhop and his Clergy had a common Right in the Dividend of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues: Nothing could be alienated without the Conſent of both Parties, and the Cognizance and Ratification of the Metropolitan or Provincial Synod. So that the utmoſt Precaution was taken in this Affair, leſt under the Pretence of Neceſſity or Charity, any Spoil or Devaſtation ſhould be made of the Goods and Revenues of the Church.

[*y*] Conc. Carthag. 5. c. 4. Conc. Agathen. c. 7.

[*z*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 32. Irrita erit Donatio Epiſcoporum, vel Venditio vel Commutatio rei Eccleſiaſticæ, abſque Conniventia & ſubſcriptione Clericorum.

[*a*] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 4. Si aliqua neceſſitas cogit, hanc inſinuandam eſſe Primati Provinciæ ipſius, ut cum ſtatuto numero Epiſcoporum, utrum faciendum ſit, arbitretur.

[*b*] Conc. Agathen. c. 7. Apud duos vel tres Comprovinciales vel Vicinos Epiſcopos, cauſa qua neceſſe ſit vendi, primitus comprobetur.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

An Account of ſeveral Laws and Rules, relating to the EMPLOYMENT, LIFE and CONVERSATION of the PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

CHAP. I.

Of the Excellency of theſe Rules in general, and the Exemplarineſs of the Clergy in Conforming to them.

SECT. I. *The Excellency of the Chriſtian Rules atteſted and envied by the Heathens.*

I Have in the two foregoing Books given an Account of the great Care of the Primitive Church in Providing and Training up fit Perſons for the Miniſtry, and of the great Encouragements that were given them by the State, as well to honour and diſtinguiſh their Calling, as to excite and provoke them to be ſedulous in the Diſcharge of their ſeveral Offices and Functions. There is one Thing more remains, which is, to give an Account alſo of the Church's Care in making Neceſſary Laws and Canons, obliging every Member of the Eccleſiaſtick Body to live conformable to his Profeſſion, and exerciſe himſelf in the Duties of his Station and Calling. Theſe Rules were many of them ſo excellent in their own Nature, and ſo ſtrictly and carefully obſerved by thoſe who had a Concern in them, that ſome of the chief Adverſaries of the Chriſtian Religion could not but take notice of them, and with a ſort of Envy and Emulation bear Teſtimony to them. Among the Works of *Julian* there is a famous Epiſtle of his to *Arſacius* High Prieſt of *Galatia*, (which is recorded alſo [*a*] by *Sozomen)* wherein he takes occaſion to tell him, that it was very viſible that the Cauſes of the great Increaſe of Chriſtianity were chiefly their profeſs'd Hoſpitality toward Strangers, and their great Care in Burying the Dead, joyned with a pretended Sanctity and Holineſs of Life. Therefore he bids him, as High Prieſt of *Galatia*, to take care, that all the Prieſts of that Region that were under him, ſhould be made to anſwer the ſame Character; and that he ſhould either by his Threatnings or Perſuaſions bring them to be diligent and ſober Men, or elſe remove them from the Office of Prieſthood: That he ſhould admoniſh the Prieſt, neither to appear at the Theatre, nor frequent the Tavern, nor follow any Calling or Employment that was diſhonourable and ſcandalous; and ſuch as were obſervant of his Directions he ſhould honour and promote them, but diſcard and expel the Refractory and Contumacious. This is plainly to ſay (and it is ſo much the more remarkable for its coming from the Mouth of an Adverſary) that the Chriſtian Clergy of thoſe Times were Men that lived by excellent Rules, diligent in their Employment, grave and ſober in their Deportment, charitable to the Indigent, and cautious and reſerved in their whole Converſation and Behaviour toward all Men. Which as it tended mightily to propagate and advance Chriſtianity in the World: So it was what *Julian* upon that Account could not but look upon with an envious Eye, and deſire that his Idol-Prieſts might gain the ſame Character; thereby to eclipſe the envied Reputation of the other, and reflect Honour and Luſtre upon his beloved Heathen Religion. We have the like Teſtimonies in *Ammianus Marcellinus* [*b*] and others, concerning the Frugality, Temperance, Modeſty and Humility of Chriſtian Biſhops in their own Times; which coming from the Pens of profeſt Heathens, and ſuch as did neither ſpare the Emperors themſelves, nor the Biſhops of *Rome*, who lived in greater State and Affluence, may well be thought Authentick Relations, and juſt Accounts of thoſe Holy Men, whoſe Commendations and Characters ſo ample nothing but Truth could have extorted from the Adverſaries of their Religion.

SECT. II. *The Character of the Clergy from Chriſtian Writers.*

THIS being ſo, we may the more eaſily give credit to thoſe noble Panegyricks and Encomiums, which ſome ancient Chriſtian Writers make upon the Clergy, and their Virtues and Diſcipline in general. *Origen* ſays [*c*], it was the Buſineſs of their Life to traverſe every corner of the World, and make Converts and Proſelytes to Godlineſs both in Ci-

[*a*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16. [*b*] Ammian. Marcel. lib. 27. [*c*] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 3. p. 116.

ties and Villages: And they were so far from making a Gain hereof, that many of them took nothing for their Service; and those that did, took only what was necessary for their present Subsistence, though there wanted not Persons enough, who in their Liberality were ready to have communicated much more to them. St. *Austin* [d] gives the like good Character of the Bishops and Presbyters of his own Time, making them the chief Ornament of the Catholick Church, and extolling their Virtues above those of a Monastick Life, because their Province was more difficult, having to converse with all sorts of Men, and being forced to bear with their Distempers in order to cure them. He that would see more of this general Character, must consult the ancient Apologists, where he will find it interwoven with the Character of Christians in general; whose Innocence, and Patience, and Charity, and universal Goodness, was owing partly to the Institutions, and partly to the provoking Examples of their Guides and Leaders; who lived as they spake, and first trod the Path themselves, which they required others to walk in. Which was the thing that set the Christian Teachers so much above the Philosophers of the *Gentiles*. For the Philosophers indeed discoursed and wrote very finely about Virtue in the Theory, but they undid all they said in their own Practice. Their Discourses, as *Minucius* [e] observes, were only eloquent Harangues against their own Vices; whereas the Christian Philosophers expressed their Profession not in their Words or Habit, but in the real Virtues of the Soul: They did not talk great, but live well; and so attained to that Glory, which the Philosophers pretended always to be offering at, but could never happily arrive to. *Lactantius* [f] triumphs over the *Gentile* Philosophers upon the same Topick: And so *Gregory Nazianzen* [g], *Tertullian* [h], *Cyprian* [i], and many others, whose Arguments had been easily retorted, had not the Christian Teachers been generally Men of a better Character, and free from those Imputations which they cast upon the adverse Party.

SECT. III. *Particular Exceptions no Derogation to their general good Character.*

SOME few Instances indeed, it cannot be denied, are to be found of Persons, who in these best Ages were Scandals and Reproaches to their Profession. The Complaints that are made by good Men will not suffer us to believe otherwise. *Cyprian* [k] and *Eusebius* [l] lament the Vices of some among the Clergy, as well as Laity, and reckon them among the Causes that moved the Divine Providence to send those two great fiery Tryals upon the Church, the *Decian* and the *Diocletian* Persecutions; thereby to purge the Tares from the Wheat, and correct those Enormities and Abuses, which the ordinary Remedy of Ecclesiastical Discipline through the Iniquity of the Times was not able to redress. The like Complaints are made by *Chrysostom* [m], *Gregory Nazianzen* [n], and St. *Jerom* [o], of some Ecclesiasticks in their own Times, whose Practices were corrupt, and dishonourable to their Profession. And indeed it were a Wonder if all Ages should not afford some such Instances of unsound Members in so great a Body of Men, since there was a *Judas* even among the Apostles. But then it is to be considered, that a few such Exceptions did not derogate from the good Character, which the Primitive Clergy did generally deserve: And the Faults of those very Men were the Occasion of many good Laws and Rules of Discipline, which the Provincial Synods of those Times enacted; out of which I have chiefly collected the following Account, which concerns the Lives and Labours of the ancient Clergy.

SECT. IV. *An Account of some ancient Writers which treat of the Duties of the Clergy.*

TO these the Reader may joyn those excellent Tracts of the Ancients, which purposely handle this Subject; such as St. *Chrysostom*'s six Books *de Sacerdotio*; St. *Jerome*'s second Epistle to *Nepotian*, which is called, *De Vita Clericorum*; and *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Apology for his flying from the Priesthood; in which all the Duties of the Clergy are excellently described. Or if any one desires rather to see them exemplified in some living Instances and great Patterns of Perfection, which commonly make deeper Impressions than bare Rules, he must consult those excellent Characters of the most eminent primitive Bishops, which are drawn to the Life by the best Pens of the Age; such as the Life of *Ignatius* by *Chrysostom*; the Life of St. *Basil* and *Athanasius* by *Gregory Nazianzen*; the Life of St. *Austin* by *Possidius*; the Life of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* and *Meletius* by *Gregory Nyssen*; in all which the true Character and Idea of a Christian Bishop is set forth and described with this Advantage, That a Man does not barely read of Rules, but sees them as it were exemplified in Practice. The chief of these Discourses in both kinds are already translated into our own Language by other [p] Pens, and they are too prolix to be inserted into a Discourse of this nature, which proceeds in a different Method from them. I shall therefore only extract such Observations from them, as fall in with the publick and general Laws of the Church (of which I give an Account in the following Chapters) and leave the rest to the curious Diligence of the Inquisitive Reader.

[d] Aug. de Moribus Eccles. Cathol. c. 32. t. 1. p. 330. [e] Minuc. Octav. p. 110. [f] Lact. lib. 4. c. 23. lib. 3. c. 15. [g] Naz. Invect. 1. in Julian. [h] Tertul. Apol. c. 46. [i] Cyprian. de Bono Patient. p. 210. [k] Cypr. de Lapsis p. 124. [l] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 1. [m] Chrys. Hom. 30. in Act. [n] Naz. Carm. Cygn. de Episcopis. Tom. 2. [o] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. [p] *See Bishop* Burnet's *Pastoral Care*. c. 4. *And* Seller's *Remarks on the Lives of the Primitive Fathers.*

CHAP

CHAP. II.

Of Laws relating to the Life and Converſation of the Primitive Clergy.

SECT. I. *Exemplary Purity required in the Clergy above other Men. Reaſons for it.*

THE Laws of the Church which concerned the Clergy I ſhall for Diſtinction's ſake conſider under three Heads; ſpeaking, 1*ſt*, Of ſuch Laws as concerned their Life and Converſation. 2*dly*, Of ſuch as more particularly related to the Exerciſe of the ſeveral Offices and Duties of their Function. 3*dly*, Of ſuch as were a ſort of Out-guards or Fences to both the former. The Laws which related to their Life and Converſation, were ſuch as tended to create in them a Sublimity of Virtue above other Men; foraſmuch as they were to be Examples and Patterns to them; which if good, would be both a Light and a Spur to others; but if Bad, the very Peſts and Banes of the Church. It is *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Reflection [*a*] upon the different ſorts of Guides which he had obſerved then in the Church. Some, he complains, did with unwaſhed Hands and prophane Minds preſs to handle the holy Myſteries, and affect to be at the Altar, before they were fit to be initiated to any ſacred Service. They looked upon the holy Order and Function, not as deſigned for an Example of Virtue, but only as a way of ſubſiſting themſelves; not as a Truſt, of which they were to give an Account, but a State of abſolute Authority and Exemption. And theſe Mens Examples corrupted the Peoples Morals, faſter than any Cloth can imbibe a Colour, or a Plague infect the Air; ſince Men were more diſpoſed to receive the Tincture of Vice than Virtue from the Example of their Rulers. In oppoſition to ſuch he lays down this as the firſt thing to be aimed at by all ſpiritual Phyſicians, that they ſhould draw the Picture of all manner of Virtues in their own Lives, and ſet themſelves as Examples to the People; that it might not be proverbially ſaid of them, That they ſet about curing others, while they themſelves were full of Sores and Ulcers. Nor were they to draw this Image of Virtue ſlightly and to a faint degree, but accurately and to the higheſt Perfection: Since nothing leſs than ſuch Degrees and Meaſures of Virtue were expected by GOD from the Rulers and Governours of his People: And then there would be hopes, that ſuch Heights and Eminencies would draw the Multitude at leaſt to a Mediocrity in Virtue, and aſſure them to embrace that voluntarily by gentle Perſuaſions, which they would not be brought to ſo effectually and laſtingly by Force and Compulſion. He urges farther [*b*] the Neceſſity of ſuch a Purity from the Conſideration of the Sacredneſs and Majeſty of the Function itſelf. A Miniſter's Office ſets him in the ſame Rank and Order with Angels themſelves; he celebrates GOD with Archangels; tranſmits the Church's Sacrifices to the Altar in Heaven, and performs the Prieſt's Office with Chriſt himſelf; he reforms the work of GOD's hands, and preſents the Image to his Maker; his Workmanſhip is for the World above: And therefore he ſhould be exalted to a divine and heavenly Nature, whoſe Buſineſs is to be as a GOD himſelf, and make others GOD's alſo. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*c*] makes uſe of the ſame Argument, That the Prieſthood, though it be exerciſed upon Earth, is occupied wholly about heavenly Things; that it is the Miniſtery of Angels put by the Holy Ghoſt into the Hands of mortal Men; and therefore a Prieſt ought to be pure and holy, as being placed in Heaven it ſelf in the midſt of thoſe heavenly Powers. He preſſes likewiſe the Danger and Prevalency of a bad Example [*d*]. Subjects commonly form their Manners by the Pattern of their Princes. How then ſhould a proud Man be able to aſſwage the ſwelling Tumors of others? Or an angry Ruler hope to make his People in Love with Moderation and Meekneſs? Biſhops are expoſed, like Combatants in the Theatre, to the View and Obſervation of all Men; and their Faults, tho' never ſo ſmall, cannot be hid: And therefore as their virtuous Actions profit many, by provoking them to the like Zeal; ſo their Vices will render others unfit to attempt or proſecute any thing that is Noble and Good: For which Reaſon their Souls ought to ſhine all over with the pureſt Brightneſs, that they may both Enlighten and Extimulate the Souls of others, who have their Eyes upon them. A Prieſt ſhould arm himſelf all over with Purity of Life, as with Adamantine Armor: For if he leave any part naked and unguarded, he is ſurrounded both with open Enemies and pretended Friends, who will be ready to wound and ſupplant him. So long as his Life is all of a Piece, he needs not fear their Aſſaults: But if he be overſeen in a Fault, though but a ſmall one, it will be laid hold of and improved to the Prejudice of all his former Virtues. For all Men are moſt ſevere Judges in his caſe, and treat him not with any allowance for being encompaſſed with Fleſh, or as having an Humane Nature; but expect he ſhould be an Angel, and free from all Infirmities. He cannot indeed (as the ſame Father argues [*e*] in another place) with any tolerable Decency and Freedom diſcharge his Office in puniſhing and reproving others, unleſs he himſelf be blameleſs and without Rebuke. The Prieſt's Office is a more difficult Province [*f*] than that of leading an Army, or governing a Kingdom, and requires an angelical Virtue. His Soul ought to be purer than the Rays of the

[*a*] Naz. Orat. 1. Apologet. de Fuga. Tom. 1. p. 5. [*b*] Naz. lib. 3. c. 14. [*e*] Chryſ. de ſacerd. lib. 5. c. 3. [*f*] Chryſ. Ibid. p. 31. [*c*] Chryſ. de ſacerdot. lib. 3. c. 4. [*d*] Ibid. Ibid. lib. 6. c. 2.

Sun, that the Holy Spirit may never leave him desolate; but that he may be always able to say, *I live, yet not I, but Christ that liveth in me.* He there goes on to draw the Comparison [g] at large between the Clerical and the Monastick Life, and shews how much more difficult it is to take care of a multitude of Men immersed in secular Business, than of a single Person, that lives retired and free from Temptation. And upon the whole matter he concludes [h], that as God requires greater Purity in those that serve at his Altar, so he will exact a more ample Account of them, and more severely punish their Offences. By these and many other such like Arguments did those Holy Fathers try to raise both in themselves and others a just Sense of that universal Purity, which becomes the sacred Function.

SECT. II. *Church-Censures more severe against them than any others.*

AND to the Strength of these Arguments the Church added the Authority of her Sanctions; inflicting severer Penalties upon Offending Clergy-Men than any others. For whereas all other Offenders were allowed, by the Benefit of Publick Penance, to regain the Privileges of their Order: this Favour was commonly denied by the Church to such of her Sons among the Clergy, as were Notorious for any scandalous Crimes, whereby they became a Reproach to their Profession. For such Delinquents were usually Deposed from their Office, and sometimes Excommunicated also, and obliged to do Penance among the Laymen; but with this Difference, that though Repentance would restore them to the Peace of the Church, yet it would not qualify them to act in their Office and Station again; but they must be content thenceforth to communicate only as Laymen. Some Canons indeed did not oblige them to do Publick Penance in the Church, because they thought it Punishment enough to Degrade them: Others required them to submit to that Part of Discipline also. But still the Result and Consequence of both was the same, that such Persons for ever after were only to be treated in the quality of Laymen. Those called the Apostolical Canons are sometimes for the former way; for one of them [i] says, If a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon is taken in Fornication, Perjury, or Theft, he shall be Deposed, but not Excommunicated: For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not punish twice for the same Crime. I do not now stand to enquire whether there be any such Scripture as these Canons refer to, but only observe what was the Practice of the *Greek* Church when these Canons were made; which is also taken notice of in St. *Basil*'s [k] canons, and those of *Peter* of *Alexandria* [l] and some others, which shew it to have been the customary Practice of their Churches. Yet for *Simony* [m] and some other [n] Crimes, the same Apostolical Canons order both Deposition and Excommunication. And in the *African* Church both Punishments were inflicted also for one and the same Crime, in the time of *Cyprian*, as appears from his Epistle [o] to *Cornelius*, where speaking of *Novatus*, who was guilty of Murder, in causing his own Wife by a Blow to miscarry, he says, For this Crime he was not only to be degraded, or expelled the Presbytery, but to be deprived of the Communion of the Church also. From whence we may collect the Severity of the ancient Canons against such Crimes of the Clergy in general, as were committed to the flagrant Scandal of the Church.

SECT. III. *What Crimes punished with Degradation:* viz. *Theft, Murder, Perjury,* &c.

HENCE also we may observe in particular, what sort of Crimes were thought worthy to be punished with Degradation, namely such as Theft, Murder, Perjury, Fraud, Sacrilege, Fornication and Adultery, and such like gross and scandalous Offences. For in this case they distinguished between *Peccatum* and *Crimen*, little Faults and Crimes of a more heinous Nature. For St. *Austin* observes [p], it was not all manner of Failings that hindered Mens Ordination at first; for if the Apostle had required that as a Qualification in Persons to be ordained, that they should be without Sin, all Men must have been rejected, and none ordained; since no Man lives without Sin: But he only requires that they should be Blameless in respect to criminal and scandalous Offences. And this was the Rule the Church observed in canvassing the Lives of her Clergy after Ordination, when they were actually engaged in her Service. It was not every lesser Failing or Infirmity that was punished with Degradation; but only Crimes of a deeper Die, such as Theft, Murder, Fraud, Perjury, Sacrilege, Fornication and Adultery. Concerning the last of which there are these two things farther observable in some of the ancient Canons. 1*st*, That if any Clergyman's Wife was convicted of Adultery, he himself was obliged to shew his Resentment and Detestation of the Fact by putting her away, under Pain of Deposition, if he continued to live with her. For so the Council of *Neo-Cæsarea* [q] words it: A Man whose Wife is evidently convicted of Adultery while he is a Layman, shall not be ordained: But if she commit Adultery after his Ordination, he ought to put her away; and if he cohabit with her, he may not retain her and his Ministry together. The

[g] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 3. [h] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 10, & 11. [i] Canon. Apost. c. 25. [k) Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 3. 32. 51. [l] Pet. Alex. Ep. Canon. c. 10. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Tom. 2. [m] Canon. Apost. c. 29. [n] Ibid. c. 30, & 51. [o] Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. p. 97. Propter hoc se non de Presbyterio tantum, sed & Communicatione prohiberi pro certo tenebat, &c. [p] Aug. Tract. 41. in Joh. Tom. 9. p. 126. Apostolus Paulus, quando elegit ordinandos vel Presbyteros vel Diaconos, & quicunque ordinandus est ad Præposituram Ecclesiæ, non ait, si quis sine Peccato est; hoc enim si diceret, omnis homo reprobaretur, nullus ordinaretur; sed ait, si quis sine Crimine est, sicut est Homicidium, Adulterium, aliqua immunditia Fornicationis, Furtum, Fraus, Sacrilegium, & cætera hujusmodi. [q] Conc. Neo-Cæs. c. 8. ἐὰν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν μοιχευθῇ ὀφείλει ἀπολυσαι αὐτήν. ἐὰν δὲ συζῇ, οὐ δύναται ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ ὑπηρεσίας.

Council

Council of *Eliberis* [r] is ſtill more ſevere in the Caſe, denying Communion to ſuch Perſons even at their laſt Hour, who retained Wives guilty of Adultery; becauſe, ſays the Canon, they who ought to be Examples of good Converſation to others, do by this means teach others the Way to Sin. 2*dly*, The other thing to be obſerved is, That if a Biſhop neglected to inflict the Cenſures of the Church upon any of his Clergy, who were guilty of Fornication, he made himſelf liable to be depoſed: As *Socrates* [s] obſerves the *Arians* themſelves depoſed *Macedonius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* for this Reaſon among others, That he had admitted a Deacon to Communion, who had been taken in Fornication.

SECT. IV. *Alſo Lapſing in time of Perſecution.*

ANOTHER Crime which brought many Clerks under this kind of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, was, that of Lapſing in time of Perſecution. In which caſe Repentance was allowed to reſtore them to the Peace of the Church as Laymen, if they pleaſed, but not to Officiate or Communicate as Eccleſiaſticks any longer. Thus *Trophimus* was treated in the time of *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*; he was admitted [t] to communicate as a Layman, but not to retain his Office of Prieſthood. And this, *Cyprian* ſays [u], was then the Rule at *Rome* and over all the World, If Biſhops or any other Lapſed in time of Perſecution, to admit them to do Penance in the Church, but withal to remove them from the Function of the Clergy and Honour of the Prieſthood: As the *African* Synod, in whoſe Name he writes to the *Spaniſh* Churches, determined in the caſe of *Baſilides* and *Martial*, two *Spaniſh* Biſhops, who when they had Lapſed, thought to qualify themſelves by Repentance to retain their Biſhopricks: But this, he tells them, was contrary to the Rule and Practice of the Univerſal Church. He repeats this in ſeveral other [w] Epiſtles, where he has occaſion to ſpeak of Perſons in the ſame unhappy Circumſtances with them. We find the ſame Order in the Canons of *Peter* [x] Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and the firſt Council [y] of *Arles*, where not only ſuch as fell by ſacrificing, or open Denial of their Faith, but alſo all Traditors are included in the Number of Lapſers, that is, all ſuch as either gave up the Bibles, or the Holy Veſſels of the Church, or the Names of their Brethren to the Perſecutors; and all ſuch who were of the Clergy, are for ever excluded from the Exerciſe and Benefit of their Order and Function. Such was the Diſcipline of the ancient Church in reference to thoſe Guides, who ſet their People an ill Example by their Apoſtacy in time of Perſecution: It was not thought fit to truſt them to be Guides and Leaders for the future. Though I do not deny, but that ſome Exceptions may be found to this general Rule, either when the Diſcipline of the Church was not ſo ſtrict, or when it was otherwiſe found more for the Benefit of the Church to reſtore Lapſers to their Honours, than to Degrade and Remove them wholly from them. For I have noted before, that both Lapſers, and Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks were ſometimes more favourably treated, when the Church thought ſhe might find her Account in ſhewing favour to them.

SECT. V. *And Drinking and Gaming.*

BUT to proceed with the Laws of the Church relating to other Miſdemeanors: as the Life of a Cergyman was a continual Attendance upon the Altar, and conſtantly to be employed in the Exerciſe of Divine and Heavenly things; ſo upon that Account the utmoſt Sobriety was required of him, together with a ſtrict care to ſpend his Time aright, and lay it out uſefully; ſo as might beſt anſwer the Ends of his Calling, and thoſe Spiritual Employments he was daily to be engaged in. And for this Reaſon Drinking and Gaming, thoſe two great Conſumers of Time, and Enemies of all noble Undertakings and generous Services, were ſtrictly prohibited the Clergy under the ſame Penalty of Deprivation. For ſo the Apoſtolical Canons [z] word it, a Biſhop, Preſbyter or Deacon, that ſpends Time in Drinking or Playing at Dice, ſhall either Reform, or be Depoſed. Where we may obſerve this Difference between this and the former Laws, that it does not make every ſingle Act of theſe Crimes *ipſo facto* Deprivation, but only Continuance therein without Reforming. And by *Juſtinian*'s Law [a] the Penalty for Playing at Tables is changed from Deprivation to a Triennial Suſpenſion, and Intruſion into a Monaſtery for the Performance of Repentance. Some perhaps will wonder at the Severity of theſe Laws in prohibiting the Exerciſe of Tables under ſuch a Penalty: But their Wonder will ceaſe, when they are told, that it was equally prohibited to the Laity under Pain of Excommunication. For the Council of *Eliberis* [b] orders, That a Chriſtian playing at Dice or Tables ſhall not be admitted to the Holy Communion, but after a Year's Penance and Abſtinence, and his total Amendment. And there was good Reaſon for the Church to make ſuch a Law in thoſe Times, becauſe this kind of Gaming was prohibited both by the old

[r] Conc. Eliber. c. 65. Si cujus Clerici Uxor fuerit mœchata, & ſciat eam Maritus mœchari, & eam non ſtatim projecerit, nec in fine accipiat Communionem: Ne ab his qui exemplum bonæ converſationis eſſe debent, videantur Magiſteria ſcelerum procedere. [s] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 42. [t] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 106. Sic tamen admiſſus eſt Trophimus, ut Laicus communicet - - - non quaſi locum Sacerdotis uſurpet. [u] Id. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Pleb. Hiſpan. p. 174. Fruſtra tales Epiſcopatum ſibi uſurpare conantur, &c. [w] Cypr. Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. p. 133. It. Ep. 64. al. 65. ad Epictet. [x] Petr. Alex. Ep. Canon. c. 10. ὅτε ὑ ἔπλαυσαν, ἐκ ἔτι δύνανται λειτουργεῖν. [y] Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 13. De his qui Scripturas Sanctas tradidiſſe dicuntur, vel Vaſa Dominica, vel Nomina Fratrum ſuorum, placuit nobis, ut quicunque eorum ex actis Publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis nudis, ab Ordine Cleri amoveatur. [z] Can. Apoſt. 42. κύβοις γολάζων ἢ μέθαις, ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ καθαιρείσθω. [a] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 10. [b] Conc. Eliber. c. 79. Si quis Fidelis alea, id eſt, Tabula luſerit, placuit eum abſtinere: Et ſi emendatus ceſſaverit, poterit poſt annum Communione reconciliari.

and

and new civil [c] Law among the *Romans*, and many other Nations, of which the Reader may find a particular Account in our Learned Biſhop *Taylor* [d], together with the Reaſons of the Prohibition, *viz.* The Evils that commonly attended this ſort of Play, Blaſphemies, and Swearing, and Paſſion, and Lying, and Curſing, and Covetouſneſs, and Fraud, and Quarrels, and Intemperance of all ſorts, the Conſumption of Time, and Ruin of many Families; which Exceſſes had made it Infamous and Scandalous among all Nations. So that what was ſo univerſally prohibited at that time by the Laws of all Nations, the Church could not but in Decency prohibit by her own Laws to the Laity, and more eſpecially to the Clergy, to prevent Scandal, and obviate thoſe Objections, which might otherwiſe have juſtly been raiſed againſt her. Not that the Thing was ſimply Unlawful in itſelf, when uſed only as an Innocent Recreation; but the many evil Appendages that commonly attended the Uſe of it, had made it Scandalous, and conſequently Inexpedient; and the ſpending of Time upon it did much alter the Nature of it, and make it ſo much the more Unlawful.

SECT. VI. *And Negotiating upon Uſury. The Nature of this Crime enquired into.*

ANOTHER Crime for which a Clergyman was liable to be depoſed, was the taking of Uſury; which by the ancient Canons is frequently condemned as a Species of Covetouſneſs and Cruelty, and upon that ſcore ſo ſtrictly prohibited to the Clergy, who were rather to ſtudy to excel in the Practice of the contrary Virtues, Charity, Mercifulneſs, and Contempt of the World and all filthy Lucre. The Laws condemning this Vice are too many to be here tranſcribed: It will be ſufficient to repeat the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which contains the Sum, and ſpeaks the Senſe of all the reſt. Now the Words of that Canon are theſe: Foraſmuch [e] as many Clerks following Covetouſneſs and filthy Lucre, and forgetting the Holy Scriptures (which ſpeak of the Righteous Man as one that hath not given his Money upon Uſury) have let forth their Money upon Uſury, and taken the uſual Monthly Increaſe: It ſeem'd good to this great and holy Synod, that if any one after this Decree ſhall be found to take Uſury, or demand the Principal with half the Increaſe of the Whole, or ſhall invent any other ſuch Methods for filthy Lucre's ſake, he ſhall be degraded from his Order, and have his Name ſtruck out of the Roll of the Church. The Reader will find the ſame Practice cenſured by thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [f], the Council of *Eliberis* [g], the firſt and ſecond of *Arles* [h], the firſt and third of *Carthage* [i], the Council of *Laodicea* [k], and *Trullo* [l], not to mention private Writers, *Cyprian* [m], *Sidonius Apollinarius* [n], St. *Jerom* [o], and many others. Nor need this ſeem ſtrange to any one, that Uſury ſhould be ſo generally condemned in the Clergy; ſince it is apparent that the Practice of it was no leſs diſallowed in the Laity: For the firſt Council of *Carthage* [p] condemns it in them both, but only makes it a more aggravating Crime in the Clergy. The Councils of *Eliberis* alſo [q] that orders Clergymen to be degraded for it, makes it an high Miſdemeanor in Laymen; which, if they perſiſted in the Practice of it after Admonition, was to be puniſhed with Excommunication. We are here therefore in the next Place to enquire into the Nature of this Practice, and the Grounds and Reaſons upon which it was ſo generally condemned both in Clergymen and Laymen. As to the Nature of the thing we are to obſerve that among the ancient *Romans* there were ſeveral ſorts or degrees of Uſury. The moſt common was that which they called *Centeſimæ*: The Council of *Nice* calls it [r] ἑκατοσὰ, and the Council of *Trullo* [s] uſes the ſame Word, which ſignifies the Hundredth Part of the Principal paid every Month, and anſwers to Twelve in the Hundred by the Year. For the *Romans* received Uſury by the Month, that is, at the Kalends or firſt Day of every Month. Whence St. *Baſil* [t] calls the Months the Parents of Uſury. And St. *Ambroſe* [u] ſays the *Greeks* gave Uſury the Name of τόκος, upon this Account, becauſe the Kalends bring forth one in the Hundred, and every Month begets new Uſury. And hence, as the Poet [w] acquaints us, it became a Proverb among the *Romans*, to ſay, *A Man trembles, like a Debtor when the Kalends are a coming*: Becauſe that was the Time of paying Intereſt. Now this ſort of Uſury is generally proſcribed by the Laws of the Church, becauſe it was eſteemed great Oppreſſion. Tho' the Civil Law allowed the Practice of it: For *Conſtantine*, *An.* 325, the ſame Year that the Council of *Nice* was held, publiſhed a Law, ſtating the Rules and Meaſures of Uſury, wherein [x] the Creditor is allowed to take this Centeſimal Uſury, or one in the Hundred every Month, and no more: For it ſeems the old *Roman* Laws granted a greater Liberty. Beſide this Regulation of *Conſtantine*; afterward a new Regulation was made, and it was only allowed in ſome cer-

[c] Digeſt. lib. 11. tit. 5. de Aleator. It. Cod. Juſtin. lib. 3. tit. 43. de Aleator. [d] Taylor Duct. Dubitant. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 776. [e] Conc. Nic. c. 17. [f] Can. Apoſt. c. 44. [g] Conc. Eliber. c. 20. [h] Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 12. Arelat. 2. c. 14. [i] Conc. Carthag. 1. c. 13. Carthag. 3. c. 16. [k] Conc. Laodic. c. 5. [l] Conc. Trull. c. 10. [m] Cypr. de Lapſis, p. 124. [n] Sidon. lib. 1. Ep. 8. [o] Hieron. in Ezek. cap. 18. [p] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 13. Quod in Laicis reprehenditur, id multo magis in Clericis oportet prædamnari. [q] Conc. Eliber. c. 20. Si quis etiam Laicus accepiſſe probatur Uſuras---- ſi in ea iniquitate duraverit, ab Eccleſia ſciat ſe eſſe projiciendum. Vid. Chryſoſt. Hom. 56. in Mat. [r] Conc. Nic. c. 17. [s] Conc. Trull. c. 10. Chryſoſt. Hom. 56. in Mat. [t] Baſil. in Pſalm. 14. T. 3. p. 137. φεύγειν τὰς μῆνας ὡς τόκων πατέρας. [u] Ambr. de Tobia c. 12. τόκους Græci appellaverunt Uſuras, eo quod dolores partus animæ Debitoris excitare videantur. Veniunt Kalendæ, parit ſors Centeſiman. Veniunt Menſes ſinguli, generantur Uſuræ. [w] Horat. lib. 1. Sat. 3. Odiſti & fugis, ut Druſonem debitor æris--- quum triſtes miſero venere Kalendæ. [x] Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 33. de Uſuris. leg. 1. Pro pecunia ultra ſingulas Centeſimas Creditor vetatur accipere.

tain Cases, as where the Creditors seemed to run some Hazard, as appears from the Laws of *Justinian* [y], where he settles the Business of Interest and Usury in his Code. For in Trajectitious Contracts, as the Law terms them, that is, when a Creditor lent Money, suppose at *Rome*, to receive Interest for it only upon condition of the Debtor's safe Arrival with it at *Constantinople:* Because in that case the Creditor ran a great hazard, he was allowed to receive a Centesimal Interest upon that account. *2dly*, Another sort of Usury was that which the Canons call ἡμιολίαι, or *Sescuplum*, the whole and half as much more. St. *Jerom* takes notice [z] of this kind of Usury, and condemns it. For Men, he says, were used to exact Usury for the Loan of Corn, Wine, Oyl, Millet, and other Fruits of the Ground; lending ten Bushels in Winter, on condition to receive fifteen in Harvest, that is, the whole and half as much more. Which sort of Usury, being a very grievous Extortion and great Oppression, is condemned not only in the Clergy by the Councils of *Nice* [a] and *Laodicea* [b], under the Name of ἡμιολίαι; but also in Laymen by the Law of *Justinian* [c], which allows nothing above Centesimal Interest to be taken by any Person in any Case whatsoever. Though *Justinian* intimates that formerly the Laws allowed it. And it is evident from the Law of *Constantine* still extant in the *Theodosian* Code, which determined, That if any Creditor lent to the Indigent any Fruits [d] of the Earth, whether Wet or Dry, he might demand again the Principal, and half as much more by way of Usury: As if he lent two Bushels, he might require three. *3dly*, Another sort of Usury is called by the Civil Law, *Bessis Centesimæ*, which is two thirds of Centesimal Interest, and the same as eight in the hundred. And this the Law allowed Masters [e] of Work-houses and other Tradesmen to take in their Negotiations with others. *4thly*, All other Persons were only allowed to receive half the Centesimal Interest by the same Law of *Justinian* [f]: which is the same as six in the hundred. *5thly*, Persons of Quality were bound to take no more but a third part of the *Centesima* [g], which is only four in the hundred. *6thly*, and lastly, Interest upon Interest was absolutely forbidden [h] by the *Roman* Laws to all Persons in any Case whatsoever, as is evident from an Edict of *Justinian*'s, which both mentions and confirms the ancient Prohibition of it by the Laws of the Emperors that were before him. So that several of these kinds of Usury being prohibited to the Laity in general by the Laws of the State, it was no Wonder that they should be more severely forbidden to the Clergy by the Laws of the Church. Then for the other sorts of Usury, which the State allowed, the Church had two Reasons for discouraging the Practice of them in the Clergy. *1st*, Because Usury was most commonly exacted of the Poor, which the Church reckoned an Oppression of them, who were rather to be relieved by the Charity of Lending without Usury, as the Gospel requires. *2dly*, The Clergy could not take Usury of the rich and trading part of the World, but that must needs engage them in secular Business and worldly Concerns, more than the Wisdom of the Church in those times thought fit to allow. And this I take to be the true State of the Case, and the Sum of the Reasons for prohibiting the Clergy the Practice of Usury in the Primitive Church. Usury was generally a great Oppression to the Poor, as the ancient Writers who speak against it [i] commonly complain: Or else it was thought to argue, and proceed from, a covetous and worldly Mind; which made Men forsake their proper Employment, and betake themselves to other Business, which was beside their Calling, and could not then be followed without some Reproach and Dishonour to it. Therefore *Cyprian* speaking of some Bishops, who were the Reproach of his Age, in enumerating their Miscarriages, joins all these things together; That they who ought to have been Examples and Encouragers to the rest, had cast off the Care of Divine Service [k] to manage Secular Affairs; and leaving their Sees, and deserting their People, they rambled into other Provinces, to catch at Business that would bring them in Gain: Mean while the poor Brethren of the Church were suffered to starve without Relief, whilst their Minds were set upon hoarding up Silver in abundance, and getting Estates by fraudulent Arts, and exercising Usury to augment their own Treasures. When Usury was ordinarily attended with such Concomitants as these, it was no wonder it should be utterly proscribed by the

[y] Cod. Just. lib. 4. tit. 32. de Usuris. leg. 26. In trajectitiis autem Contractibus, vel specierum fœnori dationibus, usque ad Centesimam tantummodo licere stipulari, nec eam excedere, licet veteribus Legibus hoc erat concessum. [z] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. 18. p. 537. Solent in Agris frumenti & Milii, Vini & Olei, cæterarumque Specierum Usuræ exigi —— Verbi gratia, ut hyemis tempore demus decem modios, & in messe recipiamus quindecim, hoc est, amplius partem mediam. [a] Conc. Nic. c. 17. [b] Conc. Laod. c. 6. [c] Cod. Just. ubi supra It. Novel. 32, 33, 34. [d] Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 33. leg. 1. Quicunque fruges, aridas vel humidas, indigentibus mutuas dederint. Usuræ nomine tertiam partem superfluam consequantur: Id est, ut si summa crediti in duobus Modiis fuerit, tertium modium amplius consequantur. [e] Cod. Just. lib. 4. tit. 32. de Usuris. leg. 26. Illos, qui Ergasteriis præsunt, vel aliquam licitam negotiationem gerunt, usque ad Bessem Centesimæ, Usurarum nomine, in quocunque contractu suam stipulationem moderari. [f] Cod. Just. ibid. Cæteros omnes homines Dimidiam tantummodo Centesimæ Usurarum nomine posse stipulari. [g] Ibid. Jubemus Illustribus quidem Personis, sive eas præcedentibus, minime licere ultra Tertiam partem Centesimæ in quocunque contractu stipulari. [h] Cod. Just. lib. 4. tit. 32. leg. 28. Ut nullo modo Usuræ Usurarum à Debitoribus exigantur, veteribus quidem Legibus constitutum fuerat, &c.

[i] Vide Chrysost. Hom. 56. in Mat. Basil. Hom. in Psalm 14. p. 136, &c. [k] Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 123. Episcopi plurimi, quos & Hortamento esse oportet cæteris & Exemplo, Divina Procuratione contempta, Procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta Cathedra, Plebe deserta, per alienas Provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in Ecclesia fratribus non subvenire, habere Argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, Usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augere.

Holy

Holy Fathers of the Church. Beſides St. *Chryſoſtom* [*l*] plainly intimates, that in his time all Senators and Perſons of Quality were abſolutely forbidden to take Uſury by the Laws of the Common-wealth. And that conſideration probably ſo much the more inclined the Fathers of the Church to forbid it to the Clergy, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be out-done by Men of a ſecular Life; and it might be objected to them, that the Laws of the Church in this reſpect were more remiſs than the Laws of the State.

SECT. VII. *Of the Hoſpitality of the Clergy.*

INDEED the Neceſſities of the Poor and Fatherleſs, and Strangers and Widows in thoſe early times, were ſo importunate and craving in every Church, that their Revenues would ſeldom anſwer all their Demands. The Church, as St. *Auſtin* ſays [*m*], had very rarely any thing to lay up in bank. And then it did not become a Biſhop to hoard up Gold, and turn away the Poor empty from him. They had daily ſo many Poor Petitioners, ſo many in Diſtreſs and Want continually applying to them; that they were forced to leave ſome in their Sorrows, becauſe they had not wherewith to relieve them all. Now in this caſe, where there was need of greater Charities, than they had Funds or Abilities to beſtow, there could be no room for Uſury, but with great Neglect and Uncharitableneſs to the Poor. And therefore inſtead of Lending upon Uſury, they were obliged to be exemplary in the Practice of the contrary Virtues, Hoſpitality and Charity; which the Ancients call Lending upon Divine Uſury, not to receive [*n*] One in the Hundred, but an Hundred for One from the hands of GOD. It was then one of the Glories of a Biſhop, St. *Jerom* tells us [*o*], to be a Provedore for the Poor; but a Diſgrace to the Holy Function, to ſeek only to enrich himſelf. And therefore he gives this Direction to *Nepotian*, among other good Rules which he preſcribes him, That his Table ſhould be free to the Poor and Strangers, that with them he might have Chriſt for his Gueſt. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks nobly [*p*] of his Biſhop *Flavian* upon the account of this Virtue: He ſays, his Houſe was always open to Strangers, and ſuch as were forced to fly for the ſake of Religion; where they were received and entertained with that Freedom and Humanity, that his Houſe might as properly be called, The Houſe of Strangers, as the Houſe of *Flavian*. Yea, it was ſo much the more his own, for being common to Strangers; for whatever we poſſeſs, is ſo much the more our Property for being communicated to our poor Brethren: There being no Place where we may ſo ſafely lay up our Treaſure, as in the Hands and Bellies of the Poor.

SECT. VIII. *Of their Frugality and Contempt of the World.*

NOW the better to qualifie them to perform this Duty, every Clergyman was required to lead a Frugal Life; that is, to avoid Profuſeneſs, as well in their own Private Concerns, as in giving great Entertainments to the Rich; which is but a falſe-named Hoſpitality, and a great Uſurper upon the Rights and Revenues of the Poor. We may judge of the Simplicity of thoſe Times by the Character which *Ammianus Marcellinus* the Heathen Hiſtorian [*q*] gives of the *Italian* Biſhops, as 'tis probable, from his own Obſervation: He ſays, Their ſpare Diet, and frugal way of Living, their cheap Clothing and grave Deportment, did recommend them to GOD and his true Worſhippers, as Perſons of pure and modeſt Souls. This made thoſe Country-Biſhops more honourable, in his Opinion, than if they had lived in the Riches, and State, and Splendor of the Biſhops of *Rome*. By a Canon of the 4th Council of *Carthage* [*r*] all the *African* Biſhops were obliged to live after this manner; not to affect rich Furniture, or ſumptuous Entertainments, or a ſplendid way of living, but to ſeek to advance the Dignity and Authority of their Order by their Faith and Holy Living. Some indeed were for that other ſort of Hoſpitality, for entertaining the rich, and eſpecially the Magiſtrates, on Pretence that they might keep an Intereſt in them, and be able to intercede with them for poor Criminals when they were condemned. But St. *Jerom* particularly conſiders and anſwers this Pretence in his Inſtructions to *Nepotian*. You muſt avoid, ſays he [*s*], giving great Entertainments to ſecular Men, and eſpecially thoſe that are in great Offices. For 'tis not very reputable to have the Lictors and Guards of a Conſul ſtand waiting at the doors of a Prieſt of Chriſt, who himſelf was Crucified and Poor; nor that the Judge of a Province ſhould dine more ſumptuouſly with you, than in the Palace. If it be pretended, that you do this only to be able to interceed with him for poor Criminals; there is no Judge but will pay a greater Deference and Reſpect to a frugal Clergyman, than a rich one, and ſhew

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 56. in Mat. τοὺ γᾶν οι ἀξιώματσιν ὄνλας, καὶ εἰς τὴν μογάλην τελεῖλας βελὴν, ἣν σύγκλητον καλέσιν, ὁ δέμις τοιάτοις κέρδεσιν κατδοχύεσ. Honorius, *an.* 397, *publiſhed a Law which implies the ſame.* Cod. Theod. lib. 2. tit. 33. de Uſuris, leg. 3. *though by a following Law*, an. 405, *he allowed Senators half the Centeſimal Intereſt.* [*m*] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diverſis, ſive de Vita Clericor. t. 10. p. 520. Enthecam nobis habere non licet. Non enim eſt Epiſcopi ſervare aurum, & revocare à ſe mendicantis manum. Quotidie tam multi petunt, tam multi gemunt, tam multi nos inopes interpellant; ut plures triſtes relinquamus, quicquod poſſimus dare omnibus, non habemus.

[*n*] Pet. Chryſolog. Serm. 25. p. 269. Uſura mundi centum ad unum, Deus unum accipit ad centum. Vid. Chryſoſt. Hom. 56. in Mat. 17. p. 507. ed. Commelin. [*o*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Gloria Epiſcopi eſt pauperum opibus providere: Ignominia omnium ſacerdotum eſt propriis ſtudero Divitiis.

[*p*] Chryſ. Serm. 1. in Gen. tom. 2. p. 886. ed. Front. Ducæi.

[*q*] Ammian. lib. 27. p. 458. Antiſtites quoſdam Proviaciales tenuitas edendi potandique parciſſime. Vilitas etiam indumentorum, & ſupercilia humum ſpectantia, perpetuo Numini veriſque ejus Cultoribus, ut puros commendant & verecundos. [*r*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 15. Ut Epiſcopus vilem ſupellectilem & Menſam ac victum pauperem habeat, & Dignitatis ſuæ auctoritatem Fide & Meritis vitæ quærat. [*s*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

greater

greater Reverence to your Sanctity, than your Riches. Or if he be such an one, as will not hear a Clergyman's Intercessions but only among his Cups, I should freely be without this Benefit, and rather beseech Christ for the Judge himself, who can more speedily and powerfully help than any Judge. St. *Jerom* in the same place [t] advises his Clerk not to be over-free in receiving other Men's Entertainments neither. For the Laity, says he, should rather find us to be Comforters in their Mournings, than Companions in their Feasts. That Clerk will quickly be contemned, that never refuses any Entertainments, when he is frequently invited to them. Such were the ordinary Rules and Directions given by the Ancients for regulating the Hospitality and Frugality of the Clergy. But many Bishops and others far exceeded these Rules in transcendent Heights of Abstinence, and Acts of Self-denyal, freely chosen and imposed upon themselves, that they might have greater Plenty and Superfluities to bestow upon others. *Gregory Nazianzen* [u] gives us this Account of St. *Basil*, That his Riches was to possess nothing; to live content with that little which Nature requires; to despise Delicacies and Pleasures, and set himself above the Slavery of that cruel and sordid Tyrant the Belly: His most delicious and constant Food was Bread and Salt and Water; his Clothing but one Coat and one Gown; his Lodging upon the Ground; not for want of better Accommodations; for he was Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, and had considerable Revenues belonging to his Church; but he submitted to this way of Living in imitation of his Saviour, who became Poor for our Sakes, that we through his Poverty might be made Rich. And therefore both the same Author [w], and the Church-Historians also [x] tell us, that when in the time of the *Arian* Persecution under *Valens* he was threatned by one of the Emperor's Agents, That unless he would comply, he should have all his Goods confiscated; his Answer was, That no such Punishment could reach him, for he was possess'd of nothing, unless the Emperor wanted his thread-bare Clothes, or a few Books, which was all the Substance he was Master of. St. *Jerom* gives the like Character of *Exuperius* Bishop of *Tholouse*, who made other Men's Wants always his own; and like the Widow of *Sarepta*, pinch'd and deny'd himself to feed the Poor, bestowing all his Substance upon the Bowels of Christ. Nay, such was his Frugality, that he ministred the Body of Christ in a Basket of Osiers, and the Blood in a glass Cup: But nothing, says our Author [y], could be more Rich or Glorious, than such a Poverty as this. It were easy to give a thousand Instances of the same nature in the *Cyprians*, the *Austins*, the *Nazianzen's*, the *Paulinus's*, and other such like generous Spirits of the Age they lived in; who contemned the World with greater Pleasure, than others could admire or enjoy it. But as such heights of Heroick Virtues exceeded the common Rule, they are not proposed as the strict Measures of every Man's Duty, but only to excite the Zeal of the Forward and the Good. It may be said of this, as our Saviour says of a parallel Case, *All Men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given; but he that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*

SECT. IX.
Whether the Clergy were anciently obliged by any Law to part with their Temporal Possessions.

SOME indeed would fain turn this prudential Advice into a Law, and attempt to prove that anciently the Clergy were under an Obligation to quit their Temporal Possessions, when they betook themselves to the Service of the Church. But this is to out-face the Sun at Noon-day. For as there is no just ground for this Assertion, so there are the plainest Evidences to the contrary. Among those called the Apostolical Canons [z], there is one to this purpose: Let the Goods of the Bishop, if he has any of his own, be kept distinct from those of the Church; that when he dies he may have power to dispose of them to whom he pleases, and as he pleases; and not receive damage in his private Effects upon pretence that they were the Goods of the Church. For perhaps he has a Wife, or Children, or Relations, or Servants: And it is but just before GOD and Man, that neither the Church should suffer for want of knowing what belonged to the Bishop, nor the Bishop's Relations be damaged by the Church, or come into Trouble upon that account, which would be to the Scandal and Reproach of the deceased Bishop. Many other Canons both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church [a] are to the same Effect. Nor can it be pretended, that this is to be understood only of such Estates as they got in the Service of the Church. For St. *Ambrose* plainly intimates, that the Law left the Clergy in the full possession of their Patrimony, or Temporal Estates, which they had before. For he brings in some Male-contents among the Clergy thus complaining: What advantage [b] is it to me to be of the Clergy, to suffer Injuries, and undergo hard Labour, as if my own Estate would not maintain me? This implies, that Men of Estates were then among the Clergy. And indeed there was but one Case, in which any Clerk could be compelled to quit his Possessions, and that was when his Estate was originally tied to the Service of the Empire, of which I have given a full Account before. In all other Cases it was matter of free choice, and left to his li-

[t] Ibid. Facile contemnitur Clericus, qui sæpe vocatus ad prandium, ire non recusat. [u] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. p. 357. [w] Naz. Ibid. p. 349. [x] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 16. [y] Hieron. Ep. ad Rustic. Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.
[z] Can. Apost. c. 40. ἔστω φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πράγματα (εἰ γε καὶ ἴδια ἔχει) καὶ φανερὰ τὰ κυριακὰ, &c.
[a] Conc. Antioch. c. 24. Conc. Agathen. c. 48. Conc. Carth. 3. c. 49. [b] Ambr. Ep. 17. Quid mihi prodest in Clero manere, subire injurias, labores perpeti, quasi non possit ager meus me pascere.

berty, whether he would diſpoſe of his Eſtate to any pious Uſe or not. Only if he did not, it was expected he ſhould be more generous in his Charities, and leſs burdenſome to the Church, his needs being ſupplied another way. Though neither was this forced upon him by any Law, but only urged upon Reaſons of Charity [*c*]; leaving him Judge of his own Neceſſities, and not forbidding him to have his Dividend in the Church, if in his own Prudence he thought fit to require it. *Socrates* [*d*] commends *Cryſanthus* a *Novatian* Biſhop upon this account, that having an Eſtate of his own, he never took any thing of the Church, ſave two Loaves of the *Eulogiæ*, or Offerings on *Sunday*; though he does not once intimate, that there was any Law to compel him to do ſo. As neither does *Proſper*, who ſpeaks moſt of any other againſt rich Men's taking their Portion in the Charities of the Church. He reckons it indeed [*e*] a diſhonourable Act and a Sin in them, becauſe it was to deprive others of the Church's Charity, who ſtood more in need of it: And he thinks, though a rich Clergyman might keep his own Eſtate without Sin, becauſe there was no Law but the Law of Perfection to oblige him to renounce it; yet it muſt be upon condition that he required none of the Maintenance of the Church [*f*]: But he only delivers this as his own private Opinion, and does not ſignify that there was then any ſuch ſtanding Law in the Church. In *Africk* they had a peculiar Law againſt Covetouſneſs in the time of St. *Auſtin*, which was, That if any Biſhop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other Clerk, who had no Eſtate when they were ordained, did afterward [*g*] purchaſe Lands in his own Name, they ſhould be impleaded as guilty of invading the Lord's Revenue, unleſs upon Admonition they conferred the ſame upon the Church. For in thoſe times the Church-Revenues being ſmall, no ones Dividend was more than a competent Maintenance: And therefore it was preſumed, that he who could purchaſe Lands in ſuch Circumſtances, muſt have been ſome way injurious to the Publick Revenues of the Church. But in the ſame Law it was provided, that if any Eſtate was left them by Donation or Inheritance, they might diſpoſe of it as they pleaſed themſelves: For the Church made no Rules, but only gave her Advice, in ſuch Caſes as theſe; exhorting her wealthy Clergy to greater degrees of Liberality, but not demanding their Eſtates to have them at her own Diſpoſal. On the other hand, when Clergymen, who had not viſible Eſtates of their own, and were ſingle Men, and had no poor Families to provide for, were buſily intent upon growing rich out of the Revenues of the Church: This was always eſteemed a ſcandalous Covetouſneſs, and accordingly proſecuted with ſharp Invectives by St. *Jerom* [*h*] and others of the ancient Writers. So much of the Laws of Charity, which concerned the ancient Clergy.

SECT. X. *Of their great Care to be Inoffenſive with their Tongues.*

I might here give a Character of their Meekneſs, Modeſty, Gravity, Humility, and ſeveral other Virtues, which *Nazianzen* deſcribes in the Perſon of his own Father: But I ſhall but take Notice of two things more which concerned the Conduct of their Lives, and thoſe are the Laws relating firſt to their Words, and ſecondly to their Fame and Reputation. For their Words, they who were to teach others the moſt difficult part of humane Conduct, the Government of the Tongue, were highly concerned to be Examples to the People, as well in Word as Action. And to this Purpoſe the Laws were very ſevere againſt all manner of licentious Diſcourſe in their Converſation. The 4th Council of *Carthage* has three Canons together upon this Head; one of which [*i*] forbids Scurrility, and Buffoonery, or that fooliſh Talking and Jeſting with Obſcenity, which the Apoſtle calls, Βωμολοχία, under the Penalty of Deprivation. Another threatens [*k*] ſuch with Excommunication, as uſe to ſwear by the Name of any Creature. And a third Canon [*l*] menaces the ſame Puniſhment to ſuch as ſing at any Publick Entertainments. St. *Jerom* particularly cautions his Clerk againſt Detraction, becauſe of the Temptation he may lie under either to commit the Sin himſelf, or give way to it in others, by hearkning to and reporting falſe Suggeſtions after them. Which is much the ſame thing: For no Slanderer tells his ſtory to one [*m*] that is not willing to hear him. An Arrow, ſays he, never fixes upon a Stone, but often recoils back, and wounds him that ſhoots it. Therefore let the Detracter learn to be leſs forward and buſie, by your Unwillingneſs to hear his Detraction. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*n*] takes notice of this Vice, as moſt incident to Inferiors, whom Envy and

[*c*] Vide Can. Apoſt. c. 41. Conc. Antioch. c. 25.
[*d*] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 12. [*e*] Proſper. de Vit. Contempl. lib. 2. c. 12. Noverint eſſe deformius, Poſſeſſores de Eleemoſynis pauperum paſci. [*f*] Ibid. Illi qui tam infirmi ſunt, ut Poſſeſſionibus ſuis renunciare non poſſint; ſi ea quæ accepturi erant, Diſpenſatori relinquant, nihil habentibus conferenda, ſine peccato poſſident ſua. [*g*] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 49. Placuit, ut Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, vel quicunque Clerici, qui nihil habentes ordinantur, & tempore Epiſcopatus vel Clericatus ſui, agros vel quæcunque prædia nomine ſuo comparant, tanquam rerum Divinarum Invaſionis crimine teneantur obnoxii, niſi admoniti Eccleſiæ eadem ipſa contulerint. [*h*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Nonnulli ſunt ditiores Monachi, quam fuerant Sæculares: Et Clerici qui poſſideant opes ſub Chriſto paupere, quas ſub locuplete & fallace Diabolo non habuerant: Ut ſuſpiret eos Eccleſia Divites, quos mundus tenuit ante Mendicos.
[*i*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 60. Clericum Scurrilem, & verbis turpibus joculatorem, ab Officio detrahendum. [*k*] Ibid. c. 61. Clericum per Creaturas jurantem acerrime objurgandum. Si perſtiterit in vitio, excommunicandum. [*l*] Ibid. c. 62. Clericum inter Epulas cantantem ſupradictæ ſententiæ ſeveritate coercendum. [*m*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Neque vero illa juſta eſt Excuſatio, Referentibus aliis, injuriam facere non poſſum. Nemo invito auditori libenter refert, &c. [*n*] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 5. c. 8.

Emulation too often prompt to detract from the Authority and Virtues of their Biſhop; eſpecially when they are grown popular and admired for their own eloquent Preaching; then if they be of a bold and arrogant and vain-glorious Temper, their buſineſs is to deride him in private, and detract from his Authority, and make themſelves every thing by leſſening his juſt Character and Power. Upon this hint our Author alſo takes occaſion to ſhew, what an extraordinary Courage and Spirit, and how Divine and Even a Temper a Biſhop ought to have, that by ſuch Temptations, and a thouſand others of the like nature, he be not overwhelmed either with Anger or Envy on the one hand, or inſuperable Sorrow and Dejection of Mind on the other. St. *Jerom* recommends another Virtue of the Tongue to his Clerk, which is of great uſe in Converſation; and that is the keeping of Secrets, and knowing when to be ſilent, eſpecially about the Affairs of great Men. Your Office, ſays he, requires you to viſit the ſick, and thereby you [o] become acquainted with the Families of Matrons and their Children, and are entruſted with the Secrets of noble Men. You ought therefore to keep not only a chaſte Eye, but alſo a chaſte Tongue. And as it is not your Buſineſs to be talking of the Beauties of Women; ſo neither to let one Houſe know from you what was done in another. For if *Hippocrates* adjured his Diſciples, before he taught them, and made them take an Oath of Silence; if he formed them in their Diſcourſe, their Gate, their Meekneſs and Modeſty, their Habit, and their whole Morals; how much more ought we, who have the Care of Souls committed to us, to love the Houſes of all Chriſtians as if they were our own? He means, that the Clergy ſhould be formed to the Art of Silence, as carefully as *Hippocrates* taught his Scholars; that the Peace and Unity of Chriſtian Families might not be diſturbed or diſcompoſed by Revealing the Secrets of one to another; which it is certain no one will do, that has the Property which St. *Jerom* requires, of Loving every Chriſtian Family as his own.

SECT. XI. *Of their Care to guard againſt Suſpicion of Evil.*

2*dly*, As they were thus taught to be inoffenſive both in Word and Deed, and thereby ſecure a good Name and Reputation among Men; which was neceſſary for the due Exerciſe of their Function: So becauſe it was poſſible their Credit might be impaired not only by the Commiſſion of real Evil, but by the very Appearance and Suſpicion of it; the Laws of the Church upon this Account were very exact in requiring them to ſet a Guard upon their whole Deportment, and avoid all ſuſpicious Actions, that might give the leaſt Umbrage or Handle to an Adverſary to reproach them. It was not enough in this Caſe, that a Man kept a good Conſcience in the ſight of GOD, but he muſt provide or forecaſt for honeſt things in the ſight of Men. And this was the more difficult, becauſe Men are apt to be Querulous againſt the Clergy, as St. *Chryſoſtom* obſerves, ſome through Weakneſs and Imprudence, others through Malice, eaſily raiſing Complaints and Accuſations without any juſt ground, and difficultly hearkning to any Reaſons or Apologies that they can offer in their own Defence. But the more querulous and ſuſpicious Men are, the more watchful it becomes the Clergy to be againſt unjuſt Surmiſes, that they may cut off Occaſion from them that deſire Occaſion to accuſe or reproach them. To this End they are to uſe the utmoſt Diligence and Precaution to guard againſt the ill Opinions of Men, by avoiding all Actions that are of a doubtful or ſuſpicious nature. For, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom* [p], if the Holy Apoſtle St. *Paul* was afraid leſt he ſhould have been ſuſpected of Theft by the *Corinthians*; and upon that Account took others into the Adminiſtration of their Charity with himſelf, that no one might have the leaſt Pretence to blame him; how much more careful ſhould we be to cut off all Occaſions of ſiniſter Opinions and Suſpicions, however falſe or unreaſonable they may be, or diſagreeable to our Character? For none of us can be ſo far removed from any Sin, as St. *Paul* was from Theft: Yet he did not think fit to contemn the Suſpicions of the vulgar: He did not truſt to the Reputation, which both his Miracles and the Integrity of his Life had generally gained him: But on the contrary he imagined ſuch Suſpicions and Jealouſies might ariſe in the Hearts of ſome Men, and therefore he took care to prevent them; not ſuffering them to ariſe at all, but timely foreſeeing, and prudently foreſtalling them: providing, as he ſays, for honeſt things not only in the ſight of GOD, but alſo in the ſight of Men. The ſame Care and much greater ſhould we take, not only to diſſipate and deſtroy the ill Opinions Men may have entertained of us, but to foreſee afar off from what Cauſes they may ſpring, and to cut off beforehand the very Occaſions and Pretences from whence they may grow: Which is much eaſier to be done, than to extinguiſh them when they are riſen, which will then be very difficult, perhaps impoſſible: Beſides that their being raiſed will give great Scandal and Offence, and wound the Conſciences of many. Thus that holy Father argues upon this Point, according to his wonted manner, nervouſly and ſtrenuouſly, to ſhew the Clergy their Obligations to uſe their utmoſt Prudence to foreſee and prevent Scandal, by avoiding all Actions of a doubtful and ſuſpicious Nature. St. *Jerom* [q] gives his Clerk the ſame Inſtructions, to guard againſt Suſpicions, and take Care beforehand to miniſter no probable Grounds for raiſing any

[o] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. [p] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 9. [q] Hieron. Ep. 2, ad Nepot. Caveto omnes ſuſpiciones & quicquid probabiliter fingi poteſt, ne fingatur, ante devita, &c.

feigned Stories concerning him. If his Office required him to visit the Widows or Virgins of the Church, he should never go to them alone, but always take some other Persons of known Probity and Gravity with him, from whose Company he would receive no Defamation.

SECT. XII. *Laws relating to this Matter.*

NOR was this only the private Direction of St. *Jerom*, but a publick Rule of the Church. For in the third Council of *Carthage* this Canon was enacted, That neither Bishop [r] nor Presbyter, nor any other Clerk should visit the Widows and Virgins alone, but in the Company and Presence of some other of the Clergy, or some grave Christians. And in the 1st Council of *Carthage* [s] and the Council of *Epone* [t] there are Canons to the same Purpose.

SECT. XIII. *An Account of the* Agapetæ *and* συνείσακτοι, *and the Laws of the Church made against them.*

THE great Council of *Nice* made another Order upon the same Grounds, to prevent all sinister Opinions, that none of the unmarried Clergy, Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, or any other [u] should have any Woman that was a Stranger, and not one of their Kindred, to dwell with them; save only a Mother, a Sister or an Aunt, or some such Persons, with whom they might live without Suspicion. They who hence conclude, that the Clergy were forbidden to cohabit with their Wives, which they had married before Ordination, are sufficiently exposed by *Gothofred* [w], as Ignorant of the true import of the original Word, συνείσακτος, which never denotes a Wife, but always a Stranger, in opposition to those of ones Kindred: And it is evident, the Canon was made not upon the account of the married Clergy, but the unmarried, to prevent Suspicion and evil Reports, that might easily arise from their familiar Conversation with Women that were not of their Kindred or near Relations. We may be satisfied of this from a Law of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* Junior, which was made in pursuance of the *Nicene* Canon, and is still extant in both the Codes [x], where first having forbidden the Clergy to cohabit with any strange Women, who by some were taken in under the Title and Appellation of Sisters; and having named what Persons they might lawfully entertain in their Houses, *viz.* Mothers, Daughters, and Sisters, because natural Consanguinity would prevent all Suspicion of these: Lest the not excepting of Wives, might seem to exclude them also, a particular Clause is added concerning them, That such as were married before their Husbands were Ordained, should not be relinquished upon Pretence of Chastity, but rather be retained upon that Account; it being but reasonable that they should be joyned to their Husbands, who by their Conversation made their Husbands worthy of the Priestood. The συνείσακτοι then, or Strangers, who in these Laws are forbidden to Cohabit with the Clergy, are not their lawful Wives, but others who were taken in under the Name of Sisters, as that Law of *Honorius*, and other ancient Writers [y] intimate they were called by those that entertained them. St. *Jerom* [z] and *Epiphanius* [a] tell us, they were also known by the Name of *Agapetæ*, ἀγαπηταὶ, that is, Beloved. So that all these several Names signifie but that one sort of Persons, most commonly called Strangers, *Extraneæ*, and συνείσακτοι, whose Conversation was suspicious, and therefore so often prohibited by the Laws of the Church. They were commonly some of the Virgins belonging to the Church, whom they that entertained pretended only to love as Sisters with a chast Love. But their manner of conversing was sometimes so very scandalous, that it justly gave great Offence to all sober and modest Persons; and had not the Church always interposed with her severest Censures, it must have made her liable to as great Reproach. For it appears from the Complaints of St. *Cyprian* [b], St. *Jerom* [c] and others, that the Practice of some was very intolerable: For they not only dwelt together in the same House, but lodged in the same Room, and sometimes in the same Bed; and yet would be thought Innocent, and called others uncharitable and suspicious, that entertained any hard thoughts of them. But the Church did not regard vain Words, but treated them as they justly deserved, as Persons that used a scandalous and indecent Liberty, and who were the very Pests and Plagues of the Church. *Cyprian* [d] commends *Pomponius* for excommunicating a Deacon, who had been found Guilty in this kind. And the Council of *Antioch* [e] alledged this among other Reasons for their deposing *Paulus Samosatensis* from his Bishoprick. In the following Ages, besides the Councils of *Nice* and *Ancyra* already mentioned, we meet with many other Canons made upon this Account, as in the se-

[r] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 25. Nec Episcopi aut Presbyteri soli habeant accessum ad hujusmodi fœminas, nisi aut Clerici præsentes sint, aut graves aliqui Christiani. [s] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 3. [t] Conc. Epaunens. c. 20. [u] Conc. Nicen. c. 3. μὴ ἔξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, &c. [w] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. leg. 44. [x] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. leg. 44. It. Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 3. leg. 19. Eum qui probabilem seculo Disciplinam agit, decolorari consortio sororiæ appellationis non decet. Quicunque igitur cujuscunque gradus Sacerdotio fulciuntur, vel Clericatus honore censentur, Extranearum sibi mulierum interdicta consortio cognoscant; has eis tantum facultate concessa, ut Matres, Filias, atque Germanas intra domorum suarum septa contineant. In his enim nihil sævi Criminis existimari Fœdus naturale permittit. Illas etiam non relinqui castitatis hortatur affectio, quæ ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere Conjugium. Neque enim Clericis incompetenter adjunctæ sunt, quæ dignos Sacerdotio viros sua Conversatione fecerunt. [y] Vid. Conc. Ancyr. c. 19. [z] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. p. 138. [a] Epiphan. Hær. 63. Origen. n. 2. [b] Cypr. Ep. 6. al. 14. Ep. 7. al. 13. Ep. 62. al. 4. [c] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. de Virgin. Servand. Unde in Ecclesias Agapetarum Pestis introiit? Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Imo unde novum Concubinarum genus? Plus inferam: Unde Meretrices Univiræ? Quæ eadem domo, uno Cubiculo, sæpe uno tenentur & Lectulo; & suspicioses nos vocant, si aliquid existimamus. [d] Cypr. Ep. 62. al. 4. ad Pompon. [e] Epist. Syuod. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

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cond Council of *Arles* [f] the first, third and fourth Councils of *Carthage* [g], the Council of *Eliberis* [h], and *Lerida* [i], and many others, prohibiting the Clergy to entertain any Women, who were Strangers, and not of their near Relations, under Pain of Deprivation. The Intent of all which Canons was to oblige the Clergy not only to live innocently in the sight of GOD, but also unblameably, and without Suspicion and Censure in the sight of Men. It being more especially necessary for Men of their Function to maintain not only a good Conscience, but a good Name; the one for their own sake, the other for the sake of their Neighbours [k]: That Men might neither be tempted to Blaspheme the Ways of GOD, by suspecting the Actions of Holy Men to be impure, when they were not so; nor be induced to imitate such Practices, as they at least imagined to be evil: Either of which would turn to the Destruction of their Souls. So that it was Cruelty and Inhumanity, as St. *Austin* concludes, for a Man in such Circumstances to neglect and disregard his own Reputation.

SECT. XIV. *Malevolent and Unavoidable Suspicions to be contemned.*

BUT it might happen, that a Man after the utmost humane Caution and Prudence that could be used, might not be able to avoid the Malevolent Suspicions of ill-disposed Men: For our blessed Lord, whose Innocence and Conduct were both equally Divine, could not in his Converse with Men wholly escape them. Now in this case the Church could prescribe no other Rule, but that of Patience and Christian Consolation given by our Saviour to his Apostles. *Blessed are ye when Men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil* [*] *against you falsly for my sake: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in Heaven.* When we have done, says St. *Austin* [l], all that in Justice and Prudence we could to preserve our good Name; if after that some Men notwithstanding will endeavour to blemish our Reputation, and blacken our Character, either by false Suggestions or unreasonable Suspicions; let Conscience be our Comfort, nay plainly our Joy, that great is your Reward in Heaven. For this Reward is the Wages of our Warfare, whilst we behave ourselves as good Soldiers of Christ, by the Armour of Righteousness on the Right Hand and on the Left, by Honour and Dishonour, by evil Report, and good Report. So much of the Laws of the Church, relating to the Life and Conversation of the ancient Clergy.

CHAP. III.

Of Laws more particularly relating to the Exercise of the Duties and Offices of their Function.

SECT. I. *The Clergy obliged to lead a studious Life.*

I COME now to speak of such Laws as more immediately related to their Function, and the several Offices and Duties belonging to it. In speaking of which, because many of these Offices will come more fully to be considered hereafter, when we treat of the Liturgy and Service of the Church, I shall here speak chiefly of such Duties as were required of them by way of general Qualification, to enable them the better to go through the particular Duties of their Function. Such was in the first Place their Obligation to lead a studious Life. For since, as *Gregory Nazianzen* [a] observes, the meanest Arts could not be obtained without much Time, and Labour and Toil spent therein; it were absurd to think, that the Art of Wisdom, which comprehends the Knowledge of things Human and Divine, and comprizes every thing that is Noble and Excellent, was so light and vulgar a thing, as that a Man needed no more but a Wish or a Will to obtain it. Some indeed, he complains [b], were of this fond Opinion, and therefore before they had well passed the time of their Childhood, or knew the Names of the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, or how well to read them, if they had but got two or three pious Words by Heart, or had read a few of the *Psalms* of *David*, and put on a grave Habit, which made some outward shew of Piety, they had the Vanity to think, they were qualified for the Government of the Church. They then talked nothing but of *Samuel*'s Sanctification from his Cradle, and thought themselves profound Scribes, and great Rabbies and Teachers, sublime in the Knowledge of divine Things, and were for interpreting the Scripture not by the Letter, but after a spiritual way, propounding their own Dreams and Fancies, instead of the divine Oracles to the People. This, he complains, was for want of that Study and Labour, which ought to be the continual Employment of Persons who take upon them the Offices of the sacred Function. St. *Chrysostom* pursues this Matter a little farther, and shews the Necessity of continual Labour and Study in a Clergyman, from the Work and Business he has upon his Hand, each Part of which requires great Sedulity and Application. For first he ought to be qualified to minister suitable Remedies to the several Maladie

[f] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 3. [g] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 3. & 4. Carth. 3. c. 17. Carth. 4. c. 46. [h] Conc. Eliber. c. 27. [i] Conc. Ilerdens. c. 15. [k] Aug. de Bono Viduitat. c. 22. Tom. 4. Nobis necessaria est vita nostra, aliis Fama nostra, &c. [*] *Mat.* v. 11. [l] Aug. ibid. [a] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga. Tom. 1. p. 22. [b] Ibid. p. 21.

and Diſtempers [c] of Mens Souls; the Cure of which requires greater Skill and Labour, than the Cure of their bodily Diſtempers: And this is only to be done by the Doctrine of the Goſpel, which therefore required that he ſhould be intimately acquainted with every Part of it. Then again he muſt be able to ſtop the Mouths of all Gainſayers [d], Jews, Gentiles, and Hereticks, who had different Arts, and different Weapons to aſſault the Truth by: And unleſs he exactly underſtood all their Fallacies and Sophiſms, and knew the true Art of making a proper Defence, he would be in Danger not only of ſuffering each of them to make Spoil and Devaſtation of the Church, but of encouraging one Error, whilſt he was oppoſing another. For nothing was more common, than for ignorant and unskilful Diſputants to run from one Extream to another; as he ſhews in the Controverſies which the Church had with the *Marcionites* and *Valentinians* on the one hand, and the *Jews* on the other, about the Law of *Moſes*; and the Diſpute about the Trinity between the *Arians* and *Sabellians*. Now unleſs a Man was well skilled and exerciſed in the Word of GOD, and the true Art and Rules of Diſputation, which could not be attained without continual Study and Labour, he concludes, it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his Ground, and the Truth, as he ought, againſt ſo many ſubtle and wily Oppoſers. Upon this he inculcates [e] that Direction of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* iv. 13. *Give Attendance to Reading, to Exhortation, to Doctrine; Meditate upon theſe things; give thy ſelf wholly to them, that thy Profiting may appear to all Men.* 3*dly*, He ſhews [f] how difficult and laborious a Work it was to make continual Homilies and ſet Diſcourſes to the People, who were become very ſevere Judges of the Preacher's Compoſures, and would not allow him to rehearſe any part of another Man's Work, nor ſo much as to repeat his own upon a ſecond Occaſion. Here his Task was ſomething the more difficult, becauſe Men had generally nice and delicate Palates, and were inclined to hear Sermons as they heard Plays, more for Pleaſure than Profit: Which added to the Preacher's Study and Labour; who though he was to contemn both popular Applauſe and Cenſure, yet was he alſo to have ſuch a Regard to his Auditory, as that they might hear him with Pleaſure to their Edification and Advantage. And the more famed and eloquent the Preacher was, ſo much the more careful [g] and ſtudious ought he to be, that he may always anſwer his Character, and not expoſe himſelf to the Cenſures and Accuſations of the People. Theſe and the like Arguments does that holy Father urge, to ſhew how much it concerns Men of the ſacred Calling to devote themſelves to a ſtudious and laborious Life, that they may be the better qualified thereby to anſwer the ſeveral indiſpenſible Duties of their Functions.

SECT. II. *No Pleas allowed as juſt Apologies for the contrary.*

SOME indeed, St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, were ready to plead even the Apoſtles Authority for their Ignorance, and almoſt value themſelves for want of Learning, becauſe the Apoſtle ſays of himſelf, that he was rude in Speech. But to this the Holy Father juſtly replies, That this was a Miſrepreſentation of the great Apoſtle, and vainly urged to excuſe any Man's Sloth and [h] Negligence in not attaining to thoſe neceſſary Parts of Knowlege which the Clerical Life required. If the utmoſt Heights and Perfections of Exotick Eloquence had been rigidly exacted of the Clergy; if they had been to ſpeak always with the Smoothneſs of *Iſocrates*, or the Loftineſs of *Demoſthenes*, or the Majeſty of *Thucydides*, or the Sublimity of *Plato*; then indeed it might be pertinent to alledge this Teſtimony of the Apoſtle: But rudeneſs of Stile, in compariſon of ſuch Eloquence, may be allowed; provided Men be otherwiſe qualified with Knowledge, and Ability to Preach and Diſpute accurately concerning the Doctrines of Faith and Religion; as St. *Paul* was, whoſe Talents in that kind have made him the Wonder and Admiration of the whole World; and it would be unjuſt to accuſe him of rudeneſs of Speech, who by his Diſcourſes confounded both Jews and *Greeks*, and wrought many into the Opinion that he was the *Mercury* of the Gentiles. Such Proofs of his Power of Perſwaſion were ſufficient Evidence, that he had ſpent ſome Pains in this way; and therefore his Authority was fondly abuſed to patronize Ignorance and Sloth, whoſe Example was ſo great a Reproach to them. Others again there were, who placed the Whole of a Miniſter in a good Life, and that was made another Excuſe for the want of Knowledge and Study, and the Art of Preaching and Diſputing. But to this St. *Chryſoſtom* [i] alſo replies, That both theſe Qualifications were required in a Prieſt; he muſt not only do, but teach the Commands of Chriſt; and guide others by his Word and Doctrine, as well as by his Practice: Each of theſe had their Part in his Office, and were neceſſary to aſſiſt one another, in order to conſummate Mens Edification. For otherwiſe, when any Controverſy would ariſe about the Doctrines of Religion, and Scripture was pleaded in behalf of Error; what would a good Life avail in this Caſe? What would it ſignify to have been diligent in the Practice of Virtue, if after all, a Man through groſs Ignorance and Unskilfulneſs in the Word of Truth, fell into Hereſy, and cut himſelf off from the Body of the Church? As he knew many that had done ſo. But admit a Man ſhould ſtand firm himſelf, and not be drawn away by the Adverſaries; yet when the plain and ſimple People, who are under his Care, ſhall obſerve their Leader to be baffled, and that he has nothing to ſay to the Arguments of a ſubtle Oppoſer, they will be

[c] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 3. [d] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 4. [e] Chryſ. Ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. [f] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 1. [g] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 5. [h] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 6. [i] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 8, & 9.

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ready to impute this not so much to the Weakness of the Advocate, as the Badness of his Cause: And so by one Man's Ignorance a whole People shall be carried headlong to utter Destruction; or at least be so shaken in their Faith, that they shall not stand firm for the future. St. *Jerom* gives also a smart Rebuke to this Plea, telling [k] his Clerk, That the plain and rustick Brother should not value himself upon his Sanctity, and despise Knowledge; as neither should the artful and eloquent Speaker measure his Holiness by his Tongue. For though of two Imperfections it was better to have a holy Ignorance, than a vicious Eloquence; yet to consummate a Priest both Qualifications were necessary, and he must have Knowledge as well as Sanctity to fit him for the several Duties of his Function. Thus did those Instructers plead against Ignorance in the Clergy, and urge them with proper Arguments to engage them upon a studious Life, which was the only Way to furnish them with sufficient Abilities to discharge many weighy Duties of their Function.

SECT. III. *Their chief Studies to be the Holy Scriptures, and the approved Writers and Canons of the Church.*

BUT it was not all sorts of Studies that they equally recommended, but chiefly the Study of the Holy Scriptures; as being the Fountains of that Learning, which was most proper for their Calling, and which upon all Occasions they were to make Use of. For as St. *Chrysostom* observes [l], in the way of Administring spiritual Physick to the Souls of Men, the Word of GOD was instead of every thing that was used in the Cure of Bodily Distempers. It was Instrument, and Diet, and Air; it was instead of Medicine, and Fire, and Knife; if Causticks or Incisions were necessary, they were to be done by this: And if this did not succeed, it would be in vain to try other Means. This was it that was to raise and comfort the Dejected Soul, and take down and asswage the swelling Tumors and Presumptions of the Confident. By this they were both to cut off what was superfluous, and supply what was wanting, and do every thing that was necessary to be done in the Cure of Souls. By this all Hereticks and Aliens were to be convinced, and all the Plots of Satan to be countermined: And therefore it was necessary that the Ministers of GOD should be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, that the Word of Christ might dwell richly in them. This was necessary to qualify them especially for Preaching; since, as St. *Jerom* rightly notes [m], the best Commendation of a Sermon was to have it seasoned well with Scripture rightly applied. Besides, the Custom of Expounding the Scripture occasionally many times as it was read, required a Man to be well acquainted with all the Parts of it, and to understand both the Phrase and Sense, and Doctrine, and Mysteries of it, that he might be ready upon all Occasions to discourse pertinently and usefully upon them. And to this purpose some Canons [n] appointed, that their most vacant Hours, the Times of Eating and Drinking, should not pass without some Portion of Scripture read to them; partly to exclude all other trifling and unnecessary Discourse, and partly to afford them proper Themes and Subjects to exercise themselves upon to Edification and Advantage. St. *Jerom* commends his Friend *Nepotian* for this, that at all Feasts [o] he was used to propound something out of the Holy Scripture, and entertain the Company with some useful Disquisition upon it. And next to the Scriptures he employed his Time upon the Study of the best Ecclesiastical Authors, whom by continual Reading and frequent Meditations he had so treasured up in the Library of his Heart, that he could repeat their Words upon any proper Occasion, saying, Thus spake *Tertullian*, thus *Cyprian*, so *Lactantius*, after this Manner *Hillary*, so *Minutius Felix*, so *Victorinus*, these were the Words of *Arnobius*, and the like. But among Ecclesiastical Writings, the Canons of the Church were always reckoned of greatest Use; as containing a summary Account not only of the Church's Discipline and Doctrine, and Government, but also Rules of Life and Moral Virtues: Upon which account, as some Laws directed that the Canons should be read over at every Man's Ordination: so others required the [p] Clergy afterward to make them part of their constant Study together with the Holy Scripture. For the Canons were then a sort of Directions for the Pastoral Care, and they had this Advantage of any Private Directions, that they were the Publick Voice and Rubricks of the Church, and so much the more carefully to be read upon that Account. In After-ages in the Time of *Charles the Great*, we find some Laws obliging the Clergy [q] to read, together with the Canons, *Gregory*'s Book *de Cura Pastorali*.

SECT. IV. *How far the Study of Heathen or Heretical Books was allow'd.*

AS to other Books and Writings, they were more cautious and sparing in the Study and Use of them. Some Canons [r] forbad a Bishop to read Heathen Authors: Nor would they allow him to read Heretical Books, but only upon Necessity, that

[k] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Nec Rusticus & tamen simplex Frater ideo se sanctum putet, si nihil noverit: Nec peritus & eloquens in lingua æstimet sanctitatem. Multoque melius est è duobus imperfectis Rusticitatem sanctam habere, quam Eloquentiam peccatricem. [l] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 3, & 4.

[m] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Sermo Presbyteri scripturarum Lectione conditus sit. Nolo te Declamatorem esse, & Rabulam, garrulumque sine ratione, sed Mysteriorum peritum, &c. [n] Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 7. Quia solent crebro mensis otiosæ Fabulæ interponi, in omni sacerdotali Convivio Lectio scripturarum Divinarum misceatur: per hoc enim & animæ ædificantur in bonum, & Fabulæ non necessariæ prohibentur. [o] Hieron. Epitaph. Nepot. Ep. 3. ad Heliodor. sermo ejus & (*leg.* per) omne Convivium de Scripturis aliquid proponere, &c. [p] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 24. Sciant Sacerdotes scripturas sanctas, & Canones meditentur------ ut ædificent cunctos tam Fidei scientia, quam operum Disciplina.

[q] Concil. Turon. c. 3. Concil. Cabillon. c. 1.

[r] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 16. Ut Episcopus Gentilium Libros non Legat; Hæreticorum autem pro Necessitate & tempore.

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is, when there was Occaſion to confute them, or to caution others againſt the Poiſon of them. But the Prohibition of Heathen Learning, though it ſeem to be more peremptory, was to be underſtood likewiſe with a little Qualification. For Men might have very different Views and Deſigns in reading Heathen Authors. Some might read them only for Pleaſure, and make Buſineſs of that Pleaſure, to the Neglect of Scripture and more uſeful Learning: And all ſuch were highly to be condemned. St. *Jerom* [*s*] ſays of theſe, that when the Prieſts of GOD read Plays inſtead of the Goſpels, and wanton Bucolicks inſtead of the Prophets, and loved to have *Virgil* in their Hands rather than the Bible: They made a Crime of Pleaſure, and turned the Neceſſity of Youthful Exerciſe into a voluntary Sin. Others could not reliſh the Plain and Unaffected Stile of Scriptures, but converſed with Heathen Orators to bring their Language to a more Polite or *Attick* Dialect. And theſe alſo came under the Cenſures of the Church. It is remarkable what *Sozomen* [*t*] tells us of *Triphyllius* a *Cyprian* Biſhop, (who was one of the nice and delicate Men, who thought the Stile of Scripture not ſo elegant as it might be made) that having occaſion in a Diſcourſe before *Spiridion*, and ſome other *Cyprian* Biſhops, to cite thoſe Words of our Saviour, ἆρον σὸ τὸ κράββατον σὺ περιπάτει, *Take up thy Bed and walk*, he would not uſe the word κράββατον, but inſtead of it put σκίμποδα, as being a more Elegant word in his Opinion. To whom *Spiridion* with an holy Indignation and Zeal replied, *Art thou better than he that ſaid* κράββατον, *that thou ſhouldeſt be aſhamed to uſe his Words?* Thereby admoniſhing him to be a little more Modeſt, and not to give Humane Eloquence the Preference before the Holy Scriptures. Another ſort of Men converſed with Heathen Authors rather than the Scriptures, becauſe they thought them more for their turn, to Arm them with *Sophiſtry* to impoſe their Errors upon the Simplicity of others. As the Anonymous Author in *Euſebius* [*u*] who writes againſt the *Theodotian* Hereticks, obſerves of the leading Men of that Party, that leaving the Holy Scriptures, they generally ſpent their Time in *Euclid* and *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus* and *Galen*; uſing the *Quirks* and *Sophiſms* of Infidel Writers to palliate their Hereſy, and corrupt the Simplicity of the Chriſtian Faith. Now in all theſe caſes the Reading of Heathen Authors for ſuch unworthy Ends, was very diſallowable, becauſe it was always done with a manifeſt Neglect and Contempt of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore upon ſuch Grounds deſervedly forbidden by the Canons of the Church. But then on the other hand there were ſome caſes, in which it was very allowable to read Gentile Authors, and the Church's Prohibition did not extend to theſe. For ſometimes it was neceſſary to read them, in order to confute and expoſe their Errors, that others might not be infected thereby. Thus St. *Jerom* obſerves of *Daniel* [*w*], That he was taught in the Knowledge of the *Chaldæans*, and *Moſes* in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*: Which it was no Sin to learn, ſo long as they did not learn it to follow it, but to cenſure and refute it. St. *Ambroſe* [*x*] ſays, he read ſome Books that others might not read them; he read them to know their Errors, and caution others againſt them. This was one Reaſon, why ſometimes Heathen Writers might be read by Men of Learning, in order to ſet a Mark upon them. Another Reaſon was, That many of them were Uſeful and Subſervient to the cauſe of Religion, either for Confirming the Truth of the Scriptures, and the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, or for Expoſing and Refuting the Errors and Vanities of the Heathen themſelves. Thus St. *Jerom* [*y*] obſerves, that both the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Polybius*, *Trogus Pompeius* and *Livy*, are of great uſe as well to explain as confirm the Truth of *Daniel*'s Prophecies. And St. *Auſtin* [*z*] ſays the ſame of the Writings of *Orpheus* and the *Sibyls*, and *Hermes*, and other Heathen Philoſophers, that as they ſaid many things that were true both concerning GOD, and the Son of GOD, they were in that Reſpect very ſerviceable in Refuting the Vanities of the Gentiles. Upon which Account not only St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom*, but moſt of the ancient Writers of the Church were uſually well verſed in the Learning of the Gentiles, as every one knows that knows any thing of them. St. *Jerom* in one ſhort Epiſtle [*a*] mentions the greateſt Part of thoſe that lived before his own Time, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſays of them all in general, that their Books are ſo filled with the Sentences and Opinions of Philoſophers, that it is hard to ſay which is moſt to be admired, their ſecular Learning, or their Knowledge in the Scriptures. And herein is compriſed the plain State of this Matter: The Clergy were obliged in the firſt Place to be very diligent in Studying the Scriptures, and after them the Canons, and approved Writers of the Church, according to Mens *Abilities*, *Capacities*, and *Opportunities*: For the ſame Meaſures could

[*s*] Hieron. Ep. 146. ad Damaſum de Filio Prodigo. Tom. 3. p. 129. Sacerdotes Dei omiſſis Evangeliis & Prophetis, videmus Comœdias legere, amatoria Bucolicorum verſuum verba canere, Virgilium tenere; & id quod in pueris neceſſitatis eſt, crimen in ſe facere Voluptatis. [*t*] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 11. [*u*] Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 28. [*w*] Hieron. Com. in Dan. c. 1. Nunquam acquieſcerent diſcere quod non licebat. Diſcunt autem non ut ſequantur, ſed ut judicent atque convincant. [*x*] Ambroſ. Procem. in Luc. Evang. Legimus aliqua, ne legantur; legimus, ne ignoremus; legimus, non ut teneamus, ſed ut repudiemus. [*y*] Hieron. Prolog. in Daniel. Ad intelligendas extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum Hiſtoria neceſſaria eſt, &c. Et ſi quando cogimur Literarum Sæcularium recordari, & alique ex his dicere quæ olim omiſimus; non noſtræ eſt voluntatis, ſed ut ira dicam, graviſſimæ neceſſitatis: Ut probemus ea quæ à Sanctis Prophetis ante multa Sæcula prædicta ſunt, tam Græcorum quam Latinorum & aliarum Gentium literis contineri. [*z*] Aug. contr. lib. 12. c. 15. Sibyllæ & Orpheus, & neſcio quis Hermes, & ſi qui alii Vates, vel Theologi, vel Sapientes, vel Philoſophi Gentium de Filio Dei, aut de Patre Deo vera prædixiſſe ſeu dixiſſe perhibentur; valet quidem aliquid ad Paganorum vanitatem revincendam. [*a*] Hieron. Ep. 84. ad Magnum. In tantum philoſophorum Doctrinis atque ſententiis ſuos referciunt Libros, ut neſcias quid in illis primum admirari debeas, Eruditionem ſæculi, an ſcientiam Scripturarum.

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not be exacted of all. Beyond this, as there was no Obligation on them to read Human Learning, so there was no absolute Prohibition of it; but where it could be made to minister as an Handmaid to Divinity, and not usurp or incroach upon it, there it was not only allowed, but commended and encouraged; and it must be owned, that though the Abuse of secular Learning does sometimes great harm, yet the Study of it rightly applied did very great Service to Religion in the Primitive Ages of the Church.

SECT. V. *Of their Piety and Devotion in their Publick Addresses to God.*

FROM their Private Studies pass we on next to view them in their more Publick Capacities, as the People's Orators to GOD, and GOD's Ambassadors to the People: In regard of which Offices and Character, I have shewed before [*] they were esteemed a sort of Mediators in a qualified Sense between GOD and Men. In all their Addresses to GOD as the People's Orators, their great Care was to offer all their Sacrifices and Oblations of Prayer and Thanksgiving in such a Rational, Decent, and becoming Way, as best suited the Nature of the Action; that is, with all that Gravity and Seriousness, that Humility and Reverence, that Application of Mind and Intenseness and Fervency of Devotion, as both became the Greatness of that Majesty to whom they addessed, and was proper for raising suitable Affections in the People. This is the true Meaning of that Famous controverted Passage in *Justin Martyr*'s 2d Apology, where describing the Service of the Church, and the manner of Celebrating the Eucharist, he says, The Bishop sent up Prayers and Praises, ὅση δύναμις, [b], with the utmost of his Abilities to GOD. Some misconstrue this Passage, and interpret the Abilities of the Minister officiating so as if they meant no more but his Invention, Expression, or the like; making it by such a Gloss to become an Argument against the Antiquity of Publick Liturgies, or set Forms of Prayer; whereas indeed it signifies here a quite different thing, *viz.* that Spiritual Vigour, or Intenseness and Ardency of Devotion, with which the Minister offered up the Sacrifices of the Church to GOD; being such Qualifications as are necessary to make our Prayers and Praises acceptable unto him, who requires them to be presented with all our Soul and Might; which may be done in set Forms, as well as any other way: And so *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Justin Martyr* himself use the Phrase, ὅση δύναμις, where they speak of set Forms of Praising and serving GOD; of which more hereafter in its proper Place. St. *Chrysostom* is very earnest [c] in recommending this same Duty to the Priests of GOD, under the Name of σπουδὴ and εὐλάβεια, Care and Reverence. With what exact Care, says he, ought he to behave himself, who goes in the Name of a whole City, nay, in the Name of the whole World, as their Orator and Ambassador to intercede with GOD for the Sins of all? But especially when he invocates the Holy Ghost, and offers up τὴν φρικωδεστάτην θυσίαν, the Tremendous Sacrifice of the Altar: With what Purity, with what Reverence and Piety should his Tongue utter forth those Words? whilst the Angels stand by him, and the whole Order of the Heavenly Powers cries aloud, and fills the Sanctuary in Honour of him, who is represented as Dead and lying upon the Altar. Thus that Holy Father argues with a Warmth and Zeal suitable to the Subject, and such as is proper to raise our Devotion, and kindle our Affections into an Holy Flame, whenever we present the Supplications of the Church on Earth to the Sacred Majesty of Heaven.

SECT. VI. *The Censure of such as neglected the Daily Service of the Church.*

AND this Ardency of Devotion, was continually to be cherish'd and preserved. To which purpose the Church had her daily Sacrifices, wherever it was possible to have them; And on these every Clergyman was indispensibly obliged to attend; and that under Pain of Suspension and Deprivation, whether it was his Duty to officiate or not. For so the 1st Council of *Toledo* determined for the *Spanish* Churches, That if any Presbyter or Deacon, or other Clerk, should be in any City or Country where there was a Church, and did not come to Church to the daily Sacrifice or Service [d], he should no longer be reputed one of the Sacred Function. The Council of *Agde* orders such to be reduced to the Communion of Strangers [e], which at least implies Suspension from their Office. And the Law of *Justinian* punishes them with Degradation [f], because of the Scandal they give to the Laity by such Neglect or Contempt of Divine Service. So careful were the ancient Law-givers of the Church to cut off all Indecencies and Abuses of this Nature, and make the Clergy provoking Examples of Piety to the People.

SECT. VII. *Rules about Preaching to Edification.*

NEXT to their Office in addressing GOD as the People's Orators, we are to view them as GOD's Ambassadors, addressing themselves in his Name to the People. Which they did by publick Preaching and private Application; in both which their great Care was to perform the Duty of Watchmen over GOD's Flock, and of good Stewards over his Houshold. In their Preaching their only Aim was to be, the Edification of the People. To which purpose the great Masters of Rules in this kind, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, and St. *Jerom* lay down these few Directions. 1*st*, That the Preacher be careful to make choice of an Useful Sub-

[*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 19. *Sect.* 16. [b] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [c] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 4. [d] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 5. Presbyter, Diaconus, &c. qui intra Civitatem fuerit, vel in loco in quo Ecclesia est, si in Ecclesiam ad Sacrificium quotidianum non venerit, Clericus non habeatur. [e] Conc. Agathens. c. 2. Clericis qui Ecclesiam frequentare vel Officium suum implere negexerint, Peregrina Communio tribuatur. [f] Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Episc. leg. 42. n. 10.

ject. *Gregory Nazianzen* [g] ſpecifies the Rule in ſome particular Inſtances, ſuch as the Doctrine of the World's Creation, and the Soul of Man; the Doctrine of Providence, and the Reſtauration of Man; the Two Covenants; the firſt and ſecond Coming of Chriſt, his Incarnation, Sufferings and Death; the Reſurrection, and End of the World, and future Judgment, and different Rewards of Heaven and Hell; together with the Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity, which is the Principal Article of the Chriſtian Faith. Such Subjects as theſe are proper for Edification, to build up Men in Faith and Holineſs, and the Practice of all Piety and Virtue. But then, 2*dly*, They muſt be treated on in a ſuitable way; not with too much Art or Loftineſs of Stile, but with great Condeſcention to Mens Capacities, who muſt be fed with the Word as they are able to bear it. This is what *Gregory Nazianzen* ſo much commends [h] in *Athanaſius*, when he ſays, He condeſcended and ſtoop'd himſelf to the mean Capacities, whilſt to the Acute his Notions and Words were more Sublime. St. *Jerom* alſo obſerves [i] upon this Head, that a Preacher's Diſcourſe ſhould always be Plain, Intelligible, and Affecting; and rather adapted to excite Mens Groans and Tears by a Senſe of their Sins, than their Admiration and Applauſe, by ſpeaking to them what neither they, nor he himſelf perhaps, do truly underſtand. For it is ignorant and unlearned Men chiefly, that affect to be admired for their ſpeaking above the Capacities of the Vulgar. A bold Forehead often interprets what he himſelf does not underſtand; and yet he has no ſooner perſuaded others to they know not what, but he aſſumes to himſelf the Title of Learning upon it: When yet there is nothing ſo eaſy as to deceive the Ignorant Multitude, who are always moſt prone to admire what they do not underſtand. Upon this Account St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpends almoſt a whole Book in cautioning the Chriſtian Orator againſt this Failing; that he ſhould not be intent on Popular Applauſe, but with a generous Mind [k] raiſe himſelf above it; ſeeking chiefly to advantage his Hearers, and not barely to Delight and Pleaſe them. To this purpoſe, he concludes, it would be neceſſary for him to deſpiſe both the Applauſes and Cenſures of Men, and all other things that might tempt him rather to Flatter his Hearers, than Edifie them. In a Word, his chief End [l] in all his Compoſures ſhould be to pleaſe GOD: And then if he alſo gained the Praiſe of Men, he might receive it; if not, he needed not to court it, nor torment himſelf that it was deny'd him. For it would be Conſolation enough for all his Labours, that in adapting his Doctrine and Eloquence he had always ſought to pleaſe his GOD. 3*dly*, A third Rule given in this Caſe, was, That Men ſhould apply their Doctrine and Spiritual Medicines according to the emergent and moſt urgent Neceſſities of their Hearers. Which was the moſt proper Duty of a Watchman, to perceive with a quick Eye where the greateſt Danger lay; which was Mens weakeſt and moſt unguarded Side; and then apply ſuitable Remedies to their Maladies and Diſtempers. St. *Chryſoſtom* in ſpeaking of this Part of a Miniſter's Duty, ſays, He ſhould be νηφάλιος καὶ διορατικὸς, Watchful [m] and Perſpicacious, and have a thouſand Eyes about him, as Living not for himſelf alone, but for a Multitude of People. To live retired in a Cell is the Buſineſs of a Monk; but the Duty of a Watchman is to converſe among Men of all Degrees and Callings; to take care of the Body of Chriſt, the Church, and have regard both to its Health and Beauty; curiouſly obſerving, leſt any Spot or Wrinkle or other Defilement ſhould ſully the Grace and Comlineſs of it. Now this obliged Spiritual Phyſicians to apply their Medicines, that is, their Doctrines, as the Maladies of their Patients chiefly required; to be moſt earneſt and frequent in encountering thoſe Errors and Vices which were moſt reigning, or which Men were moſt in danger of being infected by. And this is the Reaſon, why in the Homilies of the Ancients we ſo often meet with Diſcourſes againſt ſuch Hereſies, as the World now knows nothing of; ſuch as thoſe of the *Marcionites* and *Manichees*, and many others, which it would be abſurd to combate now in Popular Diſcourſes; but then it was neceſſary to be done, becauſe they were the Prevailing Hereſies of the Age, and Men were in danger of being ſubverted by them. And it is farther obſervable, that the moſt formidable Hereſies, and prevailing Factions, ſuch as that of the *Arians*, when armed with Secular Power, could never either force or court the Catholick Preachers into Silence, to let the Wolves devour the Sheep by ſuch a tame and baſe Compliance. In this Caſe no worldly Motives could prevail with them, when they ſaw the Danger, not to give Warning of it. They thought they could not otherwiſe anſwer the Character of Watchmen, and Stewards of the Myſteries of GOD, ſince it was required in Stewards that a Man be found Faithful.

SECT. VIII. *Of Fidelity, Diligence and Prudence in Private Addreſſes and Applications.*

BUT their Fidelity was not only expreſſed in their Publick Diſcourſes, but alſo in their Private Addreſſes and Applications to Men, who had either cut themſelves off from the Body of Chriſt by Hereſies and Schiſms, or by their Sins made themſelves unſound Members of the Body, whilſt they ſeemed to continue of it. With what

[g] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga. T. 1. p. 15. [h] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. T. 1. p. 396. [i] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Docente te in Eccleſia, non clamor populi, ſed gemitus ſuſciteturi Lachrymæ Auditorum Laudes tuæ ſint.---- Celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem ſui facere indoctorum hominum eſt. Attrita Frons interpretatur ſæpe quod neſcit; & cum aliis perſuaſerit, ſibi quoque uſurpat Scientiam. [k] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 5. c. 1. [l] Ibid. c. 7. [m] Chryſ. ibid. lib. 3. c. 12. lib 4. c. 2, & 3.

Fidelity and Meekneſs and Diligence they addreſſed themſelves to the former ſort, we may learn from the good Effects which their Applications often had upon them. *Theodoret* tells us [*n*] of himſelf in one place, that he had Converted a Thouſand Souls from the Hereſy of the *Marcionites*, and many others from the Hereſies of *Arius* or *Eunomius* in his own Dioceſe. And in another Place [*o*] he augments the Number of Converted *Marcionites* to Ten Thouſand, whom with Indefatigable Induſtry, in a Dioceſe of Forty Miles in length and breadth, containing Eighteen Hundred Churches in it, he had reduced from their Strayings to the Unity of the Catholick Church. What Wonders alſo St. *Auſtin* wrought in *Africk* upon the *Donatiſts* and others the ſame way, by Private Letters and Conferences and Collations with them, the Reader may learn from *Poſſidius* [*p*] the Author of his Life, who frequently mentions his Labours in this kind, and the great Advantage that accrued to the Church by this means. For he lived to ſee the greateſt Part of the *Manichees*, *Donatiſts*, *Pelagians* and *Pagans* converted to the Catholick Church. They were no leſs careful to apply themſelves in private to Perſons within the Church, as occaſion required. And here great Art and Prudence, as well as Fidelity and Diligence, was neceſſary to give Succeſs to their Endeavours. For Mankind, as *Nazianzen* [*q*] obſerves, is ſo various and uncertain a ſort of Creature, that it requires the greateſt Art and Skill to manage him. For the Tempers of Mens Minds differ more than the Features and Lineaments of their Bodies: And as all Meats and Medicines are not proper for all Bodies, ſo neither is the ſame Treatment and Diſcipline proper for all Souls. Some are beſt moved by Words, others by Examples; ſome are of a dull and heavy Temper, and ſo have need of the Spur to extimulate them; others that are brisk and fiery, have more need of the Curb to reſtrain them. Praiſe works beſt upon ſome, and Reproof upon others, provided each of them be Miniſtred in a ſuitable and ſeaſonable Way; otherwiſe they do more harm than good. Some Men are drawn by gentle Exhortations to their Duty; others by Rebukes and hard Words muſt be driven to it. And even in the Buſineſs of Reproof, ſome are affected moſt with open Rebuke, others with Private. For ſome Men never regard a ſecret Reproof, who yet are eaſily corrected, if Chaſtiſed in publick. Others again cannot bear a publick Diſgrace, but grow either Moroſe, or Impudent and Implacable upon it; who perhaps would have hearken'd to a ſecret Admonition, and repaid their Monitor with their Converſion, as preſuming him to have accoſted them out of meer Pity and Love. Some Men are to be ſo nicely watched and obſerved, that not the leaſt of their Faults are to be diſſembled; becauſe they ſeek to hide their Sins from Men, and arrogate to themſelves thereupon the Praiſe of being Politick and Craftty: In others it is better to wink at ſome Faults, ſo that ſeeing we will not ſee, and hearing we will not hear, leſt by too frequent Chiding we bring them to Deſpair, and ſo make them caſt off Modeſty, and grow bolder in their Sins. To ſome Men we muſt put on an angry Countenance, and ſeem to contemn them, and deſpair of them as loſt and deplorable Wretches, when their Nature ſo requires it: Others again muſt be treated with Meekneſs and Humility, and be recovered to a better Hope by more promiſing and encouraging Proſpects. Some Men muſt be always conquered, and never yielded to; whilſt to others it will be better ſometimes to concede a little. For all Mens Diſtempers are not to be cured the ſame Way, but proper Medicines are to be applied, as the Matter itſelf, or Occaſion, or the Temper of the Patient will admit of. And this is the moſt difficult part of the Paſtoral Office, to know how to diſtinguiſh theſe Things nicely with an exact Judgment, and with as exact an Hand to miniſter ſuitable Remedies to every Diſtemper. It is a Maſter-piece of Art, which is not to be perfectly attained but by good Obſervation, joyned with Experience and Practice. What our Author thus here at large diſcourſes by way of Rule and Theory, he in another Place ſums up more briefly in the Example of the great *Athanaſius*, whoſe Pattern he propoſes to Mens Imitation, as a living Image of this admirable Prudence and Dexterity in dealing with Men according to this great Variety of Tempers; telling us [*r*], that his Deſign was always one and the ſame, but his Methods various; praiſing ſome, moderately correcting others; uſing the Spur to ſome dull Tempers, and the Reins to others of a more hot and zealous Spirit; in his Converſation Maſter of the greateſt Simplicity, but in his Government Maſter of the greateſt Artifice and variety of Skill; Wiſe in his Diſcourſes, but much wiſer in his Underſtanding, to adapt himſelf according to the different Capacities and Tempers of Men. Now the Deſign of all this was not to give any Latitude or Licence to Sin, but by all Prudent and Honeſt Arts to diſcourage and deſtroy it. It was not to teach the Clergy the baſe and ſervile Arts of Flattery and Compliance; to become Time-ſervers and Men-pleaſers, and ſooth the Powerful or the Rich in their Errors and Vices; but only to inſtruct them in the different Methods of oppoſing Sin, and how by joining Prudence to their Zeal, they might make their own Authority moſt Venerable, and moſt Effectually promote the true Ends of Religion. St. *Chryſoſtom* puts in this Caution, in deſcribing this part of a Biſhop's Character. He ought to be Wiſe, as well as Holy; a Man of great Experience, and one that underſtands the World: And becauſe his Buſineſs is with all ſorts of Men, he ſhould be πολικὸν, one that can appear with different Aſpects, and act with great Variety of Skill. But when I ſay this, I do not mean,

[*n*] Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon. [*o*] Id. Ep. 145. p. 1026. de Fuga. p. 14. [*r*] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. p. 396. lib 3. c. 18. [*p*] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 18. [*q*] Naz. Orat. 1.

ſays he, [s] that he ſhould be a Man of Craft, or ſervile Flattery, or a diſſembling Hypocrite; but a Man of great Freedom and Boldneſs, who knows notwithſtanding how to condeſcend and ſtoop himſelf for Mens advantage, when Occaſion requires, and can be as well mild as auſtere: For all Men are not to be treated in the ſame way: No Phyſician uſes the ſame Method with all his Patients. The true Mean and Decorum, he thinks, which a Biſhop ſhould obſerve in his Converſe and Applications to Men, is to keep between too much Stiffneſs and Abjectneſs. He muſt be Grave without Pride [t]; Awful, but Courteous; Majeſtick as a Man of Authority and Power, yet Affable and Communicative to all: Of an Integrity that cannot be corrupted, yet Officious and ready to ſerve every Man; Humble, but not Servile; Sharp and Reſolute, but yet Gentle and Mild. By ſuch Prudence he will maintain his Authority, and carry any Point with Men, whilſt he ſtudies to do every thing without Hatred or Favour, only for the Benefit and Edification of the Church. We muſt reduce to this Head of Prudence in making proper Addreſs and Application to Offenders, that Direction given by St. *Paul*, and repeated in ſeveral ancient Canons, That a Biſhop be no Smiter, μὴ πλήκτην, which the twenty-ſeventh of thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons thus Paraphraſes: If any Biſhop, Presbyter, or Deacon ſmite either an offending Chriſtian, or an injurious Heathen, we order him to be depoſed. For our LORD did not teach us this Diſcipline, but the contrary; for he was ſmitten, but did not ſmite any; when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatned not. *Juſtinian* forbids [u] the ſame in one of his Novels, as a thing unbecoming the Prieſts of GOD, to ſmite any Man with their own Hands. The Word πλήσσειν ſignifies alſo ſmiting with the Tongue, by reproachful, bitter, and contumelious Language, as St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Jerom*, and others underſtand it. In which Senſe alſo it was forbidden, as a thing indecent, and unbecoming the Gravity and Prudence of the Chriſtian Clergy.

SECT. IX. *Of Prudence and Candor in compoſing unneceſſary Controverſies in the Church.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* enlarges upon ſeveral other Parts of Prudence, which I need not here inſiſt upon, becauſe they have either already been mentioned, or will hereafter be conſidered in other Places; ſuch as Prudence [w] in oppoſing Hereſies: Prudence [x] in managing the Virgins and Widows, and the Revenues of the Church; Prudence [y] in hearing and determining ſecular Cauſes; and Prudence [z] in the Exerciſe of Diſcipline and Church-Cenſures, which laſt will be ſpoken to under another Head. I ſhall here therefore only add one Inſtance more of their Prudence in allaying unneceſſary Diſputes, which roſe among Catholicks and Men of the ſame Opinion in the Church. Which indeed was rather a Complication of many noble Virtues, Prudence, Candor, Ingenuity, Moderation, Peaceableneſs, and Charity, joined together, which like a Conſtellation of the brighteſt Qualities always ſhined with the greateſt Luſtre. This is what *Gregory Nazianzen* chiefly admired in the Conduct of *Athanaſius*, and therefore he gives it the higheſt Commendation and Preference before all the other Virtues, as thinking there was no one thing whereby he did greater Service to the Church of GOD. It happened in the time of *Athanaſius*, that the Catholicks were like to be divided about mere Words; a warm Diſpute ariſing about what Names the three Divine Perſons were to be called by; ſome were for calling them only τρία πρόσωπα, Three Perſons, to avoid Arianiſm; others called them τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, Three Hypoſtaſes, to avoid Sabellianiſm. Now they all meant the ſame thing, but not underſtanding each others Terms, they mutually charged one another with the Hereſies of *Arius* and *Sabellius*. The one Party in the heat of Diſputation could underſtand nothing by Three Hypoſtaſes but three Subſtances or Eſſences in the *Arian* Senſe, for they made no Diſtinction between Hypoſtaſis and Eſſence, and therefore charged their Oppoſites with Arianiſm. The other Party were afraid that τρία πρόσωπα, ſignified no more than Nominal Perſons, in the Senſe of *Sabellius* (who himſelf had uſed thoſe very Terms in an equivocal Senſe to impoſe upon the Vulgar) and therefore they inveighed againſt their Adverſaries as deſigning to promote Sabellianiſm. And ſo, ſays *Nazianzen* [a], this little Difference in Words making a noiſe as if there had been difference in Opinion, the love of Quarrelling and Contention fomenting the Diſpute, the Ends of the Earth were in danger of being divided by a few Syllables. Which when *Athanaſius*, the true Man of GOD, and great Guide of Souls, both ſaw and heard, he could not endure to think of ſo abſurd and unreaſonable a Diviſion among the Profeſſors of the ſame Faith, but immediately applyed a Remedy to the Diſtemper. And how did he make his Application? Having convened both Parties with all Meekneſs and Humility, and accurately weighed the Intention and Meaning of the Words on both ſides, after he found them agreeing in the things themſelves, and not in the leaſt differing in Point of Doctrine; he ended their Diſpute, allowing the Uſe of both Names, and tying them to Unity of Opinion. This, ſays our Author, was a more advantageous Act of Charity to the Church, than all his other daily Labours and Diſcourſes: It was more honourable than all his Watchings and Humicubations, and not inferior to his applauded Flights and Exiles. And therefore he

[s] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 4. ποικίλον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ, ποικίλον δὲ λέγω, οὐ ὑπελον, ὐ κόλακα, ὐκ ὑποκειτὴν, &c. [t] Chryſ. de Sacerd. lib. 3. c. 16. [u] Juſt. Novel. 122. c. 11. Sed neque propriis manibus liceat Epiſcopo quenquam percutere: Hoc enim alienum eſt à ſacerdotibus. [w] Chryſ. ibid. lib. 4. c. 4. [x] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 16. [y] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 18. [z] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 18. [a] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. T. 1. p. 396.

tells

tells his Readers in uſhering in the Diſcourſe, that he could not omit the Relation without injuring them, eſpecially at a time when Contentions and Diviſions were in the Church; for this Action of his would be an Inſtruction to them that were then alive, and of great advantage, if they would propound it to their own Imitation; ſince Men were prone to divide not only from the Impious, but from the Orthodox and Pious, and that not only about little and contemptible Opinions (which ought to make no Difference) but about Words, that tended to one and the ſame Senſe. The Caution is of Uſe in all Ages; and had it always been ſtrictly obſerved, it would have prevented many wild Diſputes, and fierce Contentions about Words in the Chriſtian Church.

SECT. X. *Of their Zeal and Courage in defending the Truth.*

BUT now we are to obſerve on the other hand, that as they were eminent for their Candor and Prudence in compoſing unneceſſary and verbal Diſputes; ſo where the Cauſe was weighty, and any material Point of Religion concerned, they were no leſs famous for their Zeal and Courage, in ſtanding up in the defence of Truth againſt all Oppoſers. It was neither the Artifice and Subtlety, nor the Power and Malice of their Enemies could make them yield, where they thought the Faith was in danger to be deſtroyed. In other Caſes, ſays *Nazianzen* [*b*], there is nothing ſo peaceable, ſo moderate as Chriſtian Biſhops; but in this Caſe they cannot bear the Name of Moderation, to betray their GOD by Silence and ſitting ſtill; but here they are exceeding eager Warriors, and fighting Champions, that are not to be overcome. He does not mean, that the Weapons of their Warfare were carnal; that they uſed any pious Frauds, or plotted Treaſons or Rebellions, or took up Arms in defence of Religion; but that with an undaunted Courage and brave Reſolution they ſtood up firm in Defence of Truth, and mattered not what Names they were called by (Contentious, Unpeaceable, Immoderate, Factious, Turbulent, Incendiaries, or any thing of the like Nature) nor yet what they ſuffered in any kind, whilſt they contended for that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints. Church-Hiſtory abounds with Inſtances of this Nature; but it will be ſufficient to exemplifie the Practice of this Virtue in a ſingle Inſtance, which *Gregory Nazianzen* [*c*] gives us in the Life of St. *Baſil*, where he relates a famous Dialogue that paſſed between *Modeſtus* the *Arian* Governor under *Valens*, and that holy Man. *Modeſtus* tryed all Arts to bring him over to the Party, but finding all in vain, he at laſt threatned him with Severity. What, ſaid he, doſt thou not fear this Power which I am armed with? Why ſhould I fear? ſaid *Baſil*, What canſt thou do, or what can I ſuffer? Whan canſt thou ſuffer? ſaid the other; many things that are in my Power: Confiſcation of thy Goods, Baniſhment, Torment, and Death. But thou muſt threaten me with ſomething elſe, ſaid *Baſil*, if thou canſt, for none of theſe things can touch me. As for Confiſcation of Goods, I am not liable to it; for I have nothing to loſe, unleſs thou wanteſt theſe tatter'd and thread-bare Garments, and a few Books, which is all the Eſtate I am poſſeſs'd of. For Baniſhment, I know not what it means, for I am tied to no Place; I ſhall eſteem every Country as much my own, as that where I now dwell; for the whole Earth is the LORD's, and I am only a Pilgrim and a Stranger in it. As for Torments, what can they do to him, who has not a Body that can hold out beyond the firſt Stroke? And as for Death, it will be a Kindneſs to me, for it will but ſo much the ſooner ſend me unto GOD, to whom I live and do the Duty of my Station; being in a great meaſure already Dead, and now of a long Time haſtning unto him. The Governor was ſtrangely ſurprized at this Diſcourſe, and ſaid, No Man ever talked at this free and bold rate to *Modeſtus* before. Perhaps, ſaid *Baſil*, thou didſt never meet with a Biſhop before: For if thou hadſt, he would have talked juſt as I do, when he was put to contend about ſuch Matters as theſe. In other Things we are mild and yielding, and the humbleſt Men on Earth, as our Laws oblige us to be; we are ſo far from ſhewing ourſelves ſupercilious or haughty to Magiſtrates in Power, that we do not do it to Perſons of the meaneſt Rank and Condition. But when the Cauſe of GOD is concerned, or in danger, then indeed we eſteem all other Things as nothing, and fix our Eyes only upon him. Then Fire and Sword, wild Beaſts and Inſtruments of Torture to tear off our Fleſh, are ſo far from being a Terror, that they are rather a Pleaſure and Recreation to us. Therefore Reproach and Threaten us, do your Pleaſure, uſe your Power to the utmoſt, and let the Emperor know all this: Yet you ſhall never conquer us, or bring us to aſſent to your impious Doctrine, though you threaten us ten thouſand times more than all this. The Governor hearing this, and finding him to be a Man of invincible and inflexible Courage, diſmiſſed him now not with Threatnings, but with a ſort of Reverence and Submiſſion, and went and told the Emperor, that the Biſhop of that Church was too hard for them all; for his Courage was ſo great, his Reſolution ſo firm, that neither Promiſes nor Threatnings could move him from his Purpoſe. Nor was it only open Violence they thus bravely reſiſted, but alſo the more crafty Attempts of the Enemies of Truth, who many times went artificially to work againſt it; partly by blackning the Character of its Champions and Defenders, and repreſenting them as baſe and intolerable Men; and partly by ſmoothing their own Character, and pretending Unity in Faith with the Orthodox, and that their De-

[*b*] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. p. 388. Οἱ καὶ τἄλλα ὦσιν εἰρηνικοί τε καὶ μέτειοι, τοῦτό γε ἐ φέρουσιν ὑπηκόως ἔχειν, δεῖν παρεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς ἡσυχίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐσὶν ἐν παρατάξει πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι μαχόμενα.

[*c*] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Baſil. p. 349.

ſigns

ſigns were only Deſigns of Peace, to remove unſcriptural Words and novel Terms out of the way, that all Men might be of the ſame Opinion. Theſe were the two grand Artifices of the *Arian* Party, whereby the leading and politick Men among them, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Valens*, *Urſacius*, and others, always laboured to overthrow the Truth. Upon this account *Athanaſius* was forced to undergo a thouſand Calumnies and ſlanderous Reproaches. He was accuſed to *Conſtantine*, as one that aſſumed to himſelf Imperial Authority to impoſe a Tax upon *Egypt*; as one guilty of Murder in cutting off the Hand of *Arſenius* a *Meletian* Biſhop; as guilty of Treaſon in ſiding with *Philumenus* the Rebel, and furniſhing him with Money; as an Enemy to the Publick for attempting to hinder the Tranſportation of Corn from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*: Which Accuſation ſo far prevailed upon the Emperor that he baniſhed him to *Triers* upon it. In the next Reign he was accuſed again of repeated Murders; and of Sacrilege in diverting *Conſtantine*'s Liberality to the Widows of *Egypt* and *Libya*, to other uſes; of Treaſon, in joining Intereſt with *Magnentius* the Tyrant; and many other ſuch Charges were ſpitefully and diabolically levelled againſt him. St. *Baſil* was likewiſe variouſly accuſed both by profeſſed Enemies and pretended Friends; who, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, brought Charges againſt him directly contrary to one another. Some accuſed him of Tritheiſm for defending the Doctrine of three Hypoſtaſes againſt the *Sabellians*; others, of Semiarianiſm, or Heterodoxy in the Article about the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe in his Church he ſometimes uſed a different Form of Doxology from what was uſed in other Churches. Some again accuſed him of Arianiſm, becauſe he had received *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia* into Communion upon his profeſſing the Catholick Faith; others ſaid he communicated with *Apollinaris* the Heretick, becauſe upon ſome occaſions he wrote Letters to him. Thus were two of the greateſt and beſt of Men maliciouſly traduced and wounded in their Reputation; both indeed for the ſame Cauſe, but with this difference, that the one was proſecuted by open Enemies without the Church, the other chiefly by ſecret Enemies within; of whom therefore he had reaſon to take up the Prophet's complaint, and ſay, *Theſe are the Wounds, with which I was wounded in the houſe of my Friends.* And theſe were ſuch Temptations as might have unſettled any weak and wavering Minds, and made them turn their Backs upon Religion: But true Zeal is above Temptation, and can equally deſpiſe the Wounds of the Sword, and the Wounds of the Tongue; having always the Conſolation, which Chriſt gives in his Goſpel, ready at hand to ſupport it, *Bleſſed are ye when Men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of Evil againſt you falſely for my Sake: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your Reward in Heaven.* Such Examples ſhew us, that Innocency itſelf cannot always exempt Men from Calumny, but ſometimes is accidentally the occaſion of it: But then it has this advantage, that being joined with a ſuitable Zeal, it never ſinks under the Weight and Preſſure of its Burden, but always comes off Conqueror at the laſt, as we ſee in the Inſtances now before us.

The other Artifice, which I ſaid the *Arians* uſed to deſtroy the Faith, was the ſpecious Pretence of Peace and Unity. The politick and crafty Men among them in the Time of *Conſtantine* pretended, that they had no Quarrel with the Catholick Doctrine of the Trinity itſelf, but only were aggrieved at the novel and unſcriptural Words, ſuch as the ὁμοούσιον, Conſubſtantial, *&c.* which the Council of *Nice* had uſed to expreſs it by: Theſe, they ſaid, were Dividing Terms, and the Cauſe of all the Quarrel and Combuſtion, and therefore they ſtill urged the removing theſe Terms, as the great Stumbling-block, out of the way, that the Peace and Unity of the Church might follow upon it. But *Athanaſius* and other wiſe Catholicks eaſily perceived whither this ſly Stratagem tended; being very ſenſible that their Deſign was not againſt the bare Terms, but the Faith itſelf, and therefore they always ſtoutly and zealouſly oppoſed it. Nor could the *Arians* ever gain this Point upon the Catholicks, till at laſt in the Council of *Ariminum*, *An.* 359, by great Importunity, and Clamours for Unity and Peace, they were prevailed upon to ſink the Word, Conſubſtantial, and draw up a new Creed without it, yet as they thought, containing the very ſame Doctrine, and in as full Terms as could be expreſſed, ſave that the word Conſubſtantial was not in it. But here it muſt be owned, theſe Catholick Biſhops were wanting in their Zeal, as they themſelves were quickly after convinced. For no ſooner was their Conceſſion made, but the *Arians* immediately gave out and boaſted over all the World, that the *Nicene* Faith was condemned, and Arianiſm eſtabliſhed in a general Council, though nothing was leſs intended by the Catholick Biſhops that were preſent at it. But now they were ſenſible they had made a falſe Step, by ſuffering themſelves thus to be impoſed upon by deſigning Men: They now ſaw that they ought to have ſtuck to the *Nicene* Terms, as well as the Faith, ſince the Faith it ſelf ſo much depended on them. They now began to complain of the Fraud, and asked Pardon of their Brethren for their want of Foreſight, and Caution in a Caſe ſo tender and material. St. *Jerom*, who gives us this Account of the whole Tranſaction, from the Acts of the Synod and other Records extant in his Time, brings them in making this Apology for themſelves: The Biſhops, ſays he, [*d*] who had been

[*d*] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucif. T. 2. p. 143. Concurrebant Epiſcopi, qui Ariminenſibus dolis irretiti, ſine conſcientia Hæretici ferebantur, conteſtantes Corpus Domini, & quicquid in Eccleſia ſanctum eſt, ſe nihil mali in ſua Fide ſuſpicatos. Putavimus, aibant, ſenſum congruere cum verbis; nec in Eccleſiis ubi ſimplicitas, ubi pura confeſſio eſt, aliud in corde clauſum eſſe, aliud in labiis proferri

been impoſed upon by Fraud at *Ariminum*, and who were reputed Hereticks without being conſcious to themſelves of any Hereſy, went about every where proteſting by the Body of Chriſt, and all that is ſacred in the Church, that they ſuſpected no Evil in their Creed: They thought the Senſe had agreed with the Words, and that Men had not meant one thing in their Hearts, and uttered another thing with their Lips. They were deceived by entertaining too good an Opinion of baſe and evil Men. They did not ſuppoſe the Prieſts of Chriſt could ſo treacherouſly have fought againſt Chriſt. In ſhort they lamented their Miſtake now with Tears, and offer'd to condemn as well their own Subſcription, as all the *Arian* Blaſphemies. Any one that reads St. *Jerom* carefully, will eaſily perceive, that theſe Biſhops were no *Arians*, nor ever intended to ſubſcribe an *Arian* Creed; but their Fault was want of Zeal in parting with the *Nicene* Creed, to take another inſtead of it without the word Conſubſtantial; which though they ſubſcribed in the Simplicity of their Hearts as an Orthodox Creed (and indeed the words, as *Jerom* deſcribes them, in their plain Senſe are Sound and Orthodox, as St. *Jerom* ſays in their Excuſe) yet the *Arians* put an equivocal and poiſonous Senſe upon them; giving out after the Council was ended, that they had not only aboliſhed the Word, Conſubſtantial, but with it condemned the *Nicene* Faith alſo. Which was ſtrange ſurprizing News to the Biſhops that had been at *Ariminum*. Then, ſays St. *Jerom*, *Ingemuit totus orbis, & Arianum ſe eſſe miratus eſt*, The whole World groaned, and was amazed to think ſhe ſhould be reputed *Arian*. That is, the Catholick Biſhops of the whole World, (for there were three hundred of them preſent at that Council) were amazed to find themſelves ſo abuſed, and repreſented as *Arians*, when they never intended in the leaſt to confirm the *Arian* Doctrine. But now by this the Reader will be able to judge, what kind of Zeal the Catholick Church required then in her Clergy, *viz.* That they ſhould not only contend for the Faith it ſelf, but alſo for thoſe Catholick Forms and Ways of expreſſing it, which had been prudently compoſed and ſettled in general Councils, as a Barrier againſt Hereticks, the giving up of which to ſubtle and dangerous Adverſaries, would always give them Advantage to make fiercer Attacks upon the Faith it ſelf, and prove deſtructive to the Catholick Cauſe; as thoſe Biſhops found by woful Experience, who were concerned in the Conceſſion made at *Ariminum*. 'Tis Candor indeed, when good Catholicks are divided only about Words, to bring them to a right Underſtanding of one another, which will ſet them at Peace and Unity again: But 'tis Tameneſs to give the main Bulwarks of the Faith to fallacious Adverſaries and deſigning Men, whoſe Arts and Aims, however diſguiſed, are always known to ſtrike at the Foundation of Religion. And therefore though no Man was ever more candid than *Athanaſius* toward miſtaken Catholicks, yet neither was any more zealous in oppoſing the Arts and Stratagems of the *Arian* Party; always ſticking cloſe to the Definition of the *Nicene* Council, and never yielding that any Tittle or Syllable of that Creed ſhould be eraſed or altered.

SECT. XI.
Of their Obligations to maintain the Unity of the Church; and of the Cenſure of ſuch as fell into Hereſy or Schiſm.

WHILST I am upon this Head, I cannot but take notice of the Obligations the Clergy lay under to maintain the Unity of the Church, both in Faith and Diſcipline, and what Penalties were inflicted on ſuch as made a Breach therein, whether by falling into Hereſy or Schiſm themſelves, or giving Encouragement to them in others. I ſhall not need to ſtate the Nature of Church-Unity and Communion in this Place any farther, than by ſaying, That to maintain the Purity of the Catholick Faith, and live under the Diſcipline and Government of a Catholick Biſhop, who himſelf lived in Communion with the Catholick Church, were then as it were the two Characteriſtick Notes of any Man's being in the Communion of the Church: And therefore as every Member was obliged to maintain the Unity of the Church in both theſe Parts; ſo much more the Clergy, who were to be the chief Guardians of it: And if they failed in either kind, that is, if they lapſed either into Hereſie or Schiſm; by the Laws of the Church they were to be depoſed from their Office; and though they repented and returned to the Unity of the Church again, yet they were not to act in their former Station, but to be admitted to communicate only in the Quality of Laymen. This was the Rule of the *African* Church in the time of *Cyprian*, as appears from the Synodical Epiſtle [*e*] of the Council of *Carthage*, to which his Name is prefix'd. For writing to Pope *Stephen*, they tell him, their Cuſtom was to treat ſuch of the Clergy as were ordained in the Catholick Church, and afterward ſtood up perfidiouſly and rebelliouſly againſt the Church, in the ſame manner, as they did thoſe that were firſt ordained by Hereticks; that is, they admitted them to the Peace of the Church, and allowed them the Communion of Laymen, but did not permit them to officiate again in any Order of the Clergy. And this, he ſays, they did to put a Mark of Diſtinction between thoſe that always ſtood true to the Church, and thoſe that deſerted it. Yet if any conſiderable Advantage accrued to the Church by the Return of ſuch an Heretick

ferri timuimus. Decepit nos bona de malis exiſtimatio. Non ſumus arbitrati ſacerdotes Chriſti adverſus Chriſtum pugnare. Multaque alia quæ brevitatis ſtudio prætereo, flentes aſſerebant, parati & ſubſcriptionem priſtinam & omnes Arianorum Blaſphemias condemnare. [*e*] Cypr. Ep. 72. p. 197. Si qui Presbyteri aut Diaconi qui vel in Eccleſia Catholica, prius ordinati fuerint, & poſtmodum perfidi ac rebelles contra Eccleſiam ſteterint, vel apud Hæreticos à Pſeudo-Epiſcopis & Antichriſtis contra Chriſti Diſpoſitionem profana Ordinatione promoti ſunt——eos quoque hac conditione ſuſcipi cum reverterentur, ut communicent Laici, & ſatis habeant quod admittuntur ad Pacem, qui hoſtes Pacis extiterint, &c.

or Schiſmatick; as if he brought over any conſiderable part of the deluded People with him; or if he was generally choſen by the Church, or the like; in ſuch Caſes the Rule was ſo far diſpenſed with, that the Deſerter might be admitted to his priſtine Dignity, and be allowed to officiate in his own Order again. Upon this Account, *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* received *Maximus* the Presbyter to his former Honour upon his return [*f*] from the *Novatian* Schiſm. And in After-ages both the *Novatians* and *Meletians* were particularly favoured with this Privilege by the Council of *Nice*, and the *Donatiſts* by the *African* Fathers in the time of St. *Auſtin*, as I have had occaſion to note [*] more than once before. But if they continued obſtinate in their Hereſy or Schiſm, then many times an *Anathema* was pronounced againſt them, as in the ſecond Council of *Carthage*. If a Presbyter, ſays the Canon [*g*], that is reproved or excommunicated by his Biſhop, being puffed up with Pride, ſhall preſume to offer the Oblation in a ſeparate Aſſembly, or ſet up another Altar againſt him, let him be *Anathema*. The Council of *Antioch* [*h*], and thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [*i*], have ſeveral Decrees of the like Nature. Yea, ſo careful were the Clergy to be of the Unity of the Church, that they were not to give any Encouragement to Hereticks or Schiſmaticks, or excommunicated Perſons, by communicating with them in Prayer or other holy Offices of the Church, or ſo much as frequenting their Society, or feaſting with them, or the like. But I do not enlarge upon theſe things here, becauſe being Matters of Diſcipline, they will come again to be conſidered under that Head in another Place.

I have now gone through ſome of the chief general Duties, which more immediately concerned the Office and Function of the Clergy; and by mixing publick Rules with private Directions and great Examples, have made ſuch an Eſſay towards the Idea and Character of a Primitive Clerk, as may (I hope) in ſome things excite both the Emulation and Curioſity of many of my Readers, who may be concerned to imitate the Pattern I have been deſcribing. If here it be not drawn ſo full, or ſo exactly to the Life in all its Beauties as they could wiſh, they will find their Account in ſatisfying their Curioſity, by having Recourſe to the Fountains themſelves, from whence theſe Materials were taken. For many Things, that might here have been added, were purpoſely omitted for fear of drawing out this Part of the Diſcourſe to a greater length, than would conſiſt with the Deſign and Meaſures of the preſent Undertaking: And I had rather be thought to have ſaid too little, than too much, upon this Head, that I might not cloy, but leave an Edge upon the Appetite of the Inquiſitive Reader.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of ſome other Laws and Rules, which were a ſort of Out-Guards and Fences to the former.

SECT. I. *No Clergy-man allowed to Deſert or Relinquiſh his Station without juſt Grounds and Leave.*

HAVING thus far diſcourſed both of ſuch Laws as related to the Life and Converſation of the Primitive Clergy, and of thoſe that more immediately concerned the Duties and Offices of their Function; I come now to ſpeak of a Third ſort of Laws, which were like the Jews *Sepimenta Legis*, a ſort of By-Laws and Rules, made for the Defence and Guard of the two former. Among theſe we may reckon ſuch Laws as were made to fix the Clergy to their proper Buſineſs and Calling; ſuch as that which forbad any Clergy-man to deſert or relinquiſh his Station, without juſt Grounds or Leave granted by his Superiors. In the *African* Church, as has been ſhewed before, [†] from the time that any Man was made a Reader, or entered in any of the lower Orders of the Church, he was preſumed to be dedicated to the Service of God, ſo as thenceforth not to be at liberty to turn Secular again at his own Pleaſure. And much more did this Rule hold for Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons. Therefore *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, as he is cited by *Harmenopulus* [*a*], ſays in one of his Canons, that it was contrary to the Laws of the Church for any Prieſt to give in a Libel of Reſignation: For if he be worthy, he ought to continue in his Miniſtry; if he be unworthy, he ſhould not have the Privilege of Reſigning, but be condemned and ejected. The Council of *Chalcedon* orders [*b*] all ſuch to be anathematized, as forſook their Orders to take upon them any military Office or ſecular Dignity, unleſs they repented and returned to the Employment, which for God's Sake they had firſt choſen. The

[*f*] Cornel. Ep. 46. al. 49. ad Cypr. p. 93. Maximum Preſbyterum locum ſuum agnoſcere juſſimus. *See other Inſtances in* Socrates, lib. 7. c. 3. [*] *Book* 4. *Chap.* 7. *Sect.* 7 *and* 8.
[*g*] Conc. Carth. 2. c. 1. Si quis forte Presbyter ab Epiſcopo ſuo correptus vel Excommunicatus, tumore vel ſuperbia inflatus, putaverit ſeparatim Deo ſacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare—Anathema ſit. [*h*] Conc. Antioch. c. 4, & 5.
[*i*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 32. [†] *Book* 3. *Chap.* 1. *Sect.* 5. [*a*] Harmenopul. Epitom. Can. ap. Leunclav. Jus Græc. Rom. Tom. 1. p. 11. παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς, τὸ λιβέλλους παραιτήσεων προσάγειν τινὰς τῶν ἱερουργῶν. &c. [*b*] Conc. Chalced. c. 7. τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ τεταγμένους, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι, &c.

Council

Council of *Tours* [c] in like manner decrees, that whoever of the Clergy desert their Order and Office, to follow a secular Life and Calling again, shall be punished with Excommunication. The Civil Law was also very severe upon such Deserters. By an Order of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* [d] they are condemned to serve in *Curia* all their Lives, that they might never have the Privilege of resuming the Clerical Life again. And by a Law of *Justinian*'s [e] both Monks and Clerks so deserting, were to forfeit whatever Estate they were possest of, to the Church or Monastery to which they belonged.

SECT. II.

Yet in some Cases a Resignation was allowed of.

BUT this Rule as it was intended for the Benefit of the Church, to keep the Clergy to their Duty; so when the Benefit of the Church, or any other reasonable Cause required the contrary, might be dispensed with: And we find many such Resignations or Renunciations practised, and some allowed by general Councils. For not to mention the Case of Disability by reason of Old-age, Sickness, or other Infirmity, in which it was usual for Bishops to turn over their Business to a Coadjutor; of which I have given a full Account in a former Book [*]; there were two other Cases, which come nearer to the Matter in hand. One was, when a Bishop through the obstinacy, hatred, or disgust of any People, found himself uncapable of doing them any Service, and that the Burden was an intolerable Oppression to him: In that Case, if he desired to Renounce, his Resignation was accepted. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* renounced the See of *Constantinople*, and betook himself to a private Life, because the People grew factious, and murmured at him, as being a Stranger. And this he did with the Consent and Approbation of the general Council of *Constantinople*, as not only the Historians, *Theodoret* [f] and *Socrates* [g], but he himself testifies [h] in many Places of his Writings. After the same manner, *Theodoret* says [i], *Meletius* the famous Bishop of *Antioch*, when he was Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, was so offended with the rebellious Temper and Contumacy of a perverse and froward People, that he abandoned them, and retired likewise to a private Life. So *Theodorus Lector* tells us [k] how *Martyrius* Bishop of *Antioch* being offended at the Factiousness of his People and Clergy, upon the Intrusion of *Peter Fullo*, renounced his Church with these Words: *A contumacious Clergy, a rebellious People, a prophane Church, I bid adieu to them all, reserving to my self the Dignity of Priesthood.* Another Case was, when in Charity a Bishop resigned, or shewed himself willing to resign, to cure some inveterate Schism. Thus *Chrysostom* [l] told his People, that if they had any Suspicion of him, as if he were an Usurper, he was ready to quit his Government, when they pleased, if that was necessary to preserve the Unity of the Church. And so *Theodoret* [m] tells us, that in the Dispute between *Flavian* and *Evagrius* the two Bishops of *Antioch*, when *Theodosius* the Emperor sent for *Flavian*, and ordered him to go and have his Cause decided at *Rome*: He bravely answered, "*Great Sir*, If any accuse my Faith as erroneous, or my Life as unqualifying me for a Bishoprick, I will freely let my Accusers be my Judges, and stand to their Sentence whatever it be: But if the Dispute be only about the Throne and Government of the Church, I shall not stay for Judgment, nor contend with any that has a mind to it, but freely recede, and abdicate the Throne of my own accord. And you, *Sir*, may commit the See of *Antioch* to whom you please." The Emperor looked upon this as a noble and generous Answer, and was so affected with it, that instead of obliging him to go to *Rome*, he sent him home again, and bad him go feed the Church committed to his Care: Nor would he ever after hearken to the Bishops of *Rome*, though they often solliciting him to expel him. There is one Instance more of this Nature, which I cannot omit, because it is such an Example of Self-Denial, and despising of private Interest for the Publick Good, and Peace, and Unity of the Church, as deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, and to be spoken of with the highest Commendations. It was the Proposal which *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* and St. *Austin*, with the rest of the *African* Bishops, made to the *Donatists* at the opening of the Conference of *Carthage*; that to put an End to the Schism, wherever there was a Catholick and a Donatist Bishop in the same City, they should both of them [n] resign, and suffer a new one to be chosen. For why, say they, should we scruple to offer the Sacrifice of such an Humility to our Redeemer? Did he descend from Heaven to assume our Nature, and make us his Members? And shall we make any Doubt to descend from our Chairs, to prevent his Members being torn to pieces by a cruel Schism? We Bishops are ordained for the People of Christ. What therefore is most conducive to the Peace of Christian People, we ought to do in reference to our Episcopacy. If we be profitable Servants, why should we envy the eternal Gain of our Lord for our own Temporal Honours? Our Epi-

[c] Conc. Turon. c. 5. Si quis Clericus, relicto Officii sui Ordine, Laicam voluerit agere vitam, vel se Militiæ tradiderit, excommunicationis pœna feriatur. [d] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. leg. 39. Si qui professum Sacræ Religionis sponte dereliquerit, continuo sibi eum Curia vindicet: Ut Liber illi ultra ad Ecclesiam recursus esse non possit. [e] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Episc. leg. 55. Quod si illi Monasteria aut Ecclesias relinquant, atque Mundani fiant: Omne ipsorum Jus ad Monasterium aut Ecclesiam pertinet. [*] *Book 2. Chap. 13. Sect. 4.* [f] Theod. lib. 5. c. 8. [g] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 7. [h] Naz. Orat. 32. it. Carm. de Vita sua. [i] Theod. lib. 2. c. 31. [k] Theodor. Lect. lib. 1. p. 555. [l] Chrys. Hom. 11. in Ephes. p. 1110. ἕτοιμοι παραχωρῆσαι τῆ ἀρχῆς μόνον ἐκκλησία ἕως μία. [m] Theod. lib. 5. c. 23. [n] Collat. Carthag. Die 1. c. 16. Utrique de medio secedamus. —— Quid enim dubitemus Redemptori nostro sacrificium istius humilitatis offerre? An vero ille de cœlis in membra humana descendit, ut membra ejus essemus? Et nos, ne ipsa ejus membra crudeli divisione lanientur, de Cathedris descendere formidamus? &c.

ſcopal Dignity will be ſo much the more advantageous to us, if by laying it aſide we gather together the Flock of Chriſt, than if we diſperſe his Flock by retaining it. And with what Face can we hope for the Honour which Chriſt has promiſed us in the World to come, if our Honours in this World hinder the Unity of his Church? By this we ſee there were ſome Caſes, in which it was lawful for Men to renounce even the Epiſcopal Office, and betake themſelves to a private Life: The grand Rule being in theſe and all other Caſes, to do what was moſt for the Benefit and Edification of the Church, and ſacrifice private Intereſt to the Avantage of the Publick.

SECT. III. *And Canonical Penſions ſometimes granted in ſuch Caſes.*

IN theſe Caſes, a Biſhop after he had renounced, was not to intermeddle with the Affairs of the Church, to ordain, or perform any Offices of the like Nature, unleſs he was called to aſſiſt by ſome other Biſhop, or was commiſſioned by him as his Delegate: Yet he was allowed the Title, and Honour, and Communion of a Biſhop, as the general Council of *Epheſus* [*o*] determined it ſhould be, in the Caſe of *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Perga* and Metroplitan of *Pamphylia*, who had renounced his Biſhoprick, being an aged Man, and thinking himſelf unable to diſcharge the Duties of it. In ſuch Caſes likewiſe when any one receded with the Approbation of a Council, he was ſometimes allowed to receive a moderate Penſion out of the Biſhoprick for his Maintenance. As it was the Caſe of *Domnus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who having been ejected though unjuſtly by *Dioſcorus* in the ſecond Synod of *Epheſus*, yet quietly reſigned the Biſhoprick to *Maximus:* Upon which account *Maximus* deſired Leave of the Council of *Chalcedon*, that he might allow him an annual Penſion out of the Revenues of the Church, which the Council of *Chalcedon* [*p*] readily complied with. And this, as *Richerius* [*q*] ingenuouſly owns, that the ancient Deſign and Meaning of Canonical Penſions, which were not uſed to be granted but by the Authority or Approbation of a Synod, and only to ſuch as having ſpent the greateſt part of their Life in the Service of the Church, deſired to be disburdened of their Office by reaſon of their Age. For the reſerving a Penſion out of a Biſhoprick, which a Man only reſigns to take another, was a Practice wholly unknown to former Ages.

SECT. IV. *No Clergyman to remove from one Dioceſe to another without the Conſent and Letters Dimiſſory of his own Biſhop.*

2*dly*, ANOTHER Rule, deſigned to keep all Clergymen ſtrictly to their Duty, was, That no one ſhould remove from his own Church or Dioceſe, without the Conſent of the Biſhop to whoſe Dioceſe he belonged. For as no one at firſt could be ordained ἀπολελυμμένως but muſt be fixt to ſome Church at his firſt Ordination; ſo neither, by the Rules and Diſcipline of the Church then prevailing, might he exchange his Station at pleaſure, but muſt have his own Biſhop's Licence, or Letters Dimiſſory, to qualify him to remove from one Dioceſe to another. For this was the ancient Right, which every Biſhop had in the Clergy of his own Church, that he could not be deprived of them without his own Conſent; but as well the Party that deſerted him, as the Biſhop that received him, were liable to be cenſured upon ſuch a Tranſgreſſion. If any Presbyter, Deacon, or other Clerk, ſay the Apoſtolical Canons [*r*], forſake his own Dioceſe to go to another, and there continue without the Conſent of his own Biſhop, We decree, that ſuch an one ſhall no longer Miniſter as a Clerk (eſpecially if after Admonition he refuſe to return) but only be admitted to communicate as a Layman. And if the Biſhop, to whom they repair, ſtill entertain them in the Quality of Clergymen, he ſhall be excommunicated as a Maſter of Diſorder. The ſame Rule is frequently repeated in the ancient Councils, as that of *Antioch* [*s*], the firſt and ſecond of *Arles* [*t*], the firſt and fourth of *Carthage* [*u*], the firſt of *Toledo* [*w*], and the Council of *Tours* [*x*], and *Turin* [*y*], and the great Council of *Nice* [*z*], to whoſe Canons it may be ſufficient to refer the Reader. I only obſerve, that this was the ancient Uſe of Letters Dimiſſory, or as they were then called, ἀπολυτικαὶ, εἰρηνικαὶ, συσταλτικαὶ and *Conceſſoriæ*, which were Letters of Licence granted by a Biſhop, for a Clergyman to remove from his Dioceſe to another; though we now take Letters Dimiſſory in another Senſe: But the old Canons call thoſe Dimiſſory Letters, which were given upon the Occaſion that I have mentioned. The Council of *Carthage* gives them only the Name of the Biſhop's [*a*] Letters, but the Council of *Trullo* [*b*] ſtiles them expreſly, Dimiſſory; when reinforcing all the ancient Canons, it ſays, no Clergyman of what Degree ſoever ſhall be entertained in another Church, ἐκτὸς τῶν τῆς οἰκείας ἐπισκόπου ἐγγράφων ἀπολυτικῶν, without the Dimiſſory Letters of his own Biſhop; which he might grant or refuſe as he ſaw proper occaſion for it. For there was no Law to compel him to grant it, whatever Arts any Clerk might uſe to gain a Diſmiſſion any other way. St. *Auſtin* mentions a pretty ſtrange Caſe of this Nature, that happened in his own Dioceſe. One *Timotheus* a Subdeacon of his Church, being deſirous to leave his Poſt under St. *Auſtin*, and go to *Severus* a neighbouring Biſhop, proteſts upon Oath to *Severus* that he would be no longer of St. *Auſtin*'s Church:

[*o*] Conc. Epheſ. Act. 7. in Epiſt. ad Synod. Pamphyliæ. Habeat Epiſcopi nomen & honorem ac Communinonem, ſic quidem ut neque ipſe ordinet, neque in Eccleſiam propria auctoritate ordinaturus veniat, niſi forte coaſſumatur, &c. [*p*] Conc. Chalced. Act. 7. al. Act. 10. edit. Labbe. Tom. 4. p. 681. [*q*] Richer. Hiſt. Concil. Par. 1. c. 8. n. 30. p. 218. Nihil antiquitus conſuetum fieri niſi Synodice comprobatum; hincque jus Penſionum Canonicarum poteſt confirmari; quæ iis tantum tribui conſueverant, qui magnam vitæ partem in Miniſterio conſumſerant, & propter ætatem ſe exonerabant Epiſcopatu. [*r*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 15, & 16. Vid. Conc. Chalced. Can. 20. [*s*] Conc. Antioch. c. 3. [*t*] Arelat. 1. c. 22. Arelat. 2. c. 13. [*u*] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 5. Carth. 4. c. 27. [*w*] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 12. [*x*] Conc. Turon. c. 11. [*y*] Conc. Taurin. c. 6. [*z*] Conc. Nic. c. 16. [*a*] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 5. Non licere Clericum alienum ab aliquo ſuſcipi ſine Literis Epiſcopi ſui, neque apud ſe retinere. [*b*] Conc. Trull. c. 17.

Upon

Upon this *Severus* pretending a Reverence for his Oath, writes to St. *Auſtin*, and tells him he could not return him his Clerk for fear of making him guilty of Perjury. To which St. *Auſtin* replied, That this opened a way to Licentiouſneſs, and there was an End [c] of all Eccleſiaſtical Order and Diſcipline, if a Biſhop would pretend to keep another Man's Clerk upon ſuch a Scruple, for fear of being acceſſory to his Perjury. This evidently implies, that there was no Law then to compel a Biſhop to grant Letters Dimiſſory to his Clerk; for if there had been any ſuch, *Timotheus* needed not to have uſed the Stratagem of an Oath, but might have compelled St. *Auſtin* to have granted them. But the Church then did not think fit to put it in every Man's Power to remove from one Dioceſe to another at his own Pleaſure, but left every Biſhop ſole Judge in this Caſe, as beſt knowing the Neceſſities and Circumſtances of his own Church, and whether it were expedient to part with the Clergy which were ordained for her Service.

SECT. V. *Laws againſt the* Βαλάνλιϛοι, *or wandering Clergy.*

THE Laws were no leſs ſevere againſt all wandering Clergymen, whom ſome of the Ancients call Βαλάνλιϛοι [d], or *Vacantivi*, by way of Reproach. They were a ſort of idle Perſons, who having deſerted the Service of their own Church, would fix in no other, but went roving from place to place, as their Fancy and their Humour led them. Now by the Laws of the Church no Biſhop was to permit any ſuch to officiate in his Dioceſe, nor indeed ſo much as to communicate in his Church; becauſe having neither Letters Dimiſſory, nor Letters Commendatory from their own Biſhop (which every one ought to have that travelled) they were to be ſuſpected either as Deſerters, or as Perſons guilty of ſome Miſdemeanor, who fled from Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. Therefore the Laws forbad the admitting of ſuch either to Eccleſiaſtical or Lay-Communion. A Presbyter or Deacon, ſays the Council of *Agde* [e], that rambles about without the Letters of his Biſhop, ſhall not be admitted to Communion by any other. The Council of *Epone* [f] repeats the Decree in the ſame words. And the Council of *Valentia* [g] in *Spain* orders ſuch wandering and roving Clerks, as will not ſettle to the conſtant Performance and Attendance of Divine Offices in the Church, whereto they were deputed by the Biſhop that ordained them, to be deprived both of the Communion and the Honour of their Order, if they perſiſted in their Obſtinacy and Rebellion. So ſtrict were the Laws of the ancient Church in tying the inferior Clergy to the Service of that Church, to which they were firſt appointed, that they might not upon any account move thence, but at the Diſcretion of the Biſhop that ordained them.

SECT. VI. *Laws againſt the Tranſlations of Biſhops from one See to another, how to be limited and underſtood.*

NOR were the Biſhops ſo Arbitrary in this Matter, but that they themſelves were under a like Regulation, and liable to Laws of the ſame nature. For as no Clerk could remove from his own Church without the Licence of his Biſhop: So neither might any Biſhop pretend to tranſlate or move himſelf to another See, without the conſent and approbation of a Provincial Council. Some few there were, who thought it abſolutely unlawful for a Biſhop to forſake his firſt See, and betake himſelf to any other; becauſe they looked upon his Conſecration to be a ſort of Marriage to his Church, from which he could not divorce himſelf, nor take another without incurring the Crime of Spiritual Adultery. To this purpoſe they wreſted that Paſſage of St. *Paul*, *A Biſhop muſt be the Husband of one Wife*, taking it in a myſtical and figurative Senſe, as St. *Jerom* [h], informs us. But this was but the private Opinion of one or two Authors, which never prevailed in the Catholick Church; whoſe Prohibition of the Tranſlation of Biſhops was not founded upon any ſuch Reaſons, but was only intended as a cautionary Proviſion to prevent the Ambition of aſpiring Men, that they might not run from leſſer Biſhopricks to greater, without the Authority of a Provincial Synod, which was the proper Judge in ſuch Caſes. Some Canons indeed ſeem to forbid it abſolutely, and univerſally, as a thing not to be allowed in any Caſe. The Council of *Nice* [i] and *Sardica* [k] and ſome others prohibit it without any Exception or Limitation. But other Canons reſtrain it to the Caſe of a Biſhop's intruding himſelf into another See by ſome ſiniſter Arts, without any legal Authoriy from a Provincial Synod. So thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [l] diſtinguiſh upon the Matter: It ſhall not be lawful for a Biſhop to leave his Dioceſe, and invade another, though many of the People would compel him to it: Unleſs there be a reaſonable Cauſe, as that he may the more advantage the Church by his Preaching: And then he ſhall not do it of his own Head, but by the Judgment and Entreaty of many Biſhops, that is, a Provincial Synod. The fourth Council of *Carthage* diſtinguiſhes [m] much after the ſame manner: A Bi-

[c] Aug. Ep. 240. ad Severum. Aditus aperitur ad diſſolvendum ordinem Eccleſiaſticæ Diſciplinæ, ſi alterius Eccleſiæ Clericus cuicunque juraverit, quod ab ipſo non ſit receſſurus, eum ſecum eſſe permittat; ideo ſe facere affirmans, ne author ſit ejus Perjurii, &c. [d] Syneſ. Ep. 67. [e] Conc. Agathen. c. 52. Presbytero ſive Diacono ſine Antiſtitis ſui Epiſtolis ambulanti communionem nullus impendat. [f] Conc. Epaunenſ. c. 6. [g] Conc. Valentin. c. 5. Vagus atque inſtabilis Clericus, ſi Epiſcopi, à quo ordinatus eſt, præceptis non obedierit, ut in delegata ſibi Eccleſia officium dependat aſſiduum, quouſque in vitio permanſerit, & Communione & Honore privetur. [h] Hieron. Ep. 83. ad Oceanum. Tom. 2. p. 321. Quidam coacte interpretantur uxores pro Eccleſiis, viros pro Epiſcopis debere accipi, &c. [i] Conc. Nic. c. 15. [k] Conc. Sardic. c. 1, & 2. Conc. Antioch. Can. 21. Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 38. [l] Canon. Apoſt. c. 14. [m] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 27. Ut Epiſcopus de loco ignobili ad nobilem per ambitionem non tranſeat —— Sane ſi id utilitas Eccleſiæ fiendum popoſcerit, Decreto pro eo Clericorum & Laicorum Epiſcopis porrecto, per ſententiam Synodi transferatur.

ſhop ſhall not remove himſelf from an obſcure to a more honourable Place out of Ambition: But if the Advantage of the Church require it, he may be tranſlated by the Order and Decree of a Provincial Synod. *Schelſtrate* [n] and ſome other learned Perſons think, that theſe Canons were a Correction of the former; the one allowing what the other had poſitively forbidden: But this is not at all probable: It is more reaſonable to think, that though in the *Nicene* and *Sardican* Canons theſe Exceptions are not expreſſed, yet they are to be underſtood: Becauſe the Council of *Nice* itſelf tranſlated *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Berea* to *Antioch*, as Mr. *Pagi* [o] rightly obſerves out of *Sozomen* [p], and other Hiſtorians of the Church: Which had been to break and affront their own Rule at the very firſt, had it meant, that it ſhould not be lawful in any caſe to tranſlate a Biſhop from one See to another. We muſt conclude then, that the Deſign of all theſe Canons was the ſame, to prevent Covetouſneſs, Ambition, and love of Pre-eminence in aſpiring Men, who thruſt themſelves into other Sees by irregular Means, by a Faction, or the meer Favour of the People, without ſtaying for the Choice or Conſent of a Synod: Which was the common Practice of the *Arian* Party in the Time of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, and occaſioned ſo many Laws to be made againſt it. But when a Synod of Biſhops in their Judgment and Diſcretion thought it neceſſary to tranſlate a Biſhop from a leſſer to a greater See, for the Benefit and Advantage of the Church, there was no Law to prohibit this, but there are a thouſand Inſtances of ſuch Promotions to be met with in ancient Hiſtory, as *Socrates* [q] has obſerved long ago, who has collected a great many Inſtances to this Purpoſe. Thoſe that pleaſe may ſee more in *Cotelerius* [r] and Biſhop *Beveridge* [s]: For in ſo plain a Caſe I do not think it neceſſary to be more particular in my Account of them, but proceed with other Laws of the Church, which concerned the Clergy.

SECT. VII. *Laws concerning the Reſidence of the Clergy.*

THE next Laws of this nature were ſuch as concerned the Reſidence of the Clergy; the Deſign of which was the ſame as all the former, to bind them to conſtant Attendance upon their Duty. And theſe Laws equally concerned Biſhops and all the inferior Clergy. The Council of *Sardica* has ſeveral Canons relating to this matter. The ſeventh decrees, that no Biſhop ſhould go εἰς πρατόπεδον, to the Emperor's Court, unleſs the Emperor by Letter called him thither. The next Canon [t] provides, that whereas there might be ſeveral Caſes, which might require a Biſhop to make ſome Application to the Emperor in behalf of the Poor, or Widows, or ſuch as fled for Sanctuary to the Church, and condemned Criminals, and the like: In ſuch Caſes the Deacons or Subdeacons of the Church were to be employed to go in his Name, that the Biſhop might fall under no Cenſure at Court, as neglecting the Buſineſs of his Church. *Juſtinian* [u] has a Law of the ſame Import with theſe Canons, That no Biſhop ſhould appear at Court upon any Buſineſs of his Church without the Command of the Prince: But if any Petition was to be preferred to the Emperor, relating to any civil Conteſt, the Biſhop ſhould depute his Apocriſarius, or Reſident at Court, to act for him, or ſend his OEconomus, or ſome other of his Clergy to ſollicite the Cauſe in his Name; that the Church might neither receive Damage by his Abſence, nor be put to unneceſſary Expences. Another Canon [w] of the Counil of *Sardica* limits the Abſence of a Biſhop from his Church to three Weeks, unleſs it were upon ſome very weighty and urgent Occaſion. And another Canon [x] allows the ſame time for a Biſhop, who is poſſeſs'd of an Eſtate in another Dioceſs, to go and collect his Revenues, provided he celebrate Divine Service every Lord's Day in the Country-Church, where his Eſtate lies. And by two other Canons [y] of that Council, Presbyters and Deacons are limited to the ſame Term of Abſence, and tied to the forementioned Rules in the ſame manner that Biſhops were. The Council of *Agde* [z] made the like Order for the *French* Churches, decreeing, That a Preſbyter or Deacon, who was abſent from his Church for three Weeks, ſhould be three Years ſuſpended from the Communion. In the *African* Churches upon the account of this Reſidence, every Biſhop's Houſe was to be near the Church [a] by a Rule of the fourth Council of *Carthage*. And in the fifth Council there is another Rule [b], that every Biſhop ſhall have his Reſidence at his Principal or Cathedral Church, which he ſhall not leave, to betake himſelf to any other Church in his Dioceſs; nor continue upon his private Concerns, to the neglect of his Cure, and hinderance of his frequenting the Cathedral Church. From this it appears, that the City-Church was to be the chief Place of the Biſhop's Reſidence and Cure: And *Cabaſſutius* [c] in his Remarks upon this Canon reflects upon the *French* Biſhops, as tranſgreſſing the ancient Rule, in ſpending the greateſt part of the Year upon their Pleaſure in the Country. Yet there is one thing that ſeems a Difficulty in this Matter; for *Juſti-*

[n] Schelſtrat. de Concil. Antioch. Can. 21. p. 614. [o] Pagi Critic. in Baron. 324. n. 22. [p] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 2. [q] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 36. [r] Coteler. Not. in Can. Apoſt. c. 14. [s] Bevereg. Not. in eundem Canon. [t] Conc. Sardic. c. 8. [u] Juſt. Novel. 6. c. 2. [w] Conc. Sardic. c. 11. [x] Conc. Sardic. c. 12. [y] Conc. Sardic. c. 16, & 17. [z] Conc. Agathen. c. 64. Diaconus vel Presbyter, ſi per tres Hebdomadas ab Eccleſia ſua defuerit triennio à Communione ſuſpendatur. [a] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 14. Ut Epiſcopus non longe ab Eccleſia Hoſpitiolum habeat. [b] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 5. Placuit ut nemini ſit facultas, relicta Principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Eccleſiam in Diœceſi conſtitutam ſe conferre: vel intro propria diutius quam opportet conſtitutum, curam vel frequentationem propriæ Cathedræ negligere. [c] Cabaſſut. Notit. Concil. c. 44. Huic Canoni contraveniunt Epiſcopi, qui magna parte anni rure verſantur & deliciantur.

nian [d] says, No Bishop shall be absent from his Church above a whole Year, unless he has the Emperor's Command for it. Which implies that a Bishop might be absent from his Bishoprick a Year in ordinary Cases, and more in extraordinary. But I conceive, the Meaning of this is, that he might be absent a Year during his whole Life; not Year after Year; for that would amount to a perpetual Absence, which it was not the Intent of the Law to grant, but to tie them up to the direct contrary, except the Prince upon some extrarordinary Affair thought fit to grant them a particular Dispensation.

SECT. VIII. *Of Pluralities and the Laws made about them*

ANOTHER Rule, grounded upon the same Reason with the former, was the Inhibition of Pluralities; which concerned both Bishops, and the inferior Clergy. As to Bishops, it appears plainly from St. *Ambrose*, that it was not thought lawful for a Man to have two Churches. For speaking of those Words of the Apostle, A Bishop must be the Husband of one Wife, he says, If we look [e] only to the Superficies of the Letter, it forbids a Digamist to be ordained Bishop; but if we penetrate a little deeper to the Profounder Sense, it prohibits a Bishop to have two Churches. That is, whereever there were two Dioceses before, it was not lawful for one Bishop to usurp the both, except where the Wisdom of the Church and State thought it most convenient to join them into one. And it is remarkable, That though there be many Instances of Bishops removing from lesser Sees to greater; yet there is no Example in all ancient History, that I remember, of any such Bishops holding both together; no not among the *Arians* themselves, who were the least concerned in observing Rules of any other. As to the Case of the inferior Clergy, we must distinguish betwixt Diocesan and Parochial Churches, and between the Office and the Benefit in Parochial Churches. The Circumstances and Necessities of the Church might sometimes require a Presbyter or Deacon to officiate in more than one Parochial Church, when there was a Scarcity of Ministers; but the Revenues of such Churches did not thereupon belong to him, because they were paid into the Common Stock of the City or Cathedral Church, from whence he had his monthly or yearly Portion in the Division of the whole, as has been noted before. And this makes it farther evident, that in those early Ages there could be no such thing as Plurality of Benefices, but only a Plurality of Offices in the same Diocese, within such a District, as that a Man might personally attend and officiate in two Parochial Churches. But then as to different Dioceses, it being ordinarily impossible that a Man should attend a Cure in two Dioceses, the Canons are very expres in prohibiting any one from having a Name in two Churches, or partaking of the Revenues of both. The Council of *Chalcedon* [f] has a peremptory Canon to this purpose: It shall not be lawful for any Clergyman to have his Name in the Church-Roll or Catalogue of two Cities at the same time, that is, in the Church where he was first ordained, and any other to which he flies out of ambition as to a greater Church; but all such shall be returned to their own Church, where they were first ordained, and only Minister there. But if any one is regularly removed from one Church to another, he shall not partake of the Revenues of the former Church, or of any Oratory, Hospital or Alms-house belonging to it. And such as shall presume, after this Definition of this great and Oecumenical Council, to transgres in this matter, are condemned to be degraded by the holy *Synod*. And that none might pretend under any other Notion to evade this Law, the same Rule was made for Monasteries, that one Abbot should not preside over two Monasteries at the same time. Which Provision is made by the Council of *Agde* [g] and *Epone*, and confirmed by the Imperial Laws of *Justinian* [h], who inserted it into his Code. Now the Design of all these Laws was to oblige the Clergy to constant Attendance upon their Duty in the Church where they were first ordained; from which if they once removed, whether with Licence or without, to any other Diocese, they were no longer to enjoy any Dividend in the Church or Diocese to which they first belonged. And this Rule continued for several Ages after the Council of *Chalcedon*, being renewed in the second Council of *Nice* [i] and other later Councils.

SECT. IX. *Laws prohibiting the Clergy to take upon them secular Business, and Offices.*

IN pursance of the same Design, to keep the Clergy strict and constant to their Duty, Laws were also made to prohibit them from following any Secular Employment, which might divert them too much from their proper Business and Calling. Among those called the Apostolical Canons there are three to this Purpose. One of which [k] says, no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon shall take upon him any worldly Cares, under Pain of Degradation. Another says [l], no Bishop or Presbyter shall concern himself in any secular Offices or Administrations, that he may have more time to attend the Needs and Business of the Church; and

[d] Justin. Novel. 6. c. 2. Et illud etiam definimus, ut nemo Deo amabilium Episcoporum foris à sua Ecclesia plusquam per totum annum abesse audeat, nisi hoc per Imperialem fiat jussionem. [e] Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 4. Si ad superficiem tantum Literæ respiciamus, prohibet Bigamum Episcopum ordinari: Si vero ad altiorem sensum conscendimus, inhibet Episcopum duas usurpare Ecclesias. [f] Conc. Chalced. c. 10. μὴ ἐξεῖναι κληρικὸν ἐν δύο πόλεων κατ' αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίας, &c. [g] Conc. Agathen. c. 57. Unum Abbatem duobus Monasteriis interdicimus præsidere. Vid. Conc. Epaunens. c. 9. [h] Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 40. Non sit vero Abbas duorum Monasteriorum. [i] Conc. Nic. 2. c. 15. [k] Can. Apost. c. 7. κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω, εἰδὲ μὴ, καθαιρείσθω. [l] Ibid. c. 81. ὅτι μὴ χρὴ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον καθίστασθαι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις, &c.

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this under the ſame Penalty of Degradation. The laſt [m] ſays, A Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon, that buſies himſelf in any ſecular Office, and is minded to hold both a Place in the *Roman* Government and an Office in the Church, ſhall be depoſed. For the things of *Cæſar* belong to *Cæſar*, and the Things of GOD to GOD. *Balſamon* and *Zonaras* take this Canon to mean only the Prohibition of holding military Offices, becauſe it uſes the word στρατεία: But I have ſhewed before out of *Gothofred* and others, that the word στρατεία and *Militia* are uſed by the *Romans* in a larger Signification, to denote all kinds of ſecular Offices, as well Civil as Military: And therefore they more rightly interpret this Canon [n], who underſtand it as a Prohibition of holding any ſecular Office, Civil as well as Military, with an Eccleſiaſtical one, as things incompatible and inconſiſtent with one another. *Euſebius* [o] informs us from the Epiſtle of the Council of *Antioch*, that depoſed *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, that among other Crimes alleged againſt him, this was one, That he took upon him ſecular Places, and preferred the Title of *Ducenarius* before that of Biſhop. The *Ducenarii* among the *Romans* were a ſort of civil Officers, ſo called from their receiving a Salary of two hundred *Seſtertia* from the Emperor, as *Valeſius* obſerves [p] out of *Dio*. And this makes it plain, that the intent of the Canons was to prohibit the Clergy from meddling with civil Offices, as well as military. Only in ſome extraordinary caſes, where the matter was a buſineſs of great Neceſſity or Charity, we meet with an Inſtance or two of a Biſhop's joining an Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Office together without any Cenſure. As *Theodoret* [q] notes of the famous *Jacobus Niſibenſis*, that he was both Biſhop and Prince or Governor of *Niſibis*, or *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, a City in the Confines of the *Perſian* and *Roman* Empires. *Theodoret* repreſents him as a Man of great fame in his Country for his Miracles, by which he ſometimes relieved the City when beſieged by the *Perſians*: And 'tis probable, in regard to this, the Emperors *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* pitched upon him, as the propereſt Perſon to take the Government of the City upon him, being a Place in great danger and very much expoſed to the Incurſions of the *Perſians*. But ſuch Inſtances are but rarely met with in ancient Hiſtory.

SECT. X.
Laws prohibiting the Clergy to be Tutors and Guardians, how far extended.

IN ſome Times and Places the Laws of the Church were ſo ſtrict about this matter, that they would not ſuffer a Biſhop or Presbyter to be left Truſtee to any Man's Will, or a Tutor or Guardian in purſuance of it: Becauſe it was thought this would be too great an Avocation from his other Buſineſs. There is a famous Caſe in *Cyprian* relating to this matter. He tells us, it had been determined by an *African* Synod, that no one ſhould appoint any of God's Miniſters a Curator or Guardian by his Will, becauſe they were to give themſelves to Supplications and Prayer, and to attend only upon the Sacrifice and Service of the Altar. And therefore when one *Geminius Victor* had made *Geminius Fauſtinus* a Presbyter of the Church of *Furni*, Guardian or Truſtee by his laſt Will and Teſtament, contrary to the Decree of the foreſaid Council, *Cyprian* [r] wrote to the Church of *Furni*, that they ſhould execute the Sentence of the Council againſt *Victor*, which was, That no annual Commemoration ſhould be made of him in the Church, nor any Prayer be offered in his Name, (according to the Cuſtom of the Church in thoſe times) in the Sacrifice of the Altar. This was a ſort of Excommunication after Death, by denying to receive ſuch a Perſon's Oblations, and refuſing to name him at the Altar among others that made their Offerings, and neither honouring him with the Common Prayers or Praiſes that were then put up to God for all the Faithful that were dead in the Lord; this was the Puniſhment of ſuch as tranſgreſſed this Rule in the Days of *Cyprian*. And in the following Ages the Canon was renewed, but with a little difference. For though Biſhops were abſolutely and univerſally forbidden [s] to take this Office upon them, both by the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Law; yet Presbyters and Deacons and all the inferior Clergy were allowed to be Tutors and Guardians to ſuch Perſons, as by Right of Kindred [t] might claim this as a Duty from them. But ſtill the Prohibition ſtood in Force againſt their being concerned in that Office for any other, that were not of their Relations, as appears from one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels, which was made to ſettle this Matter in the Church.

SECT. XI.
Laws againſt their being Sureties, and Pleading Cauſes at the Bar in behalf of themſelves or their Churches.

BY other Laws they were prohibited from taking upon them the Office of Pleaders at the Bar in any Civil Conteſt, though it were in their own Caſe, or the Concerns of the Church: Neither might they be Bondſmen or Sureties for any other Man's Appearance in ſuch Cauſes: Becauſe it was thought, that ſuch ſort of Incumbrances might bring Detriment to the Church, in diſtracting her Miniſters from con-

[m] Ibid. c. 83. στρατεία σχολάζων. βιβλιμβίος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω. [n] Bevereg. Not. in Can. Apoſt. c. 83. [o] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 30. κοσμικὰ ἀξιώματα ὑποδυόμενος, καὶ δικηναίου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπισκόπου θέλων καλεῖσθαι [p] Valeſius in Loc. Ducenarii dicebantur Procuratores, qui ducenta Seſtertia annui Salarii nomine accipiebant à Principe ex Dione lib. 53. [q] Theod. lib. 2. c. 30. [r] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Cler. Furnitan. p. 3. Ideo Victor cum contra formam nuper in Concilio à ſacerdotibus datam, Geminium Fauſtinum Presbyterum auſus ſit Tutorem conſtituere, non eſt quod pro Dormitione ejus apud vos fiat Oblatio, aut Deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur. [s] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 18. Ut Epiſcopus Tuitionem Teſtamentorum non ſuſcipiat. [t] Juſt. Novel. 123. c. 5. Epiſcopos & Monachos ex nulla lege Tutores aut Curatores cujuſcunq; Perſonæ fieri concedimus. Presbyteros autem & Diaconos & Subdiaconos, ſi jure ac lege cognationis ad Tutelam aut Curam vocentur, ejuſmodi munus ſuſcipere concedimus. Vid. Concil. Chalced. c. 3.

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ſtant Attendance upon Divine Service, as appears both from the foreſaid Novel [u] of *Juſtinian*, and ſome ancient Canons [w], which forbad a Clergyman to become a Sponſor in any ſuch Cauſe under the Penalty of Deprivation.

SECT. XII. *Laws againſt their following ſecular Trades and Merchandize.*

Now as all theſe Offices and Employments were forbidden the Clergy upon the Account of being Conſumers of their Time, and Hindrances of Divine Service: So there were ſome others prohibited, not only upon this Account, but alſo upon the Notion of their being generally attended with Covetouſneſs and filthy Lucre. Thus in the firſt Council of *Carthage* [x] we find ſeveral Prohibitions of Clergymens becoming Stewards or Accountants to Laymen. The third Council [y] forbids both that, and alſo their taking any Houſes or Lands to Farm, and generally all Buſineſs that was diſreputable and unbecoming their Calling. The ſecond Council of *Arles* [z] likewiſe forbids their Farming other Men's Eſtates, of following any Trade or Merchandice for filthy Lucre's ſake, under the Penalty of Deprivation. The General Council of *Chalcedon* [a] has a Canon to the ſame Purpoſe, That no Monk or Clergyman ſhall rent any Eſtate, or take upon him the Management of any ſecular Buſineſs, except the Law called him to be Guardian to Orphans (in this Caſe that has been ſpoken of before, as being their next Relation) or elſe the Biſhop made him Steward of the Church-Revenues, or Overſeer of the Widows, Orphans, or ſuch others as ſtood in need of the Church's Care and Aſſiſtance. And here the Reaſon given for making this Canon, is, That ſome of the Clergy were found to neglect the Service of God, and live in Lay-mens Houſes as their Stewards for Covetouſneſs and filthy Lucre's ſake. Which was an old Complaint made by *Cyprian* [b] in that ſharp Invective of his againſt ſome of the Biſhops of his own Age, who were ſo far gone in this Vice of Covetouſneſs, as to neglect the Service of God to follow worldly Buſineſs; leaving their Sees, and deſerting their People, to ramble about in queſt of gainful Trades in other Countries, to the Provocation of the Divine Vengeance, and flagrant Scandal of the Church. So that theſe being the Reaſons of making ſuch Laws, we are to judge of the Nature of the Laws themſelves by the Intent and Deſign of them; which was to correct ſuch manifeſt Abuſes, as Covetouſneſs and neglect of Divine Service, which either as Cauſe or Effect too often attended the Clergy's Engagement of themſelves in ſecular Buſineſs.

SECT. XIII. *What Limitations and Exceptions theſe Laws admitted of.*

But in ſome Caſes it was reaſonable to preſume, that their Engagements of this nature were ſeparate from theſe Vices. For in ſome Times and Places, where the Revenues of the Church were very ſmall, and not a competent Maintenance for all the Clergy, ſome of them, eſpecially among the inferior Orders, were obliged to divide themſelves between the Service of the Church and ſome ſecular Calling. Others who found they had time enough to ſpare, negotiated out of Charity, to beſtow their Gains in the Relief of the Poor, and other pious Uſes. And ſome, who before their entrance into Orders, had been brought up to an Aſcetick and Philoſophick Life, wherein they wrought at ſome honeſt manual Calling with their own Hands, continued to work in the ſame manner, though not in the ſame meaſure, even after they were made Presbyters and Biſhops in the Church, for the Exerciſe of their Humility, or to anſwer ſome other End of a Chriſtian Life. Now in all theſe Caſes, the Vices complained of in the forementioned Laws, as the Reaſons of the Prohibition, had no Share or Concern: For ſuch Mens Negotiations were neither the Effects of Covetouſneſs, nor attended properly with any neglect of Divine Service: And conſequently not within the Prohibition and Cenſure of the Laws. For firſt, both the Laws of Church and State allowed the inferior Clergy to work at an honeſt Calling in Caſes of Neceſſity, to provide themſelves of a liberal Maintenance, when the Revenues of the Church could not do it.

In the fourth Council of *Carthage* [c] there are three Canons immediately following one another to this Purpoſe, That they ſhould provide themſelves of Food and Raiment at ſome honeſt Trade or Husbandry, without hindering the Duties of their Office in the Church: And ſuch of them as were able to labour, ſhould be taught ſome Trade and Letters together. And the Laws of the State were ſo far from hindering this, that they encouraged ſuch of the Clergy to follow an honeſt Calling, by granting them a ſpecial Immunity from the *Chryſargyrum*, or *Luſtral* Tax, which was exacted of all other Tradeſmen, as I have ſhewed more at large in an another [*] Place. *2dly*, It was lawful alſo to ſpend their leiſure Hours upon any manual Trade or Calling,

[u] Juſt. Novel. 123. c. 6. Sed neque Procuratorem Litis, aut Fide juſſorem pro talibus cauſis Epiſcoporum, aut alium Clericum, proprio nomine, aut Eccleſiæ ſinimus: Ne per hanc occaſionem ſacra Miniſteria impediantur. [w] Canon. Apoſt. c. 20. Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας διδὺς, καθαιρέσθω. Vid. Conſtitut. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 6. [x] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 6. Qui ſerviunt Deo, & annexi ſunt Clero, non accedant ad Actus ſeu Adminiſtrationem vel Procurationem domorum. Ibid. c. 9. Laicis non liceat Clericos noſtros eligere Apothecarios vel Ratiocinatores. [y] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 15. Clerici non ſint Conductores, neque Procuratores, neque ullo turpi vel inhoneſto negotio victum quærant. [z] Conc. Arelat. 1. al. 2. c. 14. Siquis Clericus conductor alienæ rei voluerit eſſe aut turpis lucri gratia aliquod genus negotiationis exercuerit, depoſitus à Clero, à Communione alienus habeatur. [a] Conc. Chalced. c. 3. [b] Cypr. de Lapſis, p. 123. Epiſcopi plurimi Divina Procuratione contempta, Procuratores rerum Sæcularium fieri, derelicta Cathedra, Plebe deſerta, per alienas Provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæſtuoſæ nundinas aucupari, &c. [c] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 51. Clericus quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus, artificio victum quærat. Ibid. c. 52. Clericus victum & veſtimentum ſibi, artificiolo vel agricultura, abſque Officii ſui duntaxat detrimento, præparet. Ibid. c. 53. Omnes clerici, qui ad operandum validi ſunt, & Artificiola & Literas diſcant. [*] *Book 5. Chap. 3. Sect. 6.*

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when it was to anſwer ſome good End of Charity thereby: As that they might not be overburthenſome to the Church; or might have ſome Superfluities to beſtow upon the Indigent and Needy; or even that they might ſet the Laity a provoking Example of Induſtry and Diligence in their Callings. Which were thoſe worthy Ends, which the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul* propoſed to himſelf in labouring with his own Hands at the Trade of Tent-making: After whoſe Example many eminent Biſhops of the ancient Church were not aſhamed to employ their ſpare Hours in ſome honeſt Labour, to promote the ſame Ends of Charity, which the Apoſtle ſo frequently inculcates. Thus *Sozomen* obſerves [*d*] of *Zeno* Biſhop of *Maiuma* in *Paleſtine*, that he lived to be an hundred Years old, all which time he conſtantly attended both Morning and Evening the Service of the Church, and yet found time to work at the Trade of a Linen-weaver, by which he not only ſubſiſted himſelf, but relieved others, though he lived in a rich and wealthy Church. *Epiphanius* makes a more general Obſervation againſt the *Maſſalian* Hereticks (who were great Encouragers of Idleneſs) that not only thoſe of a Monaſtick Life, but alſo many of the Prieſts of GOD [*e*] imitating their holy Father in Chriſt, St. *Paul*, wrought with their own Hands at ſome honeſt Trade, that was no Diſhonour to their Dignity, and conſiſtent with their conſtant Attendance upon their Eccleſiaſtical Duties; by which means they had both what was neceſſary for their own Subſiſtence, and to give to others that ſtood in need of their Relief. The Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions [*f*] brings in the Apoſtles recommending Induſtry in every Man's Calling from their own Example, that they might have wherewith to ſuſtain themſelves, and ſupply the Needs of others. Which though it be not an exact Repreſentation of the Apoſtles Practice (for we do not read of any other Apoſtle's labouring with their own Hands, except St. *Paul*, whilſt he preached the Goſpel) yet it ſerves to ſhew what Senſe that Author had of this Matter; that he did not think it ſimply unlawful for a Clergyman to labour at ſome ſecular Employment, when the End was Charity, and not filthy Lucre. And it is obſervable, that the Imperial Laws for ſome time granted the ſame Immunity from the *Luſtral* Tax to the inferior Clergy, that traded with a charitable Deſign to relieve others; as to thoſe that traded out of Neceſſity for their own Maintenance; of both which I have given an Account in another Place. 3*dly*, We have ſome Inſtances of very eminent Biſhops, who out of Humility and love of a Philoſophical and laborious Life, ſpent their vacant Hours in ſome honeſt Buſineſs, to which they had been accuſtomed in their former Days. Thus *Ruffin* [*g*] and *Socrates* [*h*] and *Sozomen* [*i*] tell us of *Spiridion* Biſhop of *Trimithus* in *Cyprus*, one of the moſt eminent Biſhops in the Council of *Nice*, a Man famous for the Gift of Prophecy and Miracles, that having been a Shepherd before, he continued to employ himſelf in that Calling out of his great Humility all his Life. But then he made his Actions and the whole Tenor of his Life demonſtrate, that he did it not out of Covetouſneſs. But *Sozomen* particularly notes, that whatever his Product was, he either diſtributed it among the Poor, or lent it without Uſury to ſuch as needed to borrow, whom he truſted to take out of his Store-houſe what they pleaſed, and return what they pleaſed, without ever examining or taking any account of them. 4*thly*, I obſerve, that thoſe Laws which were moſt ſevere againſt the ſuperior Clergy's negotiating in any ſecular Buſineſs, in Caſes of Neceſſity allowed them a Privilege, which was equivalent to it: That is, that they might employ others to Factor for them, ſo long as they were not concerned in their own Perſons. For ſo the Council of *Eliberis* [*k*] words it: Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons ſhall not leave their Station to follow a ſecular Calling, nor rove into other Provinces after Fairs and Markets. But yet to provide themſelves a Livelihood, they may employ a Son, or a Freeman, or an hired Servant, or a Friend, or any other: And if they negotiate, let them negotiate within their own Province. So that all theſe Laws were juſtly tempered with great Wiſdom and Prudence; that as on the one hand the Service of GOD and the Needs of his Miniſters and Servants might be ſupplied together: So on the other, no Encouragement ſhould be given to Covetouſneſs in the Clergy, nor any one be countenanced in the Neglect of his proper Buſineſs, by a Licence to lead a wandering, buſie, diſtracted Life, which did not become thoſe that were dedicated to the ſacred Function: 'Tis againſt theſe only, that all the ſevere Invectives of St. *Jerom* [*l*] and others of the Ancients [*] are levelled, which the Reader muſt interpret with the ſame Limitations, and Diſtinction of Caſes, as we have done the publick Laws: The Deſign of both being only to cenſure the Vices of the Rich, who without any juſt Reaſon or Neceſſity immerſed themſelves in the Cares of a ſecular Life, contrary to the Rules and Tenor of their Profeſſion.

SECT. XIV. *Laws reſpecting their outward Converſation.*

ANOTHER ſort of Laws were made reſpecting their outward Behaviour, to guard them equally againſt Scandal in their Character, and Danger in their Converſation. Such

[*d*] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 28. [*e*] Epiphan. Hær. 80. Maſſalian. n. 6. [*f*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 63. [*g*] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 5. Hic Paſtor ovium teiam in Epiſcopatu poſitus permanſit. [*h*] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 12. διὰ δὲ ἀτυφίαν πολλὴν, ἐχόμενος τῆ ἐπισκοπῆς ἑτοιμαίνε κὶ τὰ πρόβατα. [*i*] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 11. [*k*] Conc. Eliber. c. 19. Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi, de locis ſuis negotiandi cauſa non diſcedant, nec circumeuntes Provincias, quæſtuoſas Nundinas ſectentur. Sane ad victum ſibi conquirendum, aut Filium, aut Libertum, aut Mercenarium, aut Amicum, aut quemlibet mittant: & ſi voluerint negotiari, intra Provinciam negotientur. [*l*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Negotiatorem Clericum quaſi Peſtem fuge, &c. [*] Sulpic. Sever. Hiſt. lib. 1. p. 30. Tanta hoc tempore animos eorum habendi cupido veluti labes inceſſit: inhiant poſſeſſionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, emunt, venduntque quæſtui, per omnia ſtudent, &c.

were the Laws againſt Correſponding and Converſing too familiarly with *Jews*, and *Gentile* Philoſophers. The Council of *Eliberis* [m] forbids them to Eat with the *Jews* under Pain of Suſpenſion. The Council of *Agde* [n] has a Canon to the ſame purpoſe, forbidding them to give, as well as receive an Entertainment from the *Jews*. And thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons [o] not only prohibit them to Faſt or Feaſt with the *Jews*, but to receive τῆς ἑορτῆς ξένια, any of thoſe Portions or Preſents, which they were uſed to ſend to one another upon their Feſtivals. And the Laws againſt Converſing with *Gentile* Philoſophers were much of the ſame Nature. For *Sozomen* [p] ſays, *Theodotus* Biſhop of *Laodicea* in *Syria* excommunicated the two *Apollinarii*, Father and Son, becauſe they went to hear *Epiphanius* the *Sophiſt* ſpeak his Hymn in the Praiſe of *Bacchus*; which was not ſo agreeable to their Character, the one being a Presbyter, the other a Deacon in the Chriſtian Church. It was in regard to their Character likewiſe, that other Canons reſtrained them from eating or drinking in a Tavern, except they were upon a Journey, or ſome ſuch neceſſary Occaſion required them to do it. For among thoſe called Apoſtolical Canons [q], and the Decrees of the Council of *Laodicea* [r] and *Carthage* [s], there are ſeveral Rules to this Purpoſe; the Strictneſs of which is not much to be wondered at, ſince *Julian* required the ſame Caution in his Heathen Prieſts, that they ſhould neither appear at the publick Theatres, nor in any Taverns, under Pain of Depoſition from their Office of Prieſthood, as may be ſeen in his Letter to *Arſacius* High-Prieſt of *Galatia*, which *Sozomen* [t] records, and other Fragments of his Writings.

SECT. XV. *Laws relating to their Habit.*

To this ſort of Laws we may reduce thoſe ancient Rules, which concerned the Garb and Habit of the ancient Clergy; in which ſuch a decent Mean was to be obſerved, as might keep them from Obloquy and Cenſure on both Hands, either as too nice and critical, or too ſlovenly and careleſs in their Dreſs. Their Habit being generally to be ſuch, as might expreſs the Gravity of their Minds without any ſuperſtitious Singularities, and their Modeſty and Humility without Affectation. In this Matter therefore their Rules were formed according to the Cuſtoms and Opinions of the Age, which are commonly the Standard and Meaſure of Decency and Indecency in things of this Nature. Thus for Inſtance, long Hair and Baldneſs by ſhaving the Head or Beard, being then generally reputed Indecencies in contrary Extreams, the Clergy were obliged to obſerve a becoming Mediocrity between them. This is the Meaning of that controverted Canon in the fourth Council of *Carthage*, according to its true Reading, That a Clergyman ſhall neither indulge long Hair, nor ſhave his Beard. *Clericus nec Comam nutriat* [u] *nec Barbam radat*. The contrary Cuſtom being now in vogue in the Church of *Rome*, *Bellarmin* [w] and many other Writers of that ſide, who will have all their Ceremonies to be Apoſtolical, and to contain ſome great Myſtery in them, pretend, that the word, *Radat*, ſhould be left out of that ancient Canon, to make it agreeable to the preſent Practice. But the Learned *Savaro* [x] proves the other to be the true Reading, as well from the *Vatican*, as many other Manuſcripts. And even *Spondanus* himſelf [y] confeſſes as much, and thereupon takes occaſion to correct *Baronius* for aſſerting, that in the time of *Sidonius Apollinaris* it was the Cuſtom of the *French* Biſhops to ſhave their Beards: Whereas the contrary appears from one of *Sidonius* his Epiſtles [z], that their Cuſtom then was to wear ſhort Hair and long Beards, as he deſcribes his Friend *Maximus Palatinus*, who of a Secular was become a Clergyman: He ſays, his Habit, his Gate, his Modeſty, his Countenance, his Diſcourſe were all Religious; and agreeably to theſe, his Hair was ſhort, and his Beard long. Cuſtom, it ſeems, had then made it Decent and Becoming; and upon that ground the Ancients are ſometimes pretty ſevere againſt ſuch of the Clergy as tranſgreſſed in this Point, as guilty of an Indecency in going contrary to the Rules and Cuſtoms of the Church, which were to be obſerved, though the thing was otherwiſe in itſelf of an indifferent Nature.

SECT. XVI. *The* Tonſure *of the ancients very different from that of the* Romiſh *Church.*

THE *Romaniſts* are generally as much to blame in their Accounts of the ancient *Tonſure* of the Clergy: Which they deſcribe in ſuch a manner, as to make Parallel to that ſhaving of the Crown of the Head by way of myſtical Rite, which is now the modern Cuſtom. Whereas this was ſo far from being required as a matter of Decency among the Ancients, that it was condemned and prohibited by them. Which may appear from that Queſtion, which *Optatus* puts to the *Donatiſts*, when he asks them, where they had a Command [a] to ſhave the Heads of the Prieſts? As they had done by the Catholick Clergy in order to bring them to do publick Penance in the Church. In which Caſe, as *Albaſpinæus* rightly [b] notes, it was cuſtomary to uſe ſhaving to Baldneſs, and ſprinkling the Head with Aſhes, as ſigns of Sorrow and Repentance. But the Prieſts of GOD

[m] Conc. Eliber. c. 50. Clericus qui cum Judæis cibum ſumpſerit, placuit eum à Communione abſtinere, ut debeat emendari. [n] Conc. Agathen. c. 40. Omnes Clerici Judæorum convivia evitent. Nec eos ad convivia quiſquam excipiat. [o] Canon. Apoſt. c. 70. [p] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 25. [q] Canon. Apoſt. c. 53. [r] Conc. Laodic. c. 24. [s] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 27. [t] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16. Vid. Julian. Fragment. Epiſt. p. 547. [u] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 44. [w] Bellarm. de Monach. lib. 2. c. 40. [x] Savaro. Not. in Sidonium. lib. 4. Ep. 24. p. 306. [y] Spondan. Epit. Baron. an. 58. an. 58. [z] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 24. Habitus viro, Gradus, Pudor, Color, ſermo religioſus: Tum Coma brevis, Barba prolixa, &c. [a] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. p. 58. Docete, ubi vobis mandatum eſt radere capita ſacerdotum, cum e contrario ſint tot exempla propoſita, fieri non debere ——. Qui parare debebas aures ad audiendum, paraſti novaculam ad delinquendum. [b] Albaſp. in Loc. p. 141.

were not to be thus treated. Which ſhews, that the Ancients then knew nothing of this, as a Ceremony belonging to the Ordination or Life of the Clergy. Which is ſtill more evident from what St. *Jerom* ſays upon thoſe words of *Ezekiel* 44. 20. *Neither ſhall they ſhave their Heads, nor ſuffer their Locks to grow long, they ſhall only poll their Heads.* This, ſays he [c], evidently demonſtrates, that we ought neither to have our Heads ſhaved, as the Prieſts and Votaries of *Iſis* and *Serapis*; nor yet to ſuffer our Hair to grow long, after the luxurious manner of Barbarians and Soldiers; but that Prieſts ſhould appear with a venerable and grave Countenance; neither are they to make themſelves bald with a Razor, nor poll their Heads ſo cloſe, that they may look as if they were ſhaven; but they are to let their Hair grow ſo long, that it may cover their Skin. It is impoſſible now for any rational Man to imagine, that Chriſtian Prieſts had ſhaven Crowns in the time of St. *Jerom*, when he ſo expreſly ſays they had not, and that none but the Prieſts of *Iſis* and *Serapis* had ſo. But the Cuſtom was to poll their Heads, and cut their Hair to a moderate degree; not for any Myſtery that was in it, but for the ſake of Decency and Gravity; that they might neither affect the Manners of the luxurious Part of the World, which prided itſelf in long Hair; nor fall under Contempt and Obloquy by an indecent Baldneſs; but expreſs a ſort of venerable Modeſty in their Looks and Aſpects, which is the Reaſon that St. *Jerom* aſſigns for the ancient *Tonſure*.

SECT. XVII. *Of the* Corona Clericalis, *and why the Clergy called* Coronati.

FROM hence we may farther conclude, that the ancient Clergy were not called *Coronati* from their ſhaven Crowns, as ſome would have it, ſince it is evident there was no ſuch thing among them: But it ſeems rather a Name given them, as *Gothofred* [d] and *Savaro* [e] conjecture, from the Form of the ancient *Tonſure*; which was made in a Circular Figure, by cutting away the Hair a little from the Crown of the Head, and leaving a Round or Circle hanging downwards. This in ſome Councils [f] is called *Circuli Corona*, and ordered to be uſed in oppoſition to ſome Hereticks, who it ſeems prided themſelves in long Hair and the contrary Cuſtom. But I am not confident, that this was the Reaſon of the Name, *Coronati:* It might be given the Clergy in general out of Reſpect to their Office and Character, which was always of great Honour and Eſteem: For *Corona* ſignifies Honour and Dignity in a Figurative Senſe, and it is not improbable but that the Word was ſometimes ſo uſed in this caſe, as has been noted before [*] in ſpeaking of the Form of ſaluting Biſhops, *Per Coronam*.

SECT. XVIII. *Whether the Clergy were diſtinguiſhed in their Apparel from Laymen.*

As to the Kind or Faſhion of their Apparel, it does not appear for ſeveral Ages, that there was any other Diſtinction obſerved therein between them and the Laity, ſave that they were more confined to wear that which was modeſt and grave, and becoming their Profeſſion, without being tied to any certain Garb or Form of Cloathing. Several Councils require the Clergy to wear Apparel ſuitable to their Profeſſion; but they do not expreſs any kind, or deſcribe it otherwiſe, than that it ſhould not border upon Luxury or any affected Neatneſs, but rather keep a Medium between Finery and Slovenlineſs. This was St. *Jerom*'s Direction to *Nepotian* [g], That he ſhould neither wear Black nor White Cloathing: For Gaity and Slovenlineſs were equally to be avoided; the one favouring of Niceneſs and Delicacy, and the other of Vain-glory. Yet in different Places different Cuſtoms ſeem to have prevailed, as to the Colour of their Cloathing. For at *Conſtantinople*, in the time of *Chryſoſtom* and *Arſacius*, the Clergy commonly went in Black, as the *Novatians* did in White. Which appears from the Diſpute which *Socrates* ſpeaks of [h] between *Siſinnius* the *Novatian* Biſhop, and one of *Arſacius*'s Clergy: For he ſays, *Siſinnius* going one Day to viſit *Arſacius*, the Clergyman asked him, Why he wore a Garment which did not become a Biſhop? and where it was written, that a Prieſt ought to be cloathed in White? To whom he replyed, You firſt ſhew me, where it is written that a Biſhop ought to be cloathed in Black? From this it is eaſy to collect, that by this time it was become the Cuſtom at *Conſtantinople* for the Clergy to wear Black, and that perhaps to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Novatians*, who affected it ſeems to appear in White. But we do not find theſe Matters as yet ſo particularly determined or preſcribed in any Councils. For the fourth Council of *Carthage* [i] requires the Clergy to wear ſuch Apparel as was ſuitable to their Profeſſion, but does not particularize any farther about it, ſave that they ſhould not affect any Finery or Gaity in their Shooes or Cloathing. And the Council of *Agde* [k] gives the very ſame Direction. *Baronius* [l] indeed is very earneſt to perſuade his Reader, that Biſhops in the time of *Cyprian* wore the ſame Habit that is now worn by the Cardinals in the Church of *Rome*, and ſuch Biſhops as are advanced from a Monaſtery

[c] Hieron. lib. 13. in Ezek. cap. 44. p. 668. Quod autem ſequitur, Capita ſua non radent, &c. perſpicue demonſtratur, nec raſis capitibus, ſicut ſacerdotes, cultoreſque Iſidis atque Serapis, nos eſſe debere; nec rurſum comam demittere, quod propie luxurioſum eſt, Barbarorumque & Militantium; ſed ut honeſtus habitus ſacerdotum facie demonſtretur; nec calvitium novacula eſſe faciendum, nec ita ad preſſum tondendum caput, ut raſorum ſimiles eſſe videamur; ſed in tantum capillos eſſe demittendos, ut operta ſit cutis.
[d] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 38. [e] Savaro Not. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 3. [f] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 20. Omnes Clerici, detonſo ſuperius capite toto, inferius ſolam Circuli Coronam relinquant, &c. [*] *Book* 3. *Chap.* 9. *Sect.* 5. [g] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Veſtes pullas æque devita, ut candidas. Ornatus, ut ſordes pari modo fugiendæ ſunt; quia alterum Delicias, alterum Gloriam redolet, &c. [h] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 22. [i] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 45. Clericus Profeſſionem ſuam & in Habitu & in inceſſu probet: Et ideo nec veſtibus nec Calceamentis Decorem quærat. [k] Conc. Agathen. c. 20. Veſtimenta vel Calceamenta etiam eis, niſi quæ Religionem deceant, uti aut habere non liceat. [l] Baron. ann. 261. n. 44.

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to the Episcopal Throne. As if *Cyprian* had been a Monk or a Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*. But as the Learned Editor [m] of *Cyprian*'s Works observes, there is scarce any thing so absurd, that a Man who is engaged in a Party-Cause, cannot persuade himself to believe, and hope to persuade others also. For is it likely that Bishops and Presbyters should make their Appearance in Publick in a distinct Habit, at a time when Tyrants and Persecutors made a most diligent Search after them to put them to Death? Do the Clergy of the present Church of *Rome* use to appear so in Countries, where they live in danger of being discovered and taken? But what shall we say to the Writer of *Cyprian*'s Passion, who mentions *Cyprian*'s [n] *Lacerna* or *Birrus*, and after that his *Tunica* or *Dalmatica*, and last of all his *Linea* in which he suffered? Of which *Baronius* makes the *Linea* to be the Bishop's Rochet; and the *Dalmatica* or *Tunica*, that which they now call the loose Tunicle; and the *Lacerna* or *Birrus* the Red Silken Vestment that covers the Shoulders. Why? To all this it may be said, that these are only old Names for new Things. For besides the absurdity of thinking that *Cyprian* should go to his Martyrdom in his Sacred and Pontifical Robes (which were not to be worn out of the Church) it is evident these were but the Names of those common Garments, which many Christians then used without Distinction.

SECT. XIX. *A particular Account of the* Birrus *and* Pallium.

As to the *Birrus*, it is evident that it was no peculiar Habit of Bishops, no nor yet of the Clergy. That it was not peculiar to Bishops, appears from what St. *Austin* says of it, that it was the common Garment which all his Clergy wore as well as himself. And therefore if any one presented him with a richer *Birrus* than ordinary, he would not wear it. For [o] tho' it might become another Bishop, it would not become him, who was a poor Man, and born of poor Parents. He must have such an one, as a Presbyter could have, or a Deacon, or a Subdeacon. If any one gave him a better, he was used to sell it; that since the Garment itself could not be used in common, the Price of it at least might be common. This shews plainly, that the *Birrus* was not the Bishop's peculiar Habit, but the common Garment of all St. *Austin*'s Clergy. And that this was no more than the common *Tunica*, or Coat worn generally by Christians in *Africk* and other Places, may appear from a Canon of the Council of *Gangra*, made against *Eustathius* the Heretick and his Followers, who condemned the common Habit, [p] and brought in the Use of a strange Habit in its room. Now this common Habit was the *Birrus*, or Βῆρος, as they call it in the Canon made against them, which runs in these Words, *If any Man* [q] *uses the* Pallium, *or Cloak upon the account of an Ascetick Life, and as if there were some Holiness in that, condemns those that with reverence use the* Birrus, *and other Garments that are commonly worn, let him be Anathema.* The *Birrus* then was the common and ordinary Coat, which the Christians of *Paphlagonia* and those Parts generally wore: And though the *Asceticks* used the περιβόλαιον, the Philosophick *Pallium*, or Cloak, yet the Clergy of that Country used the common *Birrus*, or Coat. For *Sozomen* [r] in relating this same History, instead of Βῆρος uses the Word χίτων, which is a more known Name for the *Latin Tunica*, or Coat: And he also adds, that *Eustathius* himself, after the Synod had condemned him, changed his Philosophick Habit, and used the same Garb that the secular Presbyters wore. Which plainly evinces, that as yet the Clergy in those Parts did not distinguish themselves by their Habit from other Christians, though the *Asceticks* generally did. In the *French* Churches several Years after this we find the Clergy still using the same secular Habit with other Christians: And when some endeavoured to alter it, and introduce the Ascetick or Philosophick Habit among them; *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome* wrote a reprimanding Letter to them, asking, Why that Habit the Cloak was used [s] in the *French* Churches, when it had been the Custom of so many Bishops for so many Years to use the common Habit of the People? from whom the Clergy were to be distinguished by their Doctrine, and not by their Garb; by their Conversation, not their Habit; by the Purity of their Souls, rather than their Dress. But yet I must observe, That in some Places the *Asceticks*, when they were taken into the Ministry of the Church, were allowed to retain their ancient Philosophick Habit without any Censure. Thus St. *Jerom* [t] observes of his Friend *Nepotian*, that he kept to his Philosophick Habit, the *Pallium*, after he was ordained Presbyter, and wore it to the Day of his Death. He says the same of *Heraclas* [u] Presbyter of *Alexandria*, that he continued to use his Philosophick Habit when he was Presbyter. Which is noted also by *Eusebius* out of *Origen*, who says, That when *Heraclas* enter-

[m] Vide cl. Fell. Not. in Vit. Cypr. p. 13. [n] Passio Cypr. p. 13. Cyprianus in agrum Sexti productus est, & ibi se Lacerna Birro expoliavit. —— Et cum se Dalmatica (al. Tunica) expoliasset, & Diaconibus tradidisset, in Linea stetit, & cœpit spiculatorem sustinere. [o] Aug. Serm. 50. de Diversis. Tom. 10. p. 523. Offeratur mihi Birrum pretiosum, forte decet Episcopum, quamvis non deceat Augustinum, id est, hominem pauperem, de pauperibus natum. —— Talem debeo habere, qualem potest habere Presbyter, qualem potest habere Diaconus & Subdiaconus. —— Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo, quod & facere soleo, ut quando non potest vestis esse communis, pretium vestis sit commune.

[p] Conc. Gangr. in Præfat. ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες.

[q] Conc. Gangr. c. 12. εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων καταψηφίσοιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας τοὺς βίρρους φορούντων, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ ὄσῃ ἐσθῆτι κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [r] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. [s] Celestin. Ep. 2. ad Episc. Gall. c. 1. Unde hic Habitus in Ecclesiis Gallicanis, ut tot annorum, tantorumque Pontificum in altarum habitum consuetudo vertatur? Discernendi a Plebe vel cæteris sumus Doctrina, non Veste; Conversatione, non Habitu; Mentis Puritate, non Cultu. [t] Hieron. Epitaph. Nepotian. [u] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 54. Heraclam Presbyterum, qui sub habitu Philosophi perseverabat, &c.

ed himſelf in the School of Philoſophy under *Ammonius*, he then laid aſide the common Garb, and took the Philoſophick [w] Habit, with which he ſat in the Presbytery of *Alexandria*. Upon which *Valeſius* [x] very rightly obſerves, that there was then no peculiar Habit of the Clergy, foraſmuch as *Heraclas* always retained his Philoſophick *Pallium*; which was the known Habit of the *Aſceticks*, but as yet was very rarely uſed among the Clergy, who wore generally the common Habit, except when ſome ſuch Philoſophers and *Aſceticks* came among them. For here we ſee it was noted as ſomething rare and ſingular in *Heraclas*: But in after-Ages, when the Clergy were chiefly choſen out of the Monks and *Aſceticks*, the Philoſophick Habit came in by Degrees with them, and was encouraged, till at laſt it became the moſt uſual Habit of the Clergy of all ſorts: But this was not till the fifth or ſixth Century, as may be collected from what has been ſaid before on this Subject.

SECT. XX. *Of the* Collobium, Dalmatica, Caracalla, Hemiphorium, *and* Linea.

BUT ſome perhaps may think, the Clergy had always a diſtinct Habit, becauſe ſome ancient Authors take notice of the *Collobium*, as a Garment worn by Biſhops and Presbyters in the Primitive Ages. For *Epiphanius* [y] ſpeaking of *Arius*, while he was Presbyter of *Alexandria*, ſays, he always wore the *Collobium* or *Hemiphorium*. And *Pius* Biſhop of *Rome* in his Epiſtle to *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Vienna* (which by many is reckoned genuine) ſpeaks of *Juſtus* [z] as wearing a *Collobium* alſo. But this was no more than the *Tunica*, of which there were two ſorts, the *Dalmatica* and *Collobium*, which differed only in this reſpect, that the *Collobium* was the ſhort Coat without long Sleeves, ſo called from κολοβὸς, *curtus*; but the *Dalmatica* was the *Tunica manicata & talaris*, the long Coat with Sleeves. Both which were uſed by the *Romans*, though the *Collobium* was the more common, ancient and honourable Garment. As appears from *Tully*, who derides [a] *Cataline*'s Soldiers, becauſe they had their *Tunicæ manicatæ & talares*; whereas the ancient *Romans* were uſed to wear the *Collobia*, or ſhort Coats without long Sleeves. As *Servius* [b] and St. *Jerom* [c] after him obſerve from this place of *Tully*. So that a Biſhop or a Presbyter's wearing a *Collobium* means no more (when the hard Name is explained) but their wearing a common *Roman* Garment. Which is evident from one of the Laws of *Theodoſius* the Great, made about the Habits which Senators were allowed to uſe within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, where they are forbidden to wear the Soldier's Coat, the *Chalmys*, but allowed to uſe the *Collobium* and *Penula* [d], becauſe theſe were Civil Habits, and Veſtments of Peace. The *Dalmatica*, or as it was otherwiſe called, χειρίδωτος, or *Tunica Manicata*, becauſe it had Sleeves down to the Hands, was ſeldom uſed among the *Romans*: For *Lampridius* [e] notes it as a ſingular thing in the Life of *Commodus* the Emperor, that he wore a *Dalmatica* in publick, which he alſo [f] cenſures in *Heliogabalus*, as *Tully* had done before in *Catiline*. And that is a good Argument to prove, that the Clergy of this Age did not wear the *Dalmatica* in publick, ſince it was not then the common Garment of the *Romans*. And the Conjecture of a Learned Man [g] is well grounded, who thinks that in the Life of St. *Cyprian*, where the ancient Copies have *Tunicam tulit*, ſome officious modern Tranſcribers changed the Word, *Tunica*, into *Dalmatica*, as being more agreeable to the Language and Cuſtom of their own Time, when the *Dalmatica* was reckoned among the Sacred Veſtments of the Church, though we never find it mentioned as ſuch in any ancient Author. The *Caracalla*, which ſome now call the Caſſock, was originally a *Gallick* Habit, which *Antoninus Baſſianus*, who was born at *Lyons* in *France*, firſt brought into uſe among the *Roman* People, whence he had the Name of *Caracalla*, as *Aurelius Victor* [h] informs us. It was a long Garment, reaching down to the Heels, which *Victor* ſays, the *Roman* People put on, when they went to Salute the Emperor: But whether it was alſo a Clerical Habit in thoſe Days, may be queſtioned, ſince no ancient Author ſpeaks of it as ſuch: But if it was, it was not any peculiar Habit of the Clergy; ſince *Spartian* [i], who lived in the Time of *Conſtantine*, ſays, they were then uſed by the common People of *Rome*, who called them *Caracalla Antoninianæ* from their Author. The ἡμιφόριον, which *Epiphanius* joins with the *Collobium*, was either but another Name for the ſame Garment, or one like it: For it ſignifies a ſhort Cloak or Coat, as *Petavius* [k] and other Criticks explain it: ἥμισυ ἱματείας, or *Dimidium Pallium*, which anſwers to the Deſcription of the *Collobium* given before. As for the *Linea* mentioned in the Life of *Cyprian*, which *Baro-*

[w] Orig. ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 19. πρότερον κοινῇ ἐσθῆτι χρώμενος, ὑποδυσαμένου καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν χῆμα μετὰ τῆς διδασκαλείας. [x] Valeſ. Not. in Loc. Ex his apparet, nullum etiam tum peculiarem fuiſſe Veſtitum Clericorum, quandoquidem Heraclas Philoſophicum Pallium ſemper retinuit, [y] Epiph. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 3. ἡμιφόριον δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀεὶ καὶ κολλιβίωνα ἐνδυσυνόμενος. [z] Pius Ep. 2. ad Juſt. Vien. Tu vero apud Senatoriam Viennam——Collobio Epiſcoporum veſtitus, &c. [a] Cicero. Orat. 2. in Catalin. n. 22. [b] Servius in Virgil. 9. Æneid. verſ. 616. Et tunicæ manicas, & habent redimicula mitræ. [c] Hieron. Quæſt. Hebraic. in Geneſ. 37. 32. Tom. 3. p. 222. Pro varia Tunica Symmachus interpretatus eſt Tunicam manicatam; ſive quod ad talos uſque deſcenderet, ſive quod haberet manicas; antiqui enim magis Collobiis utebantur. [d] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. 14. tit. 10. de Habitu quo uti oportet intra Urbem. leg. 1. Nullus ſenatorum habitum ſibi vindicet militarem, ſed Chlamydis terrore depoſito, quieta Colloborum ac Penularum induat veſtimenta, &c. [e] Lamprid. Vit. Commodi. p. 139. Dalmaticatus in publico proceſſit. [f] Id. Vit. Heliogab. p. 317. Dalmaticatus in publico poſt cœnam ſæpe viſus eſt. [g] Bp. Fell. Not. in Vit. Cypr. p. 13. [h] Victor Epit. Vit. Caracallæ. Cum è Gallia veſtem plurimam devexiſſet, calareſque Caracallas feciſſet, coegiſſetque plebem ad ſe ſalutandum indutam talibus introire, de nomine hujus veſtis, Caracalla cognominatus eſt. [i] Spartian. Vit. Caracal. p. 251. Ipſe Caracalli nomen accepit à veſtimento, quod populo dederat, demiſſo uſque ad talos, quod ante non fuerat; unde hodieque Antoninianæ dicuntur Caracallæ hujuſmodi, in uſu maxime Romanæ Plebis frequentatæ. [k] Petav. Not. in. Epiphan. Hær. 69. n. 3. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. T. 1. p. 1334.

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nius calls the Biſhop's *Rochet*, it ſeems to have been no more than ſome common Garment made of Linnen, though we know not what other Name to give it. *Baronius* ſays pleaſantly, it was not his Shirt, and therefore concludes it muſt be his *Rochet:* Which is an Argument to make a Reader ſmile, but carries no great Conviction in it. And yet it is as good as any that he produces to prove, that Biſhops in *Cyprian*'s Time appeared in Publick differently habited from other Men. That the Clergy had their particular Habits for Miniſtring in Divine Service, at leaſt in the beginning of the fourth Century, is not denied, but will be proved and evidenced in its proper Place: But that any ſuch Diſtinction was generally obſerved *extra Sacra* in their other Habits in that Age, is what does not appear, but the contrary from what has been diſcourſed. It was neceſſary for me to give the Reader this Caution, becauſe ſome unwarily confound theſe things together, and alledge the Proofs or Diſproofs of the one for the other, which yet are of very different Conſideration.

CHAP. V.

Some Reflections upon the foregoing Diſcourſe, concluding with an Addreſs to the Clergy of the preſent Church.

SECT. I.
Reflection 1ſt. *All Laws and Rules of the ancient Church not neceſſary to be obſerved by the preſent Church and Clergy.*

HAVING thus far gone over, and as it were brought into one View, the chief of thoſe ancient Laws and Rules, which concerned the Elections, Qualifications, Duties, and general Offices of the Primitive Clergy; Reſerving the Conſideration of particular Offices to their proper Places, I ſhall cloſe this Part of the Diſcourſe with a few neceſſary Reflections upon it, in reference to the Practice of the Clergy of the preſent Church. And here firſt of all it will be proper to obſerve, that all the Laws and Rules of the Primitive Church are not obligatory to the preſent Clergy, ſave only ſo far as they either contain Matters neceſſary in themſelves, or are adopted into the Body of Rules and Canons, which are authorized and received by the preſent Church. For ſome Laws were made upon particular Reaſons, peculiar to the State and Circumſtances of the Church in thoſe Times: And it would neither be reaſonable nor poſſible to reduce Men to the Obſervance of all ſuch Laws, when the Reaſons of them are ceaſed, and the State of Affairs and Circumſtances of the Church are ſo much altered. Other Laws were made by particular Churches for themſelves only, and theſe never could oblige other Churches, till they were received by their own Conſent, or bound upon them by the Authority of a general Council, where they themſelves were repreſented, and their Conſent virtually taken: Much leſs can they oblige Abſolute and Independent Churches at the Diſtance of ſo many Ages; ſince every ſuch Church has Power to make Laws and Rules about Things of an alterable Nature for herſelf, and is not tied to the Laws of any other. Nor conſequently are any of the Members of ſuch a Church bound to obſerve thoſe Rules, unleſs they be revived and put in force by the Church whereof they are Members. As this is agreeable to the Senſe and Practice of the Catholick Church; ſo it was neceſſary here to be obſerved, That no one might miſtake the Deſign of this Diſcourſe, as if it tended to make every Rule, that has been mentioned therein, become Neceſſary, and Obligatory; or deſigned to reflect upon the preſent Church, becauſe in all things ſhe does not conform to the Primitive Practice: Which it is not poſſible to do, without making all Caſes and Circumſtances exactly the ſame in all Ages.

SECT. II.
Some ancient Rules would be of Excellent Uſe, if revived by juſt Authority.

BUT 2*dly*, notwithſtanding this, I may, I preſume, without Offence take leave to obſerve in the next Place, That ſome ancient Rules would be of excellent Uſe, if they were revived by juſt Authority in the preſent Church. What if we had a Law agreeable to that of *Juſtinian*'s in the Civil Law, that every Patron or Elector, who preſents a Clerk, ſhould depoſe upon Oath, that he choſe him neither for any Gift, or Promiſe, or Friendſhip, or any other Cauſe, but becauſe he knew him to be a Man of the true Catholick Faith, and good Life, and good Learning? Might not this be a good Addition to the preſent Laws againſt Simoniacal Contracts? What if the Order of the ancient *Chorepiſcopi* were reduced and ſettled in large Dioceſſes? and Coadjutors in caſe of Infirmity and Old-Age? Might not theſe be of great Uſe, as for many other Ends, ſo particularly for the Exerciſe of Diſcipline, and the eaſier and conſtant Diſcharge of that moſt excellent Office of Confirmation? The judicious Reader will be able to carry this Reflection through abundance of other Inſtances, which I need not here ſuggeſt: And I forbear the rather, becauſe I am only acting the Part of an Hiſtorian for the ancient Church; leaving others, whoſe Province it is, to make Laws for the preſent Church, if any Things are here ſuggeſted, which their Wiſdom and Prudence may think fit to make the Matter of Laws for the greater Benefit and Advantage of it.

Thirdly,

SECT. III. Reflect. 3. *Some ancient Laws may be complied with, though not Laws of the present Church.*

Thirdly, IT may be observed farther, that there were some Laws in the ancient Church, which though they be not established Laws of the present Church, may yet innocently be complied with; and perhaps it would be for the Honour and Advantage of the Clergy voluntarily to comply with them, since there is no Law to prohibit that. I will instance in one Case of this Nature. It was a Law in the ancient Church, as I have shewed [*], that the Clergy should end all their Civil Controversies, which they had one with another, among themselves, and not go to Law in a secular Court, unless they had a Controversy with a Layman. Now though there be no such Law in the present Church, yet there is nothing to hinder Clergymen from chusing Bishops to be their Arbitrators, and voluntarily referring all their Causes to them, or any other Judges whom they shall agree upon among themselves; which must be owned to be the most Christian Way of ending Controversies: Whence, as I have shewed, it was many times practised by the Laity in the Primitive Church, who took Bishops for their Arbitrators by voluntary Compromise, obliging themselves to stand to their Arbitration. And what was so commendable in the Laity, must needs be more reputable in the Clergy, and more becoming their Gravity and Character; not to mention other Advantages, that might arise from this Way of ending Disputes, rather than any other. From this one Instance it will be easy to judge, how far it may be both Lawful and Honourable, for the Clergy to imitate the Practice of the Ancients in other Cases of the like Nature.

SECT. IV. Reflect. 4. *Of the Influence of great Examples, and Laws of perpetual Obligation.*

4. THE last Observation I have to make upon the foregoing Discourse, is in reference to such Laws of the ancient Church, as must be owned to be of necessary and eternal Obligation. Such are most of those that have been mentioned in the second and third Chapters of this Book, relating to the Life and Duties of the Clergy: In which the Clergy of all Churches will for ever be concerned, the Matter of those Laws being in itself of absolute and indispensible Obligation. The Practice of the Ancients therefore in compliance with such Laws will be a continual Admonition, and their Examples a noble Provocation to the Clergy of all Ages. There is nothing that commonly moves and affects us more than great and good Examples: They at once both pleasantly instruct, and powerfully excite us to the practice of our Duty; They shew us that Rules are practicable, as having already been observed by Men of like Passions with our selves; They are apt to inflame our Courage by an Holy Contagion, and raise us to noble Acts by provoking our Emulation; They as it were shame us into laudable Works, by upbraiding and reproaching our Defects in falling short of the Patterns set before us; They work upon our Modesty, and turn it into Zeal; They raise our several useful Passions, and set us to work by exciting those inbred Sparks of Emulation, and Principles of Activity that are lodged within us. And for this Reason whilst others have done good Service by writing of the Pastoral Office and Care in plain Rules and Directions, I have added the Examples of the Ancients to their Rules; the better to excite us to tread those Paths, which are chalked out to us, by the Encouragement of such instructive and provoking Examples. Who can read that brave Defence and Answer [‡] which St. *Basil* made the *Arian* Prefect, without being warmed with something of his Zeal for Truth upon any the like Occasion? How Resolute and Courageous will it make a Man, even against the Calumnies of Spite and Malice to contend for the Faith, when he reads [†] what base Slanders and Reproaches were cast upon the greatest Luminaries of the Church, and the best of Men, *Athanasius* and *Basil*, for standing up in the Cause of Religion, against the *Arian* Heresie? Again, how Peaceable, how Candid, how Ingenuous and Prudent will it make a Man in composing unnecessary Disputes, that arise among Catholicks in the Church, always to have before his Eyes that great Example of Candor and Peaceableness, which *Nazianzen* describes in the Person of *Athanasius*, [||] who by his Prudence reconciled two contending Parties, that for a few Syllables and a Dispute about mere Words had like to have torn the Church in Pieces? To instance but once more, who that reads that great Example of Charity and Self-denial in the *African* Fathers at the Collation of *Carthage*, [**] and considers with what a brave and publick Spirit they despised their own Private Interest for the Good, and Peace, and Unity of the Church, will not be inspired with something of the same noble Temper, and ardent Love of Christ; which will make him willing to do or suffer any thing for the Benefit of his Church, and sacrifice his own private Interest to the Advantage of the Publick; whilst he persuades himself with those Holy Fathers, that he was made for the Church of Christ, and not the Church for him? As it is of the utmost Consequence to the Welfare of the Church, to have these and the like Virtues and Graces planted in the Hearts of her Clergy: so among other Means, that may be used for the promoting this End, there is none perhaps more likely to take Effect, than the Recommending such Virtues by the powerful Provocation of such noble Examples. And he that offers such Images of Virtue to publick View, may at least be allowed to make the Apology, which *Sulpicius Severus* [*l*] makes for his Writing the Life of St. *Martin*: *Etsi ipsi non viximus, ut aliis exemplo esse possimus: dedimus tamen operam, ne illi laterent, qui essent imitandi.*

[*] *Book 5 Chap. 1. Sect. 4. Sect. 10.* [†] *Ibid. Sect. 10.* [‡] *See Book 6. Chap. 3.* [||] *See Chap. 3. Sect. 9.* [**] *Vid. Chap. 4. Sect. 2.* [*l*] Sever. de Vita S. Martin. in Prologo.

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SECT. V. *Some particular Rules recommended to Observation.* 1st, *Relating to the ancient Method of training up Persons for the Ministry.*

BUT whilst I am so earnest in recommending the Examples of the Ancients, I must not forget to inculcate some of their excellent Rules. Such as their Laws about training up young Men for the Ministry under the *Magister Disciplinæ*, whose Business was to form their Morals, and inure them to such Studies, Exercises, and Practices, as would best qualify them for higher Offices and Services in the Church. This Method of Education being now changed into that of Universities and Schools of Learning, it highly concerns them on whom this Care is devolved, to see that the same Ends however be answered, that is, that all young Men who aspire to the sacred Profession, be rightly formed both in their Studies and Morals, to qualifie them for their great Work and the several Duties of their Calling. And they are the more concerned to be careful in the Matter, because Bishops now cannot have that personal Knowledge of the Morals of such Persons, as they had formerly, when they were trained up under their Eyes, and liable to their Inspection: but now as to this part of their Qualification, they must depend first upon the Care, and then upon the Testimony of those who are intrusted with their Education. Besides, a late eminent Writer, [*b*] who enquires into the Causes of the present Corruption of Christians, where he has occasion to speak of the Pastoral Office, and the ordinary Methods now used for training up Persons to it, makes a double Complaint of the way of Education in several of the Universities of *Europe*. As to Manners, he complains that young People live there Licentiously, and are left to their own Conduct, and make publick Profession of Dissoluteness: Nay, that they not only live there irregularly, but have Privileges, which give them a Right to commit with Impunity, all manner of Insolencies, Brutalities and Scandals, and which exempt them from the Magistrate's Jurisdiction. Now such Universities as are concerned in this Accusation (which by the Blessing of God those of our Land are not) have great reason to consider how far they are fallen from the Primitive Standard, and what a Difference there is between the ancient way of educating under the Inspection of a Bishop, and the Conduct of a Master of Discipline in every Church, and the way of such *Academies*, where, if that learned Person say true, "The Care of Masters and Professors does not "extend to the regulating of the Manners of "their Disciples." The other Complaint he makes, is in reference to the Studies, which are pursued at Universities, in which he observes two Faults. One in reference to the Method of Teaching. "Divinity is treated there, and the Holy Scrip- "tures explained altogether in a Scholastical and "Speculative Manner. Common Places are read, "which are full of School-Terms, and of Que- "stions not very material: This makes young "Men resolve all Religion into Controversies, "and gives them intricate and false Notions of "Divinity. The other Fault, he thinks, is "more Essential: Little or no Care is taken, to "teach those who dedicate themselves to the "Service of the Church, several Things, the "Knowledge of which would be very necessary "to them. The Study of History and of Church- "Antiquity is neglected, Morality is not taught "in Divinity-Schools, but in a Superficial and "Scholastick Manner: And in many *Academies* "it is not taught at all. They seldom speak "there of Discipline, they give few or no In- "structions concerning the Manner of exerci- "sing the Pastoral Care, or of governing the "Church. So that the greater Part of those "who are admitted into this Office, enter into "it without knowing wherein it consists; all the "Notion they have of it, is, that it is a Profes- "sion which obliges them to preach and to ex- "plain Texts." I cannot think all Universities are equally concerned in this Charge, nor shall I enquire how far any are, but only say, That the Faults here complained of were rarely to be met with in the Methods of Education in the Primitive Church; where, as I have shewed, the chief Studies of Men devoted to the Service of the Church, both before and after their Ordinations, were such as directly tended to instruct them in the necessary Duties and Offices of their Function. The great Care then was to oblige Men carefully to Study the Scriptures in a Practical way, and to acquaint themselves with the History and Laws and Discipline of the Church, by the Knowledge and Exercise of which they became Expert in all the Arts of curing Souls and making Pious and Holy Men, which is the Business of Spiritual Physicians, and the Whole of the Pastoral Office: In which therefore their Rules and Examples are proper to be proposed to all Churches for their Imitation.

SECT. VI. 2dly, *Their Rules for Examining the Qualifications of Candidates for the Ministry.*

ANOTHER sort of Rules worthy our most serious Thoughts and Consideration, were those which concerned the Examination of the Candidates for the Ministry. For by these such Methods were prescribed, and such Caution used, that it was scarce possible for an Unfit or Immoral Man to be admitted to an Ecclesiastical Office, unless a Bishop and the whole Church combined as it were to chuse unworthy Men, which was a Case that very rarely happened. It was a peculiar Advantage in the Primitive Church, that by her Laws ordinarily none were to be ordained but in the Church where they were Personally known; so that their Manners and way of Living might be most strictly canvassed and examined; and a vicious Man could not be ordained, if either the Bishop or the Church had the Courage to reject him. Now though this Rule cannot be practised in the present State of

[*b*] Ostervald's *Causes of the Corruption of Christians. Par.* 2. *c.* 3. *p.* 333.

the

the Church, yet the main Intent of it is of abſolute Neceſſity to be anſwered and provided for ſome other way; elſe the Church muſt needs ſuffer greatly, and infinitely fall ſhort of the Purity of the Primitive Church, by conferring the moſt Sacred of all Characters upon Immoral and unworthy Men. The only Way which our preſent Circumſtances will admit of, to anſwer the Caution that was uſed in former Days, is to Certifie the Biſhop concerning the Candidates known Probity and Integrity of Life, by ſuch Teſtimonials as he may ſafely depend upon. Here therefore every one ſees, without my obſerving it to him, that to advance the preſent Church to the Purity and Excellency of the Primitive Church, there is need of the utmoſt Caution in this Matter; that Teſtimonials in ſo weighty an Affair be not promiſcuouſly granted unto all; nor to any but upon Reaſonable Evidence and Aſſurance of the Things teſtified therein: Otherwiſe we partake in other Mens Sins, and are far from conſulting truly the Glory of GOD and the Good of his Church, whilſt we deviate ſo much from the Exactneſs and Caution that is ſhewed us in the Primitive Pattern.

The other Part of the Examination of Candidates, which related to their Abilities and Talents, was made with no leſs Diligence and Exactneſs. The chief Enquiry was, Whether they were well verſed in the Senſe and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; whether they rightly underſtood the Fundamentals of Religion, the neceſſary Doctrines of the Goſpel, and the Rules of Morality as delivered in the Law of GOD; Whether they had been converſant in the Hiſtory of the Church, and underſtood her Laws and Diſcipline; and were Men of Prudence to govern, as well as of Ability to teach the People committed to their Charge. Theſe were Things of great Importance, becauſe moſt of them were of daily Uſe in the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry and Paſtoral Care; and therefore proper to be inſiſted on in Examinations of this Nature. Theſe were the Qualifications, which joyned with the burning and ſhining Light of a Pious Life, raiſed the Primitive Church and Clergy to that height of Glory, which we all profeſs to admire in them: And the very naming that is a Sufficient Provocation to ſuch as are concerned in this Matter, to expreſs their Zeal for the Welfare and Glory of the preſent Church, by keeping ſtrictly to the Meaſures, which were ſo Succeſſfully obſerved in the ancient Church; and without which the Ends of the Miniſtry cannot be fully attained in any Church, whilſt Perſons are ordained that want proper Qualifications.

SECT. VII. 3dly, *Their Rules about Private Addreſs and the Exerciſe of Private Diſcipline.*

I ſhall not now ſtand to inculcate any other Rules about particular Duties, Studying, Preaching or the like, but only beg leave to recommend the Primitive Pattern in two things more. The one concerns Private Paſtors, the other is humbly offered to the Governors of the Church. That which concerns Private Paſtors, is the Duty of Private Addreſs, and the Exerciſe of Private Diſcipline toward the People committed to their Charge. Some eminent Perſons [*], who have lately conſidered the Duties of the Paſtoral Office, reckon this one of the Principal and moſt neceſſary Functions of it; which conſiſts in Inſpecting the Lives of Private Perſons, in viſiting Families, in Exhortations, Warnings, Reproofs, Inſtructions, Reconciliations, and in all thoſe other Cares, which a Paſtor ought to take of thoſe over whom he is conſtituted. "For, as "they rightly obſerve, neither general Exhorta- "tions, nor Publick Diſcipline can anſwer all "the Occaſions of the Church. There are cer- "tain Diſorders, which Paſtors neither can, nor "ought to repreſs openly, and which yet ought "to be remedied by them. In ſuch Caſes Pri- "vate Admonitions are to be uſed. The Con- "cern of Mens Salvation requires this, and it be- "comes the Paſtoral Carefulneſs to ſeek the "ſtraying Sheep, and not to let the Wicked "periſh for want of Warning." But now becauſe this is a nice and difficult Work, and requires not only great Diligence and Application, but alſo great Art and Prudence, with a proportionable ſhare of Meekneſs, Moderation, and Temper, to perform it aright; it is often either wholly neglected, or very ill performed; whilſt ſome think it enough to admoniſh Sinners from the Pulpit, and others admoniſh them indiſcreetly, which tends more to provoke, than reclaim them. To Remedy both theſe Evils, it will be uſeful to reflect upon that Excellent Diſcourſe of *Gregory Nazianzen*, which has been ſuggeſted in the Third Chapter of this Book [†], where he conſiders that great Variety of Tempers that is in Men, and the Nicety of all Matters and Occaſions, that a skilful Paſtor ought to conſider, in order to apply ſuitable Remedies to every Diſtemper. And there the Reader will alſo find ſome other excellent Cautions and Directions given by *Chryſoſtom* and others upon this Head, with Examples proper to excite him to the performance of this neceſſary Duty.

SECT. VIII. 4thly, *Their Rules for exerciſing Publick Diſcipline upon Delinquent Clergymen, who were Convict of Scandalous Offences.*

THE other thing I would humbly offer to the Conſideration of our Superiors, who are the Guardians of Publick Diſcipline, and Inſpectors of the Behaviour of Private Paſtors, is the Exerciſe of Diſcipline in the ancient Church. By which I do not now mean that general Diſcipline, which was exerciſed toward all Offenders in the Church; but the particular Diſcipline that was uſed among the Clergy; by Vertue of which, every Clerk convict of Immorality, or other Scandalous Offence, was liable to be Depoſed, and Puniſhed with other Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; of which, both

[*] Oſtervald's *Cauſes of the Corrupt. of Chriſtians. p.* 318. *See alſo Biſhop* Burnet's *Paſtoral Care. c.* 8. *p.* 96. [†] *See Book 6. Chap. Sect.* 8.

Crimes

Crimes and Punishments, I have given a particular Account in the three foregoing Chapters of this Book. 'Tis a thing generally acknowledged by all, That the Glory of the ancient Church was her Discipline: And it is as generally a Complaint of the Misfortune of the present Church, that Corruptions abound for want of Reviving and Restoring the ancient Discipline. Now if there be any Truth in either of these Observations, it ought to be a quickning Argument to all that sit at the Helm of Government in the Church, to bestir themselves with their utmost Zeal, that Discipline, where it is wanting, may at least be restored among the Clergy; that no Scandals or Offences may be tolerated among them, whose Lives and Practices ought to be a Light and a Guide to others. As there is nothing to hinder the free Exercise of it here: So it is but fitting it should be exemplified in them; as for many other Reasons, so particularly for this: That the Laity may not think, they are to be tied to any Discipline, which the Clergy have not first exercised upon themselves with greater Severity of Ecclesiastical Censures. And if either Rules or Examples can encourage this, those of the Primitive Church are most provoking: Her Rules of Discipline were most excellent and exact in themselves, and for the most part as exactly managed by Persons intrusted with the Execution of them.

SECT. IX.

Julian's Design to reform the Heathen Priests by the Rules of the Primitive Clergy, an Argument to provoke our Zeal in the present Age.

AFTER these Reflections made on the Laws and Practice of the Primitive Clergy, it will be needless to make any long Address to any Orders of the Clergy of the present Age. I will therefore only observe one Thing more, That *Julian*'s Design to bring the Laws of the Primitive Clergy into use among the Heathen Priests, in order to Reform them, as it was then a plain Testimony of their Excellency, so it is now a proper Argument to provoke the Zeal of the present Clergy, to be more forward and ambitious in their Imitation. I have already in Part recited *Julian*'s Testimony and Design, out of his Letter to *Arsacius* High-Priest of *Galatia*: I shall here subjoin a more ample Testimony from a Fragment of one of his Epistles [*c*] printed among his Works, where speaking of the Gentile Priests, he says, It was reasonable they should be honoured, as the Ministers and Servants of the Gods, by whose Mediation many Blessings were derived from Heaven upon the World: And so long as they retained this Character, they were to be honoured and respected by all; but if Wicked and Vicious, they should be deposed from their Office [*d*], as unworthy of their Function. Their Lives were to so regulated, as that they might be a Copy and Pattern of what they were to Preach to Men. To this Purpose they should be careful in all their Addresses to the Gods, to express all imaginable Reverence and Piety [*e*], as being in their Presence and under their Inspection. They should neither speak a filthy Word, nor hear one; but abstain as well from all impure Discourse, as vile and wicked Actions, and not let a scurrilous or abusive Jest come from their Mouths. They should read no Books tending this Way, such as *Archilocus* and *Hippanax*, and the Writers of loose wanton Comedies; but apply themselves to the Study of such Philosophers as *Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus* and *Zeno*, whose Writings were most likely to create Piety in Mens Minds. For all sorts of Books were not fit to be read by the Priests: Even among Philosophers, those of *Pyrro* and *Epicurus* were wholly to be rejected by them; and instead of these they [*f*] should learn such Divine Hymns as were to be sung in Honour of the Gods, to whom they should make their Supplications publickly and privately thrice a day, if it might be, however twice at least, Morning and Evening. In the Course of their publick Ministrations [*g*] in the Temples, which at *Rome* commonly held for thirty Days, they were to reside all the Time in the Temple, and give themselves to Philosophick Thoughts, and neither go to their own Houses, nor into the *Forum*, nor see any Magistrate but in the Temple. When their Term of Waiting was expired, and they were returned Home, they might not converse or feast Promiscuously with all, but only with their Friends and the best of Men; they were but rarely then to appear in the *Forum*, and not to visit the Magistrates and Rulers, except it were in order to be helpful to some that needed their Assistance. While they Ministred in the Temple, they were to be arrayed with a Magnificent Garment; but out of it, they must wear common Apparel, and that not very costly, or in the least savouring of Pride and Vain-glory. They were in no Case [*h*] to go to see the obscene and wanton Shews of the Publick Theatres, nor to bring them into their own Houses, nor to converse familiarly with any Charioteer, or Player, or Dancer belonging to the Theatre. After this he signifies, out of what sort of Men the Priests should be chosen. They should be the best that could be found in every City, Persons that had true Love for GOD and Man, and then it mattered not whether they were Rich or Poor; there being no difference to be made between Noble and Ignoble in the Case: No one was to be rejected upon other Accounts, who was endued with those two Qualities, Piety to GOD and Humanity to Men. Whereof the former might be evidenced by their Care to make all their Domesticks as Devout as themselves; and the latter, by their Readiness to distribute Liberally to the Poor, out of that little they had, and extending their Charity to as many as was possible. And there was the more Reason to be careful in this Matter, because it was manifestly the Neglect of this Humanity in the Priests, which had given occasion to the Impious *Galilæans* (by whom he means the Christians)

[*c*] Julian. Fragment. Epist. p. 542. [*d*] Ibid. p. 543. [*e*] Ibid. p. 547. [*f*] Ibid. p. 551. [*g*] Ibid. p. 553. [*h*] Ibid. p. 555.

to ſtrengthen their Party by the Practice of that Humanity, which the others neglected. For as Kidnappers ſteal away Children, whom they firſt allure with a Cake: So theſe begin firſt to work upon honeſt-hearted Gentiles with their Love-Feaſts, and Entertainments, and Miniſtring of Tables, as they call them, till at laſt they pervert them to Atheiſm and Impiety againſt the Gods.

Now from this Diſcourſe of *Julian*, I think, it is very Evident, that he had obſerved what Laws and Practices had chiefly contributed to the Advancement of the Character and Credit of the Chriſtian Clergy, and of the Chriſtian Religion by their Means: And therefore he laboured to introduce the like Rules and Diſcipline among the Idol-Prieſts, and intended to have made many other Alterations in the Heathen Cuſtoms, in Compliance with the envied Rites and Uſages of the Chriſtian Religion, as is obſerved both by *Gregory Nazianzen* [*i*] and *Sozomen* [*k*], who give us a particular Account of his intended Emendations. The very mentioning which, if I miſtake not, is a loud Call to us, to be at leaſt as zealous as *Julian* was, in copying out ſuch Excellencies of the Primitive Clergy, as are proper for our Imitation. It is the Argument which the Apoſtle makes uſe of in a like Caſe: *I will provoke you to Jealouſie by them that are no People, by a fooliſh Nation will I anger you. Rom.* 10. 19. I muſt needs ſay, It will be but a melancholy Conſideration for any Man to find hereafter, that the Zeal of an Apoſtate Heathen ſhall riſe up in Judgment againſt him and condemn him.

SECT. X. *The Concluſion by way of Addreſs to the Clergy of the preſent Church.*

WE all profeſs (as it is our Duty to do) a great Zeal for the Honour and Welfare of the preſent Church. Now if indeed we have that Zeal which we profeſs, we ſhall be careful to demonſtrate it in all our Actions; obſerving thoſe neceſſary Rules and Meaſures, which raiſed the Primitive Church to its Glory. We are obliged in this reſpect firſt to be Strict and Exemplary in our Lives; to ſet others a Pattern of Sobriety, Humility, Meekneſs, Charity, Self-denyal and Contempt of the World, and all ſuch common Graces, as are required of Chriſtians in general, to adorn their Profeſſion: And then to add to theſe the peculiar Graces and Ornaments of our Function, Diligence, Prudence, Fidelity, and Piety in the whole Courſe of our Miniſtry; imitating thoſe Excellencies of the Ancients, which have been deſcribed; confining ourſelves to the proper Buſineſs of our Calling, and not intermeddling or diſtracting ourſelves with other Cares; employing our Thoughts and Time in uſeful Studies, and directing them to their proper End, the Edification of the Church; performing all Divine Offices with Aſſiduity and Conſtancy, and in that rational, decent and becoming Way, as ſuits the Nature of the Action; making our Addreſſes to God with a ſerious Reverence, and an affecting Fervency of Devotion; and in our Diſcourſes to Men, ſpeaking always as the Oracles of GOD, with Scripture Eloquence, which is the moſt Perſuaſive; in our Doctrine ſhewing Uncorruptedneſs, Gravity, Sincerity, ſound Speech that cannot be condemned: In our Reproofs, and the Exerciſe of publick and private Diſcipline, uſing great Wiſdom and Prudence, both to diſcern the Tempers of Men, and to time the Application to its proper Seaſon, mixing Charity and Compaſſion with a juſt Severity, and endeavouring to reſtore fall'n Brethren in the Spirit of Meekneſs; ſhewing Gentleneſs and Patience to them that are in Error, and giving them good Arguments with good Uſage in order to regain them; avoiding all bitter and contumelious Language, and never bringing againſt any Man a railing Accuſation; treating thoſe of our own Order, whether Superiors, Inferiors, or Equals, with all the Decency and Reſpect that is due to them, ſince nothing is more ſcandalous among Clergymen, than the Abuſes and Contempt of one another; endeavouring here, as well as in all other Caſes, to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace; ſhewing our ſelves Candid and Ingenuous in moderating Diſputes among good Catholicks, as well as Reſolute and Prudent in oppoſing the malicious Deſigns of the profeſt Enemies of Truth; briefly, employing our Thoughts Day and Night upon theſe things, turning our Deſigns this way, and always acting with a pure Intention for the Benefit and Edification of the Church; even neglecting our own Honours, and deſpiſing our own Intereſt, when it is needful, for the Advantage of the Publick. Such Actions will proclaim our Zeal indeed, and draw every Eye to take notice of it. Such Qualities joined with Probity and Integrity of Life, will equal our Character to that of the Primitive Saints: and either give happy Succeſs to our Labours, or at leaſt crown our Endeavours with the Comfort and Satisfaction of having diſcharged a good Conſcience in the ſight of GOD. The beſt Deſigns indeed may be fruſtrated, and the moſt pious and zealous Endeavours be diſappointed. It was ſo with our Lord and Maſter himſelf, and no one of his Houſhold then is to think it ſtrange, if it happen to be his own Caſe. For though he ſpake as never Man ſpake, though he had done ſo many Miracles among the *Jews*, yet they believ'd not on him. This ſeems to be written for our Comfort, that we ſhould not be wholly dejected, though our Endeavours fail of Succeſs, ſince our Lord himſelf was firſt pleaſed to take his Share in the Diſappointment. It will ſtill be our Comfort, that we can be able to ſay with the Prophet [*] in this Caſe, *Though we have laboured in vain, and ſpent our Strength for nought, yet ſurely our Judgment is with the Lord, and our Work with our God: And then though* Iſrael *be not gathered, yet ſhall we be glorious in the Eyes of the Lord, and our God ſhall be our Strength.*

[*i*] Naz. Invect. 1. in Julian. [*k*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16. [*] *Iſa.* xlix. 4, 5.

ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

To the Right Honourable

And Right Reverend Father in GOD,

JONATHAN,

Lord Biſhop of WINCHESTER,

And PRELATE *of the Moſt Noble Order of the* GARTER;

This Third Volume of the

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

Is Humbly Submitted and Inſcribed by the AUTHOR,

His LORDSHIP'S

Moſt Dutiful and

Obedient Servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

BOOK VII.

Of the ASCETICKS in the PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the Difference between the first Ascetick and Monks, and of the first Original of the Monastick Life.

SECT. I. *Ascetick always in the Church: Monks not so.*

THEY who are conversant in the Writings of the Ancients, will very often meet with the Name, Ἀσκηταὶ, Asceticks, applied to some Christians by way of Distinction from others. The generality of Writers in the *Romish* Church, where-ever they meet with this Word, lay hold of it as an Argument to prove the Antiquity of Monks in the Church; whereas indeed there was a very wide Difference between them: For tho' in the Writers of the fourth and fifth Ages, when the Monastick Life was fully established, Ascetick and Monks often signify the same Persons; yet for the greatest Part of the three first Centuries it was otherwise: For there were always Ascetick in the Chuch, but not always Monks retiring to the Deserts and Mountains, or living in Monasteries and Cells, as in after Ages.

SECT. II. *This Difference acknowledged by some ingenuous Writers in the* Romish *Church.*

THIS Difference is freely confessed by some of the more frank and ingenuous Writers of the *Romish* Church; as *Valesius* [a] and Mr. *Pagi* [b] who correct the Mistakes of *Baronius*, *Christopherson*, and others in this matter. *Eusebius* speaking of *Philo Judæus* his Description of the *Egyptian Therapeutæ*, says, he therein exactly described the Life of the Christian Asceticks [c] that lived in those Times. Where by Asceticks, *Christopherson* and *Baronius* understand Monks and Religious, as they speak in the modern Stile: But *Valesius* rightly observes, that there were no Monks in the Time of *Philo*, but both the Name and Institution of them was of much later Date. Ascetick was a more general Name than that of a Monk: For though every Monk was an Ascetick, yet every Ascetick was not a Monk; but anciently every Christian that made Profession of a more strict and austere Life, was dignified with the Name of Ascetick; which is a name borrowed by the Christians from the ancient Philosophers, as *Valesius* shews out of *Arian*, *Artemidorus*, and *Philo*; and signifies, as the word imports, any one that exercises himself by the severe Rules of Abstinence and Virtue; of which kind there were always Asceticks, without being Monks, from the first Foundation of the Church by the Apostles.

SECT. III. *What the Primitive Asceticks were.*

SUCH were all those that inured themselves to greater Degrees of Abstinence and Fasting than other Men. As those mentioned by *Origen* [d], who abstained from Flesh and living Creatures, as well as the *Pythagoreans*, but upon very different Principles and Designs: The *Pythagoreans* abstain'd upon the fond Imagination of the Transmigration of Souls, lest a Father should kill and eat his own Son in the Body of a living Creature; but the Asceticks, says he, among us do it only to keep under the Body, and bring it into subjection; to mortify their Members upon Earth, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness, and all inordinate Passions and Affections. Such Abstinence the Apostolical Canons call ἄσκησις [e], the Exercise of an Ascetick Life, saying, If any Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other of the Clergy, abstain from Marriage, Flesh, or Wine, ὐ διὰ ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν, not for Exercise sake, but as abominating the good Creatures of God, &c. let him either reform himself, or be deposed and cast out of the Church. So that all who exercised themselves with Abstinence from Flesh, only for Mortification, and not out of an

[a] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17. [b] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 62. n. 4. [c] Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17. τὸ βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν Ἀσκητῶν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἱστορῶν, &c. [d] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 5. p. 264. ὅρα τὴ διαφορὰν τῦ αὐτῦ τὸ ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴς, τῶν ἀπὸ τῦ Πυθαγόρυ, καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν Ἀσκητῶν. [e] Canon. Apost. c. 51.

Opinion

Opinion of its Uncleanneſs (as ſome Hereticks did) were reckoned Aſceticks, whether they were of the Laity or Clergy. Some of theſe not only abſtained from Fleſh, but often continued their Faſts for two or three days together without taking any Food at all: Of which there are frequent Inſtances in *Irenæus* [f], and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* [g], and *Epiphanius* [h] and others: And ſuch again were called Aſceticks [i] from the ſevere Exerciſe of Faſting, to which they accuſtomed themſelves. *Secondly*, In like manner they who were more than ordinary intent upon the Exerciſe of Prayer, and ſpent their Time in Devotion, were juſtly thought to deſerve the Name of Aſceticks. Whence *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [k] ſpeaking of *Anna* the Propheteſs (who departed not from the Temple, but ſerved God with Faſting and Prayer, night and day) ſtiles her Ἀσκήτρια εὐλαβεστάτη, the Religious Aſcetick, which the common Tranſlations, not ſo correctly, render, *Monialis*, as if ſhe had been confined to a Monaſtery or Cloyſter, of which we read nothing in thoſe Times in *Jeruſalem*. *Thirdly*, The Exerciſe of Charity and Contempt of the World in any extraordinary Degree, as when Men gave up their whole Eſtate to the Service of God or Uſe of the Poor, was another Thing that gave Men the Denomination and Title of Aſceticks. In this Reſpect St. *Jerom* calls *Pierius* [l] a wonderful Aſcetick, becauſe among other things he embraced a voluntary Poverty, and lived an Auſtere and Philoſophick Life. And perhaps for the ſame Reaſon he gives *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch* the ſame Title [m], as having freely given up his whole Eſtate to the Service of the Church upon his Ordination; which was a Practice very common in thoſe days, as appears from the Examples of *Cyprian*, *Paulinus*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and many others. *Fourthly*, The Widows and Virgins of the Church, and all ſuch as confined themſelves to a ſingle Life, and made themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's ſake, were reckoned into the Number of Aſceticks, though there was then neither Cloyſter nor Vow to keep them under this Obligation. Thus *Epiphanius* [n] obſerves of *Marcion*, that before he fell into his Hereſy he lived an Aſcetick Life, profeſſing Celibacy under his Father, who was Biſhop of *Sinope* in *Pontus*, by whom he was excommunicated for corrupting one of the Virgins of the Church. *Origen* in like manner alludes to this Name, when he ſays, the Number of thoſe who exerciſed themſelves in perpetual [o] Virginity among the Chriſtians, was great in compariſon of thoſe few who did it among the *Gentiles*. And hence in After-ages the Word, *Aſcetriæ*, in the Civil Law [p] is commonly put to ſignify the Widows and Virgins of the Church. *Laſtly*, All ſuch as exerciſed themſelves with uncommon Hardſhips or Auſterities for the greater Promotion of Piety and Religion, as in frequent Watchings, Humicubations, and the like, had the Name of Aſceticks alſo. In alluſion to which *Athanaſius*, or whoever is the Author of the *Synopſis Scripturæ* among his Works, ſtiles *Lucian* the Martyr, μέγαν ἀσκητὴν [q] the great Aſcetick, becauſe of the Hardſhips he endured in Priſon; being forced to lodge on ſharp Potſherds for twelve Days together, with his Feet and Hands ſo bound in the Stocks that he could not move; and being denied all Suſtenance, except he would eat Things ſacrificed to Idols; rather than pollute himſelf with which he choſe to die with Famine, as the *Acts* of his Martyrdom relate the Story. Now from this Account that has been given of the Primitive Aſceticks, it plainly appears, that originally they were not Monks, but Men of all Orders, that freely choſe ſuch a Way of living as ingaged them upon ſome Auſterities, without deſerting their Station or Buſineſs in the World, whether it were Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, that they were otherwiſe ingaged in: And therefore where-ever we read of Aſceticks in the Writers of the three firſt Ages, we muſt not with *Baronius* dream of Monks and Regulars, but take them for Perſons of another Character, agreeable to this Deſcription. *Valeſius* [r] makes this Obſervation upon ſeveral Paſſages in *Euſebius* his Book of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, who ſuffered in the Beginning of the fourth Century in the *Diocletian* Perſecution. There he terms one of them *Peter* the Aſcetick [s], and another called *Seleucus*, a Follower of the Religious Aſceticks [t], whoſe chief Exerciſe was to take care of the Fatherleſs and Widows, and miniſter to the Sick and the Poor. Theſe were no Monks, as *Valeſius* rightly obſerves: For St. *Jerome* ſays, there were no Monks in *Paleſtine* before *Hilarian*, who brought the Monaſtick Life into uſe in that Country, not till about fifty Years after the Death of thoſe Martyrs. *Cotelerius* [u] makes the like Remark upon the Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, who ſpeaks [x] of Aſceticks among other Orders of Chriſtians, but never of Monks: Whence he concludes, not without ſome Probability, that that Author wrote before the Monaſtick Life was ſettled in the Church; elſe it is hardly to be imagined that he ſhould not ſomewhere in his Collections have taken notice of Monks as well as others.

SECT. IV. *When the Monaſtick Life firſt began.*

ASCETICKS then there were always in the Church: But the Monaſtick Life, neither Name nor Thing, was not known till toward the fourth

[f] Iren. ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 24. [g] Dionyſ. Ep. Canon. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Tom. 2. [h] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 22. [i] Antioch. Homil. 7. in Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 1037. [k] Cyril. Catech. 10. n. 9. [l] Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ. c. 76. Conſtat hunc miræ ἀσκήσεως appetitorem & voluntariæ Paupertatis. [m] Ibid. c. 41. Leguntur ejus breves Epiſtolæ, Auctoris ſui ἀσκήσει & vitæ congruentes. [n] Epiphan. Hær. 42. n. 1. Ὃ δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ βίον παρθενίαν ἐνῆθεν ἤσκει μονάζων ὑπ' ὑπῆρξ, &c. [o] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 7. p. 365. ἀσκοῦσι τὴν παντελῆ παρθενίαν, &c. [p] Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 43. [q] Athan. Synop. Tom. 2. p. 157. [r] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. de Martyr. Palæſt. c. 11. [s] Euſeb. de Mart. Pal. c. 10. [t] Ibid. c. 11. [u] Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 13. [x] Conſtit. Apoſt. ibid.

Century.

Century. Mr. *Pagi* [y] fixes its Original to the Time of *Conſtantine*, and he cites *Holſtenius* [z] and *Papebrochius* [a] for the ſame Opinion. The Riſe of it was thus: In the *Decian* Perſecution, which was about the Middle of the third Century, many Perſons in *Egypt*, to avoid the Fury of the Storm, fled to the neighbouring Deſerts and Mountains, where they not only found a ſafe Retreat, but alſo more Time and Liberty to exerciſe themſelves in Acts of Piety and Divine Contemplations; which ſort of Life, though at firſt forced upon them by Neceſſity, became ſo agreeable to ſome of them, that when the Perſecution was over they would not return to their ancient Habitations again, but choſe rather to continue in thoſe Cottages or Cells, which they had made themſelves in the Wilderneſs. The firſt and moſt noted of theſe were *Paul* and *Antonius*, two famous *Egyptians*, whom therefore St. *Jerome* calls [b] the Fathers of the Chriſtian Hermits. For though ſome deduced them from *John* the Baptiſt and *Elias*, yet they who underſtood the Matter beſt, reckon'd *Paul* the *Thebæan* the firſt Author, and *Antony* the great Encourager of that way of living among the Chriſtians: To which Opinion, as the trueſt, St. *Jerome* himſelf [c] ſubſcribes. But as yet there were no Bodies or Communities of Men embracing this Life, nor any Monaſteries built, or any regular Societies formed into any Method of Government; but only a few ſingle Perſons ſcattered here and there in the Deſerts of *Egypt*, till *Pachomius* in the peaceable Reign of *Conſtantine*, when the Perſecutions were ended, procured ſome Monaſteries to be built in *Thebais* in *Egypt*, from whence the Cuſtom of living as Regulars in Societies was followed by degrees in other Parts of the World in the ſucceeding Ages. This is evident from what *Papebrochius* and *Pagi* [d] have obſerved out of the ancient Writer of the Acts of *Pachomius*, where the Author brings in *Antony* the Hermit thus comparing the different States of Monachiſm together. When I firſt became a Monk, ſays he, there was as yet no Monaſtery [e] in any part of the World, where one Man was obliged to take care of another; but every one of the ancient Monks, when the Perſecution was ended, exerciſed a Monaſtick Life by himſelf in private. But afterward your Father *Pachomius* (he ſpeaks to one of *Pachomius*'s Diſciples) by the help of God effected this. That is, he brought the Monks to live in Communities, and under Rules, which they had not done before. So that here we ſee at once the Riſe and Progreſs of the Monaſtick Life. Till the year 250, there were no Monks, but only Aſceticks in the Church: From that Time to the Reign of *Conſtantine*, Monachiſm was confined to the Anchorets living in private Cells in the Wilderneſs: But when *Pachomius* had erected Monaſteries in *Egypt*, other Countries preſently followed the Example, and ſo the Monaſtick Life came to its full Maturity in the Church. *Hilarion*, who was Scholar to *Antonius*, was the firſt Monk that ever lived in *Paleſtine* or *Syria:* For St. *Jerom* [f] ſays plainly, there was neither Monaſtery nor Monk before he came there, but he was the Founder and Beginner of that Sort of Life in thoſe Provinces. Not long after *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia* brought it into the Regions of *Armenia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Pontus*, as *Sozomen* [g] informs us: But as yet there were no Monaſteries in *Thrace*, or *Illyricum*, or amongſt the *Europeans*, as the ſame Author teſtifies. *Baronius* [h] owns, there were no Monaſteries in *Italy* or *Rome* till *Athanaſius* came thither, *An.* 340, and taught the Anchorets to live in Societies, after the Example of *Pachomius* and the *Egyptian* Monks: Which is confirmed by St. *Jerom* [i], who ſays, *Marcella* was the firſt Noble Woman that embraced the Monaſtick Life at *Rome*, and that ſhe was inſtructed by *Athanaſius* and *Peter* his Succeſſor, who fled to *Rome* for Shelter againſt the *Arian* Perſecution. It was ſome time after this that St. *Martin* Biſhop of *Tours* fixed his Cell in *France*, and eighty other Monks [k] followed his Example: From whence, ſome Learned Men [l] think, *Pelagius* brought the Monaſtick Life firſt into *Britain* in the beginning of the fifth Century; beyond which Period I think it needleſs to carry the preſent Enquiry. They who would know the Riſe and Diſtinction of the ſeveral later Orders, may conſult *Hoſpinian*, *Creccelii*, and others, who purſue this Hiſtory through all Ages. *Vid. Hoſpinian. de Origin. Monachor. Creccelii Collectanea de Origine & Fundat. Ordinum Monaſtic.* &c.

SECT. V. *In what the Aſceticks differed from Monks.*

BUT it may now be properly enquired, ſince Monks are of ſo much later Date than Aſceticks, how the ancient Aſceticks differed from them? To which it may be replied, chiefly in theſe three Things: 1. That the Monks were Men that retired from the Buſineſs and Converſation of the World: For they either lived in private Cells ſingly by themſelves; or if in Monaſteries and Societies, yet thoſe were remote from Cities in ſome far diſtant Mountain or a deſert Wilderneſs: But the firſt Aſceticks,

[y] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 318. n. 12. Initium Monachatûs ætati Conſtantini imputandum. [z] Holſtein. Præf. ad Regulas Veter. Monachor. [a] Papebroch. Com. in Acta Pachomii, Maii 14. [b] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 16. Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illuſtrator etiam Antonius. [c] Id. Vit. Pauli, Tom. 1. p. 237. Affirmant Paulum quendam Thebæum Principem iſtius rei fuiſſe: quod non tam nomine quam opinione nos quoque comprobamus. [d] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 318. n. 12. [e] Acta Pachomii c. 77. ap. Papebroch. die 14. Maii. Quo ego primum tempore Monachum cœpi agere, nullum uſpiam extabat Cœnobium, in quo de aliorum ſalute cura aut metus cuiquam erat: ſed quiſque antiquorum Monachorum, perſecutione jam finita, privatim in vita ſeſe Monaſtica exercebat. Poſtea vero Pater veſter (Pachomius) tantum bonum, Deo adjuvante, effecit. [f] Hierom. Vit. Hilarion. c. 11. Necdum enim tunc Monaſteria erant in Palæſtina, nec quiſquam Monachos ante ſanctum Hilarionem in Syria noverat. Ille Fundator & eruditor hujus converſationis & ſtudii in hac Provincia fuit. [g] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. [h] Baron. an. 340. n. 7. [i] Hieron. Ep. 16. Epitaph. Marcellæ. [k] Sever. Vit. Martin. c. 7. [l] Sutlif. de Monach. Inſtitut. c. 6.

as their Names implies, were always Men of an active Life, living in Cities, as other Men, and in nothing differing from them ſave only in this, that they were more Intent and Zealous in attempting greater Heights and heroical Acts of Chriſtian Virtue. 2. The Monks by their firſt Inſtitution, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, were to be no more than Laymen: For being confined to the Wilderneſs, the Clerical and Monaſtick Life were upon that account incompatible States, and for almoſt one whole Age they were ſcarce ever joined together: But the ancient Aſceticks were indifferently Perſons of any Order of Men, Clergy as well as Laity, becauſe the Clerical and Aſcetick Life were then conſiſtent with each other: The Buſineſs of each being to converſe with Men, and exerciſe themſelves in Acts of Piety and Charity among them. 3. The Monks, at leaſt ſuch as lived in Monaſteries and Societies, were always brought under certain Private Rules and Laws of Diſcipline: But the ancient Aſceticks had no Laws but thoſe of the Goſpel, and the Church where they lived, to be governed by; Their Exerciſes were freely choſen, and as freely purſued; in what Manner, and to what Degree they pleaſed, without any binding Laws, or Rules of Compulſion. And theſe Things are a farther Proof, that the firſt Aſceticks were no Monks, however ſome Writers unwarily confound them together.

SECT. VI. *What other Names they were called by*

THE Reader may take notice of one Thing more concerning the Primitive Aſceticks, that they were ſometimes called by other Names. *Euſebius* [m] calls them σπουδαῖοι, and *Epiphanius* [n] uſes the ſame Appellation; meaning Perſons more eminent for their Sanctity, and Diligence in the Exerciſes of Faſting, and Prayer, and Almſdeeds, and the like. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o] ſtiles them ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι, the Elect of the Elect: For all Chriſtians as has been obſerved in another Place [p] were called the Elect, and therefore the Aſceticks are termed the Elect of the Elect, becauſe they were the more eminent or choice Part of Chriſtian Profeſſors.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſeveral Sorts of Monks, and their Ways of Living in the Church.

SECT. I. *Several Sorts of Monks diſtinguiſhed by their different Ways of Living.*

HAving hitherto ſhewed the Difference between the firſt Aſceticks and Monks, I come now to ſpeak a little more particularly of the Monks alone, ſo far as may be neceſſary to inform the Reader of the true State of the Monaſtick Life, at its firſt Appearance and Settlement in the Church. And here we are to obſerve that the ancient Monks were not like the Modern, diſtinguiſhed into Orders, and denominated from the Authors and Founders of them; but they had their Names either from the Places where they inhabited, as the Monks of Mount *Scethis*, *Tabenneſus*, *Nitria*, *Canopus* in *Egypt*, &c. or elſe they were diſtinguiſhed by their different Ways of Living, ſome in Cells, others on Pillars, others in Societies, and others by a Roving and Rambling kind of Life; which were always reckoned a Diſhonour and Reproach to the Church.

SECT. II. *The firſt called Anchorets, ἀναχωρηταί.*

THE firſt Sort were commonly known by the Name of Anchorets, from their Retiring from Society, and living in private Cells in the Wilderneſs. Such were *Paul*, and *Antony*, and *Hilarion*, the firſt Founders of the Monaſtick Life in *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*; from whom other Monks took their Model. Some of theſe lived in Caves, ἐν σπηλαίοις, as *Chryſoſtom* ſays [a] the Monks of Mount *Caſius* near *Antioch* did; and others in little Tents or Cells, οἰκίσκοι. *Evagrius* [b] calls them, and *Chryſoſtom* σκήναι Tabernacles. When many of theſe were placed together in the ſame Wilderneſs at ſome Diſtance from one another, they were all called by one common Name, *Laura*; which, as *Evagrius* [c] informs us, differed from a *Cœnobium* or Community in this, That a *Laura* was many Cells divided from each other, where every Monk provided for himſelf; but a *Cœnobium* was but one Habitation, where the Monks lived in Society, and had all things in common. *Epiphanius* [d] ſays, *Laura* or *Labra* was the Name of a Street or Diſtrict where a Church ſtood at *Alexandria*; and it is probable, that from thence the Name was taken, to ſignify a Multitude of Cells in the Wilderneſs, united as it were in a certain Diſtrict, yet ſo divided as to make up many ſeparate Habitations; whereas a *Cœnobium* was more like a ſingle Houſe for many Monks to dwell in.

SECT. III. *The ſecond, Cœnobites or Synodites.*

AND hence aroſe a ſecond ſort of Monks, who from their different Way of Living were commonly called *Cœnobitæ*; and their Habitations, *Cœnobia*, κοινόβια, becauſe they lived in common. In the *Theodoſian* Code [e] they are alſo called *Synoditæ*; which does not ſignify the Attendants

[m] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 11. [n] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 22. [o] Clem. Alex. Homil. Quis dives ſalv. n. 36. ap. Combefis Auctar. Noviſſim. p. 181. [p] Book 1. chap. 1. Sect. 1. [a] Chryſoſ. Hom. 17. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 215. [b] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 21. [c] Evagr. ibid. [d] Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 1. [e] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 30. de Appellat. Leg. 57. Addictos ſupplicio, nulli Clericorum vel Monachorum, eorum etiam quos Synoditas vocant, per vim atque uſurpationem vindicare liceat, &c. It. Cod. Juſtin. 1. Tit. 4. de Epiſcopali Audientia Leg. 6.

of Monks, as ſome Civilians (*f*) by miſtake explain the Word, deriving it from σὺν and ὁδίτης, *Viator*; but it denotes the Monks themſelves, who were ſo called from their Living ἐν συνόδοις, in Communities or Convents. And in this they differed from *Anchorets*, as has been noted before. *Gennadius* [*g*] applies theſe two Names indifferently to this ſecond Sort of Monks, when he ſays, *Evagrius* wrote a Book concerning *Cœnobites* and *Synodites*, containing Rules and Directions for leading a Life in common. St. *Jerom* [*h*] ſays, the *Egyptians* called this Sort of Monks, *Sauches*, in their proper Tongue, which ſignifies the ſame as *Cœnobites* in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church; and that the *Anchorets* were of a different Order from them, and had their Name from living in Solitude, or ſingly by themſelves in the Wilderneſs.

SECT. IV. *The Third*, Sarabaitæ.

THERE was another Sort, he ſays, whom the *Egyptians* called *Remboth*, who were a Sort of Monks that would live as they liſted themſelves, only two or three [*i*] together, under no Rule or Government. Theſe did not reſort to the Wilderneſs as the others, but lived chiefly in Cities and Caſtles, where every thing they did might be ſeen and valued by Men, which was the only End they aimed at. For they turned Religion into an Art, and made a real Gain of pretended Godlineſs. Whatever they ſold of the Work of their own Hands, was at an higher Price than any others. And this made them very turbulent and contentious: For living upon their own Labour, they would be ſubject to no Superiors. They faſted to an extraordinary degree; but then they made that which ſhould have been a Private Exerciſe, Matter of Striſe and publick Victory and Triumph. Every Thing about them was affected, looſe Sleeves, wide Stockings, coarſe Clothes, often Sighing, making frequent Viſits to the Virgins, and always bitterly inveighing againſt the Clergy. But if ever there came a Feaſt day, they would indulge themſelves even to Riot and Exceſs. Theſe therefore St. *Jerom* juſtly brands as the Peſts and Banes of the Church. He that would ſee more of their Character, may conſult *Caſſian* [*k*] among the ancient Writers, who expoſes them under the Name of *Sarabaitæ*; and *Spalatenſis* [*l*] among the Moderns, who draws the Parallel between them and the *Minorites*, *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, *Servites*, and *Minims* of the *Romiſh* Church.

SECT. V. *Of the* Stylitæ *or* Pillariſts.

ANOTHER Sort of Monks in the ancient Church (of which there were but a very few) were the *Stylitæ* or *Pillariſts*, ſo called from their taking up a ſingular Way of Living perpetually upon a Pillar. *Simeon*, ſurnamed *Stylites*, who lived about the Time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, was the firſt, *Evagrius* [*m*] ſays, that introduced this Sort of Life among the Monaſtick Orders. And *Theodorus Lector* [*n*] obſerves that the Novelty of it at firſt was ſo offenſive to the *Egyptian* Monks, that they ſent anathematizing Letters againſt him, but upon better Information, coming to underſtand the Worth and Converſation of the Man, they afterward communicated with him. The Severity of this Way of living was not very inviting, and therefore it made but few Proſelytes. *Theodorus Lector* [*o*] mentions one *Daniel*, a Diſciple of *Simeon*'s, and *Evagrius* [*p*] ſpeaks of another *Simeon* in the time of *Mauricius*, who lived ſixty eight years upon a Pillar, and is commonly called *Simeon Stylites Junior*, to diſtinguiſh him from the former. *Johannes Moſchus* [*q*] gives an Account of two or three more of this way in the ſame Age. *Surius* alſo among his Catalogue of Saints has the Life of one *Alipius* Biſhop of *Adrianople*, who renounced his See to live upon a Pillar; where, if the Story ſay true [*r*], he continued ſeventy years; having two Quires of Virgins and one of Monks attending him, with whom he ſang Pſalms and Hymns alternatively Night and Day. Beſide theſe we ſcarce meet with any other of this Way in ancient Hiſtory. An Argument that it was not of any great Eſteem, when it was firſt invented in the Primitive Church.

SECT. VI. *Of Secular Monks.*

BESIDE theſe Sorts of Monks, who renounced the World, and lived in perpetual Celibacy, *Spalatenſis* [*ſ*] thinks there was another Order, which did neither of thoſe Things, but lived in a married State and enjoyed their own Property and Poſſeſſions, only they exerciſed themſelves in Acts of Auſterity and Religion, as the Primitive Aſcetick's were uſed to do, of whom we have given an Account in the former Chapter. Thus much is certain from the expreſs Words of *Athanaſius* and St. *Auſtin*, that in their time ſome went by the Name of Monks, who were married Men, and poſſeſt of Eſtates. For *Athanaſius* writing to *Dracontius* a Monk, to perſwade him to accept of a Biſhoprick (to which he was averſe, becauſe he thought it

[*f*] Lexicon Juridic. voce Synoditæ. Genev. 1615.
[*g*] Gennad. de Scriptor. in Evagrio, Compoſuit de Cœnobitis ac Synoditis Doctrinam aptam vitæ communis. [*h*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Tria ſunt in Ægypto genera Monachorum: Primum Cœnobitæ, quod illi Sauches gentili lingua vocant; Nos, in commune viventes, poſſumus appellare. Secundum Anachoritæ, quod ſoli habitant per deſerta, & ab eo quod procul ab hominibus receſſerint, nuncupantur. Tertium genus eſt quod Remboth dicunt, deterrimum atque neglectum. [*i*] Ib. Hi bini vel trini nec multo plures ſimul habitant, ſuo arbitratu ac ditione viventes.—— Habitant autem quam plurimi in Urbibus & Caſtellis: & quaſi Ars ſit ſancta, non vita, quicquid vendiderint majoris eſt pretii. Inter hos ſæpe ſunt jurgia, quia ſuo viventes cibo, non patiuntur ſe alicui eſſe ſubjectos. Revera ſolent certare Jejuniis, & rem ſecreti victoriæ faciunt. Apud hos affectata ſunt omnia, laxæ Manicæ, Caligæ follicantes, Veſtis craſſior, crebra ſuſpiria, Viſitatio Virginum, Detractio Clericorum. Et ſi quando dies feſtus venerit, ſaturantur ad vomitum, &c. [*k*] Caſſian. Collat. 18. c. 7. [*l*] Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 12. n. 77. [*m*] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 13. [*n*] Theodor. Lect. lib. 2. p. 565. [*o*] Ibid. lib. 1. p. 554. [*p*] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 23. [*q*] Moſch. Prat. Spir. c. 36. 57. 129. [*r*] Surius Tom. 6. Vid. Hoſpin. de Monach. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 22. [*ſ*] Spalat. de Rep. lib 2. c. 11. n. 22.

would not consist with his Ascetick Way of living) uses this Argument to him: You may still, says he, after you are made a Bishop [*t*], hunger and thirst with *Paul*, and abstain from Wine with *Timothy*, and fast frequently as St. *Paul* was wont to do. Let not therefore your Counsellors throw such Objections in your Way. For we know many Bishops that fast, and Monks that eat and drink; we know Bishops that drink no Wine, and Monks that do; we know Bishops that work Miracles, and Monks that work none. Many Bishops are not married; and on the other hand many Monks are Fathers of Children; You may also find Bishops that are Fathers of Children, and Monks that are not so; Clergy that eat and drink, and Monks that fast. For these Things are at Liberty, and no Prohibition laid upon them: Every one exercises himself as he pleases; for it is not Mens Station, but their Actions, for which they shall be crowned. From these Words of *Athanasius* it seems plain, that as yet the Rules of the Monastick Life obliged no Man to renounce either his Possessions or a married State, but he might use both if he pleased, without any Ecclesiastical Censure. And tho' the Case was a little altered with some Monks before St. *Austin*'s time, yet others reserved to themselves their ancient Privilege: For St. *Austin* writing against the Hereticks, who called themselves Apostolicks, says, They [*u*] arrogantly assumed to themselves that Name, because they rejected all from their Communion, who had either Wives or Estates, of which sort the Catholick Church had many both Monks and Clergy. So that at least some Monks were still at liberty to enjoy both a Conjugal State and Possessions of their own, without any Impeachment of Apostacy or Breach of Vow in the Catholick Church. For which reason I have given this Sort of Monks the distinguishing Name of Seculars.

SECT. VII.

All Monks originally no more than Laymen.

THOUGH to avoid Ambiguity in Terms, it must be observed, that all Monks at first might properly be called Seculars, as that Name is opposed to Ecclesiasticks. For Monks in their first Original were generally Laymen, nor could they well be otherwise by their proper Constitution, and the general Laws of the Catholick Church. For the first Monks were generally Hermits, that is, Persons confined by their own Rules to some Desert or Wilderness, where Solitude was thought to help forward the Exercises of Contemplation and Repentance, and they had none to take care of but their own Souls: But the Clerical Life required Men to live in Towns and Cities, where Crowds of People afforded them proper Occasions to exercise the Offices of the Clerical Function: And it was against the Rules of the Catholick Church, as I have shewed [*] in another Place, for any Clerk to be ordained without a proper Cure or Title in some Church, where he might do the Duties of his Function. For this reason it was a thing Impracticable in itself, as well as against the Rules of the two different States of the Clerical and Monastick Life, that the Generality of Monks should be Clergymen; which, to the Confusion of ancient Rules and Discipline, has been the unwarrantable Practice of later Ages, especially since the Time of *Clement* V. *An.* 1311, who obliged (*w*) all Monks to take Holy Orders, that they might say Private Mass for the Honour of God, as he esteemed it; which was in truth a manifest trampling on the Laws of the ancient Church, and an Affront to her Practice. For anciently Monks were put into the same Class with Laymen, as they generally were, and considered only as such. St. *Jerom* gives us at once both the Rule and the Practice, when he says, the Office of a Monk is not [*x*] to teach, but to mourn: And that the Case of the Monks and Clergy is very different from each other: The Clergy are those that feed the Sheep, but the Monks (among whom he reckons himself) are those that are fed. 'Tis true, St. *Jerom* was not only a Monk, but a Presbyter likewise: But being ordained against his Will, and resolving to continue a Monk, he refused to officiate as a Presbyter: Which shews, that he had no great Opinion of joining the Monk and the Clerk together, much less of making all Monks in general become Clerks according to the modern Practice. The Council of *Chalcedon* once or twice very expressly distinguishes the Monks from the Clergy, and reckons them with the Laymen. In one Canon (*y*) it says, whoever are instrumental in getting others ordained or promoted to any Office in the Church for Money or filthy Lucre; Such Transactors, if they be Clergymen, shall be deposed; if Laymen or Monks, excommunicated. And another Canon [*z*] forbids Monks to meddle with Ecclesiastical Affairs. Both which Canons plainly imply, that the Monks then were not of the Clergy, but meerly Laymen. Pope *Leo* (*a*) at the same time speaks of them as such, telling *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, that he should not permit Monks or Laymen, however Learned, to usurp the Power of Teaching or Preaching, but only the Priests of the Lord. And therefore when any Monk was to be ordained Presbyter or Bishop, he was obliged first to go through all other Orders of the Church, as it was then customary for Laymen to do, before the Superior Orders were conferred upon them. This we

[*t*] Athan. Ep. ad Dracont. Tom. 1. p 958. [*u*] Aug. de Hæref. c. 40. Apostolici se isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod in suam Communionem non reciperent utentes conjugibus, & res proprias possidentes; quales habet Catholica Ecclesia & Monachos & Clericos plurimos. [*] Book iv. chap. 6. n. 2. [*w*] Vid. Clementin. lib. 3. Tit. 10. c. 1.
[*x*] Hieron. Ep. 55. ad Ripar. Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet Officium. Id. Ep. 1. ad Heliodor. Alia Monachorum est Causa, alia Clericorum: Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor.
[*y*] Conc. Chalced. c 2. [*z*] Ibid. c. 4. [*a*] Leo Ep. 60. al. 62. Illud quoque convenit præcavere, ut præter eos qui sunt Domini Sacerdotes, nullus sibi jus Docendi & Prædicandi audeat vendicare, sive sit ille Monachus, sive Laicus, qui alicujus Scientiæ nomine glorietur.

learn from a Decree of Pope *Gelaſius* [b], which orders, that if a Monk of good Life and Learning was minded to be ordained a Prieſt, he ſhould firſt be made a Reader or a Notary or a Defenſor, and after three Months an Acolythiſt, after Six Months a Subdeacon, after Nine Months a Deacon, and at the Year's End a Presbyter. So that the Difference between a Monk and any other Layman was only this, that a Monk by vertue of his Education in a School of Learning and good Diſcipline (ſuch as Monaſteries then were) was ſuppoſed to be a better Proficient than other Laymen, and therefore allowed the Benefit of a quicker Paſſage through the Inferior Orders than other Candidates of the Prieſthood. All which ſhews, that anciently the Generality of Monks were only Laymen, or at moſt but in a middle State betwixt common Laymen and the Clergy; as the learned Men of the *Romiſh* Church, *Habertus* [c], *Lindanus* [d], and others, ſcruple not to confeſs, though they are willing to defend the Modern Practice. Nay even *Gratian* [e] himſelf, who is moſt concerned for the Moderns, owns it to be plain from Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that to the Time of Pope *Siricius* and *Zoſimus* the ancient Monks were only ſimple Monks, and not of the Clergy.

SECT. VIII. *In what Caſes the Clerical and Monaſtick Life might be conjoined together.*

BUT though Monks did not anciently aſpire to be ordained; nor was it conſiſtent with the Rules of the Church that all of them ſhould be ſo; yet in ſeveral Caſes the Clerical and Monaſtick Life was in ſome meaſure capable of being conjoined. As, firſt, when a Monaſtery happened to be at ſo great a Diſtance from its proper Epiſcopal or Parochial Church, that the Monks could not ordinarily reſort thither for Divine Service; which was the Caſe of the Monaſteries in *Egypt* and other Parts of the *Eaſt*, where the Monks lived in great Deſerts ſequeſtred from the reſt of Mankind; then ſome one or more of the Monks were ordained for the Performance of Divine Offices among them. Thus *Caſſian* often ſpeaks of the Churches of the Monaſteries of *Scethis* or *Scythia* in the Deſerts of *Egypt*, one of which had two Presbyters, *Paphnutius* [f] and *Daniel*; and three other ſingle Presbyters reſiding, and performing Divine Offices in them: Theſe were the Abbots or Fathers of the Monaſteries, and Presbyters of the Churches together; whom *Caſſian* mentions with this remarkable [g] Circumſtance, That all of them, except *Paphnutius*, being over-run with the Hereſy of the *Anthropomorphites*, when *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſent one of his Paſchal Letters among them (to give Notice of *Eaſter* according to Cuſtom) and therein made ſome ſharp Reflections on that abſurd Hereſy, they would not ſo much as ſuffer his Epiſtle to be read in their Churches. *Sozomen* likewiſe [h] tells us, that *Prines* the Monk, whom the *Arians* made Uſe of as their Inſtrument to conceal *Arſenius*, while they accuſed *Athanaſius* of his Murder, was a Presbyter of one of the Monaſteries in the Deſerts of *Thebais*. Where it ſeems the Monaſteries were vaſtly great: For *Caſſian* [i] aſſures us, that one of them had no leſs than five thouſand Monks in it: And it cannot be thought ſtrange, that ſuch Monaſteries in remote Deſerts ſhould have their proper Churches, and Presbyters to officiate in them. But it was not only in the Deſerts that Monaſteries were allowed Presbyters in them, but in ſome Places the City-Monaſteries (as ſoon as they began to get Footing there) had the ſame Privilege likewiſe. For *Eutyches* the Heretick was not only *Archimandrite*, but Presbyter alſo of his Monaſtery at *Conſtantinople*, as *Liberatus* [k] and other ancient Writers ſtile him. And that this was no unuſual Thing, appears from hence, that both the Civil and the Canon Law allows the Practice. *Juſtinian* in one of his Novels [l] has a Proviſo both for ſuch Monaſteries as had Churches of their own, and ſuch as had not: For thoſe which had none of their own, 'tis ordered, that the Monks ſhould repair to the Pariſh Church with their Abbot, and after Divine Service immediately return to their Monaſtery again: But ſuch Monaſteries as had Churches in them, might have four or five of their own Body ordained Presbyters, or Deacons, or of the Inferior Orders, as there was Occaſion. And before this the Council of *Chalcedon* [n] ſpeaks of Churches in Monaſteries, and Clergy belonging to them; allowing a Deputation to any ſuch Church to be a ſufficient Title to qualify a Man for Holy Orders. So that in theſe Circumſtances there is no Queſtion to be made but that the Clerical and Monaſtick Life were often joined together.

2. Another Caſe in which the ſame Thing was practiſed, was when Monks were taken out of Monaſteries by the Biſhops, and ordained for the Service of the Church. Which Thing was frequently done, and not only allowed, but encouraged both by the Imperial and Eccleſiaſtical Laws; when once Monaſteries were become Schools of Learning and pious Education, they were thought the propereſt Nurſeries for the Church. Therefore *Arcadius* made it an Inſtruction to the Biſhops, that if at any time [o] they needed to augment their Clergy, they ſhould do

[b] Gelaſ. Ep. 9. ad Epiſ. Lucan. c. 3. Si quis de Religioſo Propoſito, & Diſciplinis Monaſterialibus eruditus, ad Clericale Munus accedat— continuò Lector vel Notarius, aut certe Defenſor effectus, poſt tres menſes exiſtat Acolythus: ſexto menſe Subdiaconi nomen accipiat; nono menſe Diaconus, completoque anno ſit Presbyter. [c] Habert. Archieratic. p. 601. [d] Lindan. Panopl. lib. 4. c. 75. [e] Gratian. cauſ. 16. Q. 1. poſt. cap. 39. Monachos vero uſque ad tempus Euſebii, Zoſimi, & Siricii Monachos ſimpliciter, & non Clericos fuiſſe, Eccleſiaſtica teſtatur Hiſtoria. [f] Caſſian. Collat. 3. c. 1. Collat. 4. c. 1. [g] Collat. 10. c. 2. Ita eſt hæc Epiſtola refutata ab his, qui erant in Eremo Scythi commorantes, ut præter Abbatem Paphnutium noſtræ Congregationis Presbyterum, nullus eam cæterorum Presbyterorum, qui in eadem eremo aliis tribus Eccleſiis præſidebant, nec legi quidem ac recitari in ſuis Conventibus prorſus admitterent. [h] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 23. [i] Caſſian. de Inſtitut. Renunciant. lib. 4. c. 1. [k] Liberat. Breviar. c. 11. [l] Juſtin. Novel 133. c. 2. [n] Conc. Chalced. c. 6. & 8. [o] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. Leg. 32. Si quos forte Epiſcopi deeſſe ſibi Clericos arbitrantur, ex Monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt.

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it out of the Monks. *Gothofred* in his learned Obſervations on this Law has abundantly ſhewed the Church's Practice from the Teſtimonies of *Athanaſius* [p], St. *Jerom* [q], St. *Auſtin* [r], *Epiphanius* [s], *Palladius* [t], St. *Baſil* [u], *Marcellinus Chronicon*, and the Code of the *African* [w] Church. To which may be added the Letters [x] of *Siricius*, *Innocent*, and *Gelaſius* alledged by *Gratian*, and the Councils of *Agde* [y] and *Lerida*, which allow a Biſhop to take any Monk out of a Monaſtery with the Conſent and Approbation of the Abbot, and ordain him for the Service of the Church. And in this Caſe they uſually continued their ancient Auſteries and Aſcetick way of Living, and ſo joined the Clerical and Monaſtick Life together. Upon which Account both theſe and the former Sort were by the *Greeks* ſtiled ἱερομοναχοὶ, Clergy-Monks, to diſtinguiſh them from ſuch as were only Laymen.

3. It happened ſometimes, that a Biſhop and all his Clergy choſe an Aſcetick way of Living, by a voluntary Renunciation of all Property, and enjoying all Things in Common, in Imitation of the firſt Church under the Apoſtles. St. *Ambroſe* [z] ſeems to ſay that *Euſebius Vercellenſis* was the firſt that brought in this way of Living into the Weſtern Church. For before his Time the Monaſtick Life was not known in Cities; but he taught his Clergy to live in the City after the Rules and Inſtitution of Monks in the Wilderneſs. Which muſt be underſtood chiefly, I conceive, of their Auſteries, and renouncing their Property, and having all Things in common, as the other had. St. *Auſtin* ſet up the ſame way of Living among the Clergy of *Hippo*, as we learn from his own Words, who ſays [a] he had made the Biſhop's Houſe a Monaſtery of Clergymen, where it was againſt the Rule for any Man to enjoy any Property of his own, but they had all Things in common. Which is alſo noted by *Poſſidius* in his Life, That his Clergy [b] lived with him in the ſame Houſe, and eat at the ſame Table, and were fed and cloathed at a common Expence. And ſo far as this was an Imitation of the *Cœnobites* way of Living and having all Things common, it might be called a Monaſtick as well as Clerical Life, as *Poſſidius* and St. *Auſtin* call it. But as yet there was no Monaſtery in the World, where all the Monks were ordained only to ſay private Maſs, without being fixed to any certain Cure, where they might perform the ſeveral Offices of the Clerical Function. The Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin* conſiſted only of ſuch as had publick Offices and Buſineſs in the Church, and were not Men confined to a Cloyſter.

SECT. IX. *The Original of Canons Regular.*

THEREFORE the Hermits of St. *Auſtin*, and many other modern Orders which aſſume his Name, do but falſely pretend to derive their Original from him; who, it is certain, never was an Hermit himſelf, nor wrote any Rules for them, though a great many Sermons are fathered on him as preached to the Hermits in the Wilderneſs. They who count the Riſe of Canons Regular from him, as *Duarenus* [c] and others, have Something more of Probability on their Side: Becauſe, as I have ſhewed, the Clergy of *Hippo* were under ſome of the Exerciſes of a Monaſtick Life, which made them a ſort of Canons Regular: And yet *Onuphrius* [d] and *Hoſpinian* [e], who have enquired very nicely into theſe Matters, make *Gelaſius* the firſt Founder of them under that Name in the *Lateran* Church, where they continued to the Time of *Boniface* VIII. who expelled them thence. How ſoon the Name or Order came into other Churches, *Hoſpinian* will inform the curious Reader.

SECT. X. *Of the Monks called* Accœmetæ, *or Watchers.*

ABOUT the Beginning of the Fifth Century, or, as *Baronius* [f] thinks, toward the middle of it, at *Conſtantinople* under *Gennadius* the Patriarch, one *Alexander* ſet up an Order of Monks, whom the Writers of that and the following Ages commonly ſtile Ἀκοιμῆται, that is *Watchers:* The Reaſon of which Name is taken from their manner of performing Divine Offices Day and Night without Intermiſſion. For they divided themſelves into Three Claſſes, and ſo One ſucceeded another at a ſtated Hour, and by that Means continued a perpetual Courſe of Divine Service, without any Interval, as well by Night as by Day, whence they had the Name of *Watchers* given them. The Piety of this Order procured them great Eſteem and Veneration, and many Monaſteries were builded for their Uſe at *Conſtantinople*. Among others one *Studius*, a Nobleman of *Rome*, and a Man of Conſular Dignity, renounced the World, and became one of their Order; erecting a famous Monaſtery for them himſelf, which from the Founder was [g] called *Studium*, and the Monks of it *Studitæ*. And this perhaps is the firſt Time we meet any Monks that took their Denomination from any Founder. But theſe Monks in a little time ſunk in their Credit, becauſe they were many

[p] Athanaſ. Ep. ad Dracont. [q] Hieron. Ep. 3. & 4. [r] Aug. Ep. 67, 76, 81. [s] Ephiphan. Expoſ. Fidei. [t] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 21. [u] Baſil. Ep. 403. ad Amphiloc. [w] Cod Afric. c. 80. al. 83. [x] Gratian. Cauſ. 16. Q. 1. c. 20, 22, 28. [y] Conc. Agathen. c. 27. Conc. Ilerd. c. 3. [z] Ambroſ. Ep. 82. ad Eccleſ. Vercel. p. 254. Hæc enim primus in Occidentis partibus diverſa inter ſe Euſebius ſanctæ memoriæ conjunxit, ut & in Civitate poſitus inſtituta Monachorum teneret, & eccleſiam regeret jejunii Sobrietate. [a] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diverſis T. 10. p. 519. Volui habere in iſta domo Epiſcopi meum Monaſterium Clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in Societate habere aliquid proprium. [b] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 25. Cum ipſo ſemper Clerici, una etiam domo ac menſa, ſumptibuſque communibus alebantur & veſtiebantur. [c] Duaren. de Miniſt. & Benefic. lib. 1. c. 21. [d] Onuphr. Annot. in Platin. Vit. Gelaſ. p. 62. Gelaſius Canonicos, ut vocant, Regularis Ordinis Sti. Auguſtini Laterani primus collocavit, qui ibidem uſque ad Bonifacium VIII. à quo expulſi ſunt, permanſerunt. Ex Archivis Baſilicæ Lateranenſis. [e] Hoſpin. de Orig. Monachat. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 72. [f] Baron. an. 59 ex Actis Marcelli ap. Surium. Dec. 29. [g] Niceph. Hiſt. lib. 15. c. 23.

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times found to be Favourers of the Hereſy of *Neſtorius*, for which they are frequently reflected on [*] by Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

SECT. XI. *Of thoſe called* Βοσκοὶ, *or* Grazers.

IN the Regions of *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, *Sozomen* [*h*] takes Notice of another ſort of Monks, who from their peculiar way of Living were commonly called Βοσκοὶ, the *Grazers*. For they lived after the ſame manner as Flocks and Herds upon the Mountains, never dwelling in any Houſe, nor eating any Bread or Fleſh, nor drinking Wine, but continuing inſtantly in the Worſhip of God, in Prayers and Hymns, according to the Cuſtom of the Church, till Eating Time was come; and then every Man went with his Knife in his Hand to provide himſelf Food of the Herbs of the Field, which was their only Diet and conſtant way of Living.

SECT. XII. *Of the* Benedictins, *and* Gyrovagi *in* Italy.

I take no Notice here of thoſe called by ſome the Monks of St. *Baſil* and St. *Jerom*: For 'tis certain thoſe Fathers never ſet up any diſtinct Orders of their own, though both of them were Promoters of the Monaſtick Life in General. The Rule, which goes under the Name of St. *Jerom*, is known to be a Forgery of ſome later Writer. And the Aſceticks commonly aſcribed to St. *Baſil*, are by ſome Learned Men [*i*] rather thought to be the Off-ſpring of *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia*. But admitting them to be his, as moſt Learned Men do, they do not argue him the Author of any new Order, but only a Director of thoſe which were already founded. Therefore paſſing by theſe, I ſhall only take Notice of two Orders more, the *Benedictins* in *Italy*, and the Apoſtolicks in *Britain*. The *Benedictins* had their Riſe from *Benedict*, a famous *Italian* Monk, in the Time of *Juſtinian*, about the Year 530. His firſt Settlement was at *Sublaqueum* in the Dioceſs of *Tibur* in *Italy*, where he erected twelve Monaſteries of twelve Monks apiece in the neighbouring Wilderneſs; one of which in after Ages grew ſo great, that it was not only exempt from Epiſcopal Power, againſt all ancient Rules, but, as a modern [*k*] Writer obſerves, had no leſs than fourteen Villages under its own proper Juriſdiction. From this Place he removed to Mount *Caſſin*, where he erected another Monaſtery, from whence he propagated his Order into other Countries with ſo great Succeſs, that for 600 Years after, the greateſt Part of the *European* Monks were Followers of his Rule; and ſo whatever other Names they went by, *Carthuſians*, *Ciſtercians*, *Grandimontenſes*, *Præmonſtratenſes*, *Cluniacks*, &c. they were but different Branches of the *Benedictins*, till about the Year 1220 the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* took new Rules from their Leaders. *Hoſpinian* [*l*] reckons up twenty three Orders that ſprang from this One, and obſerves out of *Volateran*, That in his Time it was computed that there had been of the Order 200 Cardinals, 1600 Archbiſhops, 4000 Biſhops, 15700 Abbots, by which it is eaſy to judge of the prodigious Increaſe of this Order. I ſhall not concern my ſelf to give any farther Account of them, but only obſerve one Thing out of the Rule of *Benedict* himſelf, That he never intend his Monks ſhould be called after his own Name, or reckoned a new Order; much leſs that ſo many new Orders ſhould be derived from it. For he profeſſes only to write in general for the Uſe of the *Cœnobites* and *Anchorets* of the Primitive Church, which in his Time were the only two ſtanding Orders that the Churches of *Italy* allowed. He ſays indeed there were four Sorts of Monks in all, *Cœnobites*, *Anchorets*, *Sarabaitæ* and *Gyrovagi*: But the two laſt were only Scandals and Reproaches to the Church. Of the *Sarabaitæ* he gives much the ſame Account that St. *Jerom* and *Caſſian* do before him [*]. And the *Gyrovagi* he thus deſcribes: They were a Sort of Rambling Monks, that ſpent their whole Life [*m*] in Running about from one Province to another, and Getting themſelves well entertained for three or four Days together at every Cell they came at, being arrant Slaves to their Bellies, and wholly addicted to their Pleaſures, and in all Things worſe than the very *Sarabaitæ* themſelves. So that he profeſſes to paſs over their miſerable Converſation in Silence, and to write only for the Inſtruction and Uſe of the Ancient *Cœnobites* of the Church. By which it is plain, that in the Time of St. *Benedict*, the Monks had not diſtinguiſhed themſelves into very many different Orders allowed in the Weſtern Church.

SECT. XIII. *Of the Apoſtolicks in* Britain *and* Ireland.

ABOUT the Year 596 the *Benedictins* came with *Auſtin* the Monk into *Britain*, and ſo all the Monaſteries which the *Saxons* built, were for Monks of that Order. But the ancient *Britains* had long before this entertained the Monaſtick Life. Some ſay *Pelagius* [*n*] firſt brought it out of the *Eaſt* into *Britain*: Others make him alſo Abbot of the College of *Bangor*, and ſpeak of 2000 Monks under him: But this is juſtly cenſured by Learned Men [*o*] as a meer Fable of Modern Authors. However, it is certain from *Bede*, that there was a Monaſtery at *Bangor* (whoever was the firſt Founder of it is not very material to enquire) before *Auſtin* and his Monks came into *England*; and here

[*] Vid. Nicephor. ibid. [*h*] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 33. Vid. Evagr. lib. 1. c. 21. Moſchus Prat. Spir. c. 19. [*i*] Hoſpin. de Orig. Monach. p. 69. Sutclif. de Monachis c. 7. Vid. Sozomen. lib. 3. c. 14. [*k*] Baudrand. Lexic. Geograph. Voce, Sublaqueum. [*l*] Hoſpin. de Monach. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 116. & 132. [*] Vid. Sect. 4. [*m*] Benedict. Regul. Monachor. c. 1. Quartum Genus eſt Monachorum, quod nominatur Gyrovagum, qui tota vita ſua per diverſas Provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diverſorum Cellas hoſpitantur; ſemper vagi & nunquam ſtabiles; propriis voluptatibus & gulæ illecebris ſervientes, & per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis: de quorum omnium miſerrima Converſatione melius eſt ſilere quam loqui. His ergo omiſſis, ad Cœnobitarum fortiſſimum genus diſponendum, adjuva te Dominoveniamus. [*n*] Hoſpin. de Monach. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 115. [*o*] Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 291.

[*p*] was

[p] was such a Number of Monks, that the Monastery being divided into Seven Parts, each Part had a Rector and no less than three Hundred Persons in it: All which were wont to live by the Labour of their own Hands. *Hospinian* and *Bale* give this the Name of the *Apostolick Order*; but whether upon good Grounds I cannot say. In one Thing it is certain they make a great Mistake, in that they confound this Monastery of *Banochor* or *Bangor* with that of *Bencher* in *Ireland*; which was another famous Monastery founded by *Congellus* about the Year 520. Out of this Monastery sprang many thousand Monks, and many other Monasteries in *Ireland* and other Nations also. St. *Bernard* [q] says, *Luanus* one of the Monks of this Congregation, himself alone founded an hundred Monasteries. And Bishop *Usher* has observed [r] of *Brendanus*, one of *Congellus* his first Disciples, that he presided over three thousand Monks, who by their own Labours and Handy-work did earn their own Living. *Columba* was another of his Disciples, who having first founded the Monastery of *Deermach* in *Ireland*, went and converted the *Northern Picts* to the Christian Faith, *An.* 565, and builded a Monastery in the Isle of *Hy*, from whence many other Monasteries both in *Britain* and *Ireland*, as *Bede* [s] observes, were propagated by his Disciples. *Columbanus* and *Gallus* were also Monks under *Congellus*, the latter of which is famous for founding the Monastery of St. *Gall* in *Helvetia*, which is since become an eminent City; and the other for founding that of *Lexovium* or *Lisieux* in *Normandy*, where the Monks (like the *Acœmetæ* or *Watchers* of *Constantinople* mentioned before) were used to divide themselves into several Quires, to succeed one another, and continue Divine Service Day and Night without Intermission, as St. *Bernard* informs us. I have been the more particular in giving a distinct Account of these two famous Monasteries, *Benchor* and *Bangor*, not only because they were the most ancient in *Ireland* and *Britain*, but because they are so unhappily by *Hospinian* and *Bale* confounded into one.

SECT. XIV. *Of some uncommon Names of Monks in the Ancient Church.*

I will shut up this Chapter with a few Remarks upon the different Names which the Ancients gave to some, or all Kinds of Monks in general. Beside the Names of Monks and Ascetics, we find them frequently stiled by other Titles, respecting some particular Act of their Profession. In Regard to their Retirement, and quiet Way of Living, some are stiled by *Justinian* [u] in One of his Novels, ἡσυχασταὶ *Hesychastæ*, *Quietists*. *Suicerus* [w] and *Habertus* [x] take it to be only another Name for *Anchorets*. But according to *Justinian*'s Account it seems rather to mean Persons who lived among the *Cœnobites*, but for greater Exercise were allowed to retire from the Community, and live (though within the Bounds of a *Cœnobium*) in particular Cells by themselves, and those Cells were called ἡσυχασήρια upon that account. Otherwiles Monks are stiled *Continentes*, because of their great Abstinence and Continent Life: As in the Third Council of *Carthage*, which forbids the Clergy and Persons [y] professing Continence, to go to the Virgins or Widows without the Leave of the Bishops or Presbyters. So also in a Law of *Valentinian* in the *Theodosian* [z] Code, and other Places. Sometimes again they are noted by the Names ἀποταξάμενοι and *Renunciantes*, Renouncers, from renouncing the World and a Secular Life; as in *Palladius* [a], and *Cassian* [b], who particularly entitles one of his Books, *De Institutis Renunciantium*. Sometimes they are termed Philosophers, as by *Isidore* of *Pelusium* [c], *Palladius* [d], *Theodoret* [e] and others, because their Way of Living seemed to resemble the Philosophick Life more than others. The Author under the Name of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* seems to give them the Name of [f] *Therapeutæ*, though that was once a common Name of Christians in *Egypt*, if the Accounts of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* may be trusted [*]. *Palladius* sometimes uses the Term φιλοθεΐα, for the Monastick Life [g], because they made a Profession of renouncing All for the Love of God: And upon this Account *Theodoret* [h] gives one of his Books the Title of *Philotheus*, or *Religious History*, because it contains the Lives of the most famous Ascetics of his Time. The Reader will sometimes also meet with the Name of *Silentiarii*, given to some Monks in ancient History: But this was not a Name of any particular Order, but given to some few for their professing a more than *Pythagorean* Silence; such as *Johannes Silentiarius*, who was first Bishop of *Colonia* in *Armenia*, but renounced his Bishoprick to become a Monk in *Palestine*, where he got the Name of *Silentiarius*, from his extraordinary Silence, as *Cyril* [i] of *Scythopolis*, the Writer of his Life, informs us. Though it must be noted, that the Name *Silentiarii*, is more commonly given to another Sort of Men, who were Civil Officers in the Emperor's Palace, and served both as Apparitors to execute Publick Business, and as Guards to keep the Peace about him, whence they had the Name of *Silentiarii*, under which Title they are spoken of in the

[p] Bede Hist. Anglor. lib. 2. c. 2. In Monasterio Bancor tantus fertur fuisse numerus Monachorum, ut cum in Septem portiones esset cum Præpositis sibi Rectoribus Monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant. [q] Bernard. Vit. Malachiæ, c. 5. p. 1934. [r] Usher, *Relig. of the Anc. Irish*, c. 6. p. 46. [s] Bede, lib. 3. c. 4. [t] Bernard. ibid. Vit. Malachiæ, c. 5. [u] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 3. [w] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce ἡσυχαστὴς. [x] Habert. Archierat. p. 588. [y] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 25. Ut Clerici vel Continentes, ad Viduas vel Virgines, nisi jussu vel permissu Episcoporum & Presbyterorum non accedant. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 38. al. 41. [z] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episcop. Leg. 20. Qui Continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, &c. [a] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 15. [b] Cassian. lib. 4. de Institut. Renunc. [c] Isidor. lib. 1. Ep. 1. [d] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 8. [e] Theodor. lib. 5 c. 24. [f] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 6. p. 386. [*] *See Book* 1. *chap.* 1. *Sect.* 1. [g] Pallad. Lausiac. c. 12. [h] Theodor. φιλοθεὸς, Tom. 4. [i] Apud Papebroch. Acta Sanctorum Maii 13. Tom. 3. p. 234.

Theodosian

Theodosian [k] Code, which joins them and the *Decuriones* together, where in *Gothofred*'s learned Notes the curious Reader may find a farther Account of them. Another Name which the Historians give to some *Egyptian* Monks, who were deeply concerned in the Disputes between *Theophilus* and *Chrysostom*, is the Title of μακροὶ, or *Longi*; But this was peculiar to four Brethren, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, and *Euthymius*, who were noted by this Name for no other Reason, as *Sozomen* [l] observes, but only because they were tall of Stature. In *Sidonius Apollinaris* they are sometimes called *Cellulani*, from their living in Cells [m], and *Insulani*, *Islanders*, because the famous Monastery in the Isle of *Lerins* was the Place where most of the *French* Bishops and Learned Men in those Ages had their Education. So this was a peculiar Name for the Monks of *Lerins*. The Monasteries, beside the the common Names of μοναστήρια and μοναὶ, were also sometimes termed σεμνεῖα, as *Suicerus* shews out of *Balzamon*, and *Methodius*, and *Suidas*, though that anciently in *Eusebius* and *Philo* signified a Church. They were also called ἡγουμενεῖα and μάνδραι, whence *Hegumenus* and *Archimandrita* are Names for an Abbot, who is the chief Father of a Monastery, or Governour of it. And they are sometimes stiled φροντιστήρια, Places of Education and Schools of Learning, because, as I shew in the next Chapter, they were anciently made Use of to that End, and had their φροντισταὶ or *Curators* particularly designed for that Purpose.

CHAP. III.

An Account of such Ancient Laws and Rules, as relate to the Monastick Life, chiefly that of the Cœnobites.

SECT. I. *The* Curiales *not allowed to turn Monks.*

HAVING thus far taken a View of the several Sorts of Monks and their several Titles, I proceed to give a short Account of the Principal Laws and Rules, made partly by the joint Concurrence of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Power, and partly by the Authority of Private Superiors, for the Government of the *Cœnobites*, or such Monks as lived in Communities, which were chiefly regarded in the Church. And here we must first look to the Laws relating to their Admission: For all Men were not allowed to turn Monks at Pleasure, because such an indiscriminate Permission would have been to the Detriment both of Church and State. Upon this Account the Civil Law forbids any of the *Curiales* to become Monks, unless they parted with their Estates to some Others, that might bear the Offices of their Country in their Stead. To this Purpose is that Law of *Valentinian* and *Valens* in the *Theodosian* [a] Code, which taking Notice of some *Curiales*, who pretended to associate themselves with the Monks in *Egypt*, only to avoid bearing the Offices of their Country, orders them to be fetch'd back from the Monasteries, by Force, and to be compelled to do their Duty in their Civil Station, or else to part with their Estates to Others that should officiate for them. This was agreeable to all those ancient Laws, which forbad any of the *Curiales* to be ordained among the Clergy, except upon the same Condition of quitting their Estates to others to bear the Offices of their Country in their Stead: And yet *Baronius* [b] is so offended at this Law, that he reckons it was but the *Præludium* to a severe Persecution, which *Valens* shortly after the Death of *Valentinian* brought upon the Monks in the *East*, when, as St. *Jerom* [c] and *Orosius* inform us, he by another Law obliged them to turn Soldiers, and ordered such as refused, to be bastinadoed to Death. *Gothofred* [d] by Mistake reckons this Law the very same with the former, but Mr. *Pagi* [e] corrects both him and *Baronius* together, and shews them to be distinct Laws, and plainly to refer to different Times and Things; the one being made while *Valentinian* was alive, the other by *Valens* alone after his Death; the one a very severe Law, raising a great Persecution against the Monks; the other laying no greater Burthen on them, than was always laid upon the Clergy by other Laws, which prohibit the *Curiales* to be ordained, unless they found proper Substitutes to bear the Offices of their Country in their Room. And the Reason of these Laws, as they referred both to the Monks and Clergy, was one and the same, That Men, who by their Estates were tied to the Service of their Country, might not ex-

[k] Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 23. de Decurionibus & Silentiariis.

[l] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 30. οἱ μακροὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ὠνομάζοντο. [m] Sidon. lib. 9. Ep. 3. ad Faustum. Precum peritus Insulanarum, quas de Senatu Lyrinensium Cellulanorum in Urbem transtulisti. *So* Eucherius ad Salon. lib. 1. Insulani Tyrones. *And* Faustus de Natali S. Maximi Stadium Insulanum. Vid. Savaro. Not. in Loc. Sidonii.

[a] Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 63. Quidam ignaviæ Sectatores, desertis Civitatum Muneribus, captant Solitudines ac secreta, & specie Religionis cum cœtibus Monazonton congregantur. Hos igitur atque hujusmodi intra Ægyptum deprehensos, per Comitem Orientis erui è latebris consulta præceptione mandavimus, atque ad munia patriarum subeunda revocari, aut pro tenore nostræ Sanctionis Familiarium rerum carere inlecebris: quas per eos censuimus vindicandas, qui publicarum essent subituri munera functionum. [b] Baron. an. 375. p. 369.

[c] Hieron. Chronic. an. 376. Valens Lege data, ut Monachi militarent, nolentes fustibus jussit interfici. Oros. Hist. lib. 7. c. 33. Tribuni & milites missi, qui sanctos & veros Dei milites alio nomine persecutionis abstraherent, interfecerunt ibi agmina multa Sanctorum. [d] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 1. de Decurion. leg. 63. [e] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 375. n. 12 & 13.

empt their Eſtates from that Service under Pretence of entering into a Religious Life.

SECT. II. *Nor Servants without their Maſter's Conſent.*

FOR the ſame Reaſon the moſt ancient Laws both of Church and State forbid any Servant to be admitted into any Monaſtery without his Maſter's Leave, becauſe that was to deprive his Maſter of his legal Right of Service, which by the Original State and Condition of his Servants was his Due. To this Purpoſe *Valentinian* III. has a Law at the End of the *Theodoſian* Code, which equally forbids Servants to become either Clerks or Monks [f] againſt their Maſter's Will, to evade the proper Bonds and Duties of their Station. *Baronius* [g] has a ſour Reflection upon this Law alſo: For he ſays, Nothing ever proſpered with *Valentinian* after the making of it: And yet he could not but know, that the ſame Thing had been before determined by the Council of *Chalcedon* [h], and that at the Inſtance of the Emperor *Marcion*, who himſelf drew up the Law, and deſired the Fathers in Synod to make a Canon of it, as appears from the Acts [i] of that Council. The Words of the Canon are, That no one ſhall be received into any Monaſtery, to continue there as a Monk, without the Conſent of his own Maſter. So little Reaſon was there to charge *Valentinian* with an Innovation in this Matter, when an Emperor and a General Council had determined the ſame before him. But *Juſtinian* cancelled all theſe former Laws by a new Edict of his own, which firſt ſet Servants at Liberty [k] from their Maſters, under Pretence of betaking themſelves to a Monaſtick Life. So that what Innovation was made in this Matter, is juſtly to be aſcribed to him as its proper Author.

SECT. III. *Nor Husbands and Wives without mutual Conſent of each other.*

ANOTHER Caution which the Ancients preſcribed to be obſerved in this Matter, was, That married Perſons ſhould never betake themſelves to a Monaſtick Life without mutual Conſent of both Parties. Thus *Ammus* and his Wife acted by Conſent, as *Socrates* and *Palladius* [l] relate the Story. And ſo *Martinianus* and *Maxima*, mentioned by *Victor* [m]; *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, and *Therasia* his Wife, by mutual Conſent. But *Paulinus* inveighs ſeverely againſt the contrary Practice, blaming *Celantia* and others, who indiſcreetly diſſolved their Marriage Vow, and thereby expoſed their Husbands to the Sin of Adultery, making themſelves [n] Partakers in their Guilt, by acting againſt the Rule of the Apoſtle, which ſays, *The Wife hath not Power of her own Body, but the Husband; and likewiſe alſo the Husband hath not Power of his own Body, but the Wife.* St. *Auſtin* [o] argues upon the ſame ground, That ſuch Engagements are not to be made but by mutual Conſent; and if either Party inconſiderably enter into any ſuch Vow, they are rather to repent of their Raſhneſs, than perform their Promiſe. This was his conſtant Senſe, as appears from other Places [p] of his Writings: And herein St. *Jerom* [q], St. *Baſil* [r], and all the Ancients agree, except *Theonas* in *Caſſian* [s], who having forſaken his Wife to turn Monk, is ſaid to have done it with the Approbation of the Fathers in *Scethis*, though *Caſſian* himſelf dares not undertake to excuſe it, as knowing it to have been againſt the general Senſe and Practice of the Catholick Church. *Juſtinian* indeed gave ſome Encouragement to this unwarrantable Practice by a Law, wherein he authorizes the Deſerting Party, Man or Woman, to claim [t] their own Fortune again, and not be liable to the leaſt Puniſhment for their Deſertion. But the Church never approved of this Law: And 'tis remarked even by *Bellarmin* himſelf [u] that *Gregory* the Great wrote againſt it.

SECT. IV. *Nor Children without the Conſent of their Parents.*

IT was anciently alſo thought unreaſonable to admit Children into the Monaſtick Life without or againſt the Conſent of their Parents. The Council of *Gangra* [w] ſeems to reflect on this Practice, as encouraged by *Euſtathius* the Heretick, in a Canon, which decrees, That if any Children under Pretence of Religion forſook their Parents, and did not give them the Honour due to them, they ſhould be Anathematized. St. *Baſil*'s Directions are conformable to the Rule of that Council, That Children ſhould not be received [x] into Monaſteries, unleſs they were offered by their Parents, if their Parents were alive. But *Juſtinian* a little enervated the Force of this ancient Rule by a new [y] Law, forbidding Parents to hinder their Children from becoming Monks or Clerks, and evacuating their Wills, if they preſumed to diſinherit them upon that Account. And this ſeems to have been the firſt Step toward the

[f] Valent. 3. Novel. 12. Nullus Originarius, Inquilinus, Servus, vel Colonus, ad Clericale munus accedat, neque Monachis & Monaſteriis aggregatur, ut vinculum debitæ Conditionis evadat. [g] Baron. an. 452. p. 179. [h] Conc. Chalced. c. 4. μηδένα προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου. [i] Conc. Chalced. Act. 6. p. 609. [k] Juſtin. Novel. 5. c. 2. [l] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 8. [m] Vict. Uticenſ. de Perſec. Vandal. lib. 1. [n] Paulin. Ep. 14. ad Celant. inter Epiſt. Hieronymi. Multa jam per hujuſmodi ignorantiam & audivimus & vidimus ſciſſa Conjugia; quodque recordari piget, occaſione Caſtitatis Adulterium perpetratum, &c. [o] Aug. Ep. 45. Armentario & Paulinæ. Vovenda talia non ſunt a Conjugatis, niſi ex conſenſu & voluntate communi. Et ſi præpropere factum fuerit, magis eſt corrigenda Temeritas quàm perſolvenda Promiſſio. [p] Aug. Ep. 199. ad Ecdiciam. [q] Hieron. Ep. 46. ad Ruſticum. De non divellendo Matrimonio ſine utriuſque conſenſu. [r] Baſil. Regul. Major. Q. 12. [s] Caſſian. Collat. 21. c. 9. [t] Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſcop. & Cler. Leg. 53. [u] Bellarm. de Monachis, c. 38. [w] Conc. Gangren. c. 16. εἴ τινα τέκνα γονέων, μάλιστα πιστῶν, ἀναχωρεῖν προφάσει θεοσεβείας, καὶ μὴ τὴν καθήκουσαν τιμὴν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀπονέμοι— ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [x] Baſil. Regul. Major. Q. 15. [y] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. Leg. 55. Ut non liceat Parentibus impedire, quo minus Liberi eorum volentes Monachi aut Clerici fiant, aut eam ob ſolam Cauſam exhæredare, &c.

contrary

contrary Practice; which ſome Learned Writers [z] of the *Romiſh* Church have been ſo far from approving, that they have with the utmoſt Zeal and Vehemence declaimed againſt it, as repugnant to the Laws of Reaſon and Scripture, and the general Practice of the Primitive Church.

SECT V. *Children, though offered by their Parents, not to be retained againſt their own Conſent.*

NOR was it only the Parents Right that was to be conſidered in this Caſe, but alſo the Right that every Perſon is preſumed to have in himſelf: For if a Parent offered a Child before he was capable of giving his own Conſent, the Act was of no Force, unleſs the Child confirmed it voluntarily, when he came to Years of Diſcretion: Which the ſecond Council of *Toledo* reckons to be about the Age of Eighteen, decreeing, That all ſuch as were entered in their Infancy by their Parents [a] into the Clerical or Monaſtick State, ſhould be inſtructed in the Biſhop's Houſe till they came to that Age, and then they ſhould be interrogated, whether they intended to lead a ſingle Life or marry, that accordingly they might now reſolve either to continue in their preſent State, or betake themſelves to a Secular Life again; which by the Decree of this Council they had ſtill Liberty to do. And Virgins had the ſame Liberty till Forty, by an Edict of the Emperors *Leo* and *Majorian* [b] at the End of the *Theodoſian* Code. But the Fourth Council of *Toledo* [c] was more ſevere in this Reſpect to Infant-Monks: For there it was decreed, *An.* 633, That whether their Parents Devotion or their own Profeſſion made them Monks, both ſhould be equally binding, and there ſhould be no Permiſſion to return to a Secular Life again. This, as *Spalatenſis* [d] rightly obſerves, was the firſt Canon that ever was made to retain Children in Monaſteries, who were only offered by their Parents, without requiring their own Conſent at Years of Diſcretion.

SECT. VI. *Of the Tonſure and Habit of Monks.*

THE Manner of Admiſſion was generally by ſome Change of their Habit and Dreſs, not to ſignify any Religious Myſtery, but only to expreſs their Gravity and Contempt of the World. And in this the ſober Part of them were always careful to obſerve a decent Mean betwixt Vanity and Lightneſs on the one hand, and hypocritical Affectations on the other. Long Hair was always thought an Indecency in Men, and ſavouring of ſecular Vanity: And therefore they poll'd every Monk at his Admiſſion, to diſtinguiſh him from the Seculars; but they never ſhaved any, for Fear they ſhould look too like the Prieſts of *Iſis*. This then was the ancient Tonſure in Oppoſition to both theſe Extreams. Long Hair they reckoned an effeminate Dreſs, and againſt the Rule of the Apoſtle: Therefore *Epiphanius* [e] blames the *Meſopotamian* Monks for wearing long Hair againſt the Rule of the Catholick Church: And St. *Auſtin* [f] cenſures ſuch under the Name of *Criniti Fratres*, the long-hair'd Brethren. St. *Jerom*, according to his Cuſtom, expreſſes himſelf with Satyr and Indignation againſt them: For writing to *Euſtochium* [g] he bids her beware of ſuch Monks as affected to walk in Chains, and wear long Hair, and Goats Beards, and black Cloaks, and go barefoot in the Midſt of Winter. For theſe were but Arguments and Tokens of a Devil. From which Invective it may be eaſily collected, that ſuch Sort of Affectations in Habit and Dreſs were not approved then by wiſe Men in the Church. But on the other hand, the ancient Tonſure was not a ſhaven Crown: For St. *Jerom* [h], St. *Ambroſe* [i], and Others equally inveigh againſt this as a Ceremony of the Prieſts of *Iſis*: It was only an Obligation on the Monks and Clergy to wear decent and ſhort Hair, as it is evident from all the Canons that appoint it [k]. As to their Habit and Cloathing, their Rules were the ſame, That it ſhould be decent and grave, as became their Profeſſion; not light and airy, nor ſlovenly and affected. The Monks of *Tabenneſus* in *Thebais*, which lived under the Inſtitution of *Pachomius*, ſeem to have been the only Monks in thoſe Days which were confined to any particular Habits: *Caſſian* [l] has a whole Book among his Inſtitutes to deſcribe them; where he ſpeaks of their *Cingula*, *Cuculli*, *Collobia*, *Redimicula*, *Palliola* or *Maſortes*, *Melotes*, their *Sheep-Skins*, and *Caligæ*, their *Saudals*; all which, they that are curious in this Matter may find there particularly deſcribed. But he owns, theſe Habits were not in Uſe [m] among the Weſtern Monks; and ſome of them, particularly the *Cowle* and the *Sheep-Skins*, would have expoſed them only to Deriſion, to have worn them. St. *Jerom* often ſpeaks of the Habit of Monks, but he never once intimates that it was any particular Garb differing from others, ſave only in this, that it was

[z] Ærodius de Patrio Jure ad Filium, *&c.* [a] Conc. Tolet. 2. c. 1. De his, quos voluntas Parentum a primis Infantiæ annis in Clericatus officio vel Monachali poſuit, pariter ſtatuimus obſervandum, ut mox cum detonſi vel miniſterio electorum contraditi fuerint, in domo Eccleſiæ ſub Epiſcopali præſentia à Præpoſito ſibi debeant erudiri. At ubi octavum decimum ætatis ſuæ compleverint annum, coram totius Cleri Plebiſque conſpectu, voluntas eorum de expetendo Conjugio ab Epiſcopo perſcrutetur, *&c.* [b] Leo Novel. 8. [c] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 48. Monachum aut Paterna Devotio aut propria Profeſſio facit. Quicquid horum fuerit alligatum, tenebit. Proinde his ad mundum revertendi intercludimus aditum, & omnes ad ſeculum interdicimus regreſſus. [d] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 2. c. 12. n. 29. [e] Epiphan. Hær. 80. n. 6. [f] Aug. de Oper. Monach. c. 31. Vereor in hoc vitio plura dicere propter quoſdam Crinitos Fratres, quorum præter hoc multa & pene omnia veneramur. [g] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtochium. c. 12. Viros fuge, quos videris catenatos; quorum fœminei contra Apoſtolum Paulum crines, Hircorum barba, nigrum Pallium, & nudi in patientia frigoris pedes. Hæc omnia Argumenta ſunt Diaboli. [h] Id. Com. in Ezek. c. 44. [i] Ambroſ. Ep. 36. ad Sabin. [k] Vid. Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 44. Conc. Athag. c. 20. Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 12. Tolet. 4. can. 40. [l] Caſſian. lib. 1. de Habitu Monachor. [m] Caſſian. ibid. c. 11. Nam neque Caligis nos neque Collobiis ſeu una Tunica eſſe contentos hyemis permittit aſperitas; & parviſſimi Cuculli velamen vel Melotis geſtio deriſum potius quam ædificationem ullam videntibus comparabit.

a cheaper, coarſer, meaner Raiment [n] than others wore, expreſſing their Humility and Contempt of the World without any Singularity or Affectation. For as to the affecting of Black Cloaks, and appearing in Chains, we have heard him already expreſs himſelf ſeverely againſt them. And he is no leſs Satyrical [o] againſt thoſe who wore Cowls and Sackcloth for their outward Garment; becauſe theſe were vain Singularities, which Religious Perſons ought to avoid, and rather obſerve a becoming Mean in their Habit [p] between Gaiety and Slovenlineſs, without any notable Diſtinction to draw the Eyes of the World upon them. *Palladius* takes Notice of ſome who loved to walk in Chains, but he ſays [q] *Apollo* the famous *Egyptian* Monk was uſed to inveigh ſeverely againſt them. And *Caſſian* juſtly blames ſome others, as having more Zeal than Knowledge, becauſe they litterally interpreting that Saying of our Saviour, *He that taketh not up his Croſs, and followeth me, is not worthy of me*, made themſelves wooden Creſſes, and carried them continually about their Necks: Which, as he rightly [r] obſerves, was not to edify, but raiſe the Laughter of all Spectators. Such Affectations were generally condemned by the Ancients, and it was only the Ignorant or Superſtitious that approved them. So that upon the whole Matter it appears, That the Weſtern Monks uſed only a common Habit, the Philoſophick *Pallium*, which many other Chriſtians in thoſe Times did; whence, as I have noted [*] in another Place, the Heathens called Chriſtians *Greeks* and *Impoſtors*: And ſometimes the looſer Sort of Chriſtians gave Monks the ſame Name for the ſame Reaſon, as St. *Jerom* [s] ſeems to intimate, when he ſays, If a Man did not wear Silk, he was reckoned a Monk; if he did not appear in gay Clothing, he was preſently termed a *Greek* and *Impoſtor*. And *Salvian* [t] reflects on the *African* People, and eſpecially thoſe of *Carthage*, for the ſame Treatment of them: For he ſays, They could ſcarce ever ſee a Man with ſhort Hair, and a pale Face, and habited in a *Pallium*, that is, a Monk, without beſtowing ſome reviling and reproachful Language on him. Theſe Words of *Salvian* I take to be an exact Deſcription of their ancient Habit and Tonſure.

SECT. VII. *No ſolemn Vow or Profeſſion required of them.*

As to any ſolemn Vow or Profeſſion required at their Admiſſion, we find no ſuch Thing; for it was not yet the Practice of thoſe Ages: But whatever was done in that Kind, was only a Private Tranſaction between God and themſelves. St *Baſil* [u] ſays plainly, That there was no expreſs Promiſe of Celibacy taken of any, but they ſeemed only to promiſe it tacitly by becoming Monks. He adviſes indeed, that a Profeſſion ſhould be required of them for the Future: But that implies, that as yet no ſuch Promiſe had been exacted before. There were ſome Monks that lived in a married State, as appears from what has been alledged from *Athanaſius* and St. *Auſtin* in the foregoing [*] Chapter: And it is certain a Promiſe of Celibacy cou'd not be exacted of them. And for others that lived in Communities, their way of Admiſſion was not upon any explicit Promiſe, but a Triennial Probation, during which Time they were inured to the Exerciſes of the Monaſtick Life in the greateſt Severity; and if after that Term was expired, they liked to continue the ſame Exerciſes, they were then admitted without any farther Ceremony or Solemnity into the Community, to cohabit as proper Members of it. This was the Method preſcribed by the Rule of *Pachomius*, the Father of the Monks of *Tabenneſus*, from which all others took their Model, as the Reader may find in *Palladius* [w] and *Sozomen* [x], where the Rule is at large recited.

SECT. VIII. *What is meant by their Renunciation of the World.*

THERE was as yet no ſolemn Vow of Poverty required neither; tho' it was cuſtomary for Men voluntarily to renounce the World by diſpoſing of their own Eſtates to charitable Uſes, before they entered into a Community, where they were to enjoy all Things in Common. Thus *Hilarion* divided all his Subſtance between his Brethren and the Poor, reſerving Nothing to himſelf, as St. *Jerom* (y) and *Sozomen* report of him. And *Paulinus*, a Rich Senator's Son, with his Wife *Therasia*, by mutual Conſent diſpoſed of both their Eſtates (which were very great) to the Poor, and then betook themſelves to a Monaſtick Life at *Nola*, where *Paulinus*, after he was made Biſhop of the Place, continu'd the ſame voluntary Poverty ſtill; inſomuch that St. *Auſtin* (z) ſays of him, that when the *Goths* were ravaging and plundering the Town, he made this Prayer to God, *Domine, ne excrucier propter aurum & argentum; ubi enim ſint omnia mea, tu ſcis:* Lord, let not the *Barbarians* torture me for my Silver or Gold, for thou knoweſt were all my Treaſure is. Such

[n] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Sordidæ Veſtes candidæ mentis indicia ſunt. Vilis tunica contemptum ſæculi præbet. Id. Ep. 13. ad Paulin. Tunicam mutas cum animo, nec pleno marſupio glorioſas ſordes appetis, *&c.* Id. Ep. 15. ad Marcellam de Laud. Aſellæ. Tunica fuſciore induta ſe repente Domino conſecravit. [o] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtochium, c. 12. ſunt quæ Ciliciis veſtiuntur & Cucullis fabrefactis: Ut ad Infantiam redeant, imitantur noctuas & bubones. [p] Ibid. Veſtis ſit nec ſatis munda, nec ſordida, & nulla diverſitate notabilis; ne ad te obviam prætereuntium turba conſiſtat, aut digito demonſtreris. [q] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 52. in Bibl. Patr. G. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 985. [r] Caſſian. Collat. 8. c. 3. Quod quidam diſtrictiſſimi monachorum, habentes quidem Zelum Dei, ſed non ſecundum Scientiam, ſimpliciter intelligentes, fecerunt ſibi cruces ligneas, eaſque jugiter humeris circumferentes, non ædificationem, ſed riſum cunctis videntibus intulerunt. [*] *Book* 1. *chap.* 2. *n.* 4. [s] Hieron. Ep. 23. ad Marcellam. Nos quia Serica veſte non utimur, Monachi judicamur--Si Tunica non caſuerit, ſtatim illud de Trivio, Impoſtor & Græcus eſt. [t] Salvian. de Gubern. lib. 8. p. 295. Inter Africæ Civitates, & maxime intra Carthaginis muros, Palliatum & Pallidium, & reciſis comarum fluentium jubis uſque ad cutem tonſum videre, tam infelix ille populus quam infidelis ſine convicio atque execratione vix poterat. [u] Baſil. Ep. Canon. c. 19. Χ᾽ τὸ σιωπώμενον δοκῶσι παρᾳδεδέχθαι ἡ ἀγαμίαν, &c. [*] *See chap.* 2. *Sect.* 6. [w] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 38. [x] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. [y] Hieron. Vit. Hilar. c. 3. Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. [z] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 1. c. 10.

Inſtances

Instances of voluntary Poverty are every where obvious in ancient History. But then one Thing they were very careful to avoid in those early Times, that is, that when they had once renounced their own Estates, they did not afterward seek to enrich themselves, or their Monasteries, by begging or accepting the Estates of Others. 'Twas a remarkable Answer to this Purpose, which *Isaac Syrus* Bishop of *Nineve* (*a*) is said to have given to his Monks, when they desired him to receive some Lands that were offered him for the Use of his Monastery: He replyed, *Monachus qui in terra Possessiones quærit, Monachus non est*, A Monk that seeks for Possessions on the Earth, is not a Monk. The Western Monks were not always precise to this Rule, as appears from the Complaints of St. *Jerom* (*b*) and *Cassian* (*c*), and some Imperial Laws [*d*] made to restrain their Avarice: But the Monks of *Ægypt* were generally just to their own Pretensions: Their Monasteries had no Lands or Revenues belonging to them, nor would they have any, nor suffer any Monk to enjoy more than was necessary for his daily Subsistance. For they thought it a Contradiction to their Profession, that Men who made a Shew of renouncing the World, should grow rich in Monasteries, who perhaps were poor before they came thither. And therefore if ever they received any Donation, it was not for their own Use; but the Use of the Poor. Nay they would not suffer any Monk to enjoy any Thing to call it his own; but in a Community they would have all Things in Common. And therefore St. *Jerom* [*e*] tells a remarkable Story of one of the Monks of *Nitria* in *Egypt*, how he was punished for hoarding up but an Hundred Shillings as his own Property, which he had saved out of his daily Labour. At his Death, when the Thing came to be discovered, a Council of all the Monks was called, to advise what should be done with the Money; and they were about Five Thousand who met at this Consultation: Some said it should be distributed among the Poor: Others, that it should be given to the Church; and others, that it should be remitted to his Parents. But *Macarius*, and *Pambo*, and *Isidore*, and the Rest of those called Fathers among them, decreed that it should be buried with him in his Grave, saying, *Thy Money perish with thee.* So little Regard had those ancient Monks for any Thing more than what was necessary for their daily Sustenance!

SECT. IX. *Of the Difference between the Renouncing and the Communicative Life.*

SOME indeed did not thus renounce all Property, but kept their Estates in their own Hands, and yet enjoyed no more of them, than if they had actually passed them over to others: For they distributed their whole yearly Revenue constantly to the Poor, and such charitable Uses as Mens daily Needs required. Of this Sort *Palladius* [*f*] and *Sozomen* [*g*] mention one *Apollonius*, who kept his Estate in his own Possession, but expended the annual Income in providing Physick and other Necessaries for the sick Monks, as there was Occasion. *Palladius* also [*h*] speaks of two Brothers, *Paceſius* and *Esaias*, Sons of a rich Merchant, who betaking themselves to a Monastick Life, disposed of their Estates in these different Ways; The one gave away his whole Estate at once to Churches and Prisons, and such Monasteries as needed Relief, and then betaking himself to a small Trade for his own Subsistance, he spent the rest of his Life in Labour and Prayer; but the other kept his Estate in his own Possession, and therewith first building a Monastery, and taking to himself a few Associates, he entertain'd all Strangers travelling that Way, took Care of the Sick, entertain'd the Aged, relieved the Poor, and on every *Saturday* and *Lord's-Day* spread three or four Tables for the Refreshment of such as needed. *Palladius* calls this rightly κοινωνικὸν βίον, the Communicative Life, and the other ἀποταξαμένε βίον, the Life of a Renouncer: And adds, That the Question being put by some Brethren to *Pambo* the famous *Ægyptian*, concerning these two Brothers, Whether of them took the better Course? He replied, They were both equally perfect and acceptable in the Sight of God; the one imitating the Hospitality of *Abraham*, and the other the Zeal of *Elias*.

SECT. X. *All Monks anciently maintain'd by their own Labour.*

HENCE it appears that the ancient Monks had no Regard to Estates and Possessions: For one Way or other they discharged themselves of the Burden of them. And then, since Monasteries had no standing Revenues, all Monks whatever were obliged to exercise themselves in bodily Labour, partly to maintain themselves without being burdensome to others, and partly to keep their Souls well guarded, and as it were out of the Way of Satan's strongest Temptations. For *Cassian* notes it [*i*] as a very wise Saying of the old *Egyptian* Fathers, That a Labouring Monk was but tempted with one Devil, but an idle One was exposed to the Devastation of a Legion. And therefore St. *Jerom* writing to his Friend *Rusti-*

[*a*] Vid. Cave Hist. Liter. Vol. 2. p. 185. [*b*] Hieron. Ep 4. ad Rustic. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. [*c*] Cassian. Instit. lib. 4. c. 15. [*d*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 20. [*e*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 14. Quod ante non plures annos Nitriæ gestum sit, referamus. Quidam ex fratribus parcior magis quam avarior, nesciens triginta argenteis Dominum venditum, Centum solidos, quos lina texendo acquisierat, moriens dereliquit. Initum est inter Monachos Consilium [nam in eodem loco circiter quinque millia divisis Cellulis habitabant] quid hinc facto opus esset. Alii pauperibus distribuendos esse dicebant; alii dandos Ecclesiæ; nonnulli Parentibus remittendos. Macarius vero & Pambo & Isidorus, & cæteri quos Patres vocant, sancto in eis loquente Spiritu, decreverunt infodiendos esse cum eodem, dicentes, Pecunia tua tecum sit in Perditionem. [*f*] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 14. [*g*] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 29. [*h*] Pallad. ibid. c. 15. [*i*] Cassian. Instit. lib. 10. c. 23. Hæc est apud Ægyptum antiquis Patribus sancta sententia, Operantem Monachum uno Dæmone pulsari; otiosum vero innumeris spiritibus devastari.

cus

cus the Monk, bids him be ſure to exerciſe himſelf in ſome [k] honeſt Labour, that the Devil might always find him employed. This, he tells him, was the Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Monaſteries, to admit none without working with their own Hands, as well to ſupply their Bodily Wants, as to preſerve their Souls from Danger. They had then no idle Mendicants among them, as *Duarenus* himſelf [l] rightly obſerves. They looked upon a Monk that did not work, as no better than a covetous Defrauder. For ſo *Socrates* [m] tells us the *Egyptian* Fathers were uſed to expreſs themſelves concerning ſuch as eat other Mens Bread for Nought. We have already heard out of *Bede* [n] how the Monks of *Bangor*, two thouſand in Number, maintained themſelves with their own Labour. And Biſhop *Uſher* has collected [o] a great many other Inſtances of the ſame Nature in relation to the firſt Monaſteries of *Ireland* and *Britain*. It would be endleſs to produce all the Paſſages of ancient Writers that relate to this Matter: Therefore I ſhall content my ſelf to refer the Reader to the Places themſelves cited [p] in the Margent, and only obſerve one Thing farther, That anciently Monks by the Labour of their Hands did not only provide themſelves a ſufficient Maintenance, but had Superfluities alſo to relieve the Neceſſities of others. *Sozomen* [q] ſays, *Serapion* preſided over a Monaſtery of ten thouſand Monks, near *Arſinoe* in *Egypt*, who all thus laboured with their own Hands, going to reap in the Fields in the Time of Harveſt, ſo that they had enough and to ſpare for the Uſe of the Poor. Which is confirmed by St. *Auſtin* [r] who ſpeaking of the Labour of the Monks of his own Time, aſſures us, they many Times ſent away whole Ships laden with Neceſſaries, to ſupply the Needs of ſuch Countries as were exceeding barren and poor. He means the Deſerts of *Libya*, of which *Caſſian* ſpeaks, telling us, That the Fathers in *Egypt* would never ſuffer their Monks to receive any Thing by way of Maintenance [ſ] from others, but they had ſufficient out of their Labour not only to entertain Strangers and Travellers that came to viſit them, but alſo to ſend Abundance of Proviſions into the famiſh'd Part of *Libya*, and to ſupply the Wants of Men in Priſon in other Places, reckoning that hereby they offered a reaſonable and true Sacrifice to God of the Fruit of their own Hands by ſuch an Oblation. It ſeems they did not then think that Working was inconſiſtent with the other Duties of a Monk, but one neceſſary Part of his Office and Station. And St. *Auſtin* wrote a whole Book [t] to prove this to be their Duty, wherein he takes Occaſion to anſwer all the plauſible Objections that have ever been made to the contrary.

SECT. XI. *Proper Officers appointed in Monaſteries for this Purpoſe*, viz. Decani, Centenarii, Patres, *&c.*

Now the better to promote this and all their other Duties, the Monaſteries were commonly divided into ſeveral Parts, and proper Officers appointed over them. Every Ten Monks were ſubject to One, who was called the *Decanus* or Dean, from his preſiding over Ten; and every Hundred had another Officer called *Centenarius*, from preſiding over an Hundred. Above theſe were the *Patres*, or Fathers of the Monaſteries, as St. *Jerom* and St. *Auſtin* commonly term them; which in other Writers are called *Abbates*, Abbats, from the *Greek* Ἀββᾶς, a Father; and *Hegumeni*, Preſidents; and *Archimandrites*, from *Mandra*, a Sheepfold; they being as it were the Keepers or Rulers of theſe ſacred Folds in the Church. The Buſineſs of the Deans was to exact every Man's daily Task, and bring it to the *Oeconomus*, or Steward of the Houſe, who himſelf gave a monthly Account to the Father of them all, as St. *Jerom* [u] and St. *Auſtin* [w] inform us.

SECT. XII. *The Power of the Fathers or Abbats very great in Point of Diſcipline over the Reſt.*

THE Fathers were commonly of the Order of Presbyters, both for the Performance of Divine Offices, and the Exerciſe of Diſcipline among them. And their Power was very conſiderable: For though it was not abſolute and unlimited, yet it was ſeldom or never diſputed by their Inferiors: It being, as St. *Jerom* obſerves [x], a prime Part of their Confederation to obey their Superiors, and do whatever they commanded them. And in Caſe of wilful Tranſgreſſion they had Power to inflict both Spiritual and Corporal Puniſhments on them. Their Spiritual Puniſhments were the Cenſures of the Church, Suſpenſions from the

[k] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Fac & aliquid operis, ut te ſemper Diabolus inveniat occupatum—Ægyptiorum Monaſteria hunc morem tenent, ut nullum abſque operis labore ſuſcipiant, non tam propter victus neceſſaria, quam propter animæ ſalutem. [l] Duaren. de Miniſter. & Benefic. lib. 1. c. 20. Nec ita otio erant dediti, more Pſeudomonachorum noſtri temporis. [m] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. μοναχὸς, ἐὰν μὴ ἐργάζοιτο, ἐπίσης τῷ πλεονέκτῃ κείσεται. [n] Bed. lib. 2. c 2. [o] Uſher. *Relig. of the ancient* Iriſh, c. 6. [p] Epiphan. Hær. 80. n. 6. Chryſoſt. de Compunct. Cordis. lib. 1. c. 6. Hieron. Ep. 77. ad Marcum Celedenſem. Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 10. c. 22. Id. Collat. 15. c. 4. Juſtin. Novel. 133. c. 6. Id. Cod. lib. 11. Tit. 25. de Mendicantibus Validis. Pallad. Hiſtor. Lauſiac. cap. 7, 10, 20, 28, 30, 39, 76, 89, 96. 112. Moſchus Prat. Spir. cap. 22, 114, 160, 161, 183, 194. [q] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 28. [r] Aug de Morib. Eccleſ. c. 31. Uſque adeo ut oneratas etiam naves in ea loca mittant, quæ inopes incolunt, *&c.* [ſ] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 10. c. 22. Non ſolum à nullo quicquam ad uſum victus ſui accipere patiuntur, ſed etiam de Laboribus ſuis non tantum ſupervenientes & peregrinos reficiunt, verum etiam per loca Libyæ, quæ Sterilitate ac fame laborant, nec non etiam per Civitates his qui Squalore carceum contabeſcunt, immanem conferentes dirigunt alimoniæ victuſque ſuſtantiam, de fructu manuum ſuarum rationabile ac verum Sacrificium Domino tali Oblatione ſe offerre credente. [t] Aug. de Opere Monachor. c. 17, *&c.* [u] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Opus dici ſtatum eſt, quod Decano redditum, fertur ad Oeconomum, qui & ipſe per ſingulos menſes Patri omnium cum magno tremore reddit rationem. [w] Aug. de Morib. Eccleſ. Cathol. c. 31. [x] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Prima apud eos Confœderatio eſt, obedire Majoribus, & quicquid juſſerint facere.

Euchariſt,

Eucharist, and Excommunication. For these Powers were lodg'd in their Hands, as appears from several Passages in *Cassian*, who often speaks [y] of the Abbots casting the Monks out of the Church, and forbidding the Rest to pray with them, till they had done a very submissive Penance prostrate upon the Ground, and had been reconciled and absolved by the Abbat publickly before all the Brethren. He particularly notes of *Paphnutius* Abbat of *Scethis* [z], that he struck a Monk's Name out of the Dyptichs of the Church, and could scarce be prevailed with to let him be mentioned in the Oblation for those that are at Rest in the Lord, because he had murdered himself at the Instigation of Satan, who appeared to him in the Form of an Angel of Light, persuading him to throw himself into a deep Well, with Confidence that no Harm cou'd befal him for the great Merit of his Labours and Virtues. *Socrates* [a] speaks of the like Power in *Arsenius*, who used it, he says, with this Discretion, that he never excommunicated the Junior Monks, but only the Seniors, because the Juniors were like to become more refractory by it, and contemn his Discipline, but the Seniors were quickly amended by it. The Reader may find some other Instances in *Palladius* [b] to the same Purpose. As to their Corporal Punishments, *Cassian* [c] tells us they were these Two, Whipping and Expulsion; and he particularly enumerates the Crimes for which they were inflicted. *Palladius* also mentions the *Flagellum Monachorum*: For he says [d] in the Church of Mount *Nitria*, there were three Whips hanged upon three Palm-Trees, one for the offending Monks, another for the correcting of Thieves, and a third for the Punishment of Strangers, whom they entertained in an Hospital adjoining. But as yet we read Nothing of voluntary Whipping of themselves by way of Exercise: That is a latter Invention of the Modern Monks, whom *Spondanus* [e] and *Prateolus* [f] themselves cannot forbear ranking among Hereticks, and a late *French* Writer [g] has more fully exposed them in a Discourse on Purpose, entitled, *Historia Flagellantium*, to which I refer the curious Reader.

SECT. XIII. *Allowed also some peculiar Privileges in the Church*

THE Abbats or Fathers were also of great Repute in the Church. For many Times they were called to Councils and allowed to sit and vote there in the Quality of Presbyters. As *Benedict* in the Council of *Rome* under *Boniface* II. *An.* 531. Which I relate upon the Authority of Dr. *Cave* [h] who has it from *Antonius Scipio* in his *Elogium Abbatum Cassinensium*. The like Privilege we find allowed in the Council of *Constantinople* under *Flavian*, *An.* 448, where twenty three *Archimandrites* subscribe with thirty Bishops to the Condemnation of *Eutyches*, as appears from the Fragments of that Council related in the Council of *Chalcedon* [i]. But it is justly noted by Learned Men [k] as a new Thing, to find Abbesses, as well as Abbats, subscribing in the Council of *Becanfield* in *Kent*, *An.* 694, and that before both Presbyters and Temporal Lords, as the Author of the *Saxon* Chronicle [l] reports it. For this is the first Time we meet with any such Thing in the Records of the Ancient Church.

SECT. XIV. *Yet always subordinate to the Power of Bishops.*

BUT though such Power and Privileges were granted to Abbats, yet neither they nor their Monasteries were as yet exempt from the Jurisdiction of Bishops. For by the ancient Laws both Ecclesiastical and Civil, no Monastery was to be erected in any Place without the Leave of the Bishop of the Diocese. This was one of those Things which the Emperor *Marcian* proposed to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and at his Request it was there enacted into a Canon, That no one should build [m] either Monastery or Oratory without the Consent of the Bishop of the City or Country where it was to be erected. And by *Justinian*'s Law [n] the Bishop was to make a Sort of Consecration of the Ground, before they went to Building. It is further provided in the fore-mentioned Canon, that all Monks shall be subject to the Bishop of the Diocese, and give Attendance to their own proper Duties of Fasting and Prayer, not intermeddling themselves either in Ecclesiastical or Secular Affairs, except upon great and urgent Necessity, and that by the Permission of the Bishop of the City or Diocese to which they belonged. But I have already had Occasion to speak of this Matter more fully in another [o] Place: I shall therefore here only observe two or three Mistakes committed by some Modern Authors in their Descants upon the Words of *Bede*, which are commonly alledged to prove the contrary. In one Place *Bede* [p] speaking of the Isle of *Huy*, and the Monastery founded there by *Columba*, says, The Island was always governed by a Presbyter Abbat, under whose Power the whole Province, and the Bishops

[y] Cassian. Instit. lib. 2. c. 16. Si quis pro admisso quolibet delicto fuerit ab Oratione suspensus, nullus cum eo prorsus orandi habet licentiam, antequam submissa in terram Pœnitentia, Reconciliatio ejus & admissi venia coram fratribus cunctis publice fuerit ab Abbate concessa. Id. lib. 4. c. 16. Tamdiu prostratus in terram veniam postulabit, donec Orationum consummetur Solennitas impetraturus eam, cum jussus fuerit Abbatis judicio de solo surgere. Vid. ibid. c. 20. It. Collat. 18. c. 15. [z] Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 15. Vix à Presbytero Abbate Pafnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter Byothanatos reputatus etiam Memoria & Oblatione Pausantium judicaretur indignus. [a] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. [b] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 40. [c] Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 16. Vel. Plagis emendantur, vel Expulsione purgantur. [d] Pallad. Hist. Laus. c. 6. [e] Spondant. an. 1329. n. 6. [f] Prateol. Elench. Hæret. lib. 6. c. 8. [g] Historia Flagellantium, Paris. 1700. 8vo. [h] Cave Hist. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 402. [i] Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. Tom. 4. p. 230. [k] Cave. Hist. Liter. Vol. 2. p. 240. [l] Chron. Saxon. an. 694. [m] Conc. Chalced. can. 4. ἔδοξεν μηδένα μὴ δαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου. [n] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 1. Novel. 131. c. 7. [o] *Book* 2. *chap.* 4. *Sect.* 2. [p] Bed. Hist. lib. 3 c. 4. Habere autem solet ipsa Insula Rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri & omnis Provincia & ipsi etiam Episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi Doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter extitit & Monachus.

alſo, were ſubjected after an unuſual Manner, purſuant to the Example of the firſt Founder, who was not a Biſhop, but only a Presbyter and a Monk. *Carolus à ſancto Paulo* [q] unluckily miſtakes this Iſland for *Hibernia*, and ſo makes all the Biſhops of *Ireland* ſubject to one Abbat: Others miſtake the Province for all *Scotland*, and ſo make the ſame falſe Deduction in Reference to that: Whereas in Truth *Bede* is ſpeaking only of one ſmall Part of *Scotland*, the Country of the *Northern Picts*, who were converted by *Columba*, in the Time of King *Bridius*, who gave him the Iſle of *Huy* to build a Monaſtery in, whence that Province of the *Northern Picts* became ſubject to the Abbat of that Monaſtery: But that this Subjection was in Spirituals *Bede* ſays not, but it ſeems to have been an Acknowledgment of ſome civil Juriſdiction over the Biſhops, which may very well conſiſt with their Superiority in Spirituals, as the learned Biſhop of *Worceſter* [r] ſhews at large in his Diſcourſe of the *Culdees* among his Antiquities of the *Britiſh* Church. Another Paſſage in *Bede*, which has been groſsly miſtaken, is where he ſpeaks of the Council of *Herudford*, *An.* 673. In One of the Canons of this Council, according to ſome corrupt printed Copies of *Bede*, there is this Decree, That the Biſhops, [ſ] who are Monks, ſhall not wander from one Monaſtery to another without Leave of their Abbat, but continue in that Obedience, which they promiſed at the Time of their Converſion. But this is Nothing but a meer Miſtake of the firſt Editors of *Bede*, who not minding the Abbreviations of the Manuſcript, read *Epiſcopi Monachi*, inſtead of *Ipſi Monachi*, as ſome later Editions rightly have it. So that there is Nothing ſaid in this Place either for the Exemption of Monaſteries, or in Derogation of the Epiſcopal Power, as ſome ſeem wilfully to have miſtaken. Yet I deny not but that before this Time there might be ſome Monaſteries exempt. For *Habertus* [t] is of Opinion, that the third Council of *Arles*, *An.* 455, granted an Exemption to *Fauſtus* Abbat of the Monaſtery of *Lerins*, which he thinks was the firſt that was ever granted. But from that Time the Biſhops of *Rome* took Occaſion to exempt Monaſteries in the *Weſt*, as other Patriarchs did in the *Eaſt*, whence ſuch Monaſteries by the later *Greeks* are called Patriarchal Monaſteries, as being exempt from Epiſcopal Viſitations, and only ſubject to Patriarchal Juriſdiction.

SECT. XV. *The Spiritual Exercises of Monks*: First, *Perpetual Repentance.*

BUT I return to the ancient Monks; and having given an Account of their bodily Exercices, I proceed to ſpeak of thoſe that were Spiritual. For the Improvement of the Spiritual Life was the thing originally aimed at by Men's retiring from the World. Here they thought they ſhould have more Leiſure and better Opportunities for the great Buſineſs of Repentance. Upon which Account the Life of a Monk is by St. *Jerom* [u] and others, ſo often ſtiled the Life of a Mourner. And in Alluſion to this, the Iſle of *Canobus* near *Alexandria*, formerly a Place of great Lewdneſs, was upon the Tranſlation and Settlement of the Monks of *Tabenneſus* there, called *Inſula Metanœæ*, the Iſle of Repentance; as may be collected from St. *Jerom*, who ſpeaks of its changing its Name upon the Building of a Monaſtery there [w]: And ſo both *Valeſius* and others underſtand it [x].

SECT. XVI. Secondly, *extraordinary Faſting.*

TO their extraordinary Repentance they uſually join'd extraordinary Faſting. For the *Egyptian* Monks kept every Day a Faſt till Nine a-Clock, that is, till Three in the Afternoon, except on *Saturdays* and the *Lord's-Day*, and the fifty Days of *Pentecoſt*, or other Days when any Brother came to viſit them. For then they had their Relaxations, as we learn from *Caſſian* and St. *Jerom*. The fifty Days of Pentecoſt they kept always Feſtival in Compliance with the Publick Rules and Practice of the Catholick Church, whoſe Cuſtom was [y], as *Tertullian* ſays, to keep all the Time between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide* Feſtival, in Memory of our Saviour's Reſurrection. Therefore St. *Jerom* [z] ſpeaking of their daily Faſts, ſays, They faſted every Day alike throughout the Year, except in *Lent*, when their Faſts were a little more ſtrict, that is, not only till nine a-Clock, but till Evening; and in *Pentecoſt*, when they turned their Suppers into Dinners, in Compliance with the Cuſtom of the Church. *Caſſian* [a] often ſpeaks of their daily Faſts till Nine, but then he excepts likewiſe the Time of *Pentecoſt* [b], for the ſame Reaſon aſſigned by St. *Jerom*; and *Saturdays* and *Sundays* alſo [c], becauſe both theſe Days were always Feſtivals in the *Eaſtern* Church, being Days of ſolemn Aſſembly, on which they received the Euchariſt at Morning Service. Some indeed exerciſed themſelves with great Auſterities, faſting two, three, four or five Days together; but theſe were not generally approved. St. *Jerom* [d] and *Caſſian* [e] both expreſs themſelves againſt ſuch immoderate Faſts; and *Caſſian* [f] particularly notes it as a wiſe Saying of *Macarius* the famous *Egyptian*, That a Monk ſhould ſo faſt and keep under his Body, as if he were to

[q] Carol. à St. Paulo Geogr. Sacr. lib. 6. p. 170. [r] *Ep.* Lloyd's *Hiſtorical Account of Church Government*, *chap.* 7. *p.* 180. [ſ] Bed. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 5. Ut Epiſcopi Monachi non migrent de loco in locum, hoc eſt, de Monaſterio in Monaſterium, niſi per dimiſſionem proprii Abbatis, ſed in ea permaneant obedientia, quam tempore ſuæ converſionis promiſerunt. [t] Habert. Archierat. p. 595. [u] Hieron. Ep. 53. ad Ripar. Monachus non docentis, ſed plangentis habet officium. [w] Hieron. Prolog. in Regul. Pachomii. In Monaſterio Metanœæ, quod de Canobo in Pœnitentiam felici nominis converſione mutatum eſt, &c. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 15. [x] Valeſ. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 3. c. 14. [y] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. [z] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Jejunium totius anni æquale eſt, excepta Quadrageſima, in qua ſola conceditur ſtrictius vivere. A Pentecoſte cœnæ mutantur in prandia, quo & Traditioni Eccleſiaſticæ ſatisfiat, & ventrem cibo non onerent duplicato. [a] Caſſian Collat. 2. c. 25, 26. Collat. 19. c. 16. Collat. 21. c. 23. [b] Caſſian. Collat. 21. c. 11 & 20. [c] Caſſian. Collat. 3. c. 1. [d] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſticum. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. [e] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 5. c. 9. [f] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 5. c. 41. Ita, inquit debere Monachum jejuniis operam dare, ut centum annis in corpore duraturum, &c.

live

live an hundred Years; but ſo kill and mortify the Affections of his Soul, as if he were to die the next Moment. By which it appears, that they did not think exceſſive Abſtinence of any Uſe, but rather a Diſſervice to Religion. And therefore St. *Auſtin* obſerves, that the ancient Rules [g] impoſed no abſolute Neceſſity in this Matter upon them, but left it to every Man's Power, and every Man's Will, to faſt at Diſcretion; no one condemning others, that could not imitate his own Auſterities, but always remembring that the Scripture had above all Things recommended Charity to Men. The Rule of *Pachomius* was ſaid to be given him by an Angel, and there one of the Angel's Directions to him was, That he ſhould permit every Man to eat and drink, and labour according [h] to his Strength, and neither forbid them to faſt nor to eat. Accordingly *Palladius* [i] tells us, there were among his Monks in *Tabenneſus* ſome that eat at Seven a-Clock, others at Nine, others at Ten, others not till Even; ſome after two Days, others after three, four, or five Days; but all was Matter of Choice, not Compulſion.

SECT. XVII. Thirdly, *Extraordinary Devotions.*

THEIR Faſtings were accompanied with extraordinary and frequent Returns of Devotion. The Monks of *Paleſtine* had ſix or ſeven Canonical Hours of Prayer, ſo thoſe in *Meſopotamia* and other Parts of the *Eaſt*. Theſe were Morning-Prayer at the firſt Hour of the Day, then the third, ſixth, and ninth Hours, and after that the eleventh Hour, which *Caſſian* [k] calls the *Lucernaris Hora*, or Evening-Prayer. Beſides which they had their conſtant Vigils, or Nocturnal Meetings, of which *Caſſian* gives a particular Account in one whole Book [l] of his Inſtitutions. But he ſays the Monks of *Egypt* were not tied to all theſe Canonical Hours, but only met twice a Day for publick Devotion, that is, in their Night Aſſemblies, which was their Morning-Prayer: and at Nine a-clock, which was their Evening-Prayer; but then the whole Day was ſpent in Devotion notwithſtanding: For in their Private Cells [m] whilſt they were at Work, they were always repeating the Pſalms and other Parts of the Holy Scriptures, and intermixing Prayers and Supplications continually with their Labour. Which *Caſſian* prefers before the Obſervation of ſo many Canonical Hours, as being a more free and voluntary Oblation. Some obſerved a Courſe of conſtant Devotion without Intermiſſion, as has been noted before [*] concerning the Monks of *Conſtantinople*, and thoſe of *Liſieux* [†] founded by *Columbanus*, who were uſed to divide themſelves into ſeveral Claſſes or Quires to ſucceed and relieve one another in their continued Stations. And *Caſſian* tells us that the firſt Monks [n] of *Egypt* were uſed to obſerve ſuch a perpetual Watch, to guard themſelves againſt the Aſſaults and Incurſions of Midnight Devils: For they durſt not all betake themſelves to Sleep at once, but while ſome ſlept, others kept Watch by Turns, and exerciſed themſelves in ſinging Pſalms, Reading, and Prayer. Whence we may infer, that tho' all Monks then did not obſerve preciſely the Canonical Hours, yet they were no leſs conſtant to their Devotions than thoſe that did; and their intermixing Prayers with their Labour, or Worſhipping by Turns, was equivalent to ſo many Canonical Hours, or rather did exceed it. St. *Jerom* ſeems alſo to ſay [o] that the *Egyptian* Monks had a Sermon made by the Abbot every Day after Evening-Prayer: For thus he deſcribes their Devotions: At Nine a-clock they meet together, then the Pſalms are ſung, and the Scriptures are read; and Prayers being ended, they all ſit down, and the Father begins to diſcourſe to them, whom they hear with the profoundeſt Silence and Veneration. His Words make a deep Impreſſion on them, their Eyes overflow with Tears, and the Speaker's Commendation is the Weeping of his Hearers. Yet no one's Grief expreſſes it ſelf in any undecent Strain; but when he comes to diſcourſe of the Kingdom of Chriſt, and future Happineſs, and the Glory of the World to come, then one may obſerve how each of them with a moderate Sigh, and Eyes lift up to Heaven, ſays within himſelf, *O that I had Wings like a Dove, for then would I flee away and be at Reſt!* This was their continual Exerciſe of Publick Devotion every Day. Their private Vacancies and Intervals of Labour were alſo ſpent in Reading and Prayer; for they daily learned ſome Portion of Scripture, and more eſpecially made it their Meditation on the *Lord's-Day*, as St. *Jerom* [p] obſerves of them in the afore-mentioned Place: Inſomuch that many of them became ſo expert and well verſed in the Holy Scripture, that they could re-

[g] Aug. de Morib. Eccleſ. Cathol. c. 33. Inter hæc nemo urgetur in aſpera, quæ ferre non poteſt; nulli quod recuſat imponitur; nec ideo condemnatur à cæteris, quod in eis ſe imitandis fatetur invalidum, *&c.* [h] Pachom. Reg. apud Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 38. [i] Pallad. ibid. c. 39. [k] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 3. c. 3. In his horis etiam Evangelicus ille Paterfamilias operarios conduxit in Vineam ſuam. Ita enim & ille primo mane conduxiſſe deſcribitur, quod tempus deſignat Matutinam noſtram ſolennitatem: deinde tertia, inde ſexta, poſt hæc nona, ad extremum undecima, in qua lucernaris hora ſignatur. [l] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. [m] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 3. c. 2. Apud illos hæc Officia, quæ Domino ſolvere per diſtinctiones horarum & temporis intervalla cum admonitione Compulſoris adigimur, per totum diei ſpatium jugiter cum operis adjectione ſpontanea celebrantur.— Quamobrem exceptis Veſpertinis horis ac Nocturnis Congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem Publica Solennitas abſq; die Sabbati vel Dominica celebratur, in quibus hora tertia Sacræ Communionis obtentu conveniunt. [*] *Chap.* 2. *Sect.* 10. [†] *Chap.* 2. *Sect.* 13. [n] Caſſian. Collat. 7. c. 23. Ita Dæmonum atrocitas graſſabatur, & frequentes ac viſibiles ſentiebantur aggreſſus, ut non auderent omnes pariter noctibus obdormire, ſed viciſſim aliis deguſtantibus ſomnum, alii vigilias celebrantes, Pſalmis & Orationibus ſeu Lectionibus inhærebant. [o] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Manent ſeparati, ſejunctis Cellulis, uſq; ad horam nonam. Poſt horam nonam in commune concurritur, Pſalmi reſonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis Orationibus, cunctiſque reſidentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit diſputare, *&c.* [p] Ibid. Dominicis diebus Orationi tantum & Lectionibus vacant: Quod quidem & omni tempore completis opuſculis faciunt. Quotidie aliquid de Scripturis diſcitur.

peat it by Heart: Which is particularly noted of *Hilarion* by *Sozomen* and St. *Jerom* [q], and of *Ammonius*, *Marcus Junior*, *Eros*, *Serapion*, *Solomon*, and ſome others by *Palladius* [r]. And by this Means they were qualified to entertain their Souls with Spiritual Exerciſes, ſinging of *David*'s Pſalms, and repeating other Parts of Scripture, even at their bodily Labours. Which Practice is often mentioned with great Commendation by *Palladius* [ſ], *Caſſian* [t] and St. *Jerom*, who takes Occaſion upon this Account to extol the quiet Retirement of Chriſt's little Village of *Bethlehem* above the noiſy Pomp and ambitious Greatneſs of *Rome*, where ſo much Time was ſpent in ſeeing and being ſeen, in receiving Viſits and paying them, in Praiſes and Detractions, Things diſagreeable to the Life of a Monk: Whereas at *Bethlehem* [u] there was Nothing to be heard but Pſalms: One could not go into the Field, but he ſhould hear the Plowman ſinging his *Hallelujahs*, the ſweating Mower ſolacing himſelf with Hymns, and the Vinedreſſer tuning *David*'s Pſalms. Thus the ancient Monks joined their Bodily and Spiritual Exerciſe together, and made their common Labour become Acts of Devotion to God. Their Times of Eating and Refreſhment were managed after the ſame manner. In ſome Places they had the Scriptures read at Table; which, *Caſſian* ſays, was firſt brought up [w] in the Monaſteries of *Cappadocia*, to prevent idle Diſcourſe and Contentions: But in *Egypt* they had no Need of that Remedy, for they were taught to eat their Meat in Silence. But when Supper was ended, St. *Jerom* [x] ſays, They ſung an Hymn and ſo returned to their Cells. St. *Chryſoſtom* [y] alſo takes Notice of this, and recommends it to Secular Men, as proper for their Imitation; reciting the Hymn which they uſed, which is in theſe Words: *Bleſſed God, that haſt fed me from my Youth, that giveſt Food unto all Fleſh, fill our Hearts with Joy and Gladneſs, that we having always what is ſufficient for us, may abound unto every good Work, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt be Glory, Honour and Power for ever.* Amen. *Glory be to Thee, O Lord; Glory be to Thee, O Holy; Glory be to Thee, O King, who haſt given us Food for Refreſhment: Fill our Hearts with thy Holy Spirit, that we way be found acceptable in thy Sight, and not be aſhamed, when thou rendereſt to every Man according to his Works.* Thus their ordinary Refreſhment, that is, their Suppers, (for Dinners, he ſays, they had none) were ſanctified with the Word of God and Prayer. And to expreſs their Humility, and avoid all Contention about Precedency and Greatneſs, they ſerved one another mutually at Table, all of them taking their Weekly Turns: Whence in *Caſſian* [z] and St. *Jerom* [a] they are called *Hebdomadarii*, Weeks-Men, from their Weekly Service. On the *Lord's-Day* they were more intent upon their Devotions, and ſpent it wholly upon Reading and Prayer. For no other Employment, St. *Jerom* [b] ſays, was ever allowed among them on that Day. Then every one received the Communion, unleſs he was under ſome Cenſure and Suſpenſion from it. And not only on *Sundays*, but on *Saturdays* alſo, it was cuſtomary for the *Egyptian* Monks and others of the *Eaſt* to communicate. For the firſt and laſt Day of the Week were ſo appointed by *Pachomius* the Father of the *Egyptian* Monks, to be Communion-Days among them, as appears from his Rule [c] in *Sozomen* and *Palladius*. And *Caſſian* frequently [d] ſpeaks of it as their conſtant Practice. Some were more ſtrict, and let no Day paſs without receiving the Euchariſt: *Palladius* [e] ſays the *Egyptian* Monks under *Apollo* obſerved this Rule; for *Apollo* was uſed to inſtill this Notion into his Diſciples, That a Monk, if he had Opportunity, ought to communicate every Day; and accordingly he with his Fraternity communicated every Day at nine, or three a-Clock in the Afternoon, which was the Time of their ſolemn Aſſembly, before they went to their ordinary Refreſhment. *Palladius* [f] mentions one Inſtance more of their Devotion, which was only occaſional, *viz.* their Pſalmody at the Reception of any Brethren: For that it ſeems was the firſt Entertainment they gave them, to conduct them with ſinging of Pſalms to their Habitation. Which has no Relation to the Proceſſions of Modern Ages, but ſeems to be done in Imitation of our Saviour's Entrance and Reception into *Jeruſalem*.

SECT. XVIII. *Of Laws excluding Monks from Offices both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.*

THESE were the Spiritual Exerciſes of the Ancient Monks, whoſe Life was a Life of Repentance, Faſting and Devotion, which joined with continual Bodily Labour, kept them always virtuouſly and honeſtly employed: And their Laws did not allow them either to wander about as Mendicants, or to intereſt themſelves in Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Offices, or any Publick Affairs relating to Church or State. There are three Canons in the Council of *Chalcedon* to this Purpoſe. One indifferently [g] forbids both Clergy-men and Monks to take to Farm any Eſtate or Office, or involve themſelves in Secular Affairs, except they be unavoidably required by the Law to take upon them the Guardianſhip of Minors. Ano-

[q] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. Hieron. Vit. Hilarion. c. 7. [r] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 12, 21, 29, 83, 96. [ſ] Pallad. ibid. c. 39. [t] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 11. c. 15. [u] Hieron. Ep. 18. ad Marcel. In Chriſti villa tuta Ruſticitas eſt. Extra Pſalmos ſilentium eſt. Quocunque te verteris, Arator Stivam retinens Alleluia decantat, ſudans Meſſor Pſalmis ſe advocat, &c. [w] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 4. c. 17. [x] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Nullus in cibo Strepitus, nemo comedens loquitur.—— Dehinc conſurgunt pariter, & Hymno dicto, ad Præſepia redeunt. [y] Chryſoſt. Hom. 56. in Matth. [z] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 4. c. 20. [a] Hieron. Prolog. ad Reg. Pachom. It. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. [b] Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Dominicis diebus Orationi tantum & Lectionibus vacant. [c] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 38. [d] Caſſian. Collat. 18. c. 15. Collat. 23. c. 21. [e] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 52. p. 985. [f] Ibid. p. 984. [g] Conc. Chalced. can. 3.

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ther [h] obliges Monks particularly to live in their Retirement, and to give themſelves only to Faſting and Prayer, and not to leave their Monaſteries to ingage themſelves either in Eccleſiaſtical or Secular Affairs, except the Biſhop of the City upon ſome urgent Occaſion permit them ſo to do. And a third Canon [i] forbids both Monks and Clergy to take upon them any Office, Civil or Military; anathematizing ſuch as are guilty, and do not return to their firſt Choice. So that Monks were wholly excluded then from Secular Offices: And though ſome were called to Eccleſiaſtical Employments, yet then they were obliged to quit their Monaſtery, and betake themſelves wholly to a Clerical Life, only retaining ſo much of the former, as would conſiſt with the indiſpenſable Duties of the ſacred Function. Of theſe Caſes I have particularly ſpoken [*] in the foregoing Chapter. But of Monks continuing in their Cloyſters, and taking upon them at the ſame Time the Offices of the Church, which did not concern their own Monaſtery, we have ſcarce any Inſtance in ancient Hiſtory. Pope *Pelagius*, as he is cited by *Gratian* [k], would not permit a Monk to be a Defenſor, though that was but a low Office in the Church; becauſe it was contrary to the State of a Monaſtick Life, which was to be ſpent in Retirement, Prayer, and Bodily Labour: whereas the Office of a Defenſor was wholly taken up in Hearing of Cauſes, and other Acts of a Publick and Litigious Nature, which were Things inconſiſtent with one another. 'Till a Monk therefore had firſt bid adieu to his Monaſtery, he was not to be promoted to any ſuch Office in the Church.

SECT. XIX.
No Monks anciently encroached on the Duties or Rights of the Secular Clergy.

MUCH leſs were they then permitted to encroach upon the Duties, or Rights and Privileges of the Secular Clergy. For we find no Complaints of this Nature in Ancient Hiſtory, as too frequently in after Ages. For the Generality of Monks being only Laymen, and refuſing any other Subſiſtance or Revenues but what aroſe out of their own Labour [as I have fully proved before] they could have no Temptation then to intermeddle either with the Buſineſs and Duties, or the Maintenance and Revenues of the Clergy. And for ſuch of them as were ordained Presbyters or Deacons, they were either only to ſerve their own Monaſtery, or elſe ſuch were taken out of Monaſteries by the Biſhops, and thenceforth reckoned among the Secular Clergy of the Church. *Valeſius* indeed is willing to have it thought otherwiſe: For he ſays [l] in the latter End of the fourth Century, it was very uſual for Monks to perform the Offices of the Clergy, and he alledges for Proof the Example of *Euſebius Vercellenſis* and the Church of St. *Auſtin*, which I have conſidered before [*] and ſhewed that they prove no more, but that ſome Biſhops and their Clergy took up a Way of Living in Common, in Imitation of the Monaſtick Life, which is nothing to Monks in Cloyſters intruding themſelves into Parochial Cures. The only Inſtance that looks any thing this Way, is what *Sozomen* [m] relates of the Church built by *Ruffinus*, the great Stateſman under *Arcadius*, at a Place called *Quercus* in the Suburbs of *Chalcedon*, where after he had built his Church, he ſays, he placed ſome Monks near it, whence the Clergy of the Church were ſupplyed. But this may mean no more, but that when there wanted Clergy in that Church, they were to be choſen out of that neighbouring Monaſtery, which indeed was then no unuſual Thing in the Church: But that Monks living in a Monaſtery ſhould perform Divine Offices in other Churches beſide that of their own Monaſtery, is not agreeable to ancient Rules and Practice. And therefore we meet with no Inſtances of that Kind, nor of Tithes being received by Monks, unleſs it was for the Uſe of the Poor; of which there is one Inſtance in *Caſſian* [n], and beſides that I do not remember any other. Their Way of Living upon their own Labour made them not ſollicitous to receive any Thing from other Men, and therefore ſome of them would not receive Maintenance from their own Parents, as *Caſſian* [o] relates of *Antony*, leſt they ſhould ſeem to live upon any Thing that was not the Work of their own Hands.

SECT. XX.
Not allowed at firſt to dwell in Cities, but confined to the Wilderneſs.

BESIDE all this, there was another Reaſon then why Monks could not ordinarily attend Parochial Cures, had they been otherwiſe qualified for them. For by the Laws of their firſt Inſtitution, in all Parts of the *Eaſt*, their Habitation was not to be in Cities or Places of Publick Concourſe, but in Deſerts and Private Retirements, where they might be ſequeſtred from the Noiſe of the World, and live in Quiet and Solitude, as their Name ſeemed to imply. Whence St. *Jerom* writing to *Ruſticus* the Monk, inveighs againſt thoſe who were deſirous [p] to live in Cities, which was contrary to that Singularity they made Profeſſion of. And giving Inſtructions to *Paulinus*, he ſays, If you deſire to be Really, what you are in Name, that is a Solitary, or One that lives alone, What have you [q] to do in Cities, which are not Habitations for Solitaries, but the Multitude? And it is obſerved both by him and *Sozomen* [r] of *Antonius*, That he was uſed to ſay, The Wilderneſs was as natural to a Monk,

[h] Ibid. can. 4. [i] Ibid. c. 7. [*] *Chap.* 2 *Sect.* 8. [k] Gratian. Cauſ. 16. Quæſt. 1. c. 20. Omnimoda eſt illius Habitus & iſtius Officii diverſitas. Illic enim Quies, Oratio, Labor manuum: At hic Cauſarum Cognitio, Conventiones, Actus, Publica Litigia, &c. [l] Valeſ. Not. in Sozom. lib. 8. c. 17. [*] *See Chap.* 2. *Sect.* 8. [m] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 17. πλησίον ὄ μοναχὸς συνῴκισεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κλῆρον ἐπλήρει. [n] Caſſian. Collat. 21. c. 2. [o] Caſſian. Collat. 24. c. 12. [p] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Quid deſideramus Urbium frequentiam, qui de ſingularitate cenſemur? [q] Ep. 13. ad Paulin. Si cupis eſſe quod diceris, id eſt ſolus: Quid facis in Urbibus, quæ utique non ſunt ſolorum Habitacula, ſed multorum? [r] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 13.

as Water to a Fiſh; and therefore a Monk in a City was quite out of his Element, like a Fiſh upon dry Land. By which it appears, that the Monaſtick Life in the firſt Deſign was to exclude Men from having any Thing to do in Cities and Places of Publick Concourſe. And there are Laws in both the Codes to the ſame Purpoſe. *Theodoſius* enacted, That all that made Profeſſion of the Monaſtick [*f*] Life, ſhould be obliged by the Civil Magiſtrate to betake themſelves to the Wilderneſs and Deſerts, as their proper Habitation. *Baronius* by Miſtake reckons [*t*] this Law a Puniſhment, and next to a Perſecution of the Monks: But *Gothofred* [*u*] and Mr. *Pagi* [*w*] with better Judgment correct his Error, and obſerve with more Truth, that it was ſo far from being a Puniſhment, that it was only obliging them to live according to the Rules of their firſt Inſtitution. *Leo* and *Anthemius* [*x*], and after them *Juſtinian*, made Laws to the ſame Purpoſe, forbidding the *Eaſtern* Monks to appear in Cities; but if they had any Buſineſs of Concern to be tranſacted there, they ſhould do it by their *Apochriſarii* or *Reſponſales*, that is, their Proctors or Syndicks, which every Monaſtery was allowed for that Purpoſe.

SECT. XXI. *What Exceptions that Rule admitted of.*

NOT but that in ſome extraordinary Caſes they took Liberty to diſpenſe with this Rule, when a juſt Occaſion required their Appearance. As in Times of common Danger to the Faith, or great Perſecutions, or when it ſeemed neceſſary for them to interpoſe with the Magiſtrate, and intercede for Criminals in ſpecial Caſes. Thus St. *Jerom* [*y*] obſerves of *Antonius*, that he came to *Alexandria* at the Requeſt of *Athanaſius*, to give Teſtimony and Countenance to the Catholick Faith, and to confute the *Arian* Hereſy. *Theodoret* makes the like Obſervation [*z*] upon the Behaviour of *Aphraates* and *Julian*, two *Syrian* Monks, who left their Cells in the Deſert to live in *Antioch*, when their Preſence was thought neceſſary to ſupport the Catholick Doctrine and its Profeſſors in the Time of the *Arian* Perſecution under *Valens*. And of *Aphraates*, he tells this remarkable Story, That *Valens* once obſerving him to paſs the Streets in Haſte, though he was an old Man, asked him, Whither he was going with ſo much Speed? To whom he replied, I am going Sir, to pray for your Empire. But, ſaid *Valens*, it would more have become you to do that at Home in your Retirement, according to the Laws of your Solitary Life. Yes, Sir, ſaid *Aphraates*, you ſay very true, I ought ſo to do, and I always did ſo, as long as my Saviour's Sheep were in Peace: But now that they are diſquieted and brought into great Danger, very Neceſſity compells me to take another Courſe for their Safety, that they may not be torn in Pieces by wild Beaſts. Were I a Virgin, confined to a ſingle Room, it would not become me to ſit ſtill, when I ſaw my Father's Houſe on Fire, but to run abroad, fetch Water, and extinguiſh the Flame. Now this is our Caſe. You, Sir, have ſet Fire to the Houſe of our common Father, and we have left our Cells with no ſmall Concern, and are come abroad to put it out. Thus bravely did *Aphraates* anſwer *Valens*, and apologize for his Appearing in the City in the Time of common Danger, when *Valens* himſelf was the Occaſion of it. Nor was it only in Defence of Religion they thus made a Publick Appearance, but ſometimes they thought it neceſſary to come and interceed with the Emperors and Judges for condemned Criminals. As *Sozomen* [*a*] obſerves of *Antonius*, that he was frequently compelled by the Complaints and Lamentations of the Diſtreſſed, to come and interpoſe his good Offices with the Princes and Magiſtrates for them, and as ſoon as he had done, he returned to the Wilderneſs again. The Reader may find a more remarkable Inſtance of this Kind in one of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Homilies [*b*] to the People of *Antioch*, where he relates how the City was delivered from imminent Ruin (being under the Diſpleaſure of *Theodoſius* for having demoliſhed the Imperial Statues, and committing other Crimes of a high Nature) by the Interceſſion of the neighbouring Monks, who left their Tabernacles and Caves in the Mountains, and came into the City, (when other Philoſophers for Fear were fled out of it) and interceding with the Judges, prevailed with them to ſpare the Criminals; telling them, That the Images of the Emperor might eaſily be reſtored to their Priſtine Beauty, and be ſet up again; but if they ſlew the Images of God, it would be impoſſible to raiſe them up again, ſince it was beyond the Art of Man to join Body and Soul together: And if they would not hearken to their Interceſſion, they ſhould execute them too: For if it muſt be ſo, they were reſolved to die with them. After this Manner they were uſed to intercede with the Judges for Criminals in ſome ſuch ſpecial Caſes, as this before us. And they commonly did it with ſuch Prevalency, that they ſeldom failed in their Petition, the Magiſtracy expreſſing a particular Reverence to them upon ſuch Occaſions. But afterward this Thing grew into Abuſe, and they would not be content to petition, but would ſometimes come in great Bodies or Troops, *per Drungos*, and by Force deliver Criminals, after Sentence of Condemnation was paſſed upon them. To repreſs which tumultuous Way of Proceeding, *Arcadius* the Emperor was forced to publiſh a Law

[*f*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 3. de Monachis, Leg. 1. Quicunque ſub Profeſſione Monachi reperiuntur, deſerta Loca & vaſtas Solitudines ſequi atque habitare jubeantur. [*t*] Baron. an. 390. n. 67. [*u*] Gothofred, Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 3. leg. 1. [*w*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 390. n. 10. [*x*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 29. It. Novel. 123. c. 42. [*y*] Hieron. Ep. 33. ad Caſtruc. [*z*] Theodor. lib. 4. c. 26, & 27. [*a*] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 13. [*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 215.

[*c*] ſtrictly

[c] ſtrictly forbidding both the Monks and Clergy to attempt any ſuch Thing, and commanding all Biſhops to proſecute the Authors of ſuch Diſorders, if any Monks happened to be ſo engaged in their Diſtricts, under Pain of his Royal Diſpleaſure.

SECT. XXII. *Whether Monks might betake themſelves to a ſecular Life again.*

THERE remains but one Enquiry more to be made concerning this Order of Men, which is, Whether ſuch as made Profeſſion of the Monaſtick Life, were afterward at Liberty to alter their State as they thought convenient, and turn Seculars again? To which it may be anſwered, That they were under no Publick Vow to the contrary: Many Men embraced the Life, who never intended to continue all their Days in it. *Julian* himſelf was once in the Monaſtick Habit, to pleaſe his Couſin *Conſtantius*, who began to ſuſpect his Inclination toward the Philoſophy of the *Gentiles*. *Socrates* ſays of him, that he aſſumed [d] the Tonſure, and feigned the Life of a Monk in Publick, whilſt he privately reſorted to the Lectures of *Libanius* the Sophiſt. And *Oroſius* obſerves the ſame [e] of *Conſtans* the Son of *Conſtantine*, who uſurped the Empire in *Britain* in the Time of *Honorius*, that he was firſt a Monk before his Father made him *Cæſar*, and ſent him into *Spain* to promote his Intereſt there. Theſe Men had no Need of the Pope's Diſpenſation to ſet them at Liberty from their Vow; for it does not appear they were ever under any ſuch Obligation. Monaſteries were anciently Schools of Learning, and Places of Pious and religious Education of Youth: Which, though *Bellarmin* [f] thinks fit to deny it, is evidently proved from St. *Chryſoſtom*'s third Book [g] againſt the Defamers of the Monaſtick Life, which is chiefly ſpent in adviſing Parents to ſend their Children to be educated in Monaſteries, as the ſafeſt Places of good Education; not with a Deſign to oblige them always to continue in the Monaſtick Life, but only to train them up, and ſettle them ſecurely in the Ways of Virtue. And to the ſame Purpoſe it is obſerved by *Palladius*, that the Monks of Mount *Nitria* [h] had a *Xenodochium* or Hoſpital, where for a Week they entertained any one that came to them without working; if he continued longer, they ſet him either to work at ſome Bodily Labour, or to ſtudy; and ſo employed he might continue a Year, or two, or three, among them, till he ſaw his own Time to depart from them. This *Palladius* [i] calls ἄσκησις γραφικὴ, the Exerciſe of Letters, in Oppoſition to that of Bodily Labour. So that Men might enter a Monaſtery for the ſake of Study, and leave it again when they pleaſed, if they laid upon themſelves no farther Obligation. And they who tied up themſelves ſtricter, and entered the Monaſtick Life with a Deſign to continue in it, were never under any Vow, unleſs a private Reſolution might be eſteemed ſuch, which might be altered at Pleaſure, eſpecially if any unforeſeen Caſe or Accident ſeemed to require a Change in their Way of Living. As *Caſſian* [k] tells us of one in *Egypt* who deſpairing to obtain the Gift of Continency, was preparing to enter into a married State, and return to a Secular Life again. The Rule of *Pachomius*, by which the *Egyptian* Monks were governed, has nothing of any Vow at their Entrance, nor any Puniſhment for ſuch as deſerted their Station afterward: And there was one Piece of Diſcipline among the *Egyptians*, which I have mentioned before, that ſeems plainly to intimate that they were under no ſolemn Vow: For one of their Puniſhments was Expulſion out of the Monaſtery, which is inconſiſtent with a Vow of continuing in a Monaſtery for ever. So that at firſt the Monaſtick Life ſeems to have been a Matter of free Choice, not only at Men's firſt Entrance, but in their Progreſs and Continuance alſo: And Men might quit it without any other Puniſhment, unleſs it were a Note of Inconſtancy fixed upon them.

SECT. XXIII. *Marriage of Monks anciently not annulled.*

HOWEVER, this is certain, that Monks who betook themſelves to a Married State, were not anciently obliged by any Law to diſſolve their Marriage, and put away their Wives, under Pretence of any preceding Obligation, according to the new Rules of the Council of *Trent* [l], which pronounces ſuch Marriages null and void. In St. *Auſtin*'s Time ſome Virgins and Widows were under the Obligation of a Vow; yet if they married after that, he ſays, They were not to be ſeparated [m] from their Husbands as Adultereſſes: For their Marriage was true Marriage, and not Adultery, as ſome falſly argued. He ſays, They offended highly in breaking their Vow, but yet their Marriage was valid; and in that Caſe to ſeparate them from their Husbands, was only to make their Husbands Adulterers in marrying others whilſt their Wives were living. By Parity of Reaſon then the Marriage of Monks muſt be eſteemed valid alſo, even ſuppoſing them under an equal Obligation. And upon this Account we find no Inſtances of diſſolving Marriage in ſuch Caſes left upon Record in ancient Hiſtory.

SECT. XXIV. *What Puniſhments ordinarily inflicted on Deſerters.*

YET in Proceſs of Time, becauſe Monks were preſumed to be under ſome Private Obligation by aſſuming this Way of Living,

[c] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 40. de Pœnis. leg. 16. Addictos ſupplicio, nulli Clericorum vel Monachorum, eorum etiam quos Cœnobitas vocant, per vim atque uſurpationem vindicare liceat ac tenere, &c. [d] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 1. ἐν χρῶτι κειράμενος, τὸν δὲ μοναχῶν ὑπεχείνετο βίον. [e] Oroſ. Hiſt. lib. 7. c. 40. Conſtantinus Conſtantem Filium ſuum, proh dolor, ex Monacho Cæſarem factum — in Hiſpanias miſit. [f] Bellarm. de Monachis, lib. 2. c. 6. [g] Chryſoſt. adverſ. Vituperatores Vitæ Monaſt. lib. 3. Tom. 4. p. 499. [h] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 6. [i] Pallad. ibid. c. 14. [k] Caſſian. Collat. 2. c. 13. Ut quia Monachus eſſe non poſſet, nec refrænare ſtimulos carnis, & impugnationis Remedia conſequi prævaleret, uxorem duceret, ac relicto Monaſterio reverteretur ad Sæculum. [l] Con. Trident. Seſſ. 24. can. 9. [m] Aug. de Bono Viduitat. c. 10. Qui dicunt talium nuptias non eſſe nuptias, ſed potius Adulteria, non mihi videntur ſatis acute ac diligenter conſiderare quid dicant. Fallit eos quippe Similitudo veritatis, &c.

ving,

ving, ſome Puniſhments were thought of, as proper to be inflicted on ſuch as relinquiſhed their Station and returned to a Secular Life again. By the firſt Council of *Orleans*, a Monk that had entered himſelf [n] in a Monaſtery, if he afterwards married a Wife, was for ever after uncapable of Holy Orders, but no other Cenſure is paſſed upon him. St. *Auſtin* was for inflicting the ſame Puniſhment on ſuch as left their Monaſtery without their own Biſhop's Leave, as appears from his Letter to *Aurelius* [o] Biſhop of *Carthage*, upon that Subject. The Civil Law likewiſe excludes Deſerters from the Privilege of Ordination: For by a Law of *Honorius* [p] they were to be delivered up to the *Curia*, or Civil Court of the City, there to ſerve all their Lives; by which Means they were rendered incapable of any Office in the Church, becauſe Curial and Clerical Offices were inconſiſtent with one another, as has been ſhewed at large [*] in another Place. *Juſtinian* added another Puniſhment, That if they were poſſeſſed of any Subſtance, it ſhould all be forfeited to the Monaſtery [q] which they deſerted, while they themſelves ſhould be obliged to ſerve perſonally among the Officials of the Judge of the Province where they lived. For by this Time Monaſteries began to have Eſtates and Poſſeſſions in ſome Places, though the moſt exact Rules of the *Egyptian* Monks were againſt it. The Cenſures of the Church were likewiſe inflicted on deſerting Monks in the fifth Century. *Spalatenſis* [r] thinks the firſt Council that ever decreed Excommunication againſt them, was the fourth Council of *Toledo* [ſ] under *Honorius*, *An.* 633. But did not advert to a former Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, made near two hundred Years before, which decreed, That neither Virgins conſecrated to God, nor Monks [t] ſhould marry; and ſuch as did ſo, ſhould be excommunicated: Only the Biſhop of the Place might moderate the Cenſure; that is, if I rightly underſtand that Canon, which is by ſome miſtaken, He might ſhorten the Term of their Penance at his Diſcretion; which was the only way of granting Indulgencies in the Primitive Church. And from hence again it appears, that when it was thought a Crime for a Monk to marry, yet they did not think it a Nullity when done, or preſume to void it upon that ſcore, but only oblige him to do Penance for ſuch a Term as the Biſhop ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him. And I ſuppoſe the Canons of St. *Baſil* [u], and the Council of *Trullo* [w], which ſpeak of a Penance of Seven Years or more, are to be underſtood with this Limitation.

I have now put together all that I could think material to be ſaid upon this Subject of the Monaſtick Life: And ſome perhaps will think I have ſaid too much, and others too little upon it: But I content my ſelf to have ſaid ſo much as ſeemed neceſſary to my own Deſign, which was to give an Account of ancient Cuſtoms, and explain ſeveral Laws and Rules of the Church. They whoſe Curioſity leads them farther, may eaſily have Recourſe to *Caſſian*'s Inſtitutions and Collations, and *Palladius*'s *Hiſtoria Lauſiaca*, and *Theodoret*'s *Philotheus*, or Religious Hiſtory, Books written particularly upon this Subject by profeſt Admirers of the Monaſtick Life. My Method now leads me to ſay ſomething briefly of the Virgins and Widows, that were alſo reckoned among the Aſceticks of the Church.

CHAP. IV.

The Caſe and State of Virgins and Widows in the Antient Church.

SECT. I. *Of the Diſtinction between Eccleſiaſtical and Monaſtical Virgins.*

AS I have ſhewed before that there were Aſceticks in the Church long before there were any Monks; ſo it muſt here be noted, that there were Virgins who made publick and open Profeſſion of Virginity, before the Monaſtick Life, or Name was known in the World. This appears from the Writings of *Cyprian* and *Tertullian*, who ſpeak of Virgins Dedicating themſelves to Chriſt before there were any Monaſteries to receive them. Theſe for Diſtinction's ſake are ſometimes called Eccleſiaſtical Virgins by the Writers of the following Ages, *Sozomen* [a] and others, to diſtinguiſh them from ſuch as embraced the Monaſtick Life, after Monaſteries began to multiply in the World. The Eccleſiaſtical Virgins were commonly enrolled in the Canon or *Matricula* of the Church, that is, in the Catalogue of Eccleſiaſticks, as we learn from *Socrates* [b], who ſpeaks of them under that Title: And hence they were ſometimes called *Canonicæ*, Canonical Virgins from their being regiſtred in the Canon or Books of the Church. They differed from the Monaſtick Virgins, chiefly in this, that they lived privately in their Fathers Houſes, and

[n] Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 23. Monachus in Monaſterio converſus, ſi Pellici poſtea vel Uxori fuerit Sociatus, tantæ Prævaricationis reus, nunquam Eccleſiaſtici gradûs Officium ſortiatur. [o] Aug. Ep. 76. ad Aurel. Ordini Clericorum ſit indigniſſima injuria, ſi Deſertores Monaſteriorum ad militiam Clericatus eligantur, &c.

[p] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 39. Si qui Profeſſum ſacræ Religionis ſponte dereliquerit, continuo ſibi eum Curia vindicet, &c.

[*] *Book* 4. *Chap.* 4. *Sect.* 4. [q] Juſtin. Novel. 5. c. 6. Si relinquens Monaſterium, ad quandam veniat Militiam, aut ad aliam vitæ figuram: Subſtantia ejus in Monaſterio remanente, ipſe inter Officiales Clariſſimi Provinciæ Judicis ſtatuetur, &c. It. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 56. [r] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 2. c. 12. n. 48. [ſ] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 54. [t] Conc. Chalced. can. 16. [u] Baſil. can. 60. [w] Conc. Trull. c. 44.

[a] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 23. παρθένοι ἐκκλησιαστικαί.

[b] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 17. τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, &c.

had

had their Maintenance from their Fathers, or in cases of Necessity from the Church; but the other lived in Communities and upon their own Labour, as we learn from the third Council of *Carthage* [c] and the Writings of St. *Austin* [d]. *Spalatensis* long ago observed [e] this Difference, and it is since acknowledged by *Albaspinæus* [f], *Valesius* [g], *Cotelerius* [h], and other learned Men of the *Romish* Church. So that it is now out of Dispute, that as the Asceticks for the first three hundred Years were not Monks, so neither were the sacred Virgins of the Church Monastical Virgins, or Nuns confined to a Cloyster, as in After-Ages.

SECT. II. *Whether they were under any Profession of perpetual Virginity.*

IF it be enquired how these were distinguished from other Virgins, that were meerly secular, I conceive it was by some Sort of Profession of their Intention to continue in that State all their Lives: But whether that was a solemn Vow, or a simple Profession, is not agreed among learned Writers. The Learned Editor [i] of St. *Cyprian* reckons they were under no Obligation of any Formal Vow in the Age of *Cyprian*, but yet were some Way bound by the Resolution and Purpose of their own Mind, and the Publick Profession of Virginity: And in this he seems to speak not only the common Sense of Protestant Writers, but the Sense of that ancient Author [k], who says, They dedicated themselves to Christ, yet so as that if either they could not, or would not persevere, it was better for them to marry than to burn, or to be cast into Fire for their Offences, as his Words may literally be translated. From whence it may be collected, that then the Profession of Virginity was not so strict as to make marrying after be thought a Crime worthy of Ecclesiastical Censure.

SECT. III. *When first made liable to the Censures of the Church for marrying against their Profession.*

BUT in the following Ages, the Censures of the Church were inflicted on them. The Council of *Ancyra* [l] determined universally against all such as having professed Virginity, afterward went against their Profession, that they should be subjected to the same Term of Penance, as *Digamists* were used to be; that is, a Year or two, as we learn from one of the Canons of St. *Basil* [m]. The Council of *Chalcedon* [n] orders them to be excommunicated, if they married, but leaves the Term of their Penance to the Bishop's Discretion. The Council of *Valence* in *France* is still more severe, forbidding [o] them to be admitted immediately to Penance; and when they were admitted, unless they made full and reasonable Satisfaction to God, their Restoration to Communion was still to be deferred. Now from these Canons, to mention no more, it evidently appears, That in the following Ages next after the Time of St. *Cyprian*, that is, in the fourth and fifth Centuries, the Censures of the Church were severer against the Marriage of profest Virgins than they were before: And they seem to have risen in Proportion to the Esteem and Value, which Men began to set upon Celibacy and the Monastic Life.

SECT. IV. *The Marriage of profest Virgins never declared null.*

YET two Things are very observable amidst all the Severity and Rigour of those Ages: First, That there never was any Church Decree for Rescinding, or Pronouncing Null such Marriages. The Emperor *Jovian* indeed, as *Sozomen* [p] relates, made it a capital Crime by Law for any one to commit a Rape upon a Devoted Virgin, or so much as to sollicit her to forsake her present Sate of Life, and forgoe her Resolution and Purpose: Which Law is still extant in both the Codes [q]. But then, as *Valesius* himself rightly observes, this Law was only made against Ravishers, and such as sollicited those Virgins to marry against their own Will: But if a Virgin did voluntarily quit her Purpose and Station, and then marry after that, there was nothing in this Law [r] to prohibit her, much less to punish her for so doing. And for the Laws of the Church, though they appointed a Spiritual Punishment, yet they did not cancel or disanul the Act, but confirmed and ratified such Marriages, though done against the Rules then prevailing in the Church. Of which the Testimony of St. *Austin* [s] alledged before in the last *Chapter*, *Sect.* 23. is abundant Proof: Not to mention the Silence of all ancient Laws in the Case, which speak of no other Punishment beside Excommunication, and Penance as the Consequence of that, in order to be received into the Com-

[c] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 33. Ut Virgines Sacræ, si Parentibus, à quibus custodiebantur, privatæ fuerint, Episcopi providentia vel Presbyteri, si Episcopus absens est, in Monasterio Virginum gravioribus Fœminis commendentur, &c. [d] Aug. de Morib. Eccles. c. 31. Lanificio corpus exercent, atque sustentant, Vestesque ipsas Fratribus tradunt, ab iis invicem quod victui opus est resumentes. [e] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 2. c. 11. n. 25. [f] Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Eliber. can. 13. [g] Vales. Not in Sozom. lib. 8. c. 23. [h] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. 8. c. 13. [i] Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 4 Animi proposito & publica Virginitatis professione, non Voto astrictæ. [k] Cypr. Ep. 62. al. 4. ad Pompon. Si ex fide se Christo dicaverunt, pudice & caste sine ulla fabula perseverent; ita fortes & stabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent. Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt; melius est nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant. [l] Conc. Ancyr. can. 19. ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὸν πρῶτον διγαμίας ὅρον ἐκπληρώτωσαν. [m] Basil. Ep Canon. c. 4. [n] Conc. Chalced. can. 16. [o] Conc. Valentin. can. 2. De Puellis, quæ se Deo voverunt, si ad terrenas nuptias sponte transierint, id custodiendum esse decrevimus, ut Pœnitentia his non statim detur: Et cum data fuerit, nisi plene satisfecerint Deo, in quantum ratio poposcerit, earundem Communio differatur. [p] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 3. [q] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 5. Si quis non dicam rapere, sed attentare tantum jungendi causa Matrimonii Sacratissimas Virgines ausus fuerit, Capitali Pœna feriatur. Vid. Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 25. de Raptu Sanctimonialium, leg. 2. [r] Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. 6. c. 3. Lex Joviani adversus Raptores Virginum lata est; sed si Sanctimonialis relicto Proposito postea nubere voluisset, non prohibebatur hac Lege. [s] Aug. de Bono Viduit. c. 8, 9, 10.

munion of the Church again. *Epiphanius* [t] is very expreſs and particular in the Caſe, that if any profeſſing Virginity fell from their State by Fornication, they had better marry publickly according to the Laws, and then ſubmit themſelves to a Courſe of Penance, in order to obtain the Communion of the Church again, rather than live perpetually expoſed to the ſecret Darts of the Devil. Which, I think, he would not have ſaid, had it then been the Cuſtom of the Church to diſannul the Marriages of profeſt Virgins under pretence of any preceding Vow or Obligation.

SECT. V.
Liberty granted by ſome Laws to marry, if they were conſecrated before the Age of Forty.

THE other Thing proper to be conſider'd in this Caſe, is, That by the Imperial Laws great Liberty and Indulgence was granted to all Virgins that were conſecrated before the Age of Forty. For though ſome Canons [u] allowed them to be conſecrated at Twenty five, and others [w] at Sixteen, or Seventeen, which were reckoned to be Years of Diſcretion; yet Time quickly ſhew'd, that neither of thoſe Terms were ſo conveniently fix'd as they might be: And therefore other Canons required Virgins to be Forty Years old [x] before they were veiled, as may be ſeen particularly in the *French* and *Spaniſh* Councils of *Agde* and *Saragoſſa*. And the Imperial Laws not only required that Age in conſecrated Virgins, but farther decreed, That if any Virgin was veiled before that Age, either by the Violence or Hatred of her Parents (which was a Caſe that often happen'd) ſhe ſhould have Liberty to marry: As appears from the Novel of *Leo* and *Majorian* [y] at the End of the *Theodoſian* Code, which ſays, That no Virgin in ſuch Circumſtances ſhould be judged Sacrilegious, who by her honeſt Marriage declared, that either ſhe never intended to take upon her any ſuch Vow, or at leaſt was not able to fulfil it: Foraſmuch as the Doctrine and Inſtitutes of the Chriſtian Religion have declared, That it is better for a Virgin to marry, than to burn, and forfeit her Virtue by leading an unchaſt Life after ſhe has made Profeſſion of Virginity. Now if theſe two Things be rightly conſidered, *Firſt*, That the Conſecration of a Virgin was not to be reputed valid till ſhe was forty Years of Age: And *Secondly*, That if ſhe married after her Conſecration at that Age, yet her Marriage was then reputed valid and never diſannulled: There will appear a very wide Difference between the Practice of the Antient Church, and that of the Church of *Rome* in this Matter: For which Reaſon I have ſpoken diſtinctly of this Profeſſion of Virgins, both to explain the Nature of their Vow, and ſhew the Meaſures of its Obligation.

SECT. VI.
Of their Habit, and Form, and Manner of Conſecration.

AS to their Conſecration it ſelf, it had ſome Things very peculiar in it. For it was uſually performed publickly in the Church, and that with ſome Solemnity, by the Biſhop himſelf, or at leaſt ſome Presbyter, particularly deputed by the Biſhop for that Purpoſe. For by the ancient Canons this Act among others was reſerved to the Office of the ſupream Miniſter of the Church, and therefore a Preſbyter without his Commiſſion, or Leave, was not to intermeddle in it. The ſixth Canon in the *African* Code [z] ſeems univerſally to prohibit Presbyters theſe three Things, the making of Chriſm, the Publick Reconciliation of Penitents, and the Conſecration of Virgins. But this laſt Point is to be interpreted by what is ſaid in the third Council of *Carthage*, That a Presbyter is not to conſecrate a Virgin without [a] the Biſhop's Leave. Which implies, That he might do it by his Direction. And ſo *Ferrandus* in his Abbreviation [b] underſtands it. So that this was one of thoſe Things which Biſhops thought fit to reſerve to themſelves in thoſe Times, and did not allow their Presbyters, without ſpecial Direction, to perform it. Whence I conclude, it was a Thing eſteemed of ſome Weight, and the Biſhop's Character was concerned in it, to uſe an exact Caution in the conſecrating of Virgins, as St. *Ambroſe* [c] words it, that Nothing might be done raſhly to the Diſhonour of the Church. Now when a Virgin had ſignified her Purpoſe to the Biſhop, and her Deſire of the uſual Conſecration, ſhe was wont to come and make a Publick Profeſſion of her Reſolution in the Church; and then the Biſhop, or Presbyter appointed at the Altar, put upon her the accuſtomed Habit of Sacred Virgins, by which they were known and diſtinguiſhed from all others. The Matter is thus repreſented by St. *Ambroſe*, who ſpeaking of his Siſter *Marcellina*, who was conſecrated at *Rome* by *Liberius*, ſays, That on *Chriſtmas-Day* [d] in St. *Peter*'s Church ſhe ſignify'd the Profeſſion of Virginty by the Change of her Habit, *Liberius* making an Exhortation or Diſcourſe of her, ſuitable to the Occaſion, containing the Duty of Virgins, which the Reader may find there recorded. This Change of Habit is frequently [e] mentioned in the Ancient Councils, and the Civil Law alſo

[t] Epiphan. Hær. 61. Apoſtolic. [u] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 4. [w] Baſil. Ep. Canon. c. 18. [x] Conc. Agathen. can. 19. Sanctimoniales, quantumlibet Vita earum & mores probati ſint, ante annum ætatis ſuæ Quadrageſimum non velentur. Conc. Cæſarauguſt. can. 8. Non velandas eſſe Virgines, quæ ſe Deo voverunt, niſi Quadraginta annorum probata ætate, &c. [y] Leo & Majorian, Novel. 8. Neque enim Sacrilega judicanda eſt, quæ ſe hoc ante noluiſſe aut certe non poſſe complere ad petiti Conjugii honeſtate prodiderit; cum Chriſtianæ Religionis Inſtituta atque Doctrina melius eſſe cenſueret Virginem nubere, quam impatientiæ ardore naturali profeſſæ pudicitiæ non ſervare virtutem. [z] Cod. Afric. c. 6. κορῶν καθιέρωσις ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων μὴ γίνηται, &c. [a] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 36. Ut Presbyter inconſulto Epiſcopo Virgines non conſecret, Chriſma vero nunquam conficiat. [b] Ferrand. Breviat. Canonum, c. 91. [c] Ambroſ. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 124. Neque ego abnuo, ſacerdotalis eſſe Cautionis debere, ut non temere Puella valetur. [d] Ambroſ. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 112. Cum in Salvatoris Natali, ad Apoſtolum Petrum, Virginitatis Profeſſionem Veſtis quoque mutatione ſignares, &c. V'd. Ambroſ. ad Virginem Lapſam, c. 5. [e] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 11 & 104. Conc. Arauſic. 1. c. 27.

takes

takes Notice of it, forbidding [f] all Mimicks and lewd Women the Publick Uſe of ſuch Habit, as was worn by Virgins conſecrated to God. Which implies plainly, That ſuch Virgins were known by ſome particular Habit peculiar to themſelves. One Part of this was a Veil, called the *Sacrum Velamen*, whence the Phraſe, *Velare* [g] *Virginem*, to veil a Virgin, is the ſame as Conſecrating her to God, in ſome antient Writers. Though I muſt note, that *Tertullian*'s Book *de Velandis Virginibus* is not ſo to be underſtood; for he writes not to devoted Virgins, but to all Virgins in general, perſwading them to uſe the grave Habit of Matrons, that is, to go veiled, according to the Apoſtle's Direction. Whence we muſt ſay, that the Veil of conſecrated Virgins had ſome Note of Diſtinction from the common Veil of others, and thereupon the Name of Sacred affixed to it, becauſe it was a Token or Indication of their Reſolution. *Optatus* particularly obſerves this of another Part of their Habit, which he calls their Purple and Golden Mitre. He ſays, They did not uſe it for any Sacrament, or Myſtery, but only as a Badge of Diſtinction, and to ſignify to whoſe Service they belonged, that no one might pretend to raviſh, or ſo much as court them. And therefore he blames [h] the Donatiſts for their blind and mad Zeal in making the Virgins of Chriſt do Penance, and caſt away their Veils, and change their Mitres, which were only innocent Tokens of their Profeſſion. *Euſebius* takes Notice of the ſame Habit under the Name of Coronet: For ſpeaking of one *Ennathas* a Virgin of *Scythopolis* in *Paleſtine*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, he ſays of her, [i] That ſhe was adorned with the Coronet of Virginity; alluding to what *Optatus* calls their Golden Ribband, or little Mitre; unleſs he ſpeaks metaphorically, and means the Crown of Virginity added to the Crown of Martyrdom in another World; of both which great Things are often ſaid in the antient Writers. *Albaſpiny* [k] thinks *Optatus* ſpeaks of another Cuſtom, which he ſays is ſtill in Uſe in the Conſecration of Virgins, which is untying the Hair, as was cuſtomary in Secular Marriages, in Token of the Woman's Subjection to her Husband. But *Optatus*'s Words [l] ſeem only to be a bare Alluſion to that Secular Cuſtom: For the Marriage of Virgins to Chriſt was only Figurative, or as he words it, Spiritual and Heavenly: And conſequently the Cuſtom referred to muſt be underſtood to be of the ſame Nature, that is, not real and proper, but figurative only; which ſeems to be moſt agreeable to the Mind of the Author. *Baronius* [m] and *Habertus* [n] expreſs themſelves Patrons of another Cuſtom, which began to creep in among ſome, but was never allowed or approved by the Catholick Church. *Euſtathius* the Heretick was for having all Virgins ſhorn, or ſhaven at their Conſecration: But the Council of *Gangra* immediately roſe up againſt him, and anathematized the Practice, paſſing a Decree in theſe Words, If any [o] Woman under Pretence of an Aſcetick Life cut off her Hair, which God hath given her for a Memorial of Subjection, let her be Anathema, as one that diſannuls the Decree of Subjection. *Habertus* and *Baronius* pretend, That this Decree was made only againſt married Women and Seculars, and not ſuch as betook themſelves to a Monaſtick Life: But the Words of the Canon are poſitively againſt ſuch as did it upon Pretence that they were entered upon an Aſcetick, or as ſome call it, a Religious Life; and *Valeſius* [p] ingenuouſly confeſſes this to be the true Senſe of the Canon, proving hence, That anciently the Sacred Virgins were not ſhaven: As neither were they in *France* to the Time of *Carolus Calvus*, as he ſhews from other Canons, citing *Hugo Menardus* [q] for the ſame Opinion. But the Council of *Gangra* was not of ſufficient Force to repreſs this Cuſtom in all Places: For in St. *Jerom*'s Time it prevailed in ſome Monaſteries of *Syria* and *Egypt*, though upon another Principle of Cleanlineſs, not Religion, as appears [r] from his Epiſtle againſt *Sabinian* the Deacon: Yet it did not prevail every where in *Egypt* in the Days of *Athanaſius*: For *Sozomen* [s] giving an Account of the barbarous Uſage which the Holy Virgins met with from the Heathen at *Heliopolis*, ſays, they added this Indignity above all, that they ſhaved them alſo. Which plainly implies, that it was not then any approved Cuſtom of the Church. Nor did it ever prevail by any Law: For *Theodoſius the*

[f] Lex Arcadii in Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. tit. 4. de Epiſc. Audient. leg. 4. Mimæ & quæ ludibrio corporis ſui quæſtum faciunt, publice habitu earum Virginum, quæ Deo dicatæ ſunt, non utantur. Vid. Cod. Th. lib. 15. tit. 17. leg. 12. [g] Innoc. Ep. 2. ad Victric. c. 13. Hæ vero quæ necdum Sacro Velamine tectæ, &c. Gelaſ. Ep. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucaniæ, c. 14. [h] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 6. p. 96. Jam illud quam ſtultum, quam vanum, ut virgines Chriſti agerent Pœnitentiam, ut jamdudum profeſſæ ſigna voluntatis capitibus, poſtea vobis jubentibus, immutarent; ut Mitellas aureas projicerent, alias acciperent &c. [i] Euſeb. de Martyr. Palæſt. c. 9. παρθενίας στέμματι καὶ αὐτὴ κεκοσμημένη. [k] Albaſpin. Not. in Optat. lib. 6. p. 159. [l] Optat. lib. 6. p. 97. Spiritale nubendi hoc genus eſt: In nuptias Sponſi jam venerant Voluntate & Profeſſione ſua, & ut Sæcularibus nuptiis ſe renunciaſſe monſtrarent, ſpiritali ſponſo ſolverant crinem, jam cœleſtes celebraverant nuptias. Quid eſt quod eas iterum crines ſolvere coegiſtis? [m] Baron. an. 57. n. 93. [n] Habert. Archieratic. p. 598. [o] Con. Gangr. can. 17. εἴτις γυναικῶν διὰ τὸ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν ἀποκήψειτο τὰς κόμας, ἃς ἐδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὑπομνησιν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ὡς ἀναλύσασα τὸ πρόσαγμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [p] Valeſ. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 10. Porro Sciendum eſt, ſacras Virgines olim intonſas fuiſſe, ut conſtat ex concilio Gangrenſi. Idque etiam in Gallia uſitatum fuit temporibus Caroli Calvi, ut docet Canon. 7. Concilii in Verno Palatio. [q] Menard. Not. in Sacramental. Gregor. [r] Hieron. Ep. 48. cont. Sabinian. Moris eſt in Ægyptiis & Syris Monaſteriis, ut tam Virgo quam Vidua, quæ ſe Deo devoverint, & Sæculo renunciantes omnes delicias Sæculi conculcarint, mundanum crinem Monaſteriorum Matribus offerant deſecandum, &c. [s] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 10. τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνέκειρον αὐτάς.

Great added a Civil Sanction [*t*] to confirm the Eccleſiaſtical Decree made againſt it, commanding all Women, that under Pretence of their Profeſſion cut off their Hair, to be caſt out of the Church, and not to be allowed to partake of the Holy Myſteries, or make their Supplications at the Altar: And farther, laid the Penalty both of Depoſition and Excommunication upon any Biſhop that ſhould admit ſuch Women to Communion. From all which it manifeſtly appears, that the pretended Tonſure of Virgins and Widows was anciently no allowed Cuſtom of the Church, but rather an Abuſe, which both the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Laws endeavoured to correct and exterminate, however it came to prevail in the contrary Practice of later Ages. The *Ordo Romanus* has alſo a long Form of Prayer, and the Ceremony of a Ring and a Bracelet at their Conſecration: But the antient Liturgies having Nothing of this, their Silence ſeems to be an Argument againſt the Antiquity of them. And leſt any one ſhould think the Virgins were ordained to ſome ſpecial Office in the Church, as the Deaconneſſes were, 'tis particularly remarked by the Author of the Conſtitutions, [*u*] that their Conſecration was not an Ordination, and therefore Impoſition of Hands, for ought that I can find, was not any antient Ceremony belonging to it. I muſt note, farther, that as the Society of Virgins was of great Eſteem in the Church, ſo they had ſome particular Honours paid to them.

SECT. VII. *Of ſome Privileges beſtowed on them.*

VIRGINS and Widows were commonly excuſed Capitation-Money, together with the Clergy, [*w*] by the Imperial Laws of *Valentinian* and others. Their Perſons were ſacred; and ſevere Laws were made againſt any that ſhould preſume to offer the leaſt Violence to them: Baniſhment, and Proſcription, and Death, were the ordinary Puniſhments [*x*] of ſuch Offenders. *Conſtantine* paid them a particular Reſpect by charging his own Coffers and Exchequer with their Maintenance. And his Mother *Helena* [*y*] was uſed to entertain them her ſelf, and wait upon them at her own Table. The Church gave them alſo a Share in her own Revenues, and aſſigned them by way of Reſpect a particular Place or Apartment in the Houſe of God, whither as St. *Ambroſe* ſays, [*z*] the moſt Noble and Religious Matrons were uſed to reſort with ſome Earneſtneſs to receive their Salutations and Embraces. But of this I ſhall have Occaſion to diſcourſe farther in the next Book, when I come to treat of Churches, and the diſtinct Places of every Order in them.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Name* παρθένος *and* Nonnæ, *and its Signification.*

I have but one Thing more to obſerve, which relates to an antient Name of theſe Virgins, παρθένος and *Nonnæ*, whence I preſume comes our *Engliſh* Name, *Nun*. *Moniales*, and *Aſcetriæ*, and *Sanctimoniales* are common Names for them in Antient Writers. St. *Jerom* once uſes the Name, *Nonnæ*, and *Palladius* of *Meurſius*'s Edition [*a*] παρθένος, but in *Fronto-Ducæus*'s Edition it is γραῦς, an Old Woman. *Hoſpinian* [*b*] ſays it is an *Egyptian* Name, and ſignifies a Virgin: But St. *Jerom* [*c*] ſeems to extend the Signification a little farther, to denote indifferently Widows profeſſing Chaſtity after a firſt Marriage, as well as Virgins; for he particularly applies it to Women living in Widowhood after their firſt Husband's Deceaſe. The Names *Agapete* and *Sorores* I paſs over, as being rather Names of Reproach, and deriving their Original from a ſcandalous Abuſe and unwarrantable Practice of ſome vain and indiſcreet Men in the Church, of which I have given a full Account [*] in another Place.

SECT. IX. *Some particular Obſervations relating to the Widows of the Church.*

CONCERNING the Widows of the Church we have not many Things farther to be obſerved diſtinctly, they being generally under the ſame Laws and Rules as the Eccleſiaſtical Virgins were, as to what concerned their Habit, Conſecration, Profeſſion, Maintenance and the like: The Sum of which is thus expreſſed in one of the Canons [*d*] of the firſt Council of *Orange*, That a Widow having made Profeſſion of continuing in her Widowhood before the Biſhop in the Church, and having her Widow's Garment put on by the Presbyter, ought never after to violate her Promiſe. That which was particular in their Caſe, was, 1. That they muſt be ſuch Widows as had a long Time ago loſt their Husbands, and lived many Years a chaſt unblameable Life, ruling their own Houſes well, as the Author [*e*] of the Conſtitutions expreſſes himſelf almoſt in the Words of the Apoſtle: But ſuch Widows as had but lately buried their Husbands, were not to be truſted for fear their Paſſions ſhould one time or other prove too ſtrong for their Promiſe. 2. It may hence be reaſonably concluded that the younger Widows were generally refuſed by the Church, and not allowed to make any ſolemn Profeſſion before they were Forty or Fifty

[*t*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 27. Fœminæ quæ crinem ſuum, contra Divinas Humanaſque Leges, inſtinctu perſuaſæ Profeſſionis, abſciderint, ab Eccleſiæ foribus arceantur. Non illis fas ſit ſacra adire Myſteria, neque ullis ſupplicationibus mereantur veneranda omnibus altaria frequentare. Adeo quidem, ut Epiſcopus, tonſo capite fœminam ſi introire permiſerit, dejectus loco etiam ipſe cum hujuſmodi Contuberniis arceatur.

[*u*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 24. παρθένος δὲ χειροτονεῖται, &c.

[*w*] Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 10. de Cenſu leg. 46. [*x*] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 25. de Raptu Sanctimon. leg. 2 & 3. [*y*] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 17. [*z*] Ambroſ. ad Virgin. Lapſam, c. 6.

[*a*] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 46. al. 86. [*b*] Hoſpin. de Monach. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 3. [*c*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 6. Maritorum expertes dominatu, Viduitatis præferunt libertatem. Caſtæ vocantur & Nonnæ, & poſt cœnam dubiam Apoſtolos ſomniant. [*] *Book 6. Chap. 2. Sect. 13.*

[*d*] Conc. Arauſican. can. 27. Viduitatis ſervandæ Profeſſionem coram Epiſcopo in ſecretario habitam, impoſita à Presbytero Veſte Viduali, non eſſe violandam. [*e*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 25.

Years

Years Old, though this Term be no where preciſely fix'd. For ſince, as I have ſhewed before, Virgins in ſome Ages were not allowed to make their Profeſſion before Forty, it is probable the ſame Term was generally obſerved in the Caſe of Widows, or perhaps Sixty required according to the Rule of the Apoſtle. The Widows that were choſen to be Deaconeſſes in the Church, were to be Fifty or Sixty Years of Age, as I have ſhewed before [†] in ſpeaking of their Order; who though they were not the Widows we are now ſpeaking of, yet being generally choſen out of them, and thence termed Widows alſo, it may be preſumed there was no great Difference in point of Age betwixt them. 3. Widows were to be ſuch only as had been the Wives of one Man, that is, only once married, as the Ancients generally underſtand it, though *Theodoret* gives a different Senſe of the Words, only excluding ſuch as had ſcandalouſly married a ſecond Time after having divorced themſelves from a former Husband; which ſeems to be the true Senſe and Meaning of the Apoſtle, as learned Men [*] now underſtand it. 4. There was ſome Difference between Widows and Virgins in the Ceremony of their Conſecration, at leaſt in the Church of *Rome* in the Time of *Gelaſius*. For in one of his Canonical Epiſtles [*f*] where he ſpeaks of Veiling of Virgins on certain Holidays, and not at other Times, except in caſe of Sickneſs, he peremptorily forbids the Veiling of Widows at any Time, as contrary to Cuſtom and Law, for no Canon had preſcribed it. Which ſeems to argue, that this particular Ceremony was not uſed in their Conſecration. Though it came into Uſe by the Time that the *Ordo Romanus* was written: For there the Form [*g*] of Conſecrating Widows preſcribes that they ſhall be veiled by the Preſbyter, or elſe take a Veil conſecrated by the Biſhop from the Altar, and veil themſelves. But it is no Wonder to find ſuch a Change as this in the *Roman* Church: A diligent Enquirer may find many other that are more conſiderable, which I ſhall no farther purſue, but here put an End to the Diſcourſe concerning the Aſceticks of the Antient Church.

[†] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 22. *Sect.* 4. [*] *See Book* 2. *Chap.* 22. *Sect.* 5. [*f*] Gelaſ. Ep. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucan. Devotis Virginibus, niſi aut in Epiphaniarum die, aut in Albis Paſchalibus, aut in Apoſtolorum Natalitiis ſacrum minime Velamen imponatur, *&c.* Viduas autem velare Pontificum nullus attentet, quod nec Authoritas Divina delegat, nec Canonum forma præſtituit. Ibid. c. 15. [*g*] Ordo Roman. de Conſecr. Viduæ, p. 167. Vidua, ſi ſeipſam vult Deo dare, debet & à Presbytero velari, vel etiam conſecratum ab Epiſcopo velamen de altari accipere, & ipſa ſibi, non Epiſcopus, illud debet imponere.

BOOK VIII.

An Account of the ANTIENT CHURCHES, and their ſeveral Parts, Utenſils, Conſecrations, Immunities, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſeveral Names and firſt Original of Churches among Chriſtians.

SECT. I. *Of the Name* Eccleſia, *and* Ἐκκλησιαστήριον.

HAVING hitherto given an Account of the Perſons, as well Clergy as Laity, that made up the great Body of the Chriſtian Church, I now proceed to ſpeak of Churches in another Senſe, Firſt, As taken for the Material Buildings, or Places of Aſſembly ſet apart for Divine Worſhip; and Secondly, As taken for certain Diviſions, or Diſtricts of Dioceſes, Provinces, Pariſhes, &c. into which the Church Catholick was divided. In ſpeaking of the Firſt it will be proper to begin with their Names, and make a little Enquiry into the firſt Original of Churches among Chriſtians. One of the moſt common Names of Churches, as taken for the Structures or Buildings, is that of *Eccleſia*; which yet among the Antient *Greek* Writers often ſignifies the Aſſembly or Convocation of People met together, either upon Sacred or Civil Affairs, and ſo it is ſometimes uſed in Scripture, *Acts* xix. 40. *Mat.* xviii. 17. And ſo *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* uſes it likewiſe, diſtinguiſhing thus between ἐκκλησιαστήριον, and ἐκκλησία; the ἐκκλησιαστήριον [a] is the Temple or Building made of Wood and Stone, but the ἐκκλησία is the Congregation of Souls, or People that meet therein. And in this Senſe, as St. *Cyril* [b] obſerves, there is a Sort of *Pheronymy* in the Name ἐκκλησία, which is ſo called ἀπὸ τῦ ἐκκαλεῖν, becauſe it is a Convocation of Men ſolemnly called together. But though this be a very antient and common Signification, yet it no leſs uſually occurs in the other Senſe, denoting the Place, or Building it ſelf, [c] where the Congregation met together; and in this Acceptation it is commonly oppoſed both to the Synagogues of the *Jews*, and the Temples of the *Gentiles*; as appears from that noted Paſſage in the Epiſtle of *Aurelian* [d] the Heathen Emperor, where he chides the Senate for demurring about the Opening of the *Sibylline* Books, as if they had been upon a Debate in a Chriſtian Church, and not in the Temple of all the Gods: And from another Paſſage in St. *Ambroſe* [e] where pleading with *Theodoſius* in Behalf of a Chriſtian Biſhop, who had cauſed a *Jewiſh* Synagogue to be ſet on Fire, he asks him, Whether it was fitting that Chriſtians ſhou'd be ſo ſeverely animadverted on for burning a Synagogue, when *Jews* and Heathens had been ſpared who had made Havock of the Churches?

SECT. II. *Of the Names* Dominicum *and* Κυριακὸν, *(whence comes Kyrk and Church) and* Domus Columbæ.

ANOTHER common Name among the *Latins* is *Dominicum*, or *Domus Dei*, God's Houſe, which anſwers to the *Greek* Κυριακὸν, whence with a little Variation we have the *Saxon* Name *Kyrik*, or *Kyrch*, and the *Scotch* and *Engliſh Kyrk* and Church, which are all Words of the ſame Import, denoting a Place ſet apart for the Uſe and Service of God. The Name *Dominicum* is at leaſt as old as *Cyprian*, but he applies it not only to the Church, but to the Lord's Supper [f], and

[a] Iſidor. Peluſ. lib. 2. Ep. 246. ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία, καὶ ἄλλο ἐκκλησιαστήριον, &c. [b] Cyril. Catech. 18. n. 11. p. 270. ἐκκλεσία ἡ καλῶ φερωνύμως, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκαλεῖῦς, καὶ ὁμῦ συνάγειν. [c] Vide Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce, ἐκκλησία. [d] Apud Vopiſcum. Vit. Aurelian. Miror vos, Patres ſancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitaſſe Libris; perinde quaſi in Chriſtianorum Eccleſia, non in Templo Deorum omnium, tractaretis. [e] Ambroſ. Ep. 29. ad Theodoſ. Synagoga incenſa eſt, perfidiæ Locus.——Eccleſia non vindicata eſt, vindicabitur Synagoga? [f] Cypr. de Opere & Eleemoſ. p. 203. Locuples & dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non reſpicis? Quæ in Dominicum ſine Sacrificio venis; quæ partem de Sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, ſumis?

perhaps the *Lord's Day*. For as the Learned Editor [*g*] and others [*h*] have obſerved, the Word *Dominicum* ſignifies three Things in ancient Writers, 1. The *Lord's Day*. 2. The *Lord's Supper*. 3. The *Lord's Houſe*. And *Cyprian*'s Words may be conſtrued to either Senſe: For he thus addreſſes himſelf to a rich Matron. Do you think you rightly celebrate the *Dominicum*, the *Lord's Day*, or the *Lord's Supper*, who have no Regard to the *Corban?* Who come into the *Lord's Houſe* without any Sacrifice, and eat Part of the Sacrifice which the Poor have offered? The ſame Name occurs frequently in other *Latin* Writers, as in *Ruffin*, who brings in the Biſhop who converted the Philoſopher in the Council of *Nice* thus addreſſing himſelf to his new Convert, "Ariſe and follow [*i*] me to "the *Dominicum*, and there receive the Seal of "your Faith, *viz.* Baptiſm in the Church. And St. *Jerom* [*k*] tells us, that the famous Church of *Antioch*, which was begun by *Conſtantine*, and finiſhed and dedicated by *Conſtantius*, had the Name of *Dominicum Aureum*, the Golden *Dome*, for its Richneſs and Beauty. The *Greek* Name Κυριακὸν is frequently to be met with in the Councils of *Ancyra* [*l*], and *Neocæſarea* [*m*], and *Laodicea* [*n*], and *Euſebius*, who ſays [*o*] the perſecuting Emperor *Maximinus* reſtored the Chriſtians their Churches under that Appellation in his Edicts. And *Conſtantine* having built ſeveral Churches, gave them all the Name of Κυριακά, as being dedicated not to the Honour [*p*] of any Man, but him who is Lord of the Univerſe. This is a plain Account of the Name: But whether we may hence conclude with a Learned Man [*q*], that the *Greeks*, and not the *Latins*, were the firſt Planters of Chriſtianity in *Britain*, becauſe of the near Affinity between the Names Κυριακὸν and *Kyrk*, is what I think not ſo plain; but I leave it to every Reader's Judgment to determine.

Tertullian once uſes the Name of *Domus Columbæ*, the Houſe of the Dove, for a Church. For writing againſt the *Valentinian* Hereticks, who affected Secrecy in their Doctrines, he compares them to the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, whoſe Temple was ſo guarded with Doors and Curtains, that a Man muſt be five Years a Candidate, before he could be admitted to the *Adytum* of the Deity, or Secrets of the Sanctuary. Whereas, ſays he, the Houſe of our Dove [*r*] is plain and ſimple, delights in high and open Places, affects the Light, loves the Figure of the Holy Ghoſt, (that is, Fire and Light, as I think *Junius* rightly interprets it) and the Orient or Morning Sun, which is the Figure of Chriſt. The Houſe of the Dove ſeems here to be the ſame as the Houſe of Chriſt, who is pointed out by the Dove, as *Tertullian* words it in the ſame Place, *Chriſtum Columba demonſtrare ſolita eſt:* Or elſe, as Mr. *Mede* [*ſ*] explains it, we may take it for the Houſe of the Dove-like Religion, or the Dove-like Diſciples of Chriſt. For every Way it will be the Name of a Church, as *Tertullian* plainly intended it.

SECT. III. *Of the Diſtinction between* Domus Dei, Domus Divina, *and* Domus Eccleſiæ.

THERE are two other Names of near Affinity with the former, which ſome Readers may be apt to miſtake for Names of Churches, when they are not always ſo; and therefore I cannot let them paſs in this Place without taking Notice of them. The one is *Domus Divina*, and the other *Domus Eccleſiæ*. The firſt of which is of frequent Uſe in the Civil Law, whence it ſignifies not a Church, but the Emperor's Palace, or his Houſe and Family, according to the Stile of thoſe Times, when every Thing belonging to them had the Name of Divine. As *Conſtitutiones Divinæ*, *Divale Præceptum*, *Lex Divalis*, *Literæ Sacræ*, *Oraculum Cæleſte*, and ſuch other Terms, do not ſignify (as one would haſtily imagine) the Sacred Inſpired Writings, or the Laws and Oracles of God, but the Edicts and Conſtitutions of the Emperors, who themſelves were called *Divi*, and thence all Things relating to them ſtiled Divine. Agreeably to this Stile, when the Emperor *Theodoſius*, *Jun.* decrees [*t*], That no one, no not of his own Divine Houſe, ſhould receive Corn in Specie out of the publick Store-Houſes, before it was made into Bread by the publick Bakers: It is plain, by his own Divine Houſe he does not mean the Houſe of God, the Church, but his own Family of *Palatins*, as *Gothifred* rightly explains it. The other Name, *Domus Eccleſiæ*, οἶκος ἐκκλησίας, The Houſe of the Church, is uſed by *Euſebius* in relating the Hiſtory of the Heretick *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, who notwithſtanding that he was depoſed by the Council of *Antioch*, would not remove out of the Houſe of the Church [*u*], and therefore the Fathers appealed to the Emperor *Aurelian* againſt him, who determined, That that Party to whom the Biſhops of *Italy* and *Rome* ſhould write, ſhould have the Houſe delivered up to them; and ſo *Paul* was turned out of the Church with great Diſgrace by the Secular Power. The Queſtion here is, What *Euſebius* means by the Houſe of the Church. Mr. *Mede* [*w*] takes it for the Church it ſelf, and gives a very probable Reaſon for it, becauſe *Euſebius* expounds himſelf, when he ſays,

[*g*] *Bp.* Fell. *in Loc.* [*h*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 2. [*i*] Ruffin. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 3. Si hæc ita eſſe credis, ſurge & ſequere me ad Dominicum, & hujus fidei Signaculum ſuſcipe. [*k*] Hieron. Chron. Olymp. 276. an. 3. In Antiochia Dominicum quod appellatur Aureum, ædificari cœptum. [*l*] Conc. Ancyr. can. 15. [*m*] Conc. Neocæſar. c. 5. [*n*] Conc. Laodic. c. 28. [*o*] Euſeb. lib. 9. c. 10. [*p*] Id. de Laud. Conſt. c. 17. [*q*] Beverege Not. in Can. 15. Conc. Ancyr. [*r*] Tertul. contra Valentin. c. 3. Noſtræ Columbæ Domus Simplex, etiam in editis & apertis, & ad lucem. Amat figuram Spiritus Sancti, Orientem Chriſti figuram, *&c.* [*ſ*] Mede *Diſc. of Chur.* p. 329. [*t*] Cod. Th. lib. 14. Tit. 16. de Frumento Urbis Conſtantinop. leg. 2. Nulli, ne *Divinæ* quidem *Domui* noſtræ, frumentum de horreis publicis pro annona penitus præbeatur, ſed integer Canon Mancipibus conſignetur, annonam in pane cocto domibus exhibendo. [*u*] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 30. [*w*] Mede's *Diſc. of Churches*, p. 333.

Paul

Paul was turned out of the Church: And he uſes the ſame Expreſſion in another Place, where it can ſignify Nothing but the Church, or Houſe of Sacred Aſſembly. For ſpeaking of the Perſecutor *Maximinus* [x], he ſays, He neither allowed the Chriſtians to hold Aſſemblies, nor build Houſes of Aſſembly; which evidently refers to the Building of Churches. But yet in other Places *Domus Eccleſiæ* ſeems to ſignify no more than the Biſhop's Houſe, as in the ſecond Council [y] of *Toledo*, where it is decreed, That ſuch Children as were dedicated by their Parents, in their Infancy, to a Clerical, or Monaſtick Life, ſhould be educated and inſtructed in the Houſe of the Church, under the Biſhop's Eye, by the Provoſt, or Governor, that was ſet over them. This in other Canons is called *Domus Sacerdotalis*, the Biſhop's Houſe, to diſtinguiſh it from the Church.

SECT. IV. *Churches called Oratories, or Houſes of Prayer.*

BUT to proceed: As the Temple of God at *Jeruſalem* is frequently in Scripture ſtiled the Houſe of Prayer; ſo Chriſtian Churches, in Regard that Prayer was one of the principal Offices performed in them, were uſually termed προσευκτήρια, and οἶκοι εὐκτήριοι, *Oratories*, or Houſes of Prayer; of which there are innumerable Inſtances in *Euſebius* [z], *Socrates* [a], *Sozomen* [b] and other antient Writers. But in ſome Canons the Name, *Oratories*, ſeems to be reſtrained to private Chapels, or Places of Worſhip ſet up for Convenience in private Families, ſtill depending upon the Parochial Churches, and differing from them in this, That they were only Places of Prayer, but not for celebrating the Communion; or if that was at any Time allowed there to private Families, yet at leaſt upon the Great and Solemn Feſtivals, they were to reſort for Communion to the Pariſh Churches. *Gratian* [c] cites a Canon of the Council of *Orleans*, which allows ſuch *Oratories*, but forbids any one to celebrate the Euchariſt there. The ſame Privilege is granted in one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels [d], with the ſame Exception. And ſo I think we are to underſtand that Canon of the Council of *Trullo* [e], which allows the Clergy to uſe the publick Offices or Liturgy in ſuch *Oratories*, provided they did it with the Conſent and Approbation of the Biſhop of the Place. For no Mention is made there of adminiſtring the Sacraments in thoſe Places, though the *Latin* Tranſlations put in the Word *Baptizing*, which is not in the Original, and is expreſly forbidden in another Canon [f] of the ſame Council, requiring all Perſons to be baptized in the Catholick, that is, Publick Churches. But the Council of *Agde* [g] in *France* allows the Euchariſt to be adminiſtred in Private Oratories, except upon *Eaſter-Day*, or *Chriſtmas*, or *Epiphany*, or *Aſcenſion*, or *Pentecoſt*, or ſuch other of the greater Feſtivals, and upon theſe too, if they had the Biſhop's Licence and Permiſſion for it. So that in thoſe Ages an Oratory and a Catholick Church ſeem to have differed, as now a Private Chapel and a Parochial Church, though the firſt Ages made no Diſtinction between them.

ANOTHER common Name of Churches is that of *Baſilicæ*, which we may *Engliſh* Palaces of the Great King. This Name frequently occurs in St. *Ambroſe* [h], St. *Auſtin* [i], St. *Jerom* [k], *Sidonius Apollinaris* [l], and other Writers of the fourth and fifth Ages, before which Time we ſcarce meet with it in any Chriſtian Author. For originally the *Baſilicæ* among the *Romans* were the Publick Halls, or Courts of Judicature, where the Princes or Magiſtrates ſat to hear and determine Cauſes; and other Buildings of Publick Uſe, ſuch as State-houſes, and Exchanges for Merchants, *&c.* went by the ſame Name among them. But upon the Converſion of *Conſtantine*, many of theſe were given to the Church, and turned to another Uſe for Chriſtian Aſſemblies to meet in; as may be collected from that Paſſage in *Auſonius* [m], where ſpeaking to the Emperor *Gratian*, he tells him, The *Baſilicæ* which heretofore were wont to be filled with Men of Buſineſs, were now thronged with *Votaries* praying for his Safety. By which he muſt needs mean that the *Roman* Halls or Courts were turned into Chriſtian Churches. And hence, I conceive, the Name *Baſilicæ* came to be a general Name for Churches in After-Ages. Though I know *Durantus* and *Bona* [n] have other Reaſons beſide this for the Appellation, as that it was becauſe Churches were Places where Sacrifice was offered to God the King of all the Earth; or becauſe they were only the more ſtately and magnificent

SECT. V. *Why called* Baſilicæ, *and* ἀνάκτορα.

[x] Euſeb. lib. 9. c. 9. ὃ μὲ σωιόδους ἐπικελεῦον ποιεῖῶς, ἀλ' οἴκους ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομεῖν, &c. *See* lib. 8. c. 13.

[y] Conc. Tolet. 2. can. 1. De his quos voluntas Parentum à primis infantiæ annis in Clericatus Officio vel Monachali poſuit, pariter ſtatuimus obſervandum, ut in Domo Eccleſiæ ſub Epiſcopali præſentia à Præpoſito ſibi debeant erudiri. [z] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 3. It. de Laud. Conſtant. cap. 17. De Vit. Conſt. lib. 3. c. 48. [a] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 18, 19. [b] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 5. [c] Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 1. c. 33. Unicuique Fidelium in domo ſua Oratorium licet habere, & ibi orare: Miſſas autem ibi celebrare non licet. [d] Juſtin. Novel. 58. [e] Conc. Trull. c. 31. τοὺ ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι λειτυργοῦντας κληρικούς, ὡὸ γνώμῳ τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἐπισκόπου. [f] Conc. Trull. c. 58. al. 59. μηδαμῶς ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι βάπτισμα ἐπιτελεῖσθω, &c. [g] Conc. Agathen. can. 21. Si quis etiam extra Parochias, in quibus legitimus eſt ordinariuſque Conventus. Oratorium in agro habuerit, reliquis Feſtivitatibus ut ibi miſſas teneat propter fatigationem Familiæ juſta Ordinatione permittimus: Paſcha vero, Natali Domini, Epiphania Domini, Aſcenſione Domini, Pentecoſte, & Natali S. Johannis Baptiſtæ, & ſi qui maximi dies in Feſtivitatibus habentur, non niſi in Civitatibus aut in Parochiis teneant, *&c.* [h] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellinam de tradendis Baſilicis. [i] Aug. de Diverſis Serm. 12 & 122. [k] Hieron. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Ep. 53. ad Riparium. [l] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 17. Euſeb. *in his Panegyrick, c. 9. uſes the Greek Name,* Ἀνάκτορον. [m] Auſon. Gratian. Actio ad Gratian. pro Conſulatu, p. 190. Baſilica olim negotiis plena, nunc Votis Votiſque pro tua ſalute ſuſceptis. [n] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. 4. 1. n. 9. Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 19. n. 4.

Churches

Churches which had the Title; which is not true in Fact, for ever ſince it came firſt into Uſe, it appears to have been the common Name of all Churches.

SECT. VI. *When firſt called Temples.*

THE like Obſervation is to be made upon the Name, *Temples*, which for the three firſt Ages is ſcarce ever [o] uſed by any Chriſtian Writer for a Church, but only for the Heathen Temples, which were Receptacles of Idols, and Cloyſters of their Gods. But when Idolatry was deſtroyed, and Statues every where demoliſhed, and Temples purged and conſecrated into Chriſtian Churches, then the Writers of the following Ages make no Scruple to give them the Name of Temples. As when St. *Ambroſe* [p] ſays, He could not deliver up the Temple of God, he certainly means the Church, and not an Idol-Temple. So does alſo *Lactantius* [q], when he ſays, he taught Oratory in *Bithynia*, when the Temple of God was deſtroyed; meaning the Church of *Nicomedia*, which was the firſt that was demoliſhed in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution. *Euſebius* ſpeaking of the Churches that were rebuilt after that Perſecution was over, gives them [r] the Name of Temples, and particularly the Church built by *Paulinus*, he calls the Temple of *Tyre* [ſ]. Not to mention other Paſſages of *Chryſoſtom* [t], *Theodoret* [u], *Prudentius* [w], St. *Hilary* [x], St. *Auſtin* [y], and a thouſand more to the ſame Purpoſe; which ſhew that they had no averſion to the Name Temple, when they could ſafely uſe it without Ambiguity, and not be miſtaken to mean the Temples of the Heathen. But from the Name *Phanum* they more religiouſly abſtained, and never uſed it, unleſs it were by way of Contempt, to ſignify their Reſentments againſt ſome Conventicle of Hereticks, whom they uſually put into the ſame Claſs with Heathens. As we may obſerve in St. *Ambroſe* [z], who having occaſion to ſpeak of a Conventicle of the *Valentinians*, will not vouchſafe it the Name of a Temple, or a Church, but a *Phanum*; a Name always appropriated to the Idol-Temples of the Heathens, with whom he parallels the *Valentinians*, as no better than a Pack of Idolatrous *Gentiles* met together, for they worſhipped Idols and Images as the Heathen did.

SECT. VII. *Churches ſometimes called* Synodi, Concilia, Conciliabula, Conventicula.

THERE is one general Name more for Churches, which I muſt not omit, becauſe the Ambiguity of the Expreſſion has led ſome Learned Men into ſtrange Miſtakes about it. *Conſtantine* in one of his Laws in the *Theodoſian* [a] Code calls the Church *Sanctiſſimum Catholicæ Concilium*, which *Alciat* the great Lawyer by miſtake interprets an Eccleſiaſtical Synod; whereas indeed, as *Gothofred* rightly obſerves, it ſignifies there the Church, as in many other Places of the antient Writers. For theſe Words, *Concilium*, *Synodus*, *Conventiculum*, *Conciliabulum*, and the like, are Words of various Acceptation. For though they commonly ſignify Eccleſiaſtical Synods and Councils, yet ſometimes they denote other Aſſemblies of the Church for Divine Service, and thence the Name was transferred from the Aſſembly to denote the Place of the Aſſembly, or the Church, as has been obſerved before upon the Word *Eccleſia*. Thus when St. *Jerom* commends *Nepotian* for adorning the *Conciliabula Martyrum* with Flowers and Branches, he cannot mean Councils of Martyrs, but Churches called by the Names of Martyrs [b]. And ſo again when he ſays, the Perſecutors Rage and Barbarity was ſo exceeding fierce againſt us, that they proceeded to deſtroy our *Conciliabula*, it is evident he means the Chriſtian Churches [c]. As *Gaudentius* muſt be underſtood in one of his Sermons upon the Dedication of a Church [d] which is called *Concilium Martyrum*. The Church-Aſſembly it ſelf is often called by the ſame Name *Concilium*. As in the Paſſion of *Cyprian*, written by *Pontius* his Deacon [e], the Chriſtians are commanded by the Emperor to leave off their *Conciliabula*, or Meetings and Aſſemblies in the *Cemiteries* for the Worſhip of God. So the Word is uſed by St. *Jerom* [f] ſpeaking of the Monks meeting in the Church for Divine Service; and by *Tertullian* [g] for any Church-Aſſembly, when he ſays, the Book of *Hermes Paſtor* was reckoned to be Apocryphal by the univerſal Conſent of every Aſſembly of the Chriſtian Catholick Churches. Now what the *Latins* call *Concilia*, the *Greeks* call σύνοδοι, and therefore it is obſervable, that the Stile of the Imperial Edicts, which in the Paſſion of *Cyprian* forbids Chriſtians *Conciliabula facere*, is in *Euſebius* [h] συν-

[o] Ignatius, Ep. ad. Magneſ. n. 7. *once uſes the Name with ſome Reſtriction, calling the Church* ναὸν θεοῦ, *the Temple of God.*
[p] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Reſpondi quod erat Ordinis, Templum Dei tradi à Sacerdote non poſſe. [q] Lactant. lib. 5. c. 2. Cum ego in Bithynia Literas Oratorias accitus docerem, contigiſſetque ut eodem tempore Dei Templum everteretur, &c. [r] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 2. νεὼς, οὗτις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγειρομένους. [ſ] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. ἐν Τύρῳ νεὼς, &c. [t] Chryſoſt. Hom. 4. de Verbis Eſaiæ. Tom. 3. p. 865. [u] Theodor. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 31.
[w] Prudent. Paſſio Laurentii & Hippolyti. [x] Hilar. Com. in Pſalm. 126. [y] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 8. c. 27.
[z] Ambroſ. Ep. 29. ad Theodoſ. Vindicabitur etiam Valentinianorum Phanum incenſum? Quid enim eſt niſi Phanum, in quo eſt Conventus Gentilium? [a] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 4. [b] Hieron. Ep. 3. Epitaph. Nepotian. Quod Baſilicas Eccleſiæ & Martyrum Conciliabula diverſis floribus & arborum comis, vitiumque pampinis adumbrarit, &c. [c] Hieron. Com. in Zechar. cap. 8. In tantam rabiem Perſecutorum feritas excitata eſt, ut etiam Conciliabula noſtra deſtruerent.
[d] Gaudent. Serm. 17. in Dedicatione Baſilicæ Martyrum.
[e] Pontii Paſſ. Cypr. Juſſum eſt, ut nulla Conciliabula faciant, neque Cœmiteria ingrediantur. [f] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. Poſt hoc Concilium ſolvitur, & unaquæque Decuria cum ſuo Parente pergit ad menſam. [g] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 10. Cederem tibi, ſi Scriptura Paſtoris non ab omni Concilio Eccleſiarum etiam veſtrarum inter Apocrypha & falſa judicaretur. [h] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 11. Vid. lib. 9. c. 2 & 9.

δόσιν ποιᾶδζ, which is a Prohibition not of Eccleſiaſtical Synods, but of all Church-Aſſemblies. For *Synodus* and *Eccleſia*, as *Chryſoſtom* [*i*] obſerves, are Words of the very ſame import and ſignification, and therefore the one may denote a Church, or Church-Aſſembly, as well as the other. And becauſe the *Latin* Name *Conventiculum* in its Original Notation, ſignifies no more than an Aſſembly, it is frequently uſed by ancient Writers for a Church: As by *Lactantius* [*k*], who ſpeaking of the Perſecutors in the Time of *Diocleſian*, ſays, They were eagerly ſet upon ſhedding Chriſtian Blood; for one of them in *Phrygia* burned a whole People together with their *Conventiculum*, or Church, where they were met together. And *Arnobius* [*l*] expreſſes himſelf in the ſame manner, making a like Complaint, "Why did our *Bibles* "deſerve to be thrown into the Flames? Why "did our Churches, our *Conventicula*, deſerve to "be ſo barbarouſly pulled down? By which it appears that the Name *Conventicula* was not as yet appropriated to Heretical Meetings, but when the Ancients had Occaſion to ſpeak of them, they commonly joined the Epithet of Heretical to them, to diſtinguiſh them from the Catholick Churches, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Laws of *Theodoſius* [*m*], and *Arcadius*, and *Honorius* in the *Theodoſian* Code.

SECT. VIII. *Why ſome Churches called* Martyria, Memoriæ, Apoſtoleia, *and* Propheteia.

ALL theſe were general Names of Churches: But there were ſome which had particular Appellations given them upon Reaſons which could not extend to all. And it will not be amiſs in our Paſſage to take Notice of them alſo. Such as were built over the Grave of any Martyr, or called by his Name to preſerve the Memory of him, had uſually the diſtinguiſhing Title of *Martyrium*, or *Confeſſio*, or *Memoria* given them for that particular Reaſon. Thus *Euſebius* [*n*] obſerves of *Conſtantine*, That he adorned his new City of *Conſtantinople* with many Oratories and ample Martyries, by which he at once did Honour to the Memory of the Martyrs, and as it were conſecrated his City to the God of the Martyrs. And from this Time in all Chriſtian Writers of the following Ages, a *Martyry* is always put to ſignify ſuch a Church. *Socrates* ſpeaks [*o*] of the *Martyry* of *Thomas* the Apoſtle at *Edeſſa*, and of *Peter* and *Paul* [*p*] at *Rome*, and of the *Martyry* of *Euphemia* [*q*] at *Chalcedon*, where the Body of that Martyr lay buried, which was the Church where the famous Council of *Chalcedon* was held, whence in the Acts of that Council it is ſo often ſtiled μαρτύριον Εὐφημίας, the *Martyry* of *Euphemia*. And upon the ſame Reaſon, becauſe our Saviour Chriſt was the chief Sufferer, and great Martyr of his own Religion, therefore the Church which *Conſtantine* built at Mount *Golgotha* in Memory of his Paſſion and Reſurrection, is uſally by *Euſebius* [*r*] and others ſtiled *Martyrium Salvatoris*, the *Martyry* of our Saviour, of which the Reader that pleaſes may find a more ample Account given by the Learned *Valeſius* in a particular Diſſertation [*ſ*] about it at the End of *Euſebius*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. The *Latins* inſtead of *Martyrium* commonly uſe the Name of *Memoria Martyrum* for ſuch kind of Churches. As in that noted Paſſage of St. *Auſtin* [*t*], where he ſays, We do not build Temples to our Martyrs as Gods, but only Memorials of them, as dead Men, whoſe Spirits ſtill live with God, nor do we erect Altars to them in thoſe Memorials, or offer Sacrifice thereon to our Martyrs, but to the only God, both theirs and ours. So that when St. *Auſtin* in another Place [*u*] commends *Eradius* his Presbyter for building a Memorial of an Holy Martyr at his own Expence, we are to underſtand, not a Monument, or a Sepulchre, but a Church. And ſo the Name is uſed by *Optatus* [*w*] and ſeveral others. But if the Perſon, in Memory of whom the Church was built, was either a Prophet, or an Apoſtle, then the Church reſpectively took the Name of Ἀποστολεῖον or Προφητεῖον. As we may ſee in *Sozomen* [*x*], who ſpeaks of the *Apoſtoleum* of *Peter* in *Rome*; and again of the *Apoſtoleum* of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Quercus* in the Suburbs of *Chalcedon*, which *Ruffin* the great States-man under *Arcadius* built to the Honour of the Apoſtles, and called it [*y*] an *Apoſtoleum* from them. So in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas* there is mention [*z*] made of the *Propheteum* of St. *Eſaias* the Prophet; as alſo in *Theodorus Lector* [*a*], who ſays, the Reliques of *Samuel* the Prophet were laid up ἐν τῷ προφητείῳ αὐτοῦ, in his *Propheteum*, which can mean nothing elſe but Churches called by their Names, as *Valeſius* rightly expounds it.

[*i*] Chryſoſt. Hom. in Pſal. 149. Tom. 3. p. 632. Ἐκκλησία συστήματός ἐστι καὶ σωμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα. [*k*] Lactant. lib. 5. c. 11. Aliqui ad occidendum præcipites exiterunt, ſicut unus in Phrygia, qui univerſum Populum cum ipſo pariter Conventiculo concremavit. [*l*] Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. 4. p. 152. Noſtra quidem Scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? Cur immaniter Conventicula dirui? in quibus ſummus oratur Deus, &c. Item Ambroſiaſter in Epheſ. 4. p. 948. Ubi omnia loca circumplexa eſt Eccleſia, Conventicula conſtituta ſunt, & Rectores & cætera Officia in Eccleſiis ordinata ſunt. [*m*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 5. de Hæreticis. leg. 10. A Conventiculis ſuis Hæreticæ Superſtitionis turba propulſetur. It. lib. 16. tit. 4. leg. 4. [*n*] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. lib. 3. c. 48. ἐυκτηρίοις πλείοσιν, μαρτυρίοις τε μιμήσοις. [*o*] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 18. [*p*] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. [*q*] Id. lib. 6. c. 6. [*r*] Euſeb. lib. 4. de Vit. Conſtant. c. 40. [*ſ*] Valeſii Epiſtola de Anaſtaſi & Martyrio Hieroſolymitano. [*t*] Aug. de Civ. Dei lib. 22. c. 10. Nos Martyribus noſtris non Templa ſicut Diis, ſed Memorias ſicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt Spiritus, fabricamus; nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus ſacrificemus Martyribus, ſed uni Deo & Martyrum & noſtro. [*u*] Aug. Hom. 50. de Diverſis. Tom. 10. p. 522. De opera ejus & expenſa pecunia Memoriam ſancti Martyris habemus. [*w*] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. p. 1. Præſentes ſunt ibi duorum Memoriæ Apoſtolorum, &c. [*x*] Sozom. lib. 9. c. 10. ἤγαγε εἰς τὸ Ρέτεξ Ἀποστολεῖον, &c. [*y*] Id. lib. 8. c. 17. Ἀποστολεῖον δὲ ἐυτῶν ὠνόμασε. [*z*] Conc. Conſtant. ſub Menna. Act. 3. Tom. 5. p. 67. [*a*] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 568.

SECT. IX. *Why called* Cœmiteria, *and* Menſæ, *and* Areæ.

MUCH the like Account is to be given of two other Names, *Cœmiterium*, and *Menſa*, which we find ſometimes uſed to ſignify Churches. The Chriſtians in times of Perſecution were uſed to meet in private Vaults, or Burying-places, and eſpecially at the Graves, or Monuments, of their Martyrs; as is evident both from the Canons of the Council of *Eliberis* [*b*], which was held in the Heat of the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, and often ſpeaks of their aſſembling in ſuch Places; as alſo from the Edicts of the Perſecuting Emperors, forbidding Chriſtians to hold Aſſemblies in their *Cœmiteries*, as has has been noted [*] before. Now when the Perſecutions were over, Churches were actually erected over the Graves of the Martyrs, and in the Places where the *Cœmiteries* were, and ſo a *Cœmitery*, or a Grave, of a Martyr came to be uſed for the Name of a Church. Thus in the Writings of St. *Auſtin* there is frequent Mention of a Church called *Menſa Cypriani*, where St. *Auſtin* preached ſeveral [*c*] of his Sermons. This was the Place where *Cyprian* ſuffered Martyrdom, which being the Altar on which *Cyprian* was offered a Sacrifice to God, a Church was afterward built there, and an Altar, or Communion-Table, erected therein, for the Chriſtian Sacrifice to be offered to God: And both theſe being a Memorial of *Cyprian*'s Paſſion, they were jointly called by his Name [*d*] *Menſa Cypriani*, *Cyprian*'s Altar, or *Cyprian*'s Church. For though it primarily ſignifies the Altar, yet it is plain it was extended to be the Name of the Church alſo, where St. *Auſtin* preached ſo many Sermons on *Cyprian*'s Day to the People of *Carthage*. The Name *Cœmitery* continued alſo to be uſed in After-Ages for a Church: As appears from one of the Canons of the Council [*e*] of *Laodicea*, which forbids Catholicks to frequent the *Cœmiteries* or *Martyries* of Hereticks, upon Pretence of Prayer, or Divine Service. St. *Chryſoſtom* often uſes the Word τάφοι μαρτύρων, Sepulchres of Martyrs, for Churches. As where he ſays [*f*], "One "might ſee whole Cities running to the Monu- "ments of the Martyrs. And again [*g*], "We "depart not from their Sepulchres; here Kings "lay aſide their Crowns, and continue praying "for Deliverance from Dangers, and for Victo- "ry over their Enemies. Nay he triumphs in this both over *Jews* and *Gentiles*, "That the "Apoſtles in their Deaths were more honoura- "ble than the greateſt Kings upon Earth: For "even at *Rome* [*h*], the Royal City, Emperors, "and Conſuls, and Generals left all, and ran to "the Sepulchres of the Fiſherman and Tent- "maker: And at *Conſtantinople* it was thought "Honour enough by thoſe that wore the Dia- "dem, to lie buried not with the Apoſtles, but "before their Porches, and Kings themſelves "were the Fiſhermens Door-keepers. In all which Places, it is evident, he means Churches by the Sepulchres of the Apoſtles. And ſo *Athanaſius* [*i*], and *Socrates*, and others take the Word *Cœmitery* for a Church. And perhaps St. *Jerom* intends the ſame by the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, when he ſays [*k*] "It was his Cuſtom "when he was a Boy at School in *Rome*, on "*Sundays* to go about and viſit the Sepulchres "of the Apoſtles and Martyrs: But I will not be poſitive of this, becauſe he joins the *Cryptæ*, or Suterraneous Vaults, with them, which in his Time were not Churches; though they were in *Tertullian*'s Time, who calls them *Areæ* [*l*] *Sepulturarum*, telling us, That *Hilarian* the Perſecutor forbad them to hold Aſſemblies there: But this was remarkably puniſhed by the Providence of God: For they who denied the Chriſtians the Liberty of their *Areæ*, had their own *Areæ*, meaning their Store-houſes, or Barn-Floors (which is another Signification of the Word *Area*) taken from them: For they had no Harveſt that Year by the juſt Judgment of God upon them. The Reader will meet with the Name *Area* for a Place of Prayer in the Acts of Purgation of *Cecilian* [*m*] Biſhop of *Carthage*, and other Records of that [*n*] Age of Perſecutions, when they were forced to fly from their Churches above Ground, to their Vaults underneath, and make a Sort of Temporary Churches of them.

SECT. X. *Why* Caſæ, Trophæa, *and* Tituli.

CASA is another Name in the ſame Acts of Purgation of *Cecilian* and *Felix*, which I take to be the Name of a Church alſo [*o*]. For though it might be ſomething doubt-

[*b*] Conc. Eliber. c. 34. Cereos in Cœmiteriis per diem placuit non incendi, &c. It. can. 35. Placuit prohiberi, ne fœminæ in Cœmiterio pervigilent, eo quod ſæpe ſub obtentu Orationis ſcelera latentur committant. [*] *See Sect.* 7. Vid. Onuphrium de Cœmiteriis, cap. 11. [*c*] *See* Serm. 94 & 237. de Diverſis. Serm. 26. ex Editis a Sirmondo. Ser. 38 & 80. in Pſal. *All Preached* ad Menſam Cypriani. [*d*] Aug. Ser. 113. de Diverſis. Sicut noſtris, quicunque Carthaginem noſtris, in eodem loco Menſa Deo conſtructa eſt, tamen Menſa dicitur Cypriani, non quia ibi eſt unquam Cyprianus epulatus, ſed quia ibi eſt immolatus, & quia ipſa immolatione ſua paravit hanc Menſam, non in qua paſcat ſive paſcatur, ſed in qua Sacrificium Deo, cui & ipſe oblatus eſt, offeratur. [*e*] Conc. Laodic. can. 9. περὶ τῶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν εἰς τὸ κοιμητήεια, ἢ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα μαρτύεια πάντων τῶν αἱρετικῶν τοῦ τ ἐκκλησίας, ευκῆς ἢ θεραπείας ἕνεκα, ἀπιέναι. [*f*] Chryſ. Com. in Pſal. 115. Tom. 3. p. 404. σκόπει ὡ ὅπ τ μαρτύρων τοῦ τάφους τὰς πόλεις σωρεχέσας. [*g*] Id. Hom. 1. in Pſal. 48. ibid. p. 812. ἐκ ἀναχωρεῖμεν τ τάφων αὐτῶν, &c. [*h*] Chryſ. Demonſtr. Quod Chriſtus ſit Deus, Tom. 5. p. 839. [*i*] Athan. Apol. 2. ap. Socrat. lib. 2. c. 28. [*k*] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. c. 40. Dum eſſem Romæ puer, & liberalibus ſtudiis erudirer, ſolebam cum cæteris ejuſdem ætatis & propoſiti, diebus Dominicis Sepulchra Apoſtolorum & Martyrum circuire, crebróque Cryptas ingredi, &c. [*l*] Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 3. Sicut ſub Hilariano Præſide, cum de Areis Sepulturarum noſtrarum adclamaſſent, Areæ non ſint: Areæ ipſorum non fuerunt: Meſſes enim ſuas non egerunt. [*m*] Geſta Purgat. Cæcilian. ad Calcem Optati, p. 272. Cives in Area Martyrum fuerunt incluſi. Item p. 277. Tollat aliquis de veſtris in Aream ubi orationes facitis. [*n*] Vide Acta Concilii Cirtenſis ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 24. Paſſio Cypriani. Ejus corpus poſitum eſt in Areis Macrobii Candidi. [*o*] Geſta purgat. p. 272. Nunquid Populus Dei ibi fuit? Saturninus dixit, in Caſa majore fuit incluſus. It. p. 274. Præſens cum populo incluſus in Caſa majore.

ful from that Place alone, yet finding it ſo uſed in other Authors, I conclude it was one of the antient Names of their Churches. For *Bede* tells us [*p*], "The Town of St. *Martins* in *Berni-* "*cia*, a Province of *Britain*, came to be vul- "garly called *Candida Caſa*, *Whitern*, or *Whit-* "*church*, from the Church of Stone which Bi- "ſhop *Ninyas* built in it. And I leave it as a Query, Whether *Caſæ Nigræ* in *Africk*, where *Donatus* was Biſhop, be not beholden to ſome ſuch Circumſtance for its Denomination alſo? But why Churches ſhould be called *Caſæ*, is not very eaſy to conjecture. 'Till a better Reaſon can be found, let us ſuppoſe it to be from the Plainneſs and Simplicity of them, of which we ſhall have ſomething more to ſay in the next Chapter. Mr. *Mede* has obſerved another Name for Churches (which is not very common) in *Caius Romanus*, an ancient Writer, in *Euſebius*, who uſes the Term *Trophæa Apoſtolorum*, as Mr. *Mede* conjectures, to denote two Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* in *Rome* [*q*]. But I confeſs there is ſome Reaſon to queſtion, whether in that Place it means Churches, and not rather the Monuments or Sepulchres of thoſe Apoſtles. For *Euſebius* is only ſpeaking of their Bodies being buried at *Rome*; to confirm which Opinion he quotes that antient Writer in theſe Words; "We can yet [*r*] ſhew the Trophies "of the Apoſtles; for whether you go to the "*Vatican*, or the *Via Oſtienſis*, you may there "ſee the Trophies of thoſe who founded this "Church: Meaning the Church of *Rome*, which was founded by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, whoſe Sepulchres were then to be ſeen, the former in the *Vatican* Hill, and the other in the Way from *Oſtia* to *Rome*. However in After-Ages, when Churches were built over their Sepulchres, then their Trophies became a Name for thoſe Churches, as we may learn from thoſe Words of St. *Jerom* [*s*] to *Marcella*, who lived at *Rome*: "You have there an Holy Church, "you have there the Trophies of the Apoſtles "and Martyrs. For now 'tis certain their Sepulchres were advanced into Churches, and both together called Trophies, as being manifeſt Tokens and Evidences of the Victory which they had gained over their Enemies, by Reſiſting unto Blood, and Triumphing after Death. There is yet another Name, of which it is not eaſy to give ſo exact an Account: That is, Why ſome Churches had the Name of *Tituli* given them peculiarly in *Rome*. In the *Pontifical*, in the Life of *Marcellus* [*t*], it is ſaid of him, That he appointed Twenty Five *Tituli* in *Rome*, for the Convenience of baptizing new Converts. And in the ſame Place one *Lucina*, a Widow, is ſaid to have dedicated her Houſe [*u*] to be made a *Titulus* or Church, where they worſhiped Chriſt Day and Night with Prayers and Hymns, till *Maxentius* the Tyrant hearing of it, turned the Church into a Stable, and forced *Marcellus* to be the Keeper of it. Theſe are ſuppoſed to be the ſame as Pariſh Churches, erected for the Convenience of adminiſtring Divine Offices, as the Multitude of Converts encreaſed in *Rome*. But why they were called *Tituli*, is not exactly agreed among learned Men. *Baronius* [*w*] will have them to be ſo called, becauſe they had the Sign of the Croſs upon them, by which Sign or Title they were known to belong to Chriſt, as Things which belonged to the Emperor's Exchequer were known to be his by an appendant Veil, which had either his Image, or his Name, by way of Title, inſcribed upon it. But it does not appear that the Sign of the Croſs was ſo early fix'd upon Churches; or if it were, that it was the peculiar Diſtinction of a Pariſh-Church; for no doubt the Cathedral, or Biſhop's Church, had that Sign as ſoon as any others. Mr. *Mede* [*x*] offers two other Reaſons, and leaves the Reader to determine, whether they were ſo called, becauſe by their Dedication the Name of Chriſt our Lord was as it were inſcribed upon them, as the Manner then was to ſet the Names or Titles of the Owners upon their Houſes and Poſſeſſions; and ſo it would concur in Notion with thoſe other Names of Κυριακὸν and *Baſilica*, the Lord's, and the King's; or whether becauſe they gave a Title of Cure, or Denomination to the Presbyters to whom they were committed. This laſt I take to be the true Reaſon of the Name, till one more probable can be thought of. As to the Fancy of *Onuphrius*, that the Number of theſe *Tituli* [*y*] was exactly the ſame with that of Cardinal-Presbyters now, and never exceeding the Number of Twenty Eight, it is an Imagination without ground: For *Optatus* ſpeaks of above Forty Churches in *Rome* before the Time of the laſt Perſecution, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew more fully in the next Book.

SECT. XI.

Of Tabernacles, and Minſters, and ſome other leſs uſual Names of Churches.

THERE are ſeveral other leſs uſual Names of Churches in antient Writers, which I need not ſtand upon. Such as *Limina Martyrum*, the Houſes of the Martyrs, uſed [*z*] by St. *Jerom*; σηκὸς and τέμενος, Words

[*p*] Bed. Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 4. Qui locus ad Provinciam Bernicioruin pertinens, vulgo vocatur, Ad Candidam Caſam, eo quod ibi Eccleſiam de lapide, inſolito Britonibus more, fecerit.
[*q*] Mede's *Diſcourſe of Churches*, p. 328. [*r*] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 25. ἐγὼ δ' τὰ τρόπαια τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι, &c. [*s*] Hieron. Ep. 18. ad Marcellam. Eſt quidem tibi ſancta Eccleſia, ſunt Trophæa Apoſtolorum & Martyrum. *So* Gildas de Excid. Britan. & Bede Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 8. *call them* ſigna Victricia Martyrum. Euſebius de Laud. Conſtant. c. 17. τρόπαια νικητήρια. [*t*] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli: Hic fecit Cœmiterium Via Salaria, & viginti quinque Titulos in Urbe Roma conſtituit, quaſi Diœceſes, propter Baptiſmum & pœnitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex Paganis, & propter Sepulturas Martyrum. [*u*] Pontifical. ibid. Lucina domum ſuam nomine Tituli beati Marcelli dedicavit. ubi die noctuque hymnis & orationibus Domino Jeſu Chriſto confitebantur, *&c.* Vid. Pii Epiſt. 2. ad Juſtum Vien. Presbyter Paſtor Titulum condidit. *&c.* [*w*] Baron. an. 112. n. 6. [*x*] Mede's *Diſc. of Churches*, p. 328. [*y*] Onuphr. Interpret. Vocum Eccleſiaſtic. p. 91. [*z*] Hieron. Ep. 15. ad Marcellam.

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of the ſame Import with Temple, which we ſometimes meet with in *Theodoret* [a], *Syneſius* [b], and *Evagrius* [c]. In *Euſebius Domus Synaxeos* [d] ſometimes occurs in the Reſcripts of Heathen Emperors for Chriſtian Churches, which ſignifies no more but Houſes of Aſſembly. *Chryſoſtom* ſtiles them the Seat of Doctrine [e] from the Exerciſe of Preaching therein. And many ſuch Names are to be met with, which need no Explication. But there are two Names more uſed by *Euſebius*, which ſome Learned Men have greatly miſtaken. In one Place, ſpeaking of the *Therapeutæ* in *Egypt*, whom he reckons the firſt Chriſtians converted by St. *Mark*, and deſcribed covertly by *Philo-Judæus*, he gives their Churches the Names of σεμνεῖα and μοναστήρια, which ſome miſtake for Monaſteries in the Modern Senſe; whereas *Euſebius* [f] ſays expreſly, it was the Name which *Philo* gave, not to their Habitations, but their Churches. For, ſays he, *Philo* having deſcribed their Habitations, afterward ſpeaks thus of their Churches in that Region: "In every one of their Dwellings there is a "Sacred Houſe or Chapel, which they call their "*Semneum* or Monaſtery, where they perform "the Religious Myſteries proper to their holy "Life. For hither they bring nothing ever of "Meat, or Drink, or other Bodily Neceſſaries, "but only their Laws, and inſpired Oracles of "their Prophets, their Hymns, and whatever "elſe tends to augment and conſummate a Life "of Piety and Knowledge." This is not the Deſcription of a Monaſtery in the Modern Senſe, but of a Church, and ſo we ſee the Name was firſt uſed, as it is at this Day among the *Germans*, who hence call ſome of their Churches *Munſters*, as we do *Minſters*, which were heretofore Collegiate Churches and Schools of Learning, like St. *Auſtin*'s Monaſtery-Church, of which I have given an Account in the former Book. This is farther confirmed, becauſe *Euſebius* joins the Name σεμνεῖον to Monaſtery to explain it, which by the beſt Criticks, antient and modern, *Heſychius*, *Budæus*, *Suicerus* and others, is reckoned to ſignify a Temple or Place of Divine Service. *Euſebius* has yet another Name for a Church, which I mention only becauſe it is liable to the ſame Miſtake. He gives it the Name of Tabernacle: Which is only a private Appellation, belonging peculiarly to moveable, or travelling Churches. For *Euſebius* ſpeaking of *Conſtantine*'s intended Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, ſays, "That among his other Preparations for that "War, he erected himſelf [g] a Tent, or Tabernacle, in the Form of a Church, in which "he might continually make his Supplications "to God, the Giver of Victory, with the Biſhops and Clergy that were to attend him in "his Expedition." *Socrates* [h] ſpeaking of the ſame Thing, compares it to the Tabernacle that *Moſes* ſet up in the Wilderneſs, and ſays, "*Conſtantine* did it, that he might have a decent "and convenient Oratory, εὐκτήριον ἡυτρεπισμένον, in the moſt deſert and barbarous Places "through which he was to travel." And from this Example, as *Sozomen* [i] obſerves, it became a Cuſtom throughout the *Roman* Army, for every Legion to have their Tabernacle, and Prieſts, and Deacons appointed to attend the Service of it.

SECT. XII. *Of the Diſtinction between* Eccleſia Matrix *and* Diœceſana.

WHILST I am upon this Head, it will not be amiſs to give the Reader an Account of two other Words, which have ſome Relation to this Subject, and by their Ambiguity are often miſtaken and confounded, that is, *Eccleſia Matrix* and *Diœceſana*, which ſeem to be Words of the ſame Importance, but are often very different from one another. *Eccleſia Matrix*, a Mother-Church, is ſometimes taken for an Original Church planted immediately by the Apoſtles, whence others were derived and propagated afterward. So *Tertullian* [k] calls thoſe Churches, to which the Apoſtles preached either *viva voce*, or by their Epiſtles, by which all Doctrines are to be judged. And in this Senſe the Church of *Jeruſalem* is called the Mother of all Churches in the World by the ſecond general Council of *Conſtantinople* [l]: And *Arles* the Mother-Church of *France*, becauſe ſuppoſed to be planted [m] by the Apoſtles Miſſionary, *Trophimus*, firſt Biſhop of the Place. At other times a Mother-Church denotes a Metropolis, or the Principal Church of a ſingle Province, as in ſome of the *African* [n] Canons, where *Matrix* is uſed ſometimes for the Primate's See, to which other Biſhops were to have recourſe for Judgment and Deciſion of Controverſies. But moſt commonly it ſignifies a Cathedral, or Biſhop's-Church, which was uſually termed the Great Church, and the Catholick Church, and the Principal See, in oppoſition to the leſſer *Tituli*, or Pariſh Churches committed to ſingle Presbyters. Thus in the *African* Code, the matter is plain, in one Canon every Biſhop is prohibited to alienate, or ſell the Goods of the Mother-Church [o]; and Presby-

[a] Theodor. ſer. de Martyr. [b] Syneſ. Ep. 58. [c] Evagr. lib. 1. c 14. lib. 6. c. 8. [d] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 8. Vid. Geſta Purgationis Cæciliani. [e] Chryſoſt. Hom. 2. in Joh. [f] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 17. Εἶθ' Ἑξῆς, τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὁποῖαί τίνες ἦσαν διαγράψας, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτα σφίσιν. ἐν ἑκάστῃ δ' οἰκίᾳ ἔστιν οἴκημα ἱερὸν, ὃ καλεῖται σεμνεῶν καὶ μοναστήριον. ἐν ᾧ μυούμενοι τὰ τῆς σεμνῆς βίου μυστήρια τελοῦσιν, &c. [g] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. c. 56. Τὴν σκηνὴν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χήματι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνε τοῦ πολέμου ἐξέτασιν σὺν πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ κατεσκάζετο. [h] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 18. [i] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 8. [k] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 21. Conſtat proinde omnem Doctrinam, quæ cum illis Eccleſiis Apoſtolicis Matricibus & Originalibus fidei conſpiret, veritati deputandam. [l] Epiſt. Synodic. ad Damaſum ap. Theodoret. lib. 5. c. 9. τὴ δὲ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, &c. [m] Libellus Precum Epiſcopor. Gallor. ad Leon. ap. Baron. an. 450. p. 125 Cujus honoris obtentu Eccleſiam Arelatenſem omnes Deceſſores, Prædeceſſoreſque noſtri vel ut Matrem debito ſemper honore coluerunt, &c. [n] Cod. Afric. can. 119. al. 120. μὴ προκριμαλιεῖῃ ἐν τῇ ματρικῇ. Non præjudicetur in Matrice, &c. [o] Cod. Afric. can. 33. Non habente neceſſitatem, nec Epiſcopo liceat Matricis Eccleſiæ, nec Presbytero rem Tituli ſui uſurpare.

ters the Goods belonging to their Titles. The *Greek* Translation of this Canon is here imperfect and corrupt, as *Suicerus* [p] has rightly obſerved, and by it *Cujacius* and others have been led into a Miſtake to expound *Matrix* by *Matricula*, the Catalogue or Books of the Church, whereas it means the Cathedral, or Biſhop's Church. As alſo in another Canon [q], which ſays, If any Biſhop is negligent to deal with Hereticks in the Mother-Church, he ſhall be admoniſhed of his Fault by the Neighbouring Biſhops, that he may have no Excuſe. The Mother-Church is here the Biſhop's-Church, or that which required both his Care and Reſidence, as the Principal Church of the Dioceſe. This by *Fulgentius Ferrandus* [r] is plainly oppoſed to other inferior Churches in the Dioceſe, upon which only Presbyters reſided, both when he ſays, That the Judgment of the Mother-Church ſhall be ſufficient in the Election of a Biſhop: And again, That the Biſhop of the Mother-Church ſhall not uſurp any Thing that is given to the Churches in the Dioceſe. Theſe Churches in the Dioceſe are the ſame as we now call Pariſh-Churches; though they themſelves are ſometimes termed Dioceſes, in the Pontifical [s] and the *African* [t] Canons; and in ſome other Canons [u] *Eccleſiæ Diœceſanæ*, Dioceſan Churches; as in the Council of *Tarraco*, which obliges all Biſhops to viſit their Dioceſes, once a Year; to ſee that no Dioceſan Church, that is, no Church within the Dioceſe, was out of Repair. So that a Mother-Church and a Dioceſan-Church in that ancient Stile, differ'd as now a Cathedral and a Pariſh-Church with us. The Mother-Church being otherwiſe called the Principal See [w], *Principalis Cathedra*, where the Biſhop was obliged continually to reſide: And ſometimes the Catholick Church, as *Valeſius* has obſerved [x] out of *Epiphanius* [y] and *Nicephorus* [z], in oppoſition to the leſſer Churches that were ſubject to it. Though, as I noted before, the Council of *Trullo* calls every Baptiſmal Church a Catholick [a] Church, in oppoſition to private Oratories, where Baptiſm was not allowed to be adminiſtred. It was neceſſary for me to be thus particular about the Names of Churches in the Entrance upon this Book, becauſe ſome of them are curious, and others ambiguous, that the Reader might find them explained at once, and not be at a loſs about Terms upon every Occaſion in the following Diſcourſe.

SECT. XIII. *Proofs of Churches in the Firſt Century, collected by Mr. Mede.*

OUR next Enquiry is into the Original of Churches, that is, when Chriſtians began to ſet them a-part for Divine Service? A very ſingular Paradox has been advanced by ſome Learned Men in theſe laſt Ages, that for the three Firſt Ages the Chriſtians had no ſuch diſtinct Places of Worſhip; grounding upon ſome miſtaken Paſſages of *Origen*, *Minucius Felix*, *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, who ſay, The Chriſtians had no Temples; which they take for a Denial of their having any Churches. Which Opinion, tho' advanced with ſome ſhew of Learning by *Vedelius* [b], *Suicerus* [c], and others, is altogether without ground, contradicted by the Authors which they allege, and by themſelves who aſſert and maintain it. Mr. *Mede* has an Elaborate Diſcourſe in confutation of this Opinion, wherein he has learnedly collected the Authorities of the Ancients, which for the three Firſt Ages prove the Being of Chriſtian Churches. I ſhall briefly, for the ſake of thoſe who have not that Author at hand, relate the Subſtance of his Proofs, and add ſome others to his Collections. In the firſt Place he ſhews that the Ancients, St. *Auſtin* [d], St. *Baſil* [e], and the Author under the Name of St. *Jerom*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Sedulius*, *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, in their Comments on that *Paſſage* of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. xi. 22. *Have ye not Houſes to eat and drink in? or deſpiſe ye the Church of God?* took the Word *Church* there not for the Aſſembly, but for the Place ſet apart for ſacred Duties. And that the Apoſtles always met together in a certain Place for Prayer and Supplication upon Mount *Sion*, which was the *Hyperoon*, or *Cœnaculum*, the upper Room ſo often mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles; where the Apoſtles were aſſembled, when the Holy Ghoſt came upon them, *Acts* ii. where our Saviour celebrated his laſt Supper; where he appeared to his Diſciples two *Sundays* one after another after his Reſurrection, *Joh.* xx. The Place where the Seven Deacons were elected and ordained, *Acts* vi. And where the firſt Council of *Jeruſalem* was held, *Acts* xv. Which Place was afterwards encloſed with a goodly Church, called the Church of *Mount Sion*, and the upper Church of the Apoſtles in the Time of *Cyril* [f] Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and St. *Jerom* [g]. That this was the οἶκος, or Houſe of Aſſembly mentioned *Acts* ii. 46. where the Apoſtles continued breaking of Bread; that is, celebrating the Euchariſt after their return from the Temple. For he thinks with many other Criticks, that the Word ἐν οἴκῳ, is not to be tranſlated, *from Houſe to Houſe*, but *in the Houſe*, or Place where the Aſſembly was uſed to

[p] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce μάτριξ. [q] Cod. Afr. can. 123. Si in Matricibus Cathredis Epiſcopus negligens fuerit adverſus Hæreticos, conveniatur à vicinis Epiſcopis, &c. [r] Ferrand. Breviat. Canon c. 11. Ut ad eligendum Epiſcopum ſufficiat Matricis arbitrium ex Concil. Septimunicenſi & Concil. Macrianenſi. Item c. 38. Ut Epiſcopus Matricis non uſurpet quicquid fuerit donatum Eccleſiis, quæ in Diœceſi conſtitutæ ſunt. Ex Concil. Hipponiregienſi. [s] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Hic viginti quinque Titulos in Urbe Roma conſtituit, quaſi Diœceſes propter Baptiſmum, &c. [t] Cod. Afric. can. 53 & 56. [u] Conc. Tarracon. can. 8. Reperimus nonnullas Diœceſanas Eccleſias eſſe deſtitutas. Ob quam rem hac Conſtitutione decrevimus, ut annuis vicibus ab Epiſcopo Diœceſes viſitentur. [w] Con. Carthag. 5. c. 5. Placuit, ut nemini ſit facultas relicta Principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Eccleſiam in Diœceſi conſtitutam ſe conferre. [x] Valeſ. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. 1. p. 553. [y] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 69. n. 1. [z] Niceph. lib. 22. c. 15. [a] Conc. Trull. c. 58. al. 59. [b] Vedel. Exercit. in Ignat. Ep. ad Epheſ. c. 4. [c] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce ναὸς, p. 388. [d] Aug. Quæſt. 57. in Levitic. [e] Baſil. Regul. Major. Q. 30. Regul. Minor. Q. 310. [f] Cyril. Catech. 16. [g] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ.

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meet together. His next Argument is drawn from what *Euſebius* [*h*] obſerves of the Θεραπευταὶ in *Egypt*, whether *Eſſens* or Chriſtians, that they had their σεμνεῖα, or Places appropriated for Divine Worſhip, from the Days of St. *Mark*. And that ſuch Places are to be underſtood in all thoſe Paſſages of St. *Paul*, which ſalute [*i*] the Churches in ſuch or ſuch an Houſe; that is, the Congregations that met in the Houſes of ſuch pious Chriſtians, as had beſtow'd ſome part of their Dwellings, to be an Oratory for the Church to aſſemble in. Such a *Cœnaculum* is deſcribed by *Lucian*, or whoever was the Author of the Dialogue called *Philopatris*, about the Time of *Trajan*, where he brings in one *Critias* telling how the Chriſtians carried him into an *Hyperoon*, the Place of their Aſſembly, with a Deſign to make him a Proſelyte to their Religion. He argues farther, from the Tradition of the Church derived from the antient Author of the Recognitions under the Name of *Clemens Romanus*, which [*k*] ſays that *Theophilus*, to whom St. *Luke* is ſuppoſed to inſcribe his Goſpel, at *Antioch*, did convert his Houſe into a Church. And the like is reported of the Houſe of *Pudens*, a *Roman* Senator and Martyr, in the *Acta Pudentis*, that it was turn'd into a Church after his Martyrdom. He concludes this firſt Century with the Teſtimony of *Clemens Romanus*, in his genuine Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which ſays, [*l*] That God has ordained as well appropriate Places where, as appropriate Times and Seaſons when and whereby he would be ſolemnly ſerved, that all Things might be done religiouſly, and in order.

SECT. XIV. *Proofs in the Second Century.*

IN the next Age he ſhews, That *Ignatius* in his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians* [*m*] exhorts them to meet together in one Place, which he calls τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ, the Temple of God; and in his Epiſtle to the *Philadelphians* [*n*] he ſays, there was one Altar to every Church, and one Biſhop with his Presbytery and Deacons. The preſent *Greek* Copies, indeed, read it a little different from Mr. *Mede*, leaving out the Word Church, but the mentioning one Altar is ſufficient to intimate they had then a ſtated Place for their Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly. In the ſame Age *Pius* Biſhop of *Rome* wrote two ſhort Epiſtles to *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Vienna* in *France*; in the firſt of which one *Euprepia* [*o*], a pious Matron is ſaid to have conſigned the Title of her Houſe over to the Church to celebrate Divine Offices in: And in the other, one *Paſtor* a Presbyter, is commended for erecting a *Titulus*, that is, a Church, before his Death [*p*] *Clemens Alexandrinus* toward the End of this Century uſes the Name *Eccleſia* for the Place of the Aſſembly, as well as the Congregation. For ſpeaking of the Church, he ſays, I call not now [*q*] the Place, but the Congregation of the Elect, the Church. And ſo in his famous Homily, *Quis dives ſalvetur*, he brings in the *Aſian* Biſhop, to whom St. *John* committed the young Man to be trained up in the Chriſtian Diſcipline, complaining, that the Youth was become a Villain and a Robber, and now inſtead of the Church [*r*] had betaken himſelf to the Mountains, with a Company like himſelf. By this it is plain, that in his Time the Word *Eccleſia* was taken for a Place of Sacred Aſſembly, as well as for the Aſſembly it ſelf.

SECT. XV. *Proofs in the Third Century.*

IN the Third Century the Teſtimonies are both more numerous and plain. *Tertullian* clearly intimates they had Churches, when complaining againſt Chriſtians who followed the Trade of Idol-making for the *Gentiles*, only excuſing themſelves that they did not worſhip them, he ſays, "The Zeal of Faith [*s*] cannot but declaim all "the Day long upon this Point, bewailing that "any Chriſtian ſhould come from among his "Idols into the Church, that he ſhould come "into the Houſe of God from the Shop of his "Enemy, and lift up thoſe Hands to God the "Father, which were the Mothers, or Makers, "of Idols." In another Place [*t*] he calls the Church *Domus Columbæ*, the Houſe of the Dove, meaning either Chriſt, or his Dove-like Religion, as I have explain'd it [*] before. And again he expreſly diſtinguiſhes between the Baptiſtery and the Church, which, in thoſe Days, were Places ſeparate one from another, ſaying, "When "we are come to the Water [*u*] to be baptiz'ed, we not only there, but alſo ſomewhat "before in the Church, under the Hand of the "Miniſter, make a publick Declaration, That "we renounce the Devil, and his Pomp, and "his Angels." *Tertullian* is followed by *Hippolytus* [*w*], who deſcribing the Signs of the Coming of Antichriſt, ſays, "The Temples of God "ſhall be as common Houſes, the Churches "ſhall every where be deſtroyed." But I lay no Streſs upon this Paſſage, becauſe the Work is ſpurious, and of later Date than it pretends to be, as Biſhop *Uſher* has proved, and *Combefis* confeſſes as much, who publiſhed the genuine Piece of *Hippolytus de Chriſto & Antichriſto*, where no ſuch Paſſage is to be found [*x*]. But we have

[*h*] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 17. [*i*] *See Rom.* 16. 3, 5. *Coloſ.* 4. 15. 1 *Cor.* 16. 19. *Philem.* 1, 2. [*k*] Recognit. lib. 10. n. 71. [*l*] Clem. Ep. 1. ad Cor. n. 40. [*m*] Ignat. Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 7. [*n*] Epiſt. ad Philadelph. n. 4. [*o*] Pii Ep. 1. ad Juſtum. Soror noſtra Euprepia Titulum domus ſuæ Pauperibus aſſignavit; ubi nunc cum Pauperibus noſtris commorantes, Miſſas agimus. [*p*] Id. Ep. 2. Presbyter Paſtor Titulum condidit, & digne in Domino obiit. [*q*] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. ἐ νῦν τὸν τόπον. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ. [*r*] Ap. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 17. & in Bibl. Patrum Combefis. νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄρη καλεῖται, &c. [*s*] Tertul. de Idol. c. 17. Tota die ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit, ingemens Chriſtianum ab Idolis in Eccleſiam venire, de adverſaria officina in Domum Dei venire, attollere ad Deum Patrem manus matres Idolorum. [*t*] Tertul. adv. Valent. c. 2. [*] *See before Sect.* 2. [*u*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, ſed & aliquanto prius in Eccleſia, ſub Antiſtitis manu, conteſtamur nos renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ, & Angelis ejus, *&c.* [*w*] Hippolyt. de Conſummat. Mundi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 346. οἱ ναοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς οἶκοι ἔσονται, ὃ καταρρᾳὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν παντάχοῦ γενήσονται. [*x*] Vid. Combefis. Auctuar. Noviſſim. p. 57.

an authentick Teſtimony in the ſame Age, from an Heathen Author. For *Lampridius* in the Life of *Alexander Severus* [y] reports of him, "That "there happening a Diſpute between the Chri- "ſtians and the Victuallers, but a certain pub- "lick Place, each Party challenging it as their "own; the Emperor's Reſcript determin'd it "thus in Favour of the Chriſtians, That it was "better that God ſhould be worſhipped there "after any Manner, than that it ſhould be given "up to the Victuallers." About the Middle of this Age lived the famous *Gregory* of *Neocæſarea*, ſirnamed *Thaumaturgus*, who himſelf built ſeveral Churches in *Neocæſarea*, and the adjacent Parts of *Pontus*, as *Gregory Nyſſen* [z] reports in his Life; and alſo wrote a Canonical Epiſtle, wherein are deſcribed the ſeveral Claſſes, or Stations [a] of Penitents, in the reſpective Parts of the Church: But becauſe ſome Learned Men queſtion, whether that Part of his Epiſtle be not rather a Comment and Addition by ſome other Hand, I lay no greater Weight upon it than it will bear, but only obſerve, That the ſame Claſſes of Penitents may be collected from other Canons in that Epiſtle, which are allowed to be Genuine. About the ſame Time St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of the Place of their Aſſembly under the Name of *Dominicum* [b], The Lord's Houſe, as has been noted before; and in another Place oppoſes the Church and the Capitol, the Altar of the Lord, and the Altars of Images and Idol-Gods to one another: For ſpeaking againſt ſome that had lapſed, and without due Penance were for intruding themſelves into the Church again; if this were once permitted, ſays he, "What "then remains [c] but that the Church ſhould "give way to the Capitol, and the Prieſts "withdraw, and take away the Altar of the "Lord with them, and let the Images and Idol- "Gods, with their Altars, ſucceed and take "Poſſeſſion of the Sanctuary, where the vene- "rable Bench of our Clergy ſit?" About this Time alſo *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, ſpeaks of Churches as appropriate to the Service of God, reſolving this Queſtion, "Whether a Wo- "man in the Time of her Separation might en- "ter [d] into the Houſe of God?" It appears farther from the Reſcript of *Gallienus* the Emperor, recorded by *Euſebius* [e], where he reſtores the Chriſtians their Churches, under the Name of τόποι θρησκεύσιμοι, worſhipping Places: And from what has been noted before out of the Letter of *Aurelian* [f], which chides the Senate for demurring about opening the *Sibyllin* Books, as if they had been conſulting, not in the Capitol, but in a Chriſtian Church: As alſo that other Reſcript of his in *Euſebius* [g], which at the Requeſt of the Council of *Antioch*, ordered *Paulus Samoſatenſis* to be turned out of the Houſe of the Church. But the Teſtimony of *Euſebius* goes far beyond all others: For ſpeaking of the peaceable Times, which the Chriſtians enjoyed from the Perſecution of *Valerian* to that of *Diocleſian*, he obſerves, "That the Num- "ber of Chriſtians ſo grew and multiplied in "that Fifty Years, that their ancient Churches "were not large enough to receive them, and "therefore they erected from the Foundations "[h], more ample and ſpacious ones in every "City.

SECT. XVI. *The Objection from* Lactantius *and* Arnobius *anſwer'd.*

THE only Objection againſt all this, made with any Colour, is drawn from ſome of the ancient Apologiſts, *Origen* [ij] *Minucius Felix* [i], *Arnobius* [k], and *Lactantius* [l], who ſeem to ſay, "That the Chriſtians in "their Time had no Temples, or Altars, nor "ought to have any. But, as Mr. *Mede* ſhews at large, this is only ſpoken againſt ſuch Temples as the Heathens pleaded for, in the Notion of Encloiſtering the Deity by an Idol. For otherwiſe, the very Authors, from whom the Objection is drawn, muſt ſtrangely contradict themſelves. For *Arnobius* [m] owns they had their *Conventicula*, Houſes of Aſſembly, which he complains were barbarouſly deſtroyed in the laſt Perſecution. And *Lactantius* [n] ſays the ſame, giving them alſo the Name of the Temples of God, which *Diocleſian* order'd to be demoliſh'd, when he taught Oratory in *Bithynia*. And *Origen* himſelf ſpeaks [o] of adorning the Chriſtian Churches and Altars, in one of his Homilies upon *Joſhua*, tranſlated litterally by *Ruffin*.

SECT. XVII. *Some Additional Collections upon this Head.*

THUS far Mr. *Mede* goes in his Collections, and Anſwer to this Objection; to which I ſhall add a few Things which he has not obſerved. *Lactantius*, in another Place of his *Inſtitutions* [p], ſpeaks of one of the Chriſtian *Conventicula*, in a Town in *Phrygia*, which the Heathen burnt, with the whole Aſſembly in it. And in his Book *de Mortibus Perſecutorum*, publiſh'd ſince Mr. *Mede*'s Death, he gives a more particular Account of the Deſtruction of Churches throughout the World. For he not only mentions the Demoliſhing the ſtately Church of *Nicomedia* [q], but intimates that the ſame Fate attended the Churches over all the World. For even in *France*, where the mild *Conſtantius* ruled, the Perſecution went ſo far as to pull

[y] Lamprid. Vit. Alex. c. 49. Cum Chriſtiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupaſſent, contra Popinarii dicerent, ſibi eum deberi; reſcripſit, Imperator, Melius eſſe ut quomodocunque illic Deus colatur, quàm Popinariis dedatur. [z] Greg. Nyſſ. Vit. Greg. Thaumatur. Tom. 3. p. 567. [a] Gregor. Thaumaturg. Epiſt. Canon. c. 11. [b] Cypr. de Oper. & Eleemoſ. *See Sect.* 2. [c] Cypr. Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. Quid ſupereſt, quam ut Eccleſia Capitolio cedat, & recedentibus Sacerdotibus, ac Domini Altare removentibus, in Cleri noſtri Sacrum venerandumque Conſeſſum Simulacra atque Idola cum aris ſuis tranſeant? [d] Dionyſ. Ep. Canon. c. 2. [e] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 13. [f] *See before Sect.* 1. Ex Vopiſco Vit. Aurelian. [g] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 30. *cited Sect.* 3. [h] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 1. [ij] Origen. cont. Celſum, lib. 8. p. 389. [i] Minuc. Octav. p. 29. [k] Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 6. [l] Lactant. lib. 2. c. 2. [m] Arnob. lib. 4. p. 152. *cited before Sect.* 7. [n] Lactant. lib. 5. c. 2. *cited Sect.* 6. [o] Origen. Homil. 10. in Joſhua. [p] Lact. l. 5. c. 11. [q] Lact. de Mort. Perſecut. c. 13. Illud editiſſimum paucis horis ſolo adæquarunt.

down

down the Churches [r], though the Men, the true Temples of God, were ſpared, and ſheltered under his gentle Government. *Lactantius* lived in *France* at this Time, being Tutor to *Criſpus* the Son of *Conſtantine*, and Grand-ſon of *Conſtantius*, and therefore he could not be miſtaken in his Relation. So that we muſt interpret *Euſebius* by him, when he [s] ſays, "*Con-*" *ſtantius* deſtroyed no Churches: That is, He gave no poſitive Orders, as the other Emperors did, to deſtroy them, but he connived at ſuch as pulled them down, in Policy to ſatisfy the other Emperors, and make the Walls compound for the Lives and Safety of the Perſons. However it was, both *Euſebius* and *Lactantius* agree in this, That there were Churches in *France* before the laſt Perſecution. We have the like Account of the Churches of *Britain*, given by *Gildas*, who ſays [t] in general of laſt the Perſecution, "That "it occaſioned Churches all over the World to "be deſtroyed, and particularly in *Britain*; for the "Chriſtians built them new again from the "Ground when the Perſecution [u] was over, "and founded others beſide them, to be as ſo "many publick Monuments and Trophies of "their Martyrs. *Optatus* [w] takes Notice of Forty Churches in *Rome* before the laſt Perſecution, which being taken from the Chriſtians, were afterward reſtored to them, by the Order of *Maxentius*, as St. *Auſtin* [x] more than once informs us. In *Africk* we read of ſome Churches that were demoliſhed in this Perſecution, as at *Zama* and *Furni*, mentioned in the *Geſta* [y] *Purgationis* of *Cecilian* and *Felix*. Others were taken away, and in the mean time, 'till they were reſtored again, both Councils, and Church-Aſſemblies, were held in Private Houſes, as *Optatus* [z] obſerves of the Council of *Cirta*, and St. *Auſtin* after him, who ſays, "It was not to "be wonder'd at, that a few Biſhops ſhould "hold a Council [a] in a Private Houſe in the "Heat of Perſecution, when the Martyrs made "no Scruple in the like Caſe to be baptized in "Priſon, and Chriſtians met in Priſon, to cele-"brate the Sacrament with the Martyrs. But not to multiply Inſtances of this Nature, the very Tenor of the Imperial Edicts, which raiſed the laſt Perſecution, is undeniable Evidence, That the Chriſtians in all Parts of the World had then their publick Churches, to which they reſorted ſo long as they had Opportunity to frequent them. For *Euſebius* [b] ſays, "The "Edicts were ſent over all the World, com-"manding the Churches to be levell'd with the "Ground, and the Bibles to be burnt." Which is alſo noted by *Theodoret* [c], St. *Jerome* [d], and the Acts of Purgation of *Cecilian* and *Felix* [e], at the End of *Optatus*. So that a Man might as well queſtion, Whether the Chriſtians had Bibles, as whether they had Churches before the laſt Perſecution. The Defenders of the contrary Opinion here, always give up the Cauſe, and contradict themſelves: For when they have urged the Authority of *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, againſt Chriſtians having any Temples, they are forced to confeſs from the aforeſaid Evidences, That they had Churches whilſt *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* lived, that is, within the third Century; which is to grant and deny the ſame Thing, and load both themſelves and thoſe ancient Authors, with a manifeſt Contradiction. To the Teſtimonies cited by Mr. *Mede* in the Middle of the third Century, the Reader may add that remarkable Story told by *Euſebius*, concerning the Martyr *Marinus*, *An.* 259. in the Time of *Gallienus*. "*Marinus* being a Candi-"date for a *Roman* Office at *Cæſarea*, was in-"formed againſt as a Chriſtian by an Antagoniſt, "who pleaded, That he ought not to have the "Office upon that ſcore: The Judge upon Ex-"amination finding it to be ſo, gives him three "Hours time to conſider, whether he would "quit his Religion, or his Life. During this "Space, *Theotecnus*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, meets "with him, and taking him by the Hand, car-"ries him [f] to the Church, and ſets him by "the Holy Table, then offers him a Bible and "a Sword, and bids him take his Choice. He "readily, without any Demur, lays his Hand "upon the Bible; whereupon the Biſhop thus "beſpake him: *Adhere*, ſays he, *adhere to God*, "*and in his Strength enjoy what thou haſt choſen*, "*and go in Peace*. With this he immediately "returns from the Church to the Judge, makes "his Confeſſion, receives his Sentence, and dies "a Martyr." Who that reads this Story, can queſtion, whether the Worſhipping Places which *Gallienus* is ſaid a little before [g] to have reſtored to the Chriſtians, were properly Churches, with Holy Tables or Altars in them? To the Teſtimonies cited from *Tertullian*, may be added one more, where he plainly diſtinguiſhes the Parts of their Churches, as the Diſcipline of their Penitents then required. For, ſpeaking of the Unnatural Sins of Uncleanneſs, he ſays, "All "ſuch [h] Monſters were excluded, not only

[r] Ibid. c. 15. Conſtantius, ne diſſentire videretur a majoribus Præceptis, Conventicula, id eſt, Parietes, qui reſtitui poterant, dirui paſſus eſt, verum autem Dei Templum, quod eſt in hominibus, incolume ſervavit. [s] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 13. μήτε τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθελών. [t] Gildas de Excid. Britan. in initio. Ad perſecutionem Diocletiani Tyranni novennem, in qua ſubverſæ per totum mundum ſunt Eccleſiæ, &c. [u] Ibid. Renovant Eccleſias ad ſolum u que deſtructa, Baſilicas ſanctorum Martyrum fundant, conſtruunt, perficiunt, ac veluti victricia ſigna paſſim propalant. Vide Bedæ Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 6 & 8. *who ſpeaks almoſt in the Words of* Gildas. [w] Optat. lib. 2. p. 49. Quadraginta Baſilicas. [x] Aug. Brevic. Collat. 3. die. c. 18. It. lib. poſt Collationem c. 13. [y] Geſta Purgat. p. 276. Et Zama & Furnis dirui Baſilicas & uri Scripturas vidi. [z] Optat. lib. 1. p. 39. Apud Cirtam Civitatem, quia Baſilicæ necdum fuerant reſtitutæ, in domum Urbani Chariſi Conſederunt, &c. [a] Aug. Brevic. Collat. Die 3. c. 17. Non eſſe incredibile, quod in privatam domum pauci illi Epiſcopi Perſecutionis tempore convenerunt, ut fervente Perſecutione etiam in carcere doceantur Baptizati Martyres, & illic à Chriſtianis celebrata Sacramenta, ubi Chriſtiani propter eadem Sacramenta tenebantur incluſi. [b] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 2. [c] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 39. [d] Hieron. Com. in Zecha. cap. 8. [e] Geſta Purgat. p. 277. Ubi Scripturæ inveniuntur, ipſa Domus diruitur. [f] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 15. ὁπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγει, εἶσω τε παρὰ αὐτὸν σήσας τῷ ἁγιάσματι, &c. [g] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 13. [h] Reliquas autem Libidinum furias impias, & in Corpora & in ſexus, ultra jura naturæ, non modo Limine, verum omni Eccleſiæ Tecto ſubmovemus, quia non ſunt delicta, ſed Monſtra. Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 4.

"from

" from the Nave, or Body of the Church, but " from every Part of it; they were obliged to " ſtand without Door in the open Air, and not " allowed to come under the Roof of it. This Diſcipline was in the Church of *Antioch*, in the Time of *Babylas*, *An.* 247, when, according to the Account given by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*i*] and *Euſebius* [*k*], *Babylas* excluded the Emperor *Philip* from the Church, with all his Guards about him, on *Eaſter*-Eve, and would not ſuffer him to pray with the Faithful, 'till he had ſet himſelf in the Place of the Penitents, μετανοίας χώρα *Euſebius* calls it, and there made Confeſſion of his Crimes. I ſtand not now critically to enquire into the Truth of this Hiſtory, which ſome Learned Men [*l*] queſtion, and others defend [*m*]: It is ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe, that both *Euſebius* and St. *Chryſoſtom* give us ſuch an Account of the antient Churches, as neceſſarily ſuppoſes them diſtinct from common Habitations, in the Middle of the Third Century. Nay, St. *Auſtin* [*n*], and the Author of the Comments, under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [*o*], ſay expreſsly, " That " as ſoon as the Religion of Chriſt was planted " in the World, Churches were built, to pray " for Kings, and all that are in Authority, *&c.* according to the Apoſtle's Direction, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1. upon which St. *Auſtin* founds the Uſe and Building of Churches. I lay no Streſs upon the Martyrologies, nor ſuch Writers as *Abdias Babylonius*, and *Anacletus*, which ſpeak of Churches built in *Perſia* by *Simon* and *Jude*, and at *Alexandria* by St. *Mark*, and at *Rome* by St. *Peter*, becauſe theſe are late and ſpurious Writings: But yet, if we may judge of the Firſt Converſions, by thoſe that happened in the Time of *Conſtantine*, we may conclude, that as ſoon as any People were converted, they provided themſelves Churches for Divine Service. As when *Frumentius* had converted the *Indians*, *Socrates* [*p*] ſays, " He im- " mediately built Churches among them; which is confirmed by *Ruffin*, who not only takes Notice of that, but ſays farther, " That before he " had converted them, meeting with ſome *Roman* " Merchants that were Chriſtians, he encouraged " them to build themſelves [*q*] *Oratories* in all " Places, whither they might reſort for Prayer, " after the Cuſtom of the *Romans*. *Theodoret* [*r*], and *Socrates*, and *Ruffin* obſerve the ſame in the Converſion of the Nation of the *Iberians*, by a Captive Woman, who taught them to build Churches after the *Roman* Form; which they did, and then ſent Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantine* [in whoſe Time both theſe Converſions happened] to deſire him to ſend them Prieſts, to carry on the Work they had thus begun, and to miniſter in their Churches. Now we may reaſonably conclude, That ſome ſuch Thing was obſerved in all Converſions from the very firſt, allowing for the Difference betwixt Times of Perſecution and Times of Peace. For though they had not ſuch publick and ſtately Edifices at ſome Times, as they had at others; yet they always had Places peculiarly ſet apart for Divine Worſhip, before the peaceable Reign of *Conſtantine*, as the Evidences, produced above, do undeniably prove.

CHAP. II.

Of the Difference between Churches in the Firſt Ages, and thoſe that followed: And of Heathen Temples and Jewiſh Synagogues converted into Chriſtian Churches.

SECT. I. *The Firſt Churches very ſimple and plain.*

THE only remaining Objection againſt what has been advanced in the laſt Chapter, is taken from a Paſſage or two of the Ancients, which ſeem to imply, that there was a great Difference between the Apoſtolical Age and thoſe that followed, in Reference to this Buſineſs of Churches. *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* treating of this Matter, ſays, " In the Apoſtles Days there " were [*a*] no Churches, that is, Buildings, or " Temples, when Spiritual Gifts abounded, and " an Holy Converſation was the bright Ornament of the Church: But in our Days the " Buildings are adorned more than is neceſſary, " whilſt the Church is faln into Diſgrace: And " therefore, were I at Liberty to chuſe, I ſhould " rather have wiſhed to have lived in thoſe Days, " when there were no ſuch beautified Temples, " but yet the Church was crowned with Divine " and Heavenly Graces; than in theſe Days, " when Temples are adorn'd with all kinds of " Marble, but the Church is depriv'd of all thoſe " Spiritual Gifts. Theſe Words, if they be taken in the ſtricteſt Senſe, may ſeem to import, that in the Age of the Apoſtles there were no Churches builded; for beyond the Apoſtolical Age he carries not the Compariſon: But I rather take him to mean, that the Apoſtles had not ſuch Churches as they had in his Time, that is, ſo ſtately and magnificent, ſo rich and beautiful as many in

[*i*] Chryſoſt. cont. Gentil. Tom. 1. p. 741. ἡ βατιλέα τῶ τ ἐκκλησίας πρϑύρων ἐξήλασε, &c. Vid. p. 748. [*k*] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 34. [*l*] Cave Prim. Chriſt. p. 46. [*m*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 247. n. 6. Huetius Origenian. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 12. [*n*] Aug. cont. Fauſt. lib. 12. c. 36. Ex hoc quippe illis credentibus conſtructa ſunt Domicilia Pacis, Baſilicæ Chriſtianarum Congregationum. [*o*] Ambroſ. in Epheſ. 4. Ubi omnia loca circumplexa eſt Eccleſia, Conventicula conſtituta ſunt, *&c.* [*p*] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. ἐυκτήρια πολλὰ ἱδρύσε, &c. [*q*] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9. Monere cœpit, ut Conventicula per loca ſingula facerent, ad quæ Romano Ritu Orationis cauſa confluerent. [*r*] Theod. lib. 1. c. 23. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 20. Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 10. [*a*] Iſidor. Peluſ. lib. 2. Ep. 246. ὅτι μὲ τῶ Ἀποςόλων ἐκκλησιας ἦεια ἐκ ἦῶ, &c.

After-ages. Which is certainly true: For in the firſt Converſion of any Nation, the Churches were always anſwerable to the State and Condition the Converts were in, which was commonly a State of Perſecution, when not many Rich, not many Noble were called. Nay, even in thoſe Places, where Kings gave Encouragement to the Propagation of the Faith, Churches were another Thing from what they are now, as we may learn from the Hiſtory of our own Nation. "There was a Time, *Bede* tells us, when there "was not a Stone-Church in all the Land, but "the Cuſtom was to build them all of Wood: "And therefore when Biſhop *Ninyas* built a "Church of Stone, it was ſuch [*b*] a Rarity "and unuſual Thing among the *Britains*, that "they call'd the Place *Candida Caſa*, *Whitern*, "or *Whitchurch* upon it. The ſame Author tells us [*c*], "That *Finan*, the Second Biſhop of "*Lindisfarne*, or *Holy Iſland*, ſince call'd the Bi-"ſhoprick of *Durham*, built a Church in the Iſland "fit for a Cathedral See, which yet was not of "Stone, but only Timber ſawed, and covered "with Reed; and ſo it continued, 'till *Eadbert* "the Seventh Biſhop took away the Reed, and "cover'd it all over, both Roof and Sides, with "Sheets of Lead. No one after this will wonder at the Account which *Sulpitius Severus* [*d*] gives of the Churches of *Cyrene*, in the Deſerts of *Libya*, when he tells us, "He went with a "Presbyter into one of them, which was made "of ſmall Rods interwoven one with another, "and not much more ſtately and ambitious than "his own Houſe, in which a Man could hardly "ſtand upright. But the Men who frequented "theſe Churches were Men of the Golden Age "and Pureſt Morals; they neither bought or "ſold any Thing; they knew not what Fraud "or Theft was; they neither had, or deſir'd to "have Silver or Gold, which other Mortals ſet "ſuch a Value upon. For, ſays he, when I "offer'd the Presbyter Ten Pieces of Gold, he "refuſed them, telling me with ſome Greatneſs "of Mind, That the Church was not built with "Gold, but rather unbuilt by it, *Eccleſiam auro "non ſtrui, ſed potius deſtrui, altiore Conſilio po-"teſtatus:* Theſe Inſtances may ſerve to explain *Iſidore*'s Meaning when he ſays, "The Apoſto-"lical Age had no Churches, or not ſuch rich "and noble Structures, as the Peace, and Affluence, and Emulation of After-ages commonly "produced.

SECT. II. *Reaſons for enlarging and altering the State of Eccleſiaſtical Structures.*

INDEED there were many viſible Reaſons, why the State of the Structures muſt needs alter in Proportion to the Advancement of the State of Religion it ſelf. For Times of Peace and Perſecution looked with a very different Aſpect, and had a very different Influence upon the Affairs of the Church. Perſecution was always attended with Poverty, Paucity of Believers, and unſettled Hopes: So that either they needed not ſtately and ſumptuous Buildings, or they were not able to erect them; or at leaſt they had no Invitation and Encouragement to do it, whilſt they were under daily Apprehenſions of ſeeing them plundered or demoliſhed almoſt as ſoon as they had erected them. But in Times of Peace great Multitudes of Converts forſook the Temples, and came over to the Church, and thoſe many times Perſons of Fortune and Quality: And in ſome of the Heathen Reigns the Church enjoyed a more ſerene and un-interrupted Gale of Tranquillity, as in that happy Interval of near Fifty Years, between the Death of St. *Cyprian* and the laſt Perſecution: And then there was a Neceſſity to build more ample and ſtately Churches, and they had Ability to do it, and were not without Hopes of continuing to enjoy their Works of Piety in a ſettled and laſting Peace. So that then, in that promiſing Interval, as *Euſebius* [*e*] obſerves, when *Diocleſian*'s Court and Family were almoſt all become Chriſtians, and great Multitudes of Believers in all Cities came over daily to the Faith; their antient Fabricks could not contain them, but they built them more ample and ſpacious Churches in every City from the Foundation. And when many of theſe had been deſtroyed in the long *Decennial* Perſecution, they were again rebuilt from the Ground more lofty and beautiful than they were before, as the ſame *Euſebius* [*f*] words it, as ſoon as *Conſtantine* had revived the Chriſtians Hopes, by publiſhing his Edicts in Favour of their Religion.

SECT. III. *Particularly the Munificence of Chriſtian Emperors contributed toward this.*

BUT now there were two other Reaſons concurred, after the Emperors were become Chriſtians, which contributed much toward the State and Magnificence of Chriſtian Churches. Which were, *Firſt*, The great Liberality and Munificence of the Emperors themſelves, who were at great Expence in erecting many Noble Fabricks in ſeveral Cities to the Honour of Chriſt: And, *Secondly*, Their Orders for converting Heathen Temples into Churches. *Conſtantine* ſpared no Charge to erect, beautify and adorn Churches in all Parts of the *Eaſt*, as at *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Nicomedia*, *Mambre*, *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, and many other Places, of which the Reader, that pleaſes, may find a particular Account in *Euſebius* and [*g*] *Socrates*: But eſpecially at *Conſtaminople*, where, among others, he built the Beautiful Church called *Eccleſia Conſtantiniana*, to the Memory of the Twelve Apoſtles; which, as *Euſebius* [*h*] deſcribes it,

[*b*] Bede, Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 4. Vulgo vocatur, Ad Candidam Caſam, eo quod ibi Eccleſiam de Lapide, inſolito Britonibus more, fecerit. [*c*] Bede, lib. 3. c. 25. Finan in Inſula Lindisfarnenſi fecit Eccleſiam Epiſcopali Sedi congruam. Quam tamen more Scotorum, non de Lapide, ſed de Robore Secto, totam compoſuit atque arundine texit.—— Sed Epiſcopus loci illius Eadbert, ablata arundine, eam totam, hoc eſt, & Tectum & ipſos quoque Parietes ejus plumbi laminis co-operire curavit. [*d*] Sulpit. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 2. Erat vilibus contexta virgultis, non multo ambitioſior quàm noſtri Hoſpitis tabernaculum, in quo niſi incurvus quis non poterat conſiſtere, *&c.* [*e*] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 1. [*f*] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 2. [*g*] Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. lib. 3. c. 50 & 51. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 16, 17, 18. [*h*] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. lib. 4. c. 58.

" was vaſtly high, and yet had all its Walls co-
" ver'd with Marble, its Roof overlaid with
" Gold, and the Outſide, inſtead of Tiles, co-
" ver'd with gilded Braſs. He alſo laid the Foundation of the famous Temple call'd *Sancta Sophia*, and *Magna*, which was finiſhed and dedicated Thirty Four Years after by his Son *Conſtantius*, *An.* 360, who joined the Temple of Peace to it (which was another Church built by *Conſtantine*) including them both in one, as *Socrates* [*i*] and the Author of the *Chronicon* [*k*] *Alexandrinum* inform us. *Conſtantine*'s Example was followed by the ſucceeding Emperors, but more eſpecially by *Juſtinian*, who among many other Works of this nature, rebuilt the Church of St. *Sophia*, which had been burnt down in the Time of *Anaſtaſius*. And now it became the Glory of the World for its Greatneſs, curious Architecture, Richneſs and Beauty; inſomuch that *Juſtinian* himſelf, having finiſh'd it, was heard to ſay νενίκηκά σε Σολομών, *I have outdone Thee*, Solomon. They who are deſirous to read the particular Deſcription of this Church, may find it briefly delineated in *Evagrius* [*l*], *Procopius* [*m*] and *Agathias* [*n*], but more fully and exactly by *Paulus Silentiarius*, and his Learned Commentator *Du Freſne*, whoſe accurate Knowledge in theſe Matters exceeds all that ever came before him. I have extracted out of him ſuch Obſervations as I thought neceſſary to my own Deſign, but they that pleaſe to peruſe the whole, may find it at the End of *Johannes Cinnamus*, among the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians publiſh'd at *Paris*, 1670.

SECT. IV. *As alſo their Orders for converting Heathen Temples into Churches.*

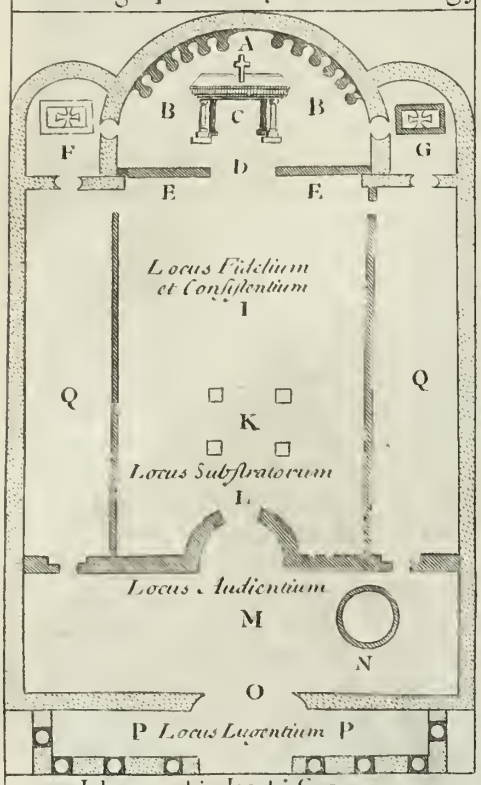
THE other Reaſon, which I ſaid contributed toward the Magnificence of Chriſtian Churches, was the Orders of ſeveral Emperors for converting Heathen Temples into Churches. At firſt indeed, whilſt the Reformation from Heatheniſm was in its Infancy, no Idol-Temples were made Uſe of as Churches, but they were either permitted to the Heathen for ſome Time, or elſe ſhut up, or demoliſhed. 'Till the 25th Year of *Conſtantine*, i. e. *An.* 333, the Temples were in a great meaſure tolerated; but in that Year he publiſh'd his Laws, commanding Temples, Altars and Images to be deſtroyed, which Laws are ſometimes referr'd to in the *Theodoſian* [*o*] Code. And purſuant to theſe Laws a great many Temples were defaced in all Parts of the World, and their Revenues confiſcated, as appears not only from the Chriſtian Writers, St. *Jerom* [*p*], and *Euſebius* [*q*], and others, but alſo from the Complaints of the Heathen Writers, *Eunapius* [*r*], *Libanius* [*s*] and *Julian* [*t*]. In ſome of the following Reigns alſo the ſame Method was taken, to ſhut up, or to deface the Temples, as is evident from the Account which *Ruffin* [*u*] gives of the general Deſtruction of them in *Egypt*, by the Order of *Valentinian*. But in the next Reign, in the Time of *Theodoſius*, another Method was taken with ſome of them. For, as *Gothofred* obſerves [*w*] out of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *An.* 379, " *Theodoſius* turned the famous Temple of *Helio-*
" *polis*, called *Balanium*, into a Chriſtian Church,
" ἐποίησε αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν χριστιανῶν. And about the ſame Time, *Socrates* tells us, " That when
" *Valens* had baniſhed the two *Macarii*, the
" Heads of the *Egyptian* Monks, into a Pagan
" Iſland, they converted all the Inhabitants, and
" turned [*x*] their Temple into the Form of a
" Church. The like was done by the famous Temple of the *Dea Cœleſtis* at *Carthage*, by *Aurelius* the Biſhop, in the Time of *Honorius*, *An.* 399, which the Author of the Book *de Prædictionibus*, under the Name of *Proſper* [*y*], tells with this remarkable Circumſtance, " That it had been
" dedicated before by one *Aurelius* an Heathen
" High-Prieſt, with this Inſcription, *Aurelius*
" *Pontifex dedicavit*, which our Author ſays was
" left in the Frontiſpiece, to be read by all the
" People, becauſe by God's Providence it was
" fulfill'd again in *Aurelius* the Biſhop, for whom
" it ſerved as well as the former *Aurelius* when
" he had once dedicated it to the Uſe and Ser-
" vice of the Chriſtian Religion, and ſet his Chair
" in the Place of the Goddeſs. Not long after this, *Honorius*, *An.* 408, publiſh'd two Laws in the Weſtern Empire, forbidding the Deſtruction of any more Temples in Cities, becauſe they might ſerve for Ornament, or Publick [*z*] Uſe, being once purg'd of all unlawful Furniture, Idols and Altars, which he ordered to be deſtroyed, where-ever they were found. Theſe Laws, as *Gothofred* rightly obſerves, ſeem to have been publiſhed at the Inſtance of the *African* Fathers, who, as appears from one of the Canons [*a*] of the *African* Code, petitioned the Emperor, that ſuch Temples as were in the Country only and private Places, not ſerving for any Ornament, might be deſtroyed. *Arcadius* publiſhed ſuch another Law for the *Eaſtern* Empire, which relates only to the Deſtruction of Temples in

[*i*] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 16. [*k*] Chron. Alex. an. 360. p. 685. [*l*] Evagr. lib. 4. c. 31. [*m*] Procop. de Ædific. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 1. [*n*] Agath. lib. 5. [*o*] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Sepulchris violatis, Leg. 2. [*p*] Hieron. Chronic. an. 332. [*q*] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. lib. 3. c. 54. [*r*] Eunap. Vit. Ædeſii. [*s*] Liban. Orat. pro Templis, p. 9. Et Orat. Apologetic. 26. p. 591. [*t*] Julian. Orat. 7. p. 424. [*u*] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 28. [*w*] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Pagan. Leg. 25. [*x*] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 24. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῶν ναῶν εἰς ἐκκλησίας τύπον μεταποιήσαντες, &c. [*y*] Proſper. de Promiſſion. lib. 3. c. 38. Antiſtes Aurelius, cœleſtis jam Patriæ civis, Cathedram illic loco Cœleſtis & habuit, & ſedit. Ipſe tunc aderam cum ſociis & amicis, atque [ut ſe adoleſcentium ætas impatiens circumquaque vertebat] dum curioſi ſingula quæ prò magnitudine inſpicimus, mirum quoddam & incredibile noſtro ſe ingeſſit aſpectui, Titulus æneis grandioribuſque literis in Frontiſpicio Templi conſcriptus, Aurelius Pontifex dedicavit. Hunc legentes populi mirabantur. Præſago tunc Spiritu acta, quæ præſcius Dei ordo certo iſto ſine concluſerat. [*z*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 10. de Pagan. leg. 18. Ædes inlicitis rebus vacuas, ne quis conetur evertere. Decernimus enim, ut Ædificiorum quidem ſit integer Status. It. Leg. 19. Ædificia ipſa Templorum, quæ in Civitatibus vel oppidis, vel extra oppida ſunt, ad Uſum publicum vindicentur: Aræ locis omnibus deſtruantur. [*a*] Cod. Afric. Can. 58.

Country-

ICHNOGRAPHIA TEMPLORUM ORIENTALIUM.

Ichnographia Templorum Beveregij



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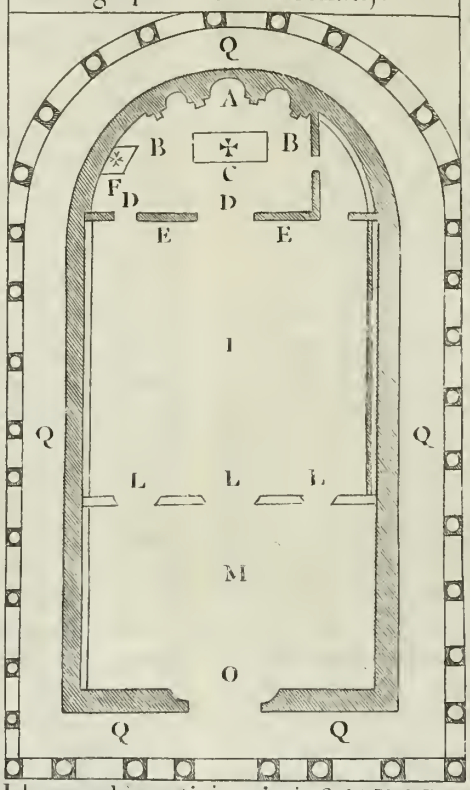

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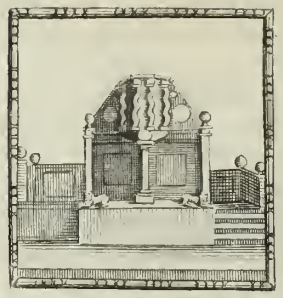
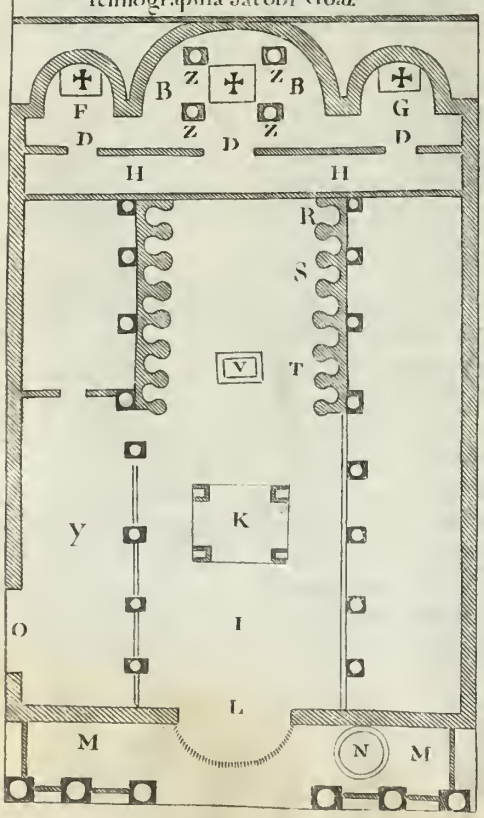


A *Synthronus*
B *S Bema*
C *Altare*
D *Porta Sancta*
E *Cancelli Bematis*
F *Prothesis*
G *Diaconicum*
H *Solea*
I *Naos*
K *Ambo*
L *Portæ Speciosæ*
M *Narthex*
N *Baptisterium*
O *Magnæ Portæ*
P *Porticus*
Q *Circuitus*
R *Locus Episcopi extra S. Bema*
S *Locus Diaconorum*
T *Locus Lectorum*
V *Pulpitum*
X *Sedes Imperialis*
Y *Locus Mulierum*
Z *Ciborium*

Ichnographia Jacobi Goar



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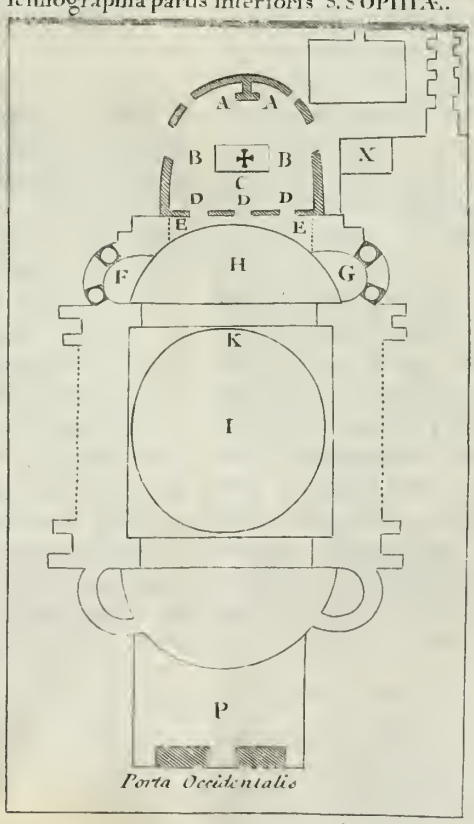


Sturt sculp.

Country-Places, [b] and not in Cities, where now there was no such Danger of Superstition, since they might be converted to a better Use. And upon this ground the Author under the Name of *Prosper* [c] commends *Honorius* for his Piety and Devotion, because he gave all the Temples with their adjacent Places to the Church, only requiring the Idols to be destroyed. 'Tis true indeed, after this we find a Law of *Theodosius* Junior, [d] commanding all Temples to be destroyed. But as *Gothofred* seems rightly to interpret it, "The Word *Destroying* in that Law "is to be understood only of Despoiling them of "their Superstition; because it follows in the "same Law, that they were to be expiated by "placing the Sign of the Cross upon them, "which was a Token of their being turned into "Churches. And his Observation may be confirmed farther from what *Evagrius* [e] reports of *Theodosius*, "That he turned the *Tychæum*, or "Temple of *Fortune* at *Antioch*, into a Church, "called by the Name of *Ignatius*. The like was done by a great Temple at *Tanis* in *Egypt*, as *Valesius* [f] has observed out of the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* the Martyr. *Cluver* also in his Description of *Italy*, takes notice of a Place in the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, called *Sacraria*, betwixt *Fulginum* and *Spoletum*, near the Head of the River *Clitumnus*, which he thinks [g] was originally no other than the Temple of *Jupiter Clitumnus*; though another Learned Antiquary [h] makes it something doubtful as to the present Church now standing there. However, we have seen Instances enough of this Practice; and *Bede* [i] tells us, "That *Gregory* the Great gave *Austin* the Monk "Instructions of the same nature, about the "Temples here among the *Saxons* in *Britain*, "That if they were well built, they should not "be destroyed, but only be converted from the "Worship of Devils to the Service of the True "God. And so he observes it was done at *Rome*, where not long after *Boniface* IV. turned the Heathen Temple, called the *Pantheon*, into the Church of *All Saints* [k], in the Time of the Emperor *Phocas*. Sometimes the Temples were pulled down, and the Materials were given to the Church, out of which new Edifices were erected for the Service of Religion, as *Sozomen* [l] and *Russin* [m] particularly observe of the Temples of *Bacchus* and *Serapis* at *Alexandria*. I have already shewed [*] out of *Ausonius*, that the *Roman* Halls, or *Basilicæ*, were likewise turned into Churches. The like is reported of some *Jewish* Synagogues by the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, who takes notice particularly [n] of a Synagogue of the *Samaritans* in a Place called *Gargarida*, which *Zeno* the Emperor converted into a large Christian Church.

And tho' it is not agreed by Learned Men, whether the Temples said to be built by *Hadrian*, were intended for the Worship of himself, or the Worship of Christ; for *Casaubon* [o] and *Pagi* [p] think he designed them for himself, whilst *Huetius* [q] defends *Lampridius* his Relation, who says, "He design'd them for the Ho-"nour of Christ; yet it is certain, that after they had been used to other Purposes, they were at last, some of them, turned into Christian Churches. For *Epiphanius* [r] says, "There was "a great Temple at *Tiberias*, called the *Hadria-*"*num*, which the *Jews* made use of for a Bath, "but *Josephus Comes*, the converted *Jew* in the "Time of *Constantine*, turned it into a Church. And the like was done by another of them by *Athanasius* at *Alexandria*, having before been the Hall or Palace of *Licinius*, as the same *Epiphanius* [s] informs us. So that now, partly by the Munificence of the Emperors, building Churches at their own Charge, and partly by their Orders for converting Heathen Temples into Churches, and partly by the great Liberality and Zeal of Private Christians in Times of Peace, Churches became another Thing from what they were in former Ages, that is, more noble and stately Edifices, more rich and beautiful; under which Advantage we are next to take a View of them in the following Part of this Book.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Forms and Parts of the Antient Churches: And First of the Exterior Narthex, *or* Ante-Temple.

SECT. I. *Churches antiently of different Forms.*

IT may easily be collected from what has been discoursed in the former *Chapter*, that antiently Churches were not all built precisely in one Form, or Figure. For since both Heathen Temples and Publick Halls were turned into Churches, it can hardly be imagined, that all these should happen to be built exactly in the same Form. Nor in-

[b] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 10. de Pagan. Leg. 16. Si qua in agris Templa sunt, sine turba & tumultu diruantur. His enim dejectis, omnis superstitionis materia consumetur. [c] Prosper de Promiss. lib. 3. c. 38. Honorius Christiana Religione ac Devotione præditus. Templa omnia cum suis adjacentibus spatiis, Ecclesiis contulit: Simulque eorum simulacra confringenda in potestatem dedit. [d] Cod. Th. ibid. Leg. 25. Cuncta eorum Fana, Templa, Delubra, si qua nunc etiam restant integra, præcepto Magistratuum destrui, Conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ Religionis signi expiari præcipimus. [e] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 16. σηκὸς ἐναγὴς ἢ τέμενος ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰγνατίου τὸ πάλαι τυγχάνον γένους. [f] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 21. Immensum fuit ibi Templum, quod modo est Ecclesia. [g] Cluver. Ital. Vetus, p. 702. [h] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. p. 124. [i] Bede lib. 1. c. 30. [k] Bede lib. 2. c. 4. [l] Sozomen. lib. 7. c. 15. [m] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 17. [*] *See Chap.* 1. *n.* 5. [n] Chron. Alex. an. 10. Zenon. p. 757. ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν, ἣν ἦσαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον γαργαρίδιν, ἐκκλησίαν οἶκον μέγαν, &c. [o] Casaubon. Not. in Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Severi. p. 170. [p] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 134. n. 4. [q] Huet. Demonstrat. Evangel. Propos. 3. p. 65. [r] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Ebionit. n. 12. [s] Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 2.

deed was there any Universal Rule among Christians about this Matter. The Author of the Constitutions seems to intimate that they were generally *Oblong* in the Figure of a Ship [a]. This Figure was otherwise called *Dromical*, δρομικὸν, because as *Leo Allatius* [b] and *Suicerus* [c] after him conjecture, Churches built in this Form had void Spaces for Deambulation. And this is said to be the Figure of the famous Church of *Sancta Sophia*, at *Constantinople*, by *Paulus Silentiarius*, and other Writers. But this Figure was not so general but that we meet with Churches in other Forms. For the Church which *Constantine* built over our Saviour's Sepulchre, at Mount *Golgotha*, was round, as we learn from *Eusebius* [d] and *Walafridus* [e] *Strabo*. That which he built at *Antioch*, *Eusebius* [f] says, was an *Octagone*: And such was the Church of *Nazianzum*, built by *Gregory*, the Father of *Gregory Nazianzen*, as we find in the Son's Funeral Oration [g] upon his Father, who describes it as having eight Sides equal to one another. Other Churches were built in the Form of a Cross, as that of *Simeon Stylites* mentioned by *Evagrius* [h]. And the Church of the Apostles built by *Constantine* at *Constantinople*, was in this Form likewise, as we learn from *Gregory Nazianzen* in his *Somnium Anastasiæ*, who thus describes it: *Carm.* 9. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 79.

Σὺν τοῖς κ᾽ μεγάλαχον ἕδος Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν,
Πλευραῖς τετραχὰ τετμόμβρον.

"Among these stood the stately Church of "the Apostles of Christ, dividing it self into four "Wings in the Form of a Cross." These were sometimes made so by the Addition of a Wing of Building on each Side (which Wings the *Greeks* call *Apsides*) as *Cedrenus* [i] and *Zonaras* observe in the Life of *Justin*, Junior, who added two of these *Apsides* to the Church of *Blachernæ*, and so made it resemble the Form of a Cross. *Valesius* has also observed [k] out of the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* the Martyr, "That the Church which "*Constantine* built at *Mambre*, was in a Qua"drangular, or Square Figure, with an open "Court in the Middle, so as one Part of it was "made use of by the *Jews*, and the other by "the Christians." Some Churches were also called *Octachora*, but, as *Valesius* rightly observes, those were the same with the *Octagones*, as appears from this ancient Inscription in *Gruter* [l],

Octachorum Sanctos Templum surrexit in usus,
Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.

Suicerus and *Allatius* take notice also of another Form of Churches, which they call τρελλωτὰ, κυλινδρωτὰ, σκολωτὰ and κυκλοειδῆ, that is, Round, in the Figure of an Arch, or Sphere, or a Cylindre, or a Shield, or a Circle, as the *Pantheon* at *Rome* was said to be. But this, properly speaking, was not so much the Form of a Church, as the Figure of one Part of some Churches, as particularly that of *Sancta Sophia*, the Body of which was built in the Form of a *Trulla*, that is, a great round Arch or Sphere, but yet the whole was Oblong, resembling the Form of other Churches, as the Reader may judge by comparing the several Figures in the following Table, whereof one is that of *Sancta Sophia*, taken from *Du Fresne*'s *Constantinopolis Christiana*, another from Dr. *Beverege* in his *Pandects*, a Third from *Leo Allatius*, and a Fourth from *Goar*; all which being contracted and put together by *Schelstrate* in his *Concilium Antiochenum*, are here represented from his Copy, with the proper Names referring to each Part of them. To these I have added another Figure representing the stately Church of *Tyre*, built by *Paulinus*, and described by *Eusebius* [m] in his *Panegyrical Oration upon the Church and the Founder of it*, which the curious Reader may see at large in the Tenth Book of his Ecclesiastical History. I shall here in a great Measure follow his Description, as one of the most ancient and authentick that we have, only intermixing such other Things as are necessary to explain the Forms and Parts of other Churches, since, as I have observed, they were not all alike, but differed in Form, in Site, and in several Parts from one another.

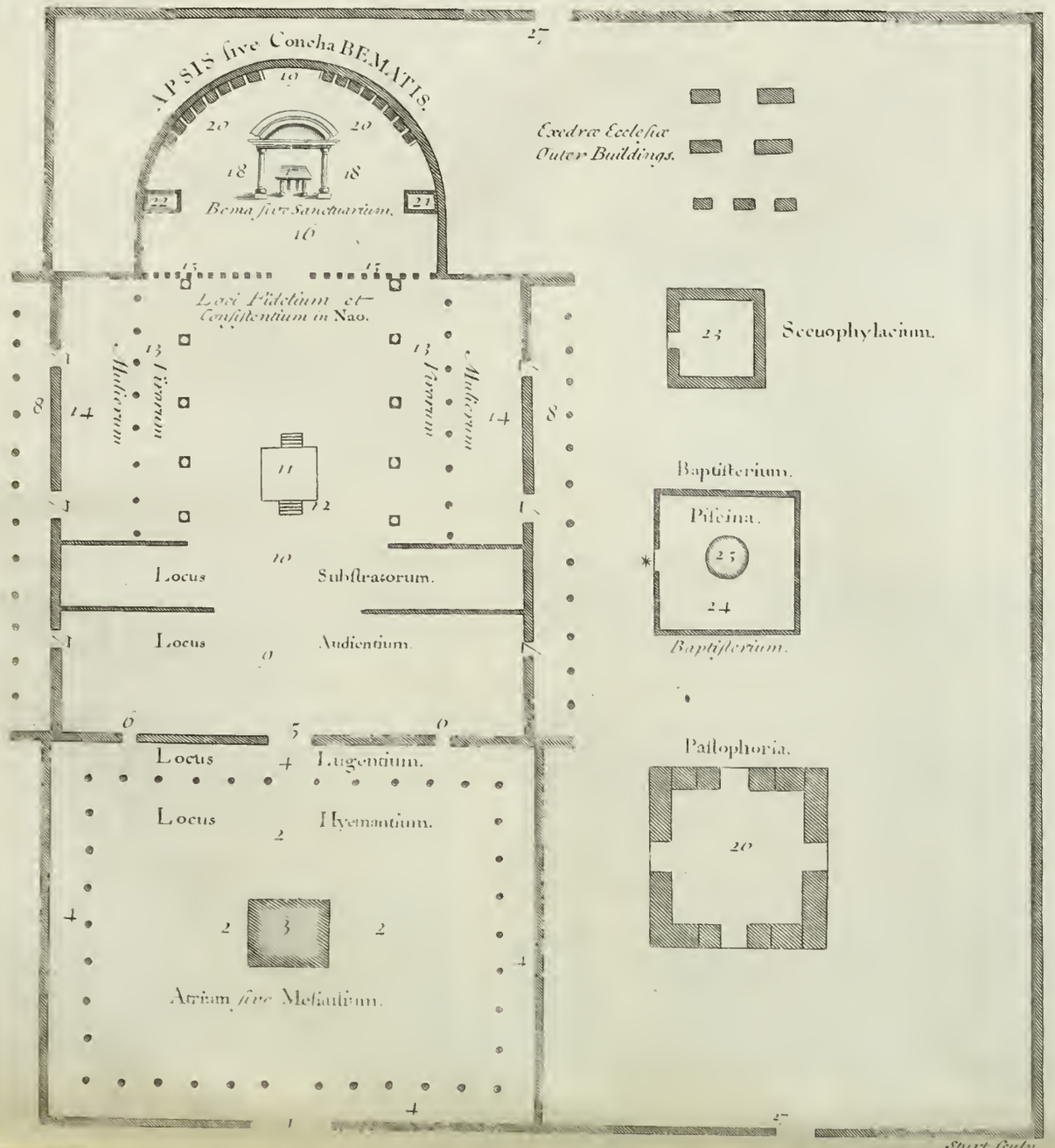
SECT. II. *And different Situation from one another.*

To begin with their Situation, or Posture: They were commonly so placed, as that the Front, or chief Entrances, were toward the *West*; and the Sanctuary, or Altar-Part, toward the *East*: Yet in some Churches it was otherwise, as is evident from the Observation made by *Socrates* [n] upon the Church of *Antioch*, "That it stood in a different Posture from "other Churches; for the Altar did not look "toward the *East*, but toward the *West*. Which Observation is also made by *Paulinus* [o] *Nolanus* upon one of his own Structures. And the Temple of the other *Paulinus* at *Tyre* seems to have stood the same Way. For *Eusebius* describes the Entrance to it, and not the Altar-Part, as fronting the Rising Sun. So that though the Author of the Constitutions [p], among other Rules of this nature, gives Directions for building Churches toward the *East*, yet it appears from these Instances, that the Practice was not so universal, but that it admitted of Exceptions, as Necessity, or Expediency, required. Which Observation has been made not only by Bishop

[a] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. ὁ οἶκος ἔσω ἐπμήκης, ὅσις ἔοικε νηΐ. [b] Allatius de Templis Græcorum. [c] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce ναός. [d] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 38. [e] Strabo de Rebus Eccles. c. 4. [f] Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 3. c. 5. ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ σχήματι. [g] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. p. 313. [h] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 14. [i] Cedren. Vit. Justin. in Compend. Hist. p. 390. [k] Antonin. ap. Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 53. Est ibi Basilica ædificata per Quadrum, & Atrium in medio disco-opertum, &c. [l] Gruter. Thesaur. p. 1166. [m] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. [n] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. ἡ ἐκκλησία διαφέρον ἔχει τὴν θέσιν ἢ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δύσιν ὁρᾷ. [o] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Prospectus Basilicæ non, ut usitatior mos est, Orientem spectat, sed ad Domini mei beati Felicis Basilicam pertinet, Memoriam ejus aspiciens. [p] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 7.

Usher

The Plan of an Ancient CHURCH with its Exedræ as described by Eusebius and other Writers.



Stuart sculp.

1 Propylæum or Vestibulum Magnum The great Porch or first Entrance into the Area before the Church.

2 The Μεσαύλιον, Atrium or Area leading from the Porch to the Church.

3 Cantharus or Phiala, the Fountain of Water in the middle of the Square.

4 The Portico's or Cloysters about the Area, otherwise call'd the Exterior Narthex of the Church and Place of Mourners.

5 The great Gate into ye Church.

6 The two lesser Gates on each side of the other.

7 The Northern & Southern Gates.

8 The Cloysters on the North and South side the Church.

9 The Ferula or inner Narthex where the Catechumens and Hearers stood with Jews and Gentiles.

10 The Place of the Substrati or 3d Degree of Penitents behind the Ambon.

11 The Ambon or Reading Desk.

12 The Ascent on both sides the Ambon.

13 The Inner Portico's or Cloysters for Men below.

14 The Catechumenia or Hyperoa, Upper Galleries for Women above & Portico's of the Men upon Pillars.

15 Cancelli Bematis & Rails of the Chancel.

16 The Bema or Chancel.

17 The Altar or Communion Table.

18 The Pyxnus or Ciborium, the Arch'd Canopy built round the Altar.

19 The Bishops Throne with & 20 second Thrones of Presbyters in a Semicircle about the Altar.

21 Diaconicum minus The Inner Vestry.

22 Prothesis, or Paratorium.

23 Scevophylacium or Diaconicum Magnum The great Repository or Erecting House.

24 Baptistery. * The Porch.

25 The Font in the middle of the Baptistery.

26 Pastophoria, Dwelling Houses for the Clergy, with Schools Libraries etc on each side & Church.

27 The περίβολος or utmost Bounds allowed for Refuge or Sanctuary.

Uſher [q] and Cardinal *Bona* [r], but long before them by *Walafridus Strabo*, who ſays [s], "The "Ancients were not nicely curious which way "their Churches ſtood, but yet the moſt uſual "Cuſtom was for Chriſtians to pray toward the "*Eaſt*, and therefore the greateſt Part of the "Churches were built with a Reſpect to that "Cuſtom. But St. *Patrick* in *Ireland*, as Biſhop *Uſher* obſerves [t] out of *Jocelin* the Writer of his Life, varied from all others: "For he built "a Church in *Sabul*, hard by *Down* in *Ulſter*, "which fronted neither *Eaſt* nor *Weſt*, but "ſtood from *North* to *South*, *ab Aquilonali parte* "*verſus meridianam plagam*. So that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory affords us Inſtances, if we make a curious Enquiry, of Churches ſtanding in all Poſtures.

SECT. III. *Commonly divided into Three Parts, and ſometimes Four or Five.*

NEXT to conſider the ſeveral Parts of the antient Churches, we are to obſerve, that as in the Temple of God at *Jeruſalem*, not only the Holy and the moſt Holy were reckoned Parts of the Temple, but alſo the outward Courts, and even the Court of the *Gentiles*, which is expreſly called the Houſe of God and the Houſe of Prayer; ſo in Chriſtian Churches, which were built with ſome Regard to the *Jewiſh* Temple, the whole *Ambitus*, or Circumference about them was eſteemed in a large Senſe as Part of the Church; and accordingly when Churches became *Aſylums*, or Places of Refuge under Chriſtian Emperors, not only the inner Buildings, but the outer Courts and Boundaries were reckoned a ſufficient Sanctuary, as we ſhall ſee in the latter Part of this Book. Now hence aroſe a twofold Diviſion of Churches, as taken in a ſtricter, or a larger Senſe. In the ſtricteſt Senſe, including only the Buildings within the Walls, they were commonly divided into three Parts, 1. The *Narthex*, or Ante-Temple, where the Penitents and Catechumens ſtood. 2. The *Naos*, or Temple, where the Communicants had their reſpective Places. And, 3. The *Bema*, or Sanctuary, where the Clergy ſtood to officiate at the Altar. But in a larger Senſe there was another Ante-Temple, or *Narthex*, without the Walls, under which was comprized the πρόπυλον, or *Veſtibulum*, the outward Porch; then the *Atrium*, or *Area*, the Court leading from that to the Temple, ſurrounded with Portico's, or Cloyſters, as we ſhall preſently ſee in the Temple of *Paulinus*. There were alſo ſeveral *Exedræ*, ſuch as the Baptiſtery, the *Dirconica*, the *Paſtophoria*, and other adjacent Buildings, which were reckoned to be either without, or within the Church, according as it was taken in a ſtricter, or a larger Acceptation.

SECT. IV. *And theſe ſubdivided into other Parts. The Outward* Narthex *or Ante-Temple included firſt the* προπύλοι, *or* Veſtibulum, *the Porch.*

EUSEBIUS in deſcribing the Church of *Paulinus* takes it in the largeſt Senſe, and therefore he begins his Deſcription with the περίβολον, or Wall that encloſed the whole Circumference of the Outward Courts, which we may call the Ante-Temple, or *Exterior Narthex*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Narthex* within the Church. In the Front of this ſacred Encloſure toward the *Eaſt*, at ſome Diſtance from the Church, the firſt Building that preſented it ſelf was a great and lofty Porch, which *Euſebius* and other *Greek* Writers call the πρόπυλον μέγα, and the *Latins Veſtibulum Magnum*, the Great Porch, to diſtinguiſh it from the leſſer Porches, which joined to the Church. He calls it alſo πρώτην εἴσοδον, the Firſt Entrance, to diſtinguiſh it from the Second, which were the Gates of the Church.

SECT. V. 2. *The* Atrium, *or the* Area, *or Court before the Church, ſurrounded with Portico's or Cloyſters.*

BETWEEN this Porch and the Church was a large *Area*, or ſquare Plat of Ground which *Euſebius* [u] calls αὔλειον, and *Paulus Silentiarius* αὐλὴν [w] in his Deſcription of *Sancta Sophia*; the *Latins* term it *Atrium* and *Impluvium*, becauſe it was a Court open to the Air without any Covering, ſave only on each Side of the Square, which was ſurrounded with Portico's, or Cloyſters, ſuch *Euſebius* calls them, and theſe built upon Columns, whence as *Du Freſne* [x] obſerves, "This Place is called ſome- "times τετράστυλον, and *Quadriporticus* in Modern "Authors." In this Place ſtood the firſt Claſs of Penitents according to *Euſebius*, who ſays [y] expreſly, "It was the Manſion of thoſe who "were not allowed to enter farther into the "Church." That is, they ſtood either in the Porch, or the Portico's, to beg the Prayers of the Faithful as they went into the Church. Or perhaps, if they were more notorious Criminals, they were caſt out of theſe alſo, and obliged to wait in the Court, or open Air, and ſtand there expoſed to the Weather, as Part of their Penance: Which ſeems to be intimated by *Tertullian* [z], when ſpeaking of ſome monſtrous Sinners, he ſays, "They were expelled not only "from the Doors of the Church, but from every "Place that might afford them any Shelter, or "Covering." So that the *Atrium* was always an open Place, or Court, before the Church: And therefore thoſe Authors who confound the *Atrium*, or *Veſtibulum*, and *Porticus* into one, wholly miſtake the Form of the antient Churches; for theſe, as I have ſhewed, were diſtinct Parts of the Ante-Temple.

[q] Uſher. Letter. 49. ad Selden. [r] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 4. [s] Strabo de Rebus Eccl. c. 4. [t] Uſher's *Letters*, Ep. 49. [u] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. It. de Vit. Conſt. lib. 3. c. 35. [w] Paul. Silent. Par. 1. ver. 174. [x] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 536. [y] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. πρώτη αὕτη διατριβὴ, τοῖς τ πρώτων εἰσαγωγῶν ἔτι δεομένοις, κατάλληλον τ μονὴν παρεχομένη. [z] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 4. Reliquas autem Libidinum furias——non modo Limine, verum omni Eccleſiæ Tecto ſubmovemus, quia non ſunt delicta, ſed Monſtra.

SECT. VI.

3. *In the Middle of which ſtood a Fountain for waſhing as they entered into the Church, called* Cantharus *and* Phiala *in ſome Authors.*

IT is farther to be noted, that in the Middle of the *Atrium* there was commonly a Fountain, or a Ciſtern of Water, for People to waſh their Hands and Face, before they went into the Church. *Euſebius* expreſly mentions this in the Temple of *Paulinus*. He ſays, "In the Court over-againſt the Church he placed Κρήνας, Fountains of Water, as Symbols "of Purification, for ſuch to waſh as entered "into the Church." *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola* takes Notice of the ſame Thing, but gives it the Name of *Cantharus* [a], which ſignifies any capacious Veſſel that will hold much Water, and ſometimes a Statue made to ſpout out Water at its Mouth: As *Du Freſne* has obſerved, "That "in ſome Places the Fountain was ſurrounded "with Lions thus ſpouting out Water;" whence this Place has the Name of *Leontarium* in ſome Modern *Greek* Writers. It is alſo called by ſome *Nymphæum*, ἐμβάτης and κολυμβεῖον, which all ſignify a Fountain. *Paulus Silentiarius* in his Deſcription of *Sancta Sophia*, gives it the Name of φιάλη, *Phiala*, which we may Engliſh, *the Baſin*. And *Socrates* calls it φρεὰρ, the Spring. For ſpeaking of a Skirmiſh that happened between the Catholicks and *Macedonian* Hereticks in the Church of *Acacius* at *Conſtantinople*, he ſays, "Such a Slaughter was made, that the αὐλὴ, the "*Atrium*, or Court of the Church, was filled "with Blood, inſomuch that the φρεὰρ, the "Fountain that ſtood in it was overflowed [b] "therewith, and ran through the adjoining στοὰ, "the Portico, or Cloyſters, even into the Street." St. *Chryſoſtom* [c] alſo ſpeaks of theſe Fountains, as of Things of common Uſe in the *Atria*, or Courts before the Churches. And frequently in his Popular Diſcourſes alludes to the Cuſtom of waſhing their Hands before they went into Church [d]. Which is alſo done by *Tertullian* [e], who expoſes the Abſurdity of going to Prayers with waſhed Hands, whilſt Men retained a filthy Spirit and polluted Soul. In like Manner *Syneſius* [f] ſpeaks of the Ciſterns or Veſſels of Water ſet for Waſhing in their Ante-Temples.

SECT. VII.

Whether the Superſtitious Uſe of Holy-Water be a Corruption of this ancient Cuſtom?

THE Writers of the Church of *Rome*, *Baronius* [g] and others, commonly derive and defend the Uſe of their Holy-Water from this antient Cuſtom: But *Du Freſne* [h] ſeems to ſpeak more properly, when he ſays, "Their Luſtral Water "rather ſucceeded in its Room." For the Waſhing of the Ancients had nothing of Expiation in it, but was only an indifferent Ceremony of Corporal Decency, or at moſt but an admoniſhing Emblem of that Purity of Soul, with which Men ought to enter the Courts of the moſt Holy God. And therefore any one that compares theſe Matters nicely together, muſt conclude, That the latter Cuſtom is but a fond Imitation, or meer Corruption of the former; if it owe not rather its Original to a worſe Fountain, the περιραντήρια, or Sprinkling with Holy Water, ſo often ſpoken of among the Heathen. The Things are ſo like one another, that ſome Modern Tranſcribers of *Sozomen* have miſtaken them for one another. For whereas *Sozomen* ſpeaking of *Julian*'s going into a Temple to Sacrifice in *Gaul*, with *Valentinian* to attend him, ſays, "The Prieſt ſprink-"led them [i] with Water as they went in, ac-"cording to the Heathen Cuſtom;" *Valeſius* has obſerved, that in ſome Copies it is read, *according to Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom*, inſtead of *Heathen Cuſtom:* Which he imputes to ſome Modern Tranſcribers, who were minded to make Church-Holy-Water of it; whom he ingenuouſly chaſtiſes for their Ignorance, or Impudence, in corrupting good Authors, as they juſtly deſerved.

SECT. VIII.

The Atrium *and Portico's in the Ante-Temple, only made Uſe of for Burying the Dead.*

BUT to return to the Buſineſs of the antient Churches: Whilſt we are ſpeaking of the Ante-Temple, it will not be improper to obſerve, That for many Years after Burying-Places were allowed in Cities, they were ſtill kept out of that which was ſtrictly and properly called the Church, and only allowed in thoſe Parts of the Ante-Temple, the *Atrium* and Portico's, which we have been deſcribing: As appears from a Canon of the Council of *Nantes*, *An.* 658. which prohibits any to be buried [k] in the Church, but allows of it in the *Atrium*, or Portico's, or *Exedræ* of the Church. Which I note, only to ſhew what Uſe theſe Parts of the Ante Temple were put to. But of this more when we come to treat of Cœmiteries, and the Funeral Rites of the antient Church.

[a] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Sancta nitens famulis interluit Atria Lymphis Cantharus, intrantumque manus lavat amne miniſtro. [b] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 28. [c] Chryſoſt. Homil. 57. Tom. 5. Edit. Savil. p. 390. τὰς κρήνας εἰ) ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῶν ἐυκ[ηρίων οἰκων νενόμισαι, [d] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in Matth. Hom. 72. in Johan. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. Hom. 36. ad Popul. Antioch. Hom. in Pſal. 140. [e] Tertul. de Orat. c. 11. Quæ ratio eſt, manibus quidem ablutis, Spiritu vero ſordente, orationem obire? [f] Syneſ. Ep. 121. Anaſtaſio. τὰ ἐν τοῖς προ[μυίσμασι χέρνιβα, &c. [g] Baron. an. 57. n. 111. [h] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 539. [i] Sozomen. lib. 6. c. 6. ὁ ἱερεὺς νόμω ἑλληνικῶ περιέῤῥανε τὰς εἰσιόντας. [k] Conc. Nannetenſ. c. 6. In Eccleſia nullatenus ſepeliantur, ſed in Atrio, aut Porticu, aut in Exedris Eccleſiæ.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Interior Narthex, *and the Parts and Uſes of it.*

SECT. I. *Of the leſſer πρόπυλα, or Porches before the Doors of the Church.*

HAVING taken a View of the Exterior *Narthex*, or outward Ante-Temple, we are next led by *Euſebius* into the Interior *Narthex*, or Ante-Temple within the Church. For in ſuch ſtately Structures as that of *Paulinus* was, the *Narthex*, or νάρθηξ, which I *Engliſh* Ante-Temple, was a Name common to more Parts than one. And in ſome of the moſt magnificent Churches, as that of *Sancta Sophia*, as *Du Freſne* has obſerved out of *Procopius* and *Paulus Silentiarius*, there were no leſs than four diſtinct *Nartheces*. The Entrance into the Interior *Narthex* in the Church of *Paulinus*, was out of the Portico's, or Cloyſters, before the Church, by three Inner Porches (τὰ ἐνδοτάτω Πρόπυλα *Euſebius* calls them) and as many Gates opening out of them, the middle one being the greateſt and higheſt of the Three, as we commonly ſee in our Modern Cathedrals, only with this Difference, that thoſe fronted to the *Eaſt*, and ours to the *Weſt*. It had alſo Portico's adjoining on the *North* and [*a*] *South*, and as many Porches and Doors to enter out of them. Theſe Porches in ſuch Churches as had no other Ante-Temple, ſerved to receive the firſt Claſs of Penitents, called, *The Mourners*, which otherwiſe were remitted to the *Atrium* and Portico's before the Church, as I have ſhewed already in the Temple of *Paulinus*. And theſe Things are accurately to be obſerved by thoſe, who would not miſtake the Ancients, when they ſeem to ſpeak differently of the Place of the Mourners. *Du Freſne* has alſo obſerved out of *Paulinus Nolanus* [*b*], that theſe Porches and Gates are ſometimes called *Arcus*, from the Manner of their Structure, which was Arch-work; and *Apſides* for the ſame Reaſon, for *Apſis* denotes any Thing that is framed in the Figure of an Arch, or a Convex, as the Heavens: And therefore he thinks the 32d Canon of the third Council of *Carthage* is to be underſtood of this Place, when it ſays, [*c*] "That ſuch Penitents as had committed "very notorious and ſcandalous Crimes, known "to the whole Church, ſhould have Impoſition "of Hands before the *Apſis*, that is, before the "Porch, or Doors of the Church." Here it was alſo that the Poor of the Church placed themſelves both before and after Divine Service, to ask Alms of ſuch as came from the Altar. Which Cuſtom is mentioned by *Gregory Nazianzen* [*d*] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [*e*], who elegantly, after his Manner, upon this Account ſtiles the Poor, and Aged, and the Lame and the Blind, *the Guards of the Royal Palace*, meaning the Church.

SECT. II. *Of the* Narthex, Pronaos, *or* Ferula.

BEING entered by theſe Gates into the Church, the Firſt Place that occurs to our View, is the νάρθηξ, or Ante-Temple within the Walls. This in the Modern *Greek* Rituals is always called the *Narthex*, and is peculiarly allotted to the Monks, or Women, and uſed to perform the Offices of Rogations, and Supplications, and Night-Watches in. Here alſo they place dead Corpſes, whilſt their Funeral Rites are performing, as *Suicerus* [*f*] ſhews at large out of their *Triodion*, *Pentecoſtarium* and *Typicum*, and other Authors. *Morinus* thinks [*g*] the ancient Churches for above five Hundred Years had no *Narthex*, but were divided only into two Parts, the *Sanctuarium* and *Aula Laicorum*, the Place of the Clergy, and the Place of the Laymen, and that the *Narthex* was firſt introduced by the *Eaſtern* Monks in the ſixth Century: But in this he is evidently miſtaken; for though the Name perhaps be not very ancient, yet the Thing it ſelf is: For this was always a diſtinct and ſeparate Part of the Church, as any one will eaſily imagine, that conſiders the ancient Uſe of it.

SECT. III. *The Uſe of it for the Catechumens and Penitents of the Second Order.*

FOR the Church, ever ſince ſhe firſt divided her Catechumens and Penitents into diſtinct Orders and Claſſes, had alſo diſtinct Places in the Church for them. And this lower Part of the Church was the Place of the Energumens, and ſuch of the Catechumens and Penitents, as were commonly called ἀκροώμενοι, or *Audientes*, that is, Hearers, becauſe they were allowed to ſtand here, to hear the Pſalms and Scriptures read, and the Sermon made by the Preacher, after which they were diſmiſſed without any Prayers, or Solemn Benediction. As may be ſeen in the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*h*], and the Canons of St. *Baſil* [*i*], *Gregory Nyſſen* [*k*], and ſeveral others.

SECT. IV. *Alſo for Jews, Heathens, Hereticks and Schiſmaticks to hear in.*

HITHER alſo both *Jews* and Heathens, and Hereticks and Schiſmaticks were ſometimes allowed to come, to hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached, becauſe this Part of the Service was for their Edification and Inſtruction. The Council of

[*a*] *See alſo* Euſeb. de Vita Conſt. lib. 3. c. 37. *Of the Church of* Jeruſalem. [*b*] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Alma domus triplici pater ingredientibus Arcu. [*c*] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 32. Cujuſcunque Pœnitentis publicum & vulgatiſſimum crimen eſt, quod univerſa Eccleſia noverit, ante Apſidem manus ei imponatur. [*d*] Naz. Orat. 16. de Amore Pauperum. Tom. 1. p. 246. [*e*] Chryſoſt. Hom. 10. in 1 Theſſ. p. 1484. [*f*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce νάρθηξ. [*g*] Morin. de Pœnit. lib. 6. c. 1 [*h*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 5. [*i*] Baſil. Can. 75. [*k*] Nyſſen. Ep. ad Letoium, c. 5.

Laodicea indeed [*l*] prohibits Hereticks to come within the Church. But in *Africk* and other Places it was allowed. For in the Fourth Council of *Carthage* [*m*] there is a Canon expreſs to this Purpoſe, "That the Biſhop ſhall not pro- "hibit any, whether Heathen, Heretick, or "*Jew*, to come into the Church, and ſtay there "to hear the Word of God, 'till the Time of "the Diſmiſſion of the *Catechumens*. And it appears farther from ſeveral, both of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s and St. *Auſtin*'s Homilies, that this was the common Practice. Now then it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that all theſe had their Station together in the lower Part of the Church, called the *Narthex*, or whatever other Name it went by.

SECT. V. *This not the Place of the Font, or Baptiſtery, as in our Modern Churches.*

DR. *Beverege*, and ſome others, ſeem here alſo to place the Font, or Baptiſtery, as in our Modern Churches. But there is nothing more certain, than that for many Ages the Baptiſtery was a diſtinct Place from the Body of the Church, and reckoned among the *Exedræ*, or Places adjoyning to the Church. For which Reaſon I omit ſpeaking any farther of it here, intending to do it more fully in the latter Part of this Book, when I come to the *Exedræ* of the Church.

SECT. VI. *Why called* Narthex, *and of the different Sorts of* Nartheces *in ſeveral Churches.*

IF it be enquired, Why this Part of the Church was called *Narthex*, I anſwer, becauſe the Figure of it was ſuppoſed to reſemble a *Ferula*, which was the *Latin* Name for it, that is, a Rod, or Staff: For any Oblong Figure, or Dromical, as the *Greeks* called it, was by them called a *Narthex*, as *Suicerus* and *Du Freſne* have obſerved out of *Theodoſius Zigomala* [*n*]. And therefore this Part of the Church being a long, but narrow Part, croſs the Front of the Church, was termed *Narthex*, or *Ferula*, upon that Account. And it is farther to be obſerved, that ſome Churches had Three or Four *Nartheces*, but thoſe without the Walls: For the Portico's, or Cloyſters, of ſuch Churches as *Sancta Sophia*, which were built to the *North*, and *Weſt*, and *South* of them, were called *Nartheces*, as *Du Freſne* [*o*] ſhews out of *Procopius*, and *Paulus Silentiarius*, and the Sixth general Council, becauſe theſe were long narrow Buildings, in Figure, or Shape, of a *Narthex*. And ſuch Churches, he thinks, had no other *Narthex* within the Walls, but theſe Portico's were the proper Station of the Penitents, and ſuch others as were not allowed to come within the Nave of the Church. But in ſuch Churches, as had no Portico's adjoining to them, the *Narthex* was the lower Part of the Church within the Walls, which was made to anſwer the Uſe of Portico's in other Churches. And this ſeems to be the true State of the Matter, and the only Way to reconcile the different Accounts that are given by Authors of the Antient *Narthex* of the Church.

CHAP. V.

Of the Naos, *or Nave of the Church, and its Parts and Uſes.*

SECT. I. *Of the Beautiful and Royal Gates: Why ſo called.*

AFTER the *Narthex* followed that Part which was properly called νάος, *the Temple*, and *Navis*, the Nave, or Body, of the Church. This was ſeparated from the *Narthex* by certain Rails of Wood, as all other Places in the Church were commonly diſtinguiſhed. The Entrance into it from the *Narthex* was by the Gates, which the Modern Rituals, and *Greek* Writers, call πύλαι ὡραῖαι and βασιλικαὶ, the Beautiful and Royal Gates; which ſeem to be ſo named in alluſion to the Name *Baſilica*, as denoting the Royal Palace of God, his Houſe and Temple. Though perhaps another Reaſon might be aſſigned for it among the Modern *Greeks*, who might call it the Royal Gate, becauſe here their Kings were uſed to lay down their Crowns, before they proceeded farther into the Church. Which is obſerved by *Leo Grammaticus*, in *The Life of* Michael [*a*] *the Emperor*, where he notes it as an Inſolent and Indecent Thing in him, "That when he came to "the Royal Gates, he did not lay aſide his "Crown, as Kings were uſed to do. Some Feſtivals among them were for a like Reaſon called Crown Days, ἑορταὶ Στεφανικαὶ, *Dies Coronati*, becauſe the Emperors were uſed to go in their *Regalia* to the great Church of *Sancta Sophia*, on thoſe Days, which were Twelve particular Days in a Year. So that as theſe Days, ſo thoſe Gates of the Temple might have their Denomination from ſome particular Ceremony, uſed by the Imperial Powers at their Entrance by them: But I take the other Reaſon to be more probable, and had ſcarce mentioned this, had it not been to explain a Cuſtom or two, which fall in our Way upon the Mention of it.

SECT. II. *The Nave of the Church uſually a Square Building, called by ſome, The Oratory of Laymen.*

THIS Part of the Church ſeems to have been uſually a ſquare Building, in the Middle between the Sanctuary and the *Narthex*; as we find it deſcribed in a Letter of *Theodoſius* and *Va-*

[*l*] Conc. Laodic. can. 6. [*m*] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 84. Ut Epiſcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Eccleſiam, & audire Verbum Dei, ſive Gentilem, ſive Hæreticum, ſive Judæum, uſque ad Miſſam Catechumenorum. [*n*] Zygomal. ap. Crucium Turco-Græc. πᾶν δεξιὸν νάρθηξ καλεῖται. [*o*] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 634. [*a*] Leo Grammat. Chronograp. p. 466.

lentinian,

lentinian, at the End of the Council of *Epheſus* [*b*], and inſerted alſo into the *Theodoſian* Code [*c*], where ſpeaking of Churches as Places of Refuge, they divide them into theſe three Parts, 1. The Θυσιαστήριον, the Altar-Part, or Sanctuary, 2. The εὐκτήριον τὸ λαὸ τετράγωνον, the Four-ſquared Oratory of the People, and 3. The remaining Part from that to the outer Doors of the Church. Now as this laſt is a plain Deſcription of the *Narthex* afore-mentioned, though it be not called by that Name, ſo is the Second a Deſcription of the Nave, or Middle of the Church, called the People's Oratory, becauſe the People chiefly filled this Place, having their different Stations, or Apartments in it, according to the Difference of Age, or Sex, or Quality, or State and Condition; which Diſtinctions were antiently obſerv'd in ſome, tho' perhaps not in all Churches.

SECT. III. *In the loweſt Part of which ſtood the* Subſtrati, *or Penitents of the Third Order.*

FOR here firſt of all, at the very Entrance of the Royal Gates, in the loweſt Station of this Part, behind the *Ambo* ſtood the ὑποπίπτοντες, or *Subſtrati*, the Penitents of the Third Order, ſo called from the Cuſtom of Proſtrating themſelves before the Biſhop, or Prieſt, as ſoon as the Sermon was ended, to receive his Benediction with Impoſition of Hands, and be made Partakers of thoſe Prayers which the Congregation particularly offered to God for them, after which they were obliged immediately to depart before the Communion-Service. This ſort of Penitents are mentioned in the Council of *Nice* [*d*], tho' no particular Place is aſſigned them: But we may collect from *Tertullian* and *Sozomen*, that their Station was in this Part of the Church. For *Tertullian* [*e*] ſpeaking of the *Roman* Diſcipline ſays, "Pope *Zephyrin* brought Penitents "into the Church in Sackcloth and Aſhes, and "proſtrated them in the midſt before the Wi- "dows and Presbyters, to implore their Com- "miſeration, and excite their Tears. This muſt be a different Station of Penitents from thoſe called Mourners, for their Station (as we have ſeen before) was without the Church-Doors, but theſe before the Widows and Presbyters in the Middle of the Church. And ſo *Sozomen* (*f*) plainly repreſents it, when he ſays, "The Bi- "ſhop fell proſtrate with them, and all the "Congregation wept with Tears, and then the "Biſhop riſing up, made the proper Prayers "for them, and diſmiſſed them." Theſe were Exerciſes to be performed in the Church, and not at the Church-Door: And therefore this Order of Penitents are not without Reaſon placed by all Expoſitors within the Royal Gates, behind the *Ambo* of the Church.

SECT. IV. *And the* Ambo, *or Reading-Desk.*

THE *Ambo* it ſelf was what we now call the Reading-Desk, a Place made on Purpoſe for the Readers and Singers, and ſuch of the Clergy a miniſtred in the firſt Service, called *Miſſa Catechumenorum*. It had the Name of *Ambo*, not as *Walafridus Strabo* imagines, *ab ambiendo*, becauſe it ſurrounded them that were in it; but from ἀναβαίνειν, becauſe it was a Place of Eminency, to which they went up by Degrees, or Steps. For the original Name is Ἄμβων, which as *Valeſius* and *Habertus* have rightly obſerved, in old *Greek* Writers, *Æſchylus* and *Euſtathius*, ſignifies the Aſcent or Height of a Mountain, and thence it comes to ſignify this Place of Eminency in the Church. *Sozomen* [*g*] gives it the Name of Βῆμα upon the ſame Account, but to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Bema*, which was the Sanctuary, or the Altar, he calls it Βῆμα γνωστῶν, the Reader's *Bema*, as the other was more properly the Biſhop's and Presbyters. In St. *Cyprian* it is called *Pulpitum*, and *Tribunal Eccleſiæ*, and the Uſe of it is alſo explained by him to be a Reading-Desk: For here it was the Readers ſtood to read the Goſpels and Epiſtles, as we learn from the Account which he gives of *Celerinus* and *Aurelius*, two famous Confeſſors, whom [*h*] he ordained Readers, that they who had made Confeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel from the Rack, might read it alſo from the Pulpit, or Tribunal of the Church. Here it was alſo that the Singers had their Station, as is evident from that Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*i*] which forbids all others to ſing in the Church, beſide the Canonical Singers, who went up into the *Ambo*, and ſung by Book. Here alſo the Diptychs, or Book of Commemoration, were read, as appears from a noted Paſſage in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, under *Mennas* [*k*], where the People cry out, τὰ Δίπτυχα τῷ Ἄμβωνι, *Let the Diptychs be laid upon the Reading-Desk*. *Bona* [*l*] thinks the Biſhop and Presbyters here alſo made their Sermons to the People. For which he cites *Prudentius* [*m*], and *Sidonius* [*n*] *Apollinaris*, from whoſe Words he farther concludes, that the *Ambo* was ſometimes called *Ara*, or Altar. But this Obſervation ſeems to be founded on a Miſtake. For the Biſhops anciently did not uſe to preach from the *Ambo*, but more commonly from the riſing Steps of the Altar, as *Valeſius* ſhews [*o*] that the Cuſtom continued in *France* to the Time of King *Chil-*

[*b*] Conc. Tom. p. 1236. [*c*] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccleſ. confugiunt. leg. 4. p. 366. [*d*] Conc. Nicen. can. 11. [*e*] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 13. Pœnitentiam Mœchi ad exorandam fraternitatem in Eccleſiam inducens, conciliatum & concineratum cum dedecore & horrore compoſitum proſternis in medium ante Viduas, ante Presbyteros, omnium lachrymas ſuadentem, &c. [*f*] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16. [*g*] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 5. lib. 9. c. 2. [*h*] Cyprian. Ep. 33. Ad Pulpitum poſt Cataſtam venire, &c. It. Ep. 34. Quid aliud quam ſuper Pulpitum, id eſt, Tribunal Eccleſiæ, oportebat imponi, &c. [*i*] Conc. Laodic. c. 15. [*k*] Conc. Conſtant. 5. Act. 5. [*l*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. c. 6. n. 3. [*m*] Prudent. Hymn. de Hippolyta. Fronte ſub adverſa gradibus ſublime tribunal tollitur, Antiſtes prædicat unde Deum. [*n*] Sidon. Carm. 16. ad Fauſtum. Seu te conſpicuis gradibus venerabilis Aræ, Concionaturum plebs ſedula circumſiſtit. [*o*] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. lib. 6. c. 5.

debert. And therefore both *Socrates* [*p*], and *Sozomen*, ſeem to ſpeak of *Chryſoſtom*'s Preaching in the *Ambo* as an unuſual Thing; but he did it for Conveniency, *Socrates* ſays, that he might be the better heard by the People. We cannot hence therefore conclude, that the *Ambo* was the ordinary Place of Preaching, but rather the Altar; and that when we read of Biſhops preaching from the Aſcent of the *Ara*, it is rather to be underſtood of the Altar, than the *Ambo*. Yet in *Africk* St. *Auſtin* ſeems to have made his Diſcourſes to the People from the *Ambo*, which he ſometimes calls *Exedra* [*q*], and ſometimes *Apſis* [*r*]; which I the rather note, becauſe theſe Words are of various Signification among the Ancients, ſometimes denoting the *Ambo*, perhaps from its Orbicular Form, and at other Times the Croſs Wings, and outer Buildings of the Church. Some take the *Apſis* for the *Ambo* in that Canon of the Third Council of *Carthage*, which ſays, "Notorious and ſcandalous "Criminals [*s*] ſhall do Penance before the *Ap*-"*ſis*. But *Du Freſne*, as I have noted [*] before, takes it in another Senſe, for the Porch of the Church, and it is not always eaſy to determine exactly the Meaning of it.

SECT. V. *And above this the Communicants, and Fourth Order of Penitents, call'd* Conſiſtentes, *had their Places.*

BUT to proceed: In this Part of the Church, all the Faithful, or ſuch as were in the Communion of the Church, had their Place aſſigned them; and among them the Fourth Order of Penitents, whom they called *Conſiſtentes*, becauſe they were allowed to ſtay, and hear the Prayers of the Church, after the *Catechumens*, and other Penitents, were diſmiſſed, but yet they might not make their Oblation, or participate of the Sacrifice of the Altar. In which Reſpect they are ſaid to ſtand and communicate with the reſt of the People, but in Prayers only, without the Oblation, as the Canons of *Nice* [*t*], and St. *Baſil* [*u*], word it. Whether they were ſeparate from other Communicants, in a diſtinct Place by themſelves, I find not in any other Author, ſave only *Eligius Noviomenſis*, who lived about the Year 640. He, in one of his Homilies [*w*] to the Penitents, tells them, "They were placed on the left Side of the "Church, becauſe the Lord, at the Day of "Judgment, would place *the Sheep*, that is, the "Righteous, *on his Right Hand*; *and the Goats*, "that is, Sinners, *on his Left*. But becauſe this is a later Writer, and Learned Men [*x*] are alſo doubtful about his Homilies, whether they be genuine or not, we can determine nothing from this Paſſage, concerning the original Cuſtom of the Church.

SECT. VI. *The Places of Men and Women uſually ſeparate from each other.*

ONLY this is certain from good Authors, that antiently Men and Women had their different Places in this Part of the Church. The Author of the Conſtitutions ſpeaks of it as the Cuſtom [*y*] of the Church in his Time, when he gives Directions about it, that Women ſhould ſit in a ſeparate Place by themſelves; and accordingly makes it one Part of the Office of Deaconneſſes to attend [*z*] the Womens Gate in the Church; "Let the Door-"keepers ſtand at the Gate of the Men, and "the Deaconneſſes at the Gate of the Women. St. *Cyril* [*a*] alſo takes Notice of this Diſtinction, as cuſtomary in his own Church at *Jeruſalem*, ſaying, "Let a Separation be made, that "Men be with Men, and Women with Wo-"men in the Church." The like Intimation is given us by St. *Auſtin*, that each Sex [*b*] had their diſtinct Places in the Church: And he particularly mentions the Womens Part, as diſtinct alſo in the Baptiſtery [*c*] of the Church. *Paulinus* [*d*] takes Notice of the ſame in the Life of St. *Ambroſe*, telling us, "How St. *Am*-"*broſe* was once furiouſly aſſaulted in a Church "by an *Arrian* Woman, who getting up into "the Tribunal to him, would needs have haled "him by his Garments to the Womens Part, "that they might have beat him, and made him "fly the Church. This Diſtinction was ſo generally obſerved in the Time of *Conſtantine*, that *Socrates* [*e*] ſays, "His Mother *Helena* always "ſubmitted to the Diſcipline of the Church in "this Reſpect, praying with the Women in "the Womens Part. And it was uſually made by Rails, or Wooden Walls, as St. *Chryſoſtom* terms them, who has theſe remarkable Words concerning the Original of this Cuſtom: "Men "ought to be ſeparated [*f*] from Women, *ſays* "*he*, by an inward Wall, meaning that of the "Heart: But becauſe they would not, our Fore-"fathers ſeparated them by theſe wooden Walls; "for I have heard from our Seniors, that it "was not ſo from the Beginning; for in Chriſt "Jeſus there is neither Male nor Female. Do

[*p*] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 5. Sozomen. lib. 8. c. 5. [*q*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. In gradibus Exedræ, in qua de ſuperiore loquebar loco, feci ſtare ambos fratres, cum eorum legeretur Libellus. [*r*] Aug. Ep. 225. Honoratiores & graviores in Apſidem aſcendentes, cum Epiſcopo colloquuntur, &c. It. Ep. 203. In futuro Chriſti Judicio nec Apſides gradatæ nec Cathedræ velatæ, &c. [*s*] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 32. ante Apſidem ei manus imponatur. [*] *Chap.* 4. *n.* 1. [*t*] Conc. Nicen. c. 11. [*u*] Baſil. Ep. Canon. c. 56. Conc. Ancyr. can. 8. [*w*] Eligius Hom. 8. ad Pœnit. Bibl. Patr. tom. 2. p. 99. Cur ergo in ſiniſtra parte Eccleſiæ poſiti eſtis? Non ſine cauſa uſus Eccleſiæ hoc obtinuit, ſed quia Dominus in Judicio oves, id eſt, juſtos, a dextris; hædos vero, id eſt, peccatores a ſiniſtris ponet. [*x*] Vid. Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 3. p. 906. [*y*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib 2. c. 57. αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ αὗται καθεζέσθωσαν. [*z*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. lib. 8. c. 20. & 28. [*a*] Cyril. Præfat. in Catech. n. 8. διεσάλδω τὰ πρόγματα, ἀνδρες μὲν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μὲν γυναικῶν. [*b*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 2. c. 28. Populi confluunt ad Eccleſias caſta celebritate, honeſta utriuſque ſexus diſcretione. [*c*] Ib. lib. 22. c. 8. Admonetur in ſomnis Innocentia, appropinquante Paſcha, ut in Parte Fœminarum obſervanti ad Baptiſterium, quæcunque illi baptizata primitus occurriſſet, eundem locum ſigno Chriſti ſignaret. [*d*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 3. Tribunal conſcendens, apprehenſo veſtimento Sacerdotis, cum illum attrahere vellet ad Partem mulierum, &c. [*e*] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 17. ὡς καὶ σωφρόνεσαι ἐν τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν τάγματι. [*f*] Chryſoſt. Homil. 74. in Matth.

we not read that Men and Women prayed together in their upper Rooms? Yet *Euſebius* [g] makes this Diſtinction as antient as *Philo Judæus* and St. *Mark*, and many Learned Men think it came from the *Jewiſh* Church into the Chriſtian not long after the Days of the Apoſtles. Some are a little too curious in fixing this Womens Part always preciſely to the *North* or Right Side of the Church. For though this might be the Cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Churches in later Ages, when *Amalarius Fortunatus*, and *Radulphus Tungrenſis*, and the Authors of the *Micrologus* and *Ordo Romanus* lived, which Writers are cited by *Durantus* [h] for it; yet it appears to have been otherwiſe antiently in many of the *Greek* Churches. Nor does that Funeral Inſcription, which ſome produce out of the *Roma Subterranea*, prove the contrary, which ſpeaks [i] of Perſons lying interr'd *Siniſtra Parte Virorum*, on the *South* or Left Side of the Church, where the Men ſat. For not to enquire into the Antiquity of that Inſcription, it proves no more but that the Men ſat on the Left Side in the *Roman* Churches: Which does not hinder the Women from having their Apartment on that Side too, if the ſame Cuſtom was at *Rome* which was at *Conſtantinople* and other *Greek* Churches, which was for the Men to ſit below, and the Women in Portico's, or Galleries, above them, on the Left Side of the Church, if not on the Right alſo. For thus *Gregory Nazianzen* [k] deſcribes his Temple of *Anaſtaſia*, making the Men to ſtand by the Rails of the Chancel, and the Virgins and Matrons to be hearkening from their upper Galleries above the other. And ſo it was in the Church of *Sancta Sophia*, and many other Churches.

SECT. VII. *Why theſe Places of the Women were called κατηχέμενα and ὑπερῶα.*

UPON this Account theſe Places of the Women are, by ſuch *Greek* Writers as ſpeak of them, termed ὑπερῶα, upper Rooms, as by *Evagrius* [l] in his Deſcription of the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, and more particularly by *Paulus Silentiarius* [m], who ſtiles them expreſly θηλυτέρων ὑπερώια, the upper Galleries of the Women. Theſe were alſo called κατηχέμενα, as appears from an Edict of the Emperor *Leo* [n], which makes theſe upper Rooms and the *Catechumena* to be the ſame Thing. *Suicerus* [o] and *Hoſpinian*, and many other Learned Men miſtake theſe for the Place where the *Catechumens* ſtood, and where the Catechetical Books were kept: But *Du Freſne* [p] more truly obſerves, "That they were ſo called, "becauſe they were Places of Hearing, where "the Women ſat in their upper Galleries to "hear Divine Service. In one of theſe the Empreſs commonly had her Apartment, as *Du Freſne* obſerves out of *Evagrius*. And by that one may eaſily underſtand what *Paulus Diaconus* [q] means, when ſpeaking of the Empreſs *Eirene*, he ſays, "She went up by the Aſcent of the Brazen "Gate into the *Catechumenia* of the Church, that is, into the Place of Hearing among the Womens Apartments in the Church. Theſe Galleries were ſometimes alſo made uſe of for Councils to ſit in, as *Leo Allatius* [r] has obſerved of the Council of *Conſtantinople* in the Time of *Johannes Comnenus*, *An.* 1165, "That it was "held ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς κατηχεμένοις, in the Right-"hand Galleries of the Church of *Alexius:* And ſome others are mentioned [s] as held in the ſame Place.

SECT. VIII. *Private Cells for Meditation, Reading, and Prayer on the Back of theſe.*

THE Inner Parts of theſe Portico's were ſometimes divided into little Cells, or Places of Retirement on the Walls of the Church, and that not only in the Womens Parts, but the Mens alſo, as may be collected from the Account which *Paulinus Nolanus* gives of them, who calls them *Cubicula*, little Chambers, and tells us, "The Uſe of "them [t] was for People to retire into, that "were minded to give themſelves to Reading, "or Meditation, or private Prayer. Theſe were looked upon as Parts of the *Catechumenia*, and were ſometimes abuſed to prophane Uſes inſtead of pious: For, as we may collect from the Decrees of the Council of *Trullo* [u] and the Emperor *Leo* [w], ſome made Uſe of them for Lodgings inſtead of Oratories, and cohabited with their Wives there: To correct which Abuſe, it is ordered in both thoſe Decrees, that all ſuch Perſons ſhould be expelled from the *Catechumenia* of the Church.

SECT. IX. *The Place of the Virgins and Widows diſtinguiſhed from others.*

IT is to be noted farther, that not only Men and Women had their diſtinct Places, but alſo Virgins and Widows a peculiar Apartment aſſigned to them. Which we learn from St. *Ambroſe*'s Diſcourſe to a Lapſed Virgin, telling her [x], "That ſhe ought "to have remembred that Place in the Church, "railed out from the reſt, where ſhe was uſed "to ſtand, whither the Religious Matrons and "Noble Women came thronging to receive her "Salutations, which were more holy and bet-

[g] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 17. [h] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 18. [i] Roma Subterran. lib. 2. c. 10. n. 23. [k] Nazian. Somnium de Templo Anaſtaſ. Tom. 2. p. 78. αἳ δ' ἄρ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν τειχέων ἐυκοσμον ἀκουὴν ἀγναὶ παρθενικαὶ κλῖνον ἄμ' ἐσθλογάμοις. [l] Evagr. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 31. [m] Paul. Silentiar. Deſcr. S. Soph. Part. 1. ver. 256. [n] Leo Novel. 73. ἐν τοῖς τῆ ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπερώοις ἅπερ ὁ πολὺς ἀνθρωπος κατηχέμενα καλεῖν ἔγνω. [o] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccl. voce κατηχέμενα. [p] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 550. [q] Paul. Diacon. Miſcel. lib. 23. Aſcendit Imperatrix Eirene per æneæ portæ aſcenſum in Catechumenia Eccleſiæ. [r] Leo Allat. de Conſenſu Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 645. [s] Leo Allat. ibid. c. 12. p. 682. [t] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Cubicula intra Porticus quaternalongis Baſilicæ lateribus inſerta, ſecretis Orantium, vel in Lege Domini mediantium, præterea memoriis Religioſorum ac familiarium accommodatos ad pacis æternæ requiem locos præbent. [u] Conc. Trullan. can. 97. [w] Leo Novel. 73. [x] Ambroſ. ad Virgin. Lapſam. c. 6. Nonne vel illum locum Tabulis ſeparatum, in quo Eccleſia ſtabas, recordari debuiſti? Ad quem religioſæ Matronæ & Nobiles certatim currebant, tua Oſcula petentes, quæ ſanctiores & meliores te erant.

" ter than her ſelf. This appears alſo from the Author [y] of the *Conſtitutions*, who ſpeaking of the Order in which Perſons were appointed to ſit in the Church, firſt places the Virgins, Widows and aged Women in the higheſt Rank; then Married Women below them in a Place by themſelves; then their Children; Daughters with their Mothers, and Sons with their Fathers, or next behind them; and laſt of all young Men according to their Age in different Stations. This was the Order in ſuch Churches as had none of thoſe *Hyperoa*, or Galleries before ſpoken of: For otherwiſe, as has been noted out of *Nazianzen*, the Virgins and Matrons had their diſtinct Places in the Portico's above. I do not here alledge *Origen*, after *Durantus* and *Bona*, becauſe they plainly miſtake the Senſe of their Author, who ſpeaks not of the Chriſtian Church, but of the *Jewiſh* Temple, and that with ſuch a formal Story, that it is a wonder any Learned Men could miſtake him. He tells us, " He had " it from an old Tradition, [z] that there was " a Place in the Temple peculiar for Virgins to " worſhip God in, whither no married Wo- " man was allowed to come. But the Virgin " *Mary*, after ſhe had brought forth our Saviour, " went and ſtood to worſhip there: Which " when they that knew ſhe had born a Son, " would not allow of; *Zacharias*, the Father of " St. *John Baptiſt*, ſtood up and ſaid, *She is* " *worthy to ſtand in the Place of Virgins, for ſhe* " *is yet a Virgin.* Upon which they roſe up a- " gainſt *Zacharias*, as a Breaker of the Law, " in permitting a married Woman to ſtand in " the Place of Virgins, and ſlew him between " the Temple and the Altar. I make no farther Reflection on this Paſſage at preſent, but leave it, as I find it, to the Judgment of the Reader. As to the Place of Virgins in the Chriſtian Church, I have only this one Thing more to remark out of St. *Ambroſe*, which is, That uſually ſome profitable Texts of Scripture [a] were written upon the Walls of the Church in this Place, proper to the Virgin-State, ſuch as that of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* vii. 34. *There is Difference between a Wife and a Virgin: The unmarried Woman careth for the Things of the Lord, that ſhe may be Holy both in Body and in Spirit.* Which Leſſon, St. *Ambroſe* tells the Virgin he writes to, ſhe ought to have remembred, becauſe it was written before her Eyes upon the Walls of the Church.

SECT. X.

The σωλεῖον or Solea, that is, the Magiſtrates Throne in this Part of the Church.

THERE is one Place more to be taken Notice of in ſome Churches, before we leave this Part of the Temple to go into the Sanctuary, which is, what *Codinus* [b] and ſome other Modern *Greeks* call the σωλεῖον, a Place of ſome Note in the Church of *Sancta Sophia*, but not exactly agreed upon by Learned Men, either what or where it was, or what uſe it was put to. *Gretſer* in his Notes upon *Codinus* [c], fancies it to be nothing elſe but the Pavement at the Entrance of the Sanctuary, or ſome ſuch Thing adjoining to it: *Morinus* [d] and *Allatius* [e] ſay it was ſome Place between the *Bema* and the *Ambo*. *Schelſtrate* is a little more particular [f], " That it was the Place before the Rails " of the Sanctuary, where the Emperor had his " Seat on the right Hand, and the Readers " and Subdeacons on the left. But *Suicerus* [g] and *Meurſius* are more poſitive, " That it " was only the Emperor's Throne, and called " σωλεῖον from the *Latin Solium*. And Dr. *Beverege* [h] inclines to the ſame Opinion. *Du Freſne* [i] allows of this as probable likewiſe, but he alſo fancies it might ſignify the *Limina Cancellorum*, the Threſhold, or raiſed Foundation upon which the Rails of the Chancel were erected, and be ſo called from *Solum*, whence comes the *French* Name *Seuil*, and the *Engliſh*, Sill, or Groundſil. This was uſually adorned and beautified very richly, he thinks, with Gold and precious Stones, and ſometimes reverenced with the Kiſſes and Salutations of the People; whence the Phraſes, *Exoſculari Limina*, & *Liminibus Martyrum affundi*, in *Sidonius* and *Prudentius*, are by him interpreted to this Purpoſe. But I conceive the former Opinion moſt probable, which takes it for the Emperor's Throne, which was toward the *Eaſt* End of the Church in the Men's Portico, over-againſt the Altar, where now the Sultan has his Seat among the *Turks*. For that Place which Dr. *Beverege* calls the *Embolus*, and others the *Circuitus*, or ſide Iſles on both Sides, were in the Temple of *Sancta Sophia* Portico's for Men below, and Women above. And as the Empreſs had her Seat in the upper End of the Womens Apartment, ſo the Emperors had theirs in the Mens Apartment next to the Chancel, from the Time that *Sozomen* [k] tells us *Theodoſius* ſubmitted to the Reproof of St. *Ambroſe*, who blamed him for taking his Seat within the Rails of the Sanctuary (though it had been cuſtomary for the Emperors ſo to do:) After which Admonition both he and his Succeſſors always took their Place without the Rails, whence that Place ſeems to be called the *Solium*, the Royal Seat. Which is confirmed a little by what *Suicerus* obſerves out of *Cedrenas* and *Codinus*, " That *Juſtinian* " made the *Solea* of Gold and Onyx Stone; which are proper Materials to adorn a Throne, but not ſo proper to be laid in the Pavement of a Church. Not far from this *Du Freſne* [l] obſerves in ſome Modern Churches, a Place

[y] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χῆραι, καὶ πρεσβύτιδες, πρῶται πασῶν στήκετωσαν, ἢ καθεζέσθωσαν. [z] Origen. Hom. 26. in Matth. p. 162. [a] Ambroſ. ad Virgin. Lapſam. c. 6. Nonne vel illa Præcepta, quæ oculis tuis ipſe Scriptus Paries ingerebat, recordari debuiſti? Diviſa eſt Mulier & Virgo, &c. [b] Codin. Origin. Conſtant. lib. 3. c. 12. [c] Gretſer. Not. in Loc. [d] Morin. de Ordinat. Par. 2. n. 52. [e] Allat. de Templis Græcor. Diſſert. 2. [f] Schelſtrat. Concil. Antioch. p. 192. [g] Suicer. Theſaur. & Meurſius in Gloſſar. [h] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Nicen. c. 11. [i] Du Freſne Not. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 585. [k] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 25. [l] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 560.

called

called the *Senatorium*, which ſome take to be only another Name for the Seats of the Biſhop and Presbyters, who were the Senate of the Church: But *Du Freſne* thinks it was rather the Seat of the Magiſtrates, called Senators, whence their Apartment had the Name of *Senatorium* in the Church.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Bema, *or Third Part of the Temple, called the Altar and the Sanctuary, and the Parts and Uſes of it.*

SECT. I. *The Chancel antiently called* Bema, *or Tribunal.*

THE Third, and innermoſt Part of the antient Churches, was that which we now call the Chancel; but originally it was known by many other Names. One of the moſt common Names was that of Βῆμα, or Tribunal, which, as I have noted before, is a Word of various Signification, denoting ſometimes the *Ambo*, or Reading-Desk, and ſometimes the Altar, and ſometimes the Seats, or Thrones, of the Biſhop and Presbyters, and ſometimes the whole Space where theſe Thrones and the Altar ſtood. In which Senſe I underſtand that Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [a], which forbids Presbyters to go into the *Bema*, and ſit there before the Biſhop comes. *Suicerus* has obſerved it [b] frequently to be thus uſed in the Liturgies of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*. And *Chryſoſtom* [c], in one of his Homilies, more particularly deſcribes it to be the Place whither the Biſhop went by an Aſcent into it, to Preach, to Pray, to ſtand by the Holy Temple, and offer the tremendous Sacrifice for the People. By which it is eaſy to underſtand, that he takes it not barely for the Altar alone, or the Biſhop's Throne, but for the whole Place where they ſtood, and where theſe ſeveral Offices were performed. And the Reaſon of the Name *Bema* was what *Chryſoſtom* alſo intimates, when he ſays, "They went up by an "Aſcent into it. For *Bema* and *Ambo* have both the ſame Original, from ἀναβάναν, becauſe they were Places exalted above the reſt, and like the Tribunals of Judges, had an Aſcent by Steps into them. Now the *Bema* was more peculiarly allotted to the Clergy, and upon that Account, as I have noted before in [*] a former Book, the Clergy were ſometimes ſtiled οἱ τοῦ Βήματος, and τάξις τοῦ Βήματος, the Order of the *Bema*, or the Sanctuary.

SECT. II. *Alſo* Ἅγιον *or* ἱερατεῖον, *and* Sacrarium, *the Holy, or the Sanctuary.*

FOR the Name Sanctuary was alſo appropriated to this Part of the Church. The *Greeks* peculiarly ſtiled it Ἅγιον, the Holy; and from thence the Altar was called Ἅγιον Ἁγίων, the Holy of Holies, which is the Term that *Euſebius* [d] uſes in deſcribing the Temple of *Paulinus*. In other Places [e] he calls it Ἁγιασμα, which is the Name whereby the *Seventy* call the Sanctuary in the *Old Teſtament*. The *Latins* called it *Sacrarium*, the Sanctuary. As in the Firſt Council of *Bracara*, which forbids Laymen [f] to come into the Sanctuary to communicate: And the Council of *Vaiſon*, which [g] ſpeaks of the Office of Ordering or Diſpoſing the Things of the Sanctuary: And the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, which forbids the Oblation of ſuch as are at Variance one with another, to be received [h] either in the Treaſury, or the Sanctuary.

SECT. III. *And* Θυσιαστήριον, *the Altar Part.*

THE *Greeks* alſo termed it Θυσιαστήριον, the Altar Part. For tho' that Word commonly ſignifies the Altar it ſelf, or the Lord's Table, yet in ſome antient Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as *Habertus* [i] and Mr. *Mede* [k] have obſerved, it is uſed to denote the whole Sanctuary within the Rails, where none but the Clergy were allowed. As in the Councils of *Laodicea* [l] and *Trullo* [m], which forbid Women and Laymen to come into the Θυσιαστήριον, it muſt mean the whole Altar Part, or Chancel. And ſo in *Socrates* [n], and *Theodoret* [o], and many others, who ſpeak of St. *Ambroſe* excluding *Theodoſius* the Emperor from within the Rails of the Sanctuary.

SECT. IV. Presbyterium *and* Diaconicum.

ST. *Cyprian*, in his 55th Epiſtle, calls it *Conſeſſus Cleri*, the Preſbytery. And *Forbeſius* [p], and ſome other Learned Men, think it was alſo called *Diaconicum*, from the Presbyters ſitting, and the Deacons miniſtring there. Thus they underſtand the Council of *Laodicea* [q], which forbids Sub-deacons to have any Place in the *Diaconicum*, or to touch the Sacred Veſſels of the Lord's Table. But I muſt note, that though the Name *Diaconicum* in that Canon may ſignify the Chancel, or Sanctuary, yet it more commonly means the Veſtry, or Repoſitory of the Sacred Veſſels, of which we are to give a farther Account, when we come to ſpeak of the *Exedræ* of the Church.

[a] Conc. Laodic. can. 56. [b] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccl. voce Βῆμα. [c] Chryſoſt. Hom. 36. de Pentecoſt. Tom. 5. p. 553. [*] *Book* 1. *Chap.* 5. *Sect.* 11. [d] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 381. [e] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 18. [f] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 31. Ingredi Sacrarium ad communicandum non liceat Laicis, niſi tantum Clericis. [g] Conc. Vaſenſ. c. 3. Cujus Officium eſt Sacrarium diſponere & Sacramenta ſuſcipere. [h] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 93. Oblationes diſſidentium fratrum, neque in Sacrario, neque in Gazophylacio recipiantur. [i] Habert. Archierat. p. 663. [k] Mede Comment. Apocalyp. p. 479. [l] Conc. Laodic. c. 44. [m] Conc. Trull. can. 69. [n] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 25. [o] Theodor. lib. 1. c. 14. [p] Forbeſ. Irenic. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 221. [q] Conc. Laodic. can. 21.

SECT. V. *Also* Chorus, *or* Quire.

IN ſome Canons it ſeems alſo to have had the Name of *Chorus*, whence comes our *Engliſh* Quire. As in the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, which thus appoints [r] the Order and Manner of Mens communicating in the Church, ſo as that the Prieſts and Deacons ſhould communicate before the Altar, the Inferior Clergy in the Quire, and the People without the Quire. Though ſome take the *Chorus* to ſignify rather the Place of the Singers and Readers in the other Part of the Church.

SECT. VI. *This Place ſeparated from the reſt by Rails called* Cancelli, *whence comes* Chancel.

EUSEBIUS, deſcribing this Part of the Temple of *Paulinus*, "It was divided from the reſt "by certain Rails [ſ] of "Wood, curiouſly and artificially wrought in the Form of "Net-Work, to make it inacceſſible to the "Multitude. Theſe the *Latins* call *Cancelli*, whence comes our *Engliſh* Name, Chancel. In other *Greek* Writers they are termed Κιγκλίδες. Whence in *Theodoret* [t] τὰ ἔνδον τῶν Κιγκλίδων, the Place within the Rails, is but another Name for the Altar-Part, or Chancel. And to lay hold of the Rails, in the Phraſe of *Syneſius* [u], is the ſame Thing as to take Sanctuary at the Altar.

SECT. VII. *And kept inacceſſible to the Multitude. Whence it was called* Adyta.

BY theſe Rails, as *Euſebius* words it, "This whole Altar-"place was kept inacceſſible to "all but the Clergy in time of "Divine Service. The Council of *Laodicea* has one Canon [w] particularly forbidding Women to come within the Altar-part. And another in more general Terms, allowing none but the ἱερατικοὶ to communicate there [x]. In which Canon ſome take the Word, ἱερατικοὶ, to mean all the Clergy, Inferior as well as Superior: But *Habertus* [y] thinks it means only the Superior Clergy, Prieſts and Deacons; and that all the Inferiors, Sub-deacons, Readers, *&c.* were excluded from this Part as well as the People. However, it is agreed on all Hands that the People in that Age had no Place there. For St. *Ambroſe* would not permit the Emperor *Theodoſius* himſelf to communicate [†] in this Part, but obliged him to retire, as ſoon as he had made his Oblation at the Altar. Which Cuſtom continued for ſome Ages after. As appears from what *Theodoſius Junior* ſays of himſelf, in the Acts of the Council of *Epheſus* [z], "That he "only went up to the Altar, to make his Obla-"tion, and having done that, retired again to "the Exterior Court, or *Atrium* of the People. And ſo we find it decreed, correſpondent to this Practice, in the Council of *Trullo* [a], "That "no Layman whatſoever ſhould come into the "Altar-Part, except only the Emperor, when "he had made his Oblation to the Creator, ac-"cording to antient Cuſtom. And hence it was that this Part of the Church was called Ἄβατα, and Ἄδυτα, by *Theodoret* [b], and *Euſebius*, and other *Greek* Writers, and *Adyta* by the *Latins*, that is, Inacceſſible; becauſe there was no Place of Acceſs here for the People, who were wholly excluded from it. Though I muſt note, that according to the Difference of Times and Places, different Cuſtoms ſeem to have prevailed in this Matter. For the moſt antient Cuſtom was both for Men and Women to come up to the Altar, and communicate there, as it appears to have been in the Third Century, in the Time of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who ſpeaks both of Men [c] and Women [d] ſtanding at the Holy Table, and reaching forth their Hands to receive the Euchariſt there. And ſo *Valeſius* underſtands it [e]. And the ſame Privilege was allowed the People in *France*, in the ſixth Century. For the Second Council of *Tours*, *An.* 567, orders the Holy of Holies [f] to be open both for Men and Women, to pray and communicate in, at the Time of the Oblation; though at other Times, when there was any other Service without the Communion, they were not allowed to come within the Chorus of the Singers, or Rails of the Chancel. By which alſo we learn what Part of the Church in this Age, in *France*, was called the Chorus, namely, that which was immediately within the Rails of the Chancel, where the Inferior Clergy had their Station in the Time of the Oblation.

SECT. VIII. *The Holy Gates, and Veils, or Hangings dividing the Chancel from the reſt of the Church.*

THE Modern *Greeks* call the Entrance into this Part the Holy Gates, becauſe they open from the Body of the Church into the Holy of Holies. But there is little mention made of theſe in antient Writers. But they often ſpeak of the Uſe of Veils, or Hangings in this Place, to cover the Proſpect of the Altar. *Athanaſius* calls them Βῆλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, the Hangings of the Church. For ſpeaking of the Fury of the *Arrians*, and their ravaging a Church in the Time of *Conſtantius*, he ſays, "They took the Biſhop's "Throne, and the Seats of the Presbyters [g], "and the Table which was of Wood, and the "Veils of the Church, and whatever elſe they "could, and carried them out and burnt them. In *Syneſius* [h] they are called καταπέτασμα μυσικὸν, the myſtical Veils. And in *Chryſoſtom* and *Eva-*

[r] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 17. Sacerdotes & Levitæ ante altare communicent, in Choro Clerus, extra Chorum Populus. Vid. Conc. Turon. 2. can. 4. [ſ] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 381. ὡς ἂν ἔξω τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβατα, ἀπὸ ζύλα περιφραξάμενος δικτύοις, &c. [t] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 17. [u] Syneſii Cataſtaſi, p. 303. [w] Conc. Laodic. c. 44. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι. [x] Ibid. can. 19. μόνον δὲ τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν. [y] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 10. Obſer. 9. p. 268. [†] Vide Theodor. lib. 5. c. 17. Sozom. lib. 7. c. 24. [z] Edict. Theodoſ. ad calcem Conc. Epheſ. Tom. 3. p. 1237. τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ διὰ μόνων τῶν τῶν δώρεῶν προσφορᾶν ἐφαπτόμεθα. [a] Conc. Trull. can. 69. [b] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 17. [c] Dionyſ. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 9. τραπέζῃ ἑστῶντα, *&c.* [d] Dionyſ. Epiſt. Canon. can. 2. [e] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 9. [f] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 4. Ad orandum & communicandum Laicis & Fœminis, ſicut mos eſt, pateant Sancta Sanctorum. [g] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. Tom. 1. p. 847. [h] Syneſ. Ep. 67. ad Theophil. p. 240.

grius,

grius, ἀμφίθυρα, from their opening in the middle as folding Doors. These were sometimes richly adorned with Gold, as that which *Evagrius* [i] says *Chosroes* gave to the Church of *Antioch*. The Use of them was partly to hide the Prospect of this Part of the Church, from the *Catechumens* and Unbelievers, and partly to cover the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, in the time of Consecration, as we learn from these Words of *Chrysostom*, "When the Sacrifice is brought "forth, when Christ the Lamb of God is offer-"ed, when you hear this Signal given, Let us "all join in common Prayer, when you see the "Veils [k] withdrawn, then think you see Hea-"ven opened, and the Angels descending from "above. There were also several other Veils, to note this by the way, in other Parts of the Church. For *Paulinus* [l] speaks often of Veils before the Doors of the Church. And St. *Jerom* commends *Nepotian*, for that among other Parts of his Concern for the Decency of the Church, as he took care that the Altar, and the Walls, and the Pavement should be kept clean, so also that the Doors should have their Keepers, and the Gates [m] their Veils. In like manner *Epiphanius* [n] speaking of the Church of *Anablatha* in *Palestine*, says, "He found a Veil hanging be-"fore the Doors of the Church, which he tore "in Pieces, not because it was a Veil, but be-"cause it had the Image of Christ, or some Saint "painted on it, which was contrary to the Rules "of the Christian Church. He therefore or-dered the Guardians of the Church to bury some Poor Man in it, and sent them at his own Expence another plain one in its stead. There were also Veils between the Pillars of the *Hyperoa*, or Womens Galleries, to be drawn in Time of the Oblation, as *Du Fresne* [o] has observed out of *Paulus Silentiarius*, and *Amphilochius*, in the Life of St. *Basil*. And some others of like nature will easily be observed by a curious Reader.

SECT. IX. *The highest Part of the Chancel called* Apsis, Exedra, *or* Conchula Bematis.

AT the upper End of the Chancel was commonly a Semicircular Building, which from the Figure and Position of it, is by some Authors called *Apsis*, and *Exedra*, and *Conchula Bematis*. For these are Words that signify any Arched or Spherical Building, like the Canopy of Heaven, to which St. *Jerom* applies the Name of *Apsis* [p]. It was called *Concha*, because in Figure it resembled something the Fashion of a Shell, as *Du Fresne* shews out of *Procopius*, and *Paulus Silentiarius*, and *Paulinus*, and other Writers. *Du Fresne* [q] thinks it is also called *Exedra* by St. *Austin*, who says, "The Conference between the Catholicks, "and *Emeritus* the Donatist Bishop, was held "in the *Exedra* of the Church; which he in-terprets the Place where the Bishop and Presbyters had their usual Residence in the upper End of the *Bema*, beyond the Altar. But *Valesius* [r], and other Learned Men, take *Exedra* here in the common Sense for one of the outer Buildings of the Church. And it is not easy to determine so nice a Controversy between them.

SECT X. *This antiently the Place of the Thrones of the Bishop, and his Presbyters.*

HOWEVER, this is certain, that the Bishop's Throne, with the Thrones of his Presbyters on each Side of it, were always fixt in this Part of the Church, in a Semicircle above the Altar. For antiently the Seats of the Bishop and Presbyters were joined together, and all called Thrones, as is evident from *Eusebius* his Description of the Temple of *Paulinus*, who [s] says, "He adorned it with "Thrones set on high for the Honour of the "Presidents, or Rulers, of the People, that is, "the Bishop and Presbyters together. Hence it is that *Nazianzen*, speaking of the Presbyters [t] as the Rulers of the People, and venerable Senate of the Church, calls their Seats the Second Thrones. *Constantine* in his Letter to *Chrestus*, Bishop of *Syracuse*, summoning him to the Council of *Arles*, uses the same Phrase, bidding [u] him bring with him Two of the Second Throne, that is, Two Presbyters. I know indeed *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* [w] by those of the Second Throne understands Bishops, in Opposition to Primates, or Metropolitans, which he reckons to be those of the First Throne. But the Use of the Phrase, both in *Eusebius* and *Nazianzen* [x], leads us rather to believe that he meant Presbyters, who sat with their Bishop in the Church upon Thrones, as they stile them, of the Second Order. For this, as I have had Occasion to shew in another [*] Place, was the Difference between them, that the Bishop's was generally termed the High Throne, and the Presbyters the Second Throne; or as *Athanasius* [y] calls them, the Throne, and the Joint-Chairs, or Seats of the Presbyters. The Bishop's Throne was otherwise called Βῆμα, the Tribunal, as we may see in *Eusebius* [z], where he relates the Censure of the Council of *Antioch*, passed on *Paulus Samosatensis* for erecting his Throne, or Tribunal, too stately, with a Veil, or *Secretum*

[i] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 21. [k] Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Ephes. p. 1052. ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα, &c. [l] Paulin. Natal. Felic. 3. Aurea nunc niveis ornantur limina velis. Id. Natal. 6. Pulchra tegendis Vela ferant foribus. [m] Hieron. Epitaph. Nepotian. Erat sollicitus, si niteret altare, si parietes absque fuligine, si pavimenta tersa, si janitor creber in Porta, Vela semper in Ostiis, &c. [n] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosolym. Inveni ibi Velum pendens in foribus ejusdem Ecclesiæ, &c. [o] Du Fresne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 551. [p] Hieron. lib. 2. in Ephes. c. 4. p. 223. In summo Cœli fornice, & ut ipso verbo utar, Apside. [q] Aug. de Gestis cum Emerito, Tom. 7. p. 250. Cum Deuterius Episcopus Metropolitanus—— una cum cæteris Episcopis in Exedram processissent, præsentibus Presbyteris & Diaconis & universo Clero, ac frequentissima Plebe, &c. Vid. Du Fresne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 565. [r] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vita Const. lib. 3. c. 50. [s] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. θρόνοις τοῖς ἐνοτάτω εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμὴν. &c. [t] Naz. Carm. Iambic. 23. πρῶτον μὲν τὰ δεύτερα θρόνων λελογχότες λαοῦ προεδροὶ πρεσβύται, σεμνὴ γερουσία. [u] Ap. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5. δύο γέτονας ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων θρόνων. [w] Carol. à S. Paulo Geograph. Sacr. p. 47. [x] Vid. Naz. Carm. de Vita sua. It. Somnium de Templo Anastas. [*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 9. *n.* 7. *Book* 2. *Chap.* 19. *n.* 5. [y] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. Tom. 1. p. 847. θρόνον καὶ συμβούλια. [z] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

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to it, in Imitation of the Tribunals of Secular Judges, which they did not allow of in the Christian Church: And hence the whole Chancel was sometimes called the *Bema*, as I have shewed before. The *Latins* more commonly use the Names of *Sedes* and *Cathedra* for a Bishop's Throne, whence come our *English* Names of Cathedral and See, for a Church where the Bishop's Chair, or Seat is fix'd. The manner of their Sitting is noted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his Description of the Church of *Anastasia*, where he speaks of himself as Bishop [*a*] sitting upon the high Throne, and the Presbyters on lower Benches on both Sides about him. And so it is described by the Author [*b*] of the *Constitutions*, and *Theodoret* [*c*], who calls the Bishop's Throne the middle Seat upon this Account. And there are some learned Persons [*d*] who suppose all this to be done in Imitation of the *Jewish* Synagogues, in which, according to *Maimonides*, at the upper End looking toward the *Holy Land*, the Law was placed in the Wall, in an Arch, and on each Side the Elders were seated in a Semicircle. The Bishop's Seat was usually covered with some decent Covering, suitable to the Dignity of his Office and Person; as we learn from *Athanasius* in his second Apology [*e*] to *Constantius*, where he asks, "How they could have any Concern "for the Throne Episcopally covered, who "sought to kill the Bishop that sat thereon." And St. *Austin* [*f*] seems plainly to allude to this, when he tells *Maximinus* the Donatist Bishop, "That when Bishops came to stand be- "fore the Tribunal of Christ at the last Judg- "ment, they themselves would then have no "Tribunals, no lofty Seats or covered Chairs, "though such Honours were exhibited to them "for a Time in this World, for the Benefit and "Advantage of the Church."

SECT. XI. *And of the Altar, or Communion-Table.*

THIS doubtless was the Posture antiently of the Thrones of the Bishops and Presbyters in the Christian Church, as they are represented in the several Models of the primitive Structures. From which it will be easy to observe farther, That the Place of the Communion-Table, or Altar, was not close to the Wall at the upper End, but at some little Distance from it; so as that the Bishop's Throne might be behind it, and room enough left in a void Space to encompass or surround the Altar. This seems pretty plain from an Expression in *Synesius* [*g*], who speaking of his being forced to take Sanctuary, says, "He "would fly into the Church, and encompass "the Altar." Which implies, That it was set in such manner, as that he might go round it And this is the Meaning of *Eusebius*, when having first spoken of the Thrones of the Bishop and Presbyters in the Church of *Paulinus*, he then adds, "That he set [*h*] the Holy of Ho- "lies, the Altar, in the middle." Which is not to be interpreted, as some have misunderstood it, of the Altar's being placed in the middle of the *Nave*, or Body of the Church, but in the middle of the *Bema*, or Sanctuary, at such a distance from the upper End, as that the *Synthronus*, the Seats of the Bishop and Presbyters might be behind it. St. *Austin* seems to refer to the same Thing, when he says, "The Table of the "Lord [*i*] stood in the middle." And in the Council of *Constantinople*, under *Mennas* [*k*], it is represented in such a Posture, as that it might be encompassed round. For 'tis said, when the Names of Pope *Leo* and some others which had been struck out of the Diptychs were inserted again, the People for joy at the Time when Diptychs were read, after the repetition of the Creed, ran round about the Altar for to hear them. Dr. *Hammond* [*l*] and some other learned Men, think not improbably, that this Posture of the Altar in Christian Churches, was something in Imitation of the Altar in the *Jewish* Temple, to which the Psalmist alludes, when he says, *I will wash my Hands in Innocency, and so will I compass thine Altar*, Psal. xxvi. 6. from whence they suppose the Phrase περικυκλῶν θυσιαστήριον, compassing the Altar, in the antient Rituals to be taken.

SECT. XII. *Both these Names indifferently used in the Primitive Church.*

GREAT Dispute has been raised in the last Age about the Name of the Communion-Table, Whether it was to be called the Holy Table, or an Altar. And indeed any Thing will afford Matter of Controversy to Men in a disputing Age: But we never read of any such Dispute in the Primitive Church. For the antient Writers used both Names indifferently; some calling it Altar; others the Lord's Table, the Holy Table, the Mystical Table, the Tremendous Table, *&c.* and sometimes both Table and Altar in the same Sentence together. Mr. *Mede* thinks it was usually called Altar for the two first Ages, and that the Name Table [*m*] is not to be found in any Author of those Ages now remaining. *Ignatius* uses only the Name [*n*] θυσιαστήριον, Altar, in his *Genuine Epistles*, three of which are alledged by Mr. *Mede*, to which the Reader may add another Testimony out of his Epistle [*o*] to the *Magnesians*, where he uses

[*a*] Nazian. Somn. Anastas. Tom. 2. p. 78. ἐζέσθαι δοκείσκον ὑπέρθρονον,—οἱ δ' μοὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑφεδριόνιο γερασῖσι ποίμνης ἡγεμόνες, *&c.* [*b*] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. [*c*] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 3. [*d*] *See Bishop* Hooper *Disc. of Lent, Par.* 2. *Chap.* 6. *p.* 249. [*e*] Athan. Apol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 736. πῶς οἱ θρόνον τ' ἐσολισμένον ὑπσκοπικῶς ὁδυρόμενοι, τ' ἐν αὐτῷ καθήμενον ὑπίσκοπον ἀνελεῖν ζητῶσιν. [*f*] Aug. Ep. 203. In futuro Christi Judicio nec Apsidæ gradatæ, nec Cathedræ velatæ——quæ pro tempore propter Ecclesiæ utilitatem honori nostro exhibentur. [*g*] Synes. Catastasis. p. 303. κυκλώσομαι τὸ θυσιαστήριον, *&c.* [*h*] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. τὸ τ' ἁγίων ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσῳ θεῖς. [*i*] Aug. Serm. 46. de verbis Domini. Tom. 10. p. 68. Christus quotidie pascit. Mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta. [*k*] Conc. Constantinop. Act. 5. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 185. τῷ ἁγίᾳ μαθήματι καὶ τῷ σωτηρίῳ λειχθέντι καιρῷ τ' διπλύχων σωέδρημον ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κύκλῳ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. [*l*] Hamond. cont. Blondel. Dissert. c. 13. n. 8. [*m*] Mede *Disc. of Altars.* p. 386. [*n*] Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. n. 5. Ep. ad Trallian. n. 7. Ep. ad Philad. n. 4. [*o*] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 7.

both

both the Name Temple and Altar. *Irenæus* [p] and *Origen* [q] uſe the ſame Name, when they ſpeak of the Communion-table. *Tertullian* frequently applies to it the Name of *Ara Dei* and *Altare*. *Will not your Station, or Faſt*, ſays he [r], *be more ſolemn, if you ſtand at the Altar of God? That is, receive the Communion on a Faſt-day?* So alſo in his Book [s] *ad Uxorem* and *de Caſtitate* [t]. But they are led into an Errror by the corrupt Edition of *Rhenanus*, who cites his Book *de Pœnitentia* for the ſame thing: For though in that Edition we find mention made [u] of Kneeling at the Altar, *Aris Dei adgeniculari*; yet better Editions ſince teach us to read it more truly, *Charis Dei adgeniculari*, Kneeling down to the Beloved of God: Alluding to the Cuſtom of the Penitents falling down at the Church-doors, to beg the Prayers of the Faithful as they went in. *Cyprian*, the Diſciple of *Tertullian*, ſometimes uſes both Names, Table, and Altar, as when he ſays thoſe Words of *Solomon*, Prov. ix. 2. *Wiſdom hath furniſhed her Table*, &c. typified the Chriſtian [w] Altar. But more commonly he uſes the Name Altar alone [x], which argues that to have been at leaſt a very uſual Name in his time in the *African* and *Latin* Churches. Mr. *Mede* cites alſo *Zeno Veronenſis* as an Author of the third Century, cotemporary with *Cyprian*, who is indeed one that ſpeaks plain enough both of the *Cancelli* [y] and the Altar; but now learned Men [z] are agreed to thruſt him down a whole Century lower, ſo that he is not a competent Witneſs for the third Age, but he may ſerve for the fourth; in which Age, one may venture to ſay, there is ſcarce an Author that ſpeaks of the Lord's-table, but he alſo calls it Altar. On the other hand it is certain they did not mean by the Altar, what the *Jews* and Heathens meant, either an Altar dreſt up with Images, that is, Idol-gods, as the Heathens commonly had theirs adorn'd; or an Altar for bloody Sacrifices, which was the Uſe of them both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

SECT. XIII. *In what ſenſe the Ancients ſay, they had no Altars.*

IN the firſt Senſe they always rejected Altars, both Name and Thing. For their Altars had no Images either above, or about, or upon them, as the Heathen Altars always had. And upon that account the antient Apologiſts, *Origen* [a], *Minutius Felix* [b], *Arnobius* [c] and *Lactantius* [d], when the Heathens object to them, that they had no Altars, roundly and freely confeſs it in the Senſe that the Objection was made; that is, that they had no Altars furniſhed with Idol-gods, and fitted for Idol-worſhip, ſuch as the Heathen pleaded for. In like manner they denied that they had any Altars in the *Jewiſh* Senſe, for offering Bloody Sacrifices upon: But for their own Myſtical Unbloody Sacrifice, as they called the Euchariſt, they always owned they had an Altar, which they ſcrupled not to term indifferently θυσιαστήριον, *Ara*, *Altare*, and ſometimes βωμὸς: For though Mr. *Mede* thinks they never uſed that Name, yet it appears, that with the Addition of ἀναίμακτον, they ſometimes did; for *Syneſius* [e] ſpeaking of the Holy Table, expreſly ſtiles it ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν, the Unbloody Altar.

SECT. XIV. *Of the Names, Holy Table, Myſtical Table, &c.*

YET theſe ſame Authors, to diſtinguiſh their Notion more exactly, commonly uſe the Name Table for the Altar, with the Addition of ſome ſingular Epithet, implying the peculiar Uſe of it in the Chriſtian Church. In *Chryſoſtom* [f] it is moſt uſually termed τράπεζα μυστικὴ and φρικτὴ, the Myſtical and Tremendous Table; ſometimes the Spiritual, Divine, Royal, Immortal, Heavenly Table; of which the Reader may find Inſtances enough collected by *Suicerus* [g] out of that Author. St. *Auſtin* [h] uſually gives it the Name of *Menſa Domini*, the Lord's Table; whence *Menſa Cypriani* in that Author ſignifies either [i] the Altar, or the Church erected in the Place of St. *Cyprian*'s Martyrdom. It were eaſy to add a thouſand other Teſtimonies out of *Athanaſius*, *Sineſius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Paulinus*, and the reſt of that Age, where the Altar is called the Holy Table, to ſignify to us their Notion of the Chriſtian Sacrifice and Altar at once, that it was Myſtical and Spiritual, and had no Relation either to the Bloody Sacrifices of the *Jews*, or the more abſurd Idolatries of the *Gentiles*, but ſerved only for the Service of the Euchariſt and Oblations of the People.

SECT. XV. *Altars generally made of Wood till the time of* Conſtantine.

IF any is deſirous to know the Matter and Form of the ancient Altars, or Tables, St. *Auſtin* will inform him, that they were of Wood in his Time in the *African* Churches. For ſpeaking of a great Outrage committed by the Donatiſts againſt a Catholick Biſhop, whilſt he ſtood miniſtring at the Altar, he ſays, "They beat him cruelly with Clubs "and ſuch like Weapons, and at laſt [k] with "the broken Pieces of the Timber of the Altar." This is farther confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Optatus*, who objecting to the Donatiſts, their

[p] Irenæ. lib. 4. c. 34. Nos quoque offerre vult munus frequenter ad Altare, &c. [q] Origen. Hom. 10. in Num. T. 1. p. 207. [r] Tertul. de Orat. c. 14. Nonne Solennior erit Statio tua, ſi & ad Aram Dei ſteteris. [s] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 1. c. 7. [t] Tertul. de Exhort. Caſtit. c. 10. [u] Tertul. de Pœnitent. c. 9. [w] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. It. Teſtimon. adv. Judæos lib. 2. c. 2. [x] Vid. Cypr. Ep. 40, 42, 55, 64, 63, 60, 70. [y] Zeno Serm. 9. ad Neophyt. Eccleſia Sacri Altaris fœliciter enutrita Cancellis. [z] Cave Hiſt. Literar. p. 176. [a] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 389. ἡμᾶς βωμὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὼς ἱδρύσαι φεύγει. [b] Minuc. Octav. Cur. nullus Aras habent, Templa nulla, nulla nota Simulacra? [c] Arnob. cont. Gentes lib. 6. Non altaria fabricemus, non Aras. [d] Lactant. lib. 2. c. 2. Quid ſibi Templa, quid Aræ volunt, &c. [e] Syneſ. Cataſtaſis, p. 303. [f] Chryſoſt. Hom. 21. Quod oportet Hæreſes eſſe T. 5. p. 313. It. Hom. 36. de Pentecoſt. p. 553. [g] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccl. voce τράπεζα. [h] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Hom. 26. de Verbis Domini. [i] Hom. 26. ex editis a Sirmondo, ad Menſam Cypriani. [k] Aug. Ep. 50. ad Bonifac. p. 84. Stantem ad altare fuſtibus & hujuſmodi telis, lignis denique ejuſdem altaris effractis, immaniter ceciderunt.

ſacrilegious Abuſe of the Catholick Altars, ſays, "They broke them in [*l*] pieces in ſuch Places, "as would afford them plenty of Wood to make "new ones of; but in Places where there was "a ſcarcity of Wood, they contented them-"ſelves with ſcraping, or ſhaving them by way "of pretended Expiation." Nay, the Workmen, who wrought in this egregious Service, had Wine given them, heated with Fires made of the Fragments of the Altars. *Athanaſius* has likewiſe Occaſion to tell us, their Communion-tables were of Wood, in a parallel Story upon the *Arians*, who in one of their mad Humours, as he complains, went into a Church, and took the Throne and Seats of the Presbyters, and the Table, which was of Wood [*m*], and the Veils, and whatever other combuſtible Matter they could find, and carried them out, and burned them. So that there is no queſtion to be made, but that about this Time the Altars were only Tables of Wood in *Africk* and *Egypt*, as theſe Teſtimonies plainly imply. *Bona* [*n*] thinks they had Stone-Altars before, even in Times of Perſecution, but he offers no Proof but his own Opinion. Yet it is generally thought, by *Hoſpinian* [*o*] and other Learned Men, that they began to come in from the Time of *Conſtantine*, together with the Statelineſs and Magnificence of Churches. The Pontifical ſpeaks of Silver Altars dedicated by *Conſtantine*: And *Gerſon*, and others alledged by *Hoſpinian*, make Pope *Sylveſter*, who lived in the Time of *Conſtantine*, to be the Author of a Decree, *That all Altars ſhould be of Stone*: But theſe Authorities are of no Weight, and the Stories contradict one another. What is certain in the Caſe is this: That about the Time of *Gregory Nyſſen*, Altars in ſome Places began to be of Stone; for he in his Diſcourſe of Baptiſm ſpeaks of a Stone Altar. "This "Altar, *ſays he*, whereat we ſtand, [*p*] is by "Nature only common Stone, nothing different "from other Stones, whereof our Walls are "made, and our Pavements adorned; but after "it is conſecrated and dedicated to the Service "of God, it becomes an Holy Table, an Immaculate Atar, which may not be promiſcuouſly "touch'd by all, but only the Prieſts in time "of Divine Service." In the next Age in *France* we find a general Decree made in the Council of [*q*] *Epone*, *An.* 509, "That no Al-"tars ſhould be conſecrated but ſuch as were "made of Stone only." And this ſeems to be the firſt Publick Act of this nature, that we have upon authentick Record in antient Hiſtory. And from the time of this Change in the Matter of them, the Form, or Faſhion of them, changed likewiſe. For whereas before they were in the Form of Tables, they now began to be erected more like Altars, either upon a ſingle Foot, or Pillar, in the midſt, or upon an Edifice erected like a Tomb, as if it were ſome Monument of a Martyr, as *Bona* tells us there are ſome ſuch now to be ſeen in the *Catacombs* of *Rome* [*r*], and other Places.

SECT. XVI. *But one Altar anciently in a Church.*

IT will perhaps be ſomething more material to remark here, that antiently there was never above one Altar in a Church. One Biſhop and one Altar [*s*] in a Church, is the known *Aphoriſm* of *Ignatius*. And *Euſebius* is ſuppoſed upon this account to call the Altar in the Church of *Paulinus* at *Tyre*, μονογλὲς θυσιαςήριον, the ſingle Altar, [*t*] as *Habertus* truly obſerves upon it, who ingenuouſly confeſſes, that it has ever been the conſtant Cuſtom of the *Greek* Churches to have but one Altar in a Temple; in confirmation of which he cites *Athanaſius*, *Nazianzen*, *Syneſius*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Evagrius*, and many others. Cardinal *Bona* [*u*] alſo owns, he could find no Footſteps of the contrary Practice 'till the Time of *Gregory* the Great, and then only in the *Latin* Church. For the *Greeks* have always kept to the antient Cuſtom. He thinks indeed the contrary Cuſtom was in the *Latin* Church of Old, but he only ſhews his Willingneſs to believe it without Proof: And *Schelſtrate* [*w*] very juſtly cenſures him for it, ſhewing out of *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*, that the *Latins*, as well as the *Greeks*, had then but one Altar in a Church. For *Optatus* [*x*] ſpeaks of the Altar of *Cyprian*'s Church, as one only and no more, both in the Time of *Cyprian* and afterward, and thence concludes that the Donatiſts were Schiſmaticks, becauſe they went from *Cyprian*'s Altar, and ſet up another Altar againſt it. And St. *Auſtin* argues againſt them [*y*] upon the ſame Foundation, that there ought not to be two Epiſcopal Altars in one City. This ſuppoſes then but one Altar in a Church among the *Latins*, as well as the *Greeks*; and ſo *Chriſtianus Lupus* [*z*], and *Pagi* [*a*], the Learned Corrector of *Baronius*, affirm it to have been the conſtant Practice of the Primitive Church. Though now (to ſee what Improvement has been made in later Ages) there are no leſs than twenty five Altars, beſides the Great Altar, in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*; and the Great Altar it ſelf is no leſs than twenty five Foot ſquare, with a Croſs of twenty five Inches long upon it, as Dr. *Potter* obſerves out of *Onu-*

[*l*] Optat. lib. 6. p. 94. Alio loco copia Lignorum frangi juſſit; alio, ut altaria raderent, lignorum inopia imperavit.—Ibid. Calida de Fragmentis Altarium facta eſt. Vid. p. 95 ibid. [*m*] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. Vitam agentes. Tom. 1. p. 847. ἁρπάσαντες τὰ συμψέλλια, καὶ θρόνον, καὶ τ' τραπέζαν, ξυλίνη ὄ ση, &c. [*n*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 20. n. 1. [*o*] Hoſpin. de Templis, lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 34. [*p*] Nyſſen. de Baptiſmo Chriſti. Tom. 3. p. 369. [*q*] Conc. Epaunenſ. can. 26. Altaria, niſi Lapidea, infuſione Chriſmatis non ſacrentur. [*r*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 1. [*s*] Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. 4. ἓν θυσιαςήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ϗ ἑὶς ἐπίσκοπ⊖. Vid. Ep. ad Magneſ. n. 7. [*t*] Habert. Achierat. p. 661. ex Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. [*u*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 14. n. 3. [*w*] Schelſtrat. Concilium Antiochen. p. 193. [*x*] Optat. lib. 1. p. 42. Erat Cathedra Epiſcopalis, erat altare loco ſuo, in quo pacifici Epiſcopi retro temporis obtulerunt, Cyprianus, Lucianus & cæteri. Sic exitum eſt foras & altare contra altare erectum eſt. [*y*] Aug. Hom. 3. in 1 Johan. Si in unitate ſumus, quid faciunt in hac Civitate duo altaria? [*z*] Lupus Concil. Tom. 3. Reſponſ. ad Michael. Cerular. [*a*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15.

phrius

phrius and *Angelus Roccha*, in his ingenious Book [*b*] of the Number six hundred sixty six.

SECT. XVII. *And sometimes but one in a City, tho' several Churches, according to some Authors.*

SOME improve this Observation, of one Altar in a Church, a little farther, and think that antiently there was but one Altar in a whole City, or Diocese, and Country-Region, belonging to a Bishop; though there might be many lesser Churches, as there were many Synagogues among the *Jews*, though but one Temple, and one Altar. Mr. *Mede* [*c*] is of Opinion, that it was so when *Justin Martyr* wrote his second Apology, because of those Words of his, "On *Sundays* all "that live in the Towns, or in the Country, "meet together in one Place, for the Celebra- "tion of the Eucharist. And he concludes the same from several of *Cyprian*'s Epistles [*d*], where Bishop and Altar are made Cor-relatives. *Christianus Lupus* and *Pagi* seem to think [*e*] it continued the Custom within the Walls of *Rome* to the Time of Pope *Innocent* I. For he seems to say in one of his Epistles [*f*] "That the "Presbyters of the several *Tituli*, or lesser "Churches within the City, had the Sacrament "sent to them every *Sunday* from the Bishop's "Altar: But the Presbyters of the *Cœmiteries*, "or Churches without the Walls, had Liberty "to consecrate the Eucharist in them, because "the Sacraments were not to be carried to "Places at too great a Distance." But Dr. *Maurice* [*g*] and other Learned Men think the *Roman Tituli* had always Communion-tables, and the Communion administred in them from the Beginning, only the consecrated Bread was sent to them from the Oblations made at the Bishop's Altar. For the Oblations, they think, at first were only made at the Bishop's Altar, and always blessed at the Bishop's Altar, though not always consecrated there. Upon which account the Name of Altar might be appropriated to that of the Bishop's Church. I shall not pretend to make any Judgment, or Decision in this Dispute, being a Matter involved in great Obscurity, but leave the Reader to judge for himself: Dr. *Hammond* heretofore passed [*h*] the same Censure on it, thinking it too dark a Point to be over-boldly determined. All I shall say farther upon it is only this, That it makes nothing for the Congregational Way (as some pretend) though it were certain there was but one Altar in a Diocese at the first. For there might notwithstanding be many Churches. Or if there was but one Church in a Diocese, while the Number of Believers was very small; yet it does not follow that there ought to be no more, when their Number so encreased in any City, or Territory, that one Church would not contain them.

SECT. XVIII. *Of the* Ciborium, *or Canopy of the Altar.*

BUT I return to the Business in hand. In some of the more stately Churches, as that of *Sancta Sophia*, the Altar was overshadowed with a sort of Canopy, which from the Fashion of it is termed by *Paulus Silentiarius* [*i*] Πύργος, the Turret; by others [*k*] *Umbraculum*; but among the *Greeks* most commonly κιβώριον, which *Durantus* [*l*], and other Modern Ritualists usually mistake for the *Pyxis* where the Host is kept; but *Du Fresne* shews [*m*] it to have been antiently quite another thing, *viz.* an ornamental Canopy hanging over the Altar. This was raised in the form of a little Turret upon four Pillars at each Corner of the Altar. The Heads of the Pillars were adorned with Silver Bowls, which was an usual Ornament in those Days, as is evident from the Description which *Eusebius* [*n*] gives of the twelve Pillars in *Constantine*'s Church at *Jerusalem*. The Top of it was in the form of a Sphere, adorned with graven Flowers, whence it has sometimes the Name of *Sphæra*, *Lilia*, and *Malum*. Above the Sphere stood the Cross, as *Paulus Silentiarius* [*o*] represents it. And the several Arches below, between the Pillars, were hanged with Veils, or Curtains, called as some others, ἀμφίθυρα, which served also to cover or conceal the whole Altar. I have been the more particular in describing this ornamental Structure about the Altar, after *Du Fresne*, because the common Ritualists so generally apply the Name *Ciborium* only to their *Pyxe*, whereas in the most antient Writers it signifies this beautiful Fabrick about the Altar.

SECT. XIX. *Of the* Peristerion, *or* Columbæ.

IN some Places, after Images and Pictures began to be allowed in Churches, the Holy Ghost was represented in the Effigies of a silver Dove hovering over the Altar; and their Baptisteries had the same, as we learn from the Complaint against *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch*, in the Council of *Constantinople*, under *Mennas*, *An.* 536, where he is accused for diverting [*p*] to his own Use, among other Treasures of the Church, the silver and golden Doves that hanged over the Baptistery and the Altar, as Types, or Symbols of the Holy Ghost. And this, I think, is the first Time we meet with any Thing of this kind.

[*b*] Vid. Synops. Criticor. in Apocal. 13. 18. [*c*] Mede *Disc. of Churches*, p. 326. [*d*] Cyprian. Ep. 40, 72, 73. [*e*] Pagi Crit. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15. [*f*] Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. De Fermento, quod Die Dominica per Titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, cum omnes Ecclesiæ nostræ intra Civitatem sunt constitutæ. Quarum Presbyteri, quia die ipso propter Plebem sibi creditam, nobiscum convenire non possunt, idcirco fermentum a nobis confectum per Acolythos accipiunt, ut se à nostra Communione, maxime illa die, non judicent separatos. Quod per Parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda sunt Sacramenta. Nec nos per Cœmiteria diversa constitutis Presbyteris destinamus, sed Presbyteri eorum conficiendorum jus habent atque licentiam. [*g*] Maurice. Diocес. Episc. p. 38. Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 23. n. 9. *differs in this, that he thinks every Church had her own Oblations, and the Eucharist consecrated out of them.* [*h*] Hamond. Differt. cont. Blondel. 3. c. 8. n. 15. In re incomperta non est audacter nimis pronunciandum. [*i*] Paul. Silent. par. 2. ver. 303. [*k*] Ordo Romanus. [*l*] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 16. [*m*] Du Fresne Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 569. [*n*] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 38. [*o*] Paul. Silent. ibid. ὕψωθι δ' αὐτῆς σταυρὸς ὑπερτέλλων ἀναζάνεται. [*p*] Conc. Const. Act. 5. Tom. 5. p. 159.

For no Credit is to be given to the Author of the Life of St. *Basil*, under the Name of *Amphilochius*, when he says, *St.* Basil *was used to reserve the Eucharist in one of these silver Doves*; because he is known to be a spurious Writer. However, when the Thing came to be in Use, the Place over the Altar where it hanged, was called *Peristerion*, from περιστερὰ, the *Greek* Name for a Dove, as *Du Fresne* and others have observed. If it be enquired where the Eucharist was reserved, according to ancient Custom; I answer, In Times of Persecution the Priests seem to have had it [q] in their own private Custody at home, as may be collected from an Epistle of *Dionysius* in *Eusebius*, where he relates how *Serapion* had the Eucharist sent him in the Night by a Boy, the Presbyter being sick, and not able to attend upon him. At other Times it was kept in one of the *Pastophoria*, which were certainly Places distinct from the Altar. For so the Author of the Constitutions [r] plainly informs us. In process of time it came to be kept at the Altar, either in those silver Doves we have been speaking of, or in an Ark, or Pyxe, at the foot of the Cross, which by some Canons is ordered to be placed upon the Altar. For in the second Council of *Tours*, *An.* 567, a Decree was made [s] that the Eucharist should not be kept in the *Armarium*, but under the Figure of the Cross upon the Altar. And so in process of time the Pyxe took the Name of *Ciborium*, which originally is an *Egyptian* Name for the husk of a Bean, as *Suicerus* [t] notes out of *Hesychius*, and thence used by the *Greeks* to signifie a large Cup, or Bowl, broad at the Bottom, and narrow at the Top, and from that Resemblance perhaps it came also to be the Name of this Turret or Spiral Structure about the Altar.

SECT. XX. *When first the Figure of the Cross set upon the Altar.*

FROM the forementioned Canon of the Council of *Tours* it is plain, that in the *French* Churches the Figure of the Cross was another Part of the Ornament of the Altar, since the Eucharist, or Sacramental Body of Christ, is ordered to be laid under it. But when Crosses came first to be set in Churches is not so easy to be determined. That they were not in Use for the three first Ages, seems evident enough from the Silence of all the Writers of those Times, and from *Eusebius*, who has frequent occasion to describe minutely the Churches of *Constantine* and others, but never once mentions a Cross erected in them, though he speaks frequently of Crosses set up in other publick Places, as a learned Writer [u] has judiciously observed out of him, who thinks they began not to be set up in Churches 'till after the Year 340. *Chrysostom* [w] speaks of the Sign of the Cross as used at the Lord's Table, in the Consecration of Priests, and Celebration of the Eucharist; but that seems to be meant of the transient Sign made in the Forehead (which St. *Austin* [x] and the Author of the *Constitutions* [y] speak of likewise) and not of any material Cross set upon the Altar. But *Sozomen* [z] speaks of material Crosses lying upon the Altar, though not in the Time of *Constantine*, (as *Gretser* [a] mistakes, whose Error is justly corrected by *Valesius*) but in his own Time. And after him *Evagrius* speaks of silver Crosses given by [b] *Chosroes* to one of the Churches of *Constantinople*, to be fixt upon the Altar. So that the Original of this Custom is not to be deduced from *Constantine*, as many suppose, but from the following Ages of the Church.

SECT. XXI. *Of some other Ornaments and Utensils of the Altar.*

BUT it is more certain that the Altars were always covered with some decent Cloth, used for Ornament, not for Mystery as in After-ages. *Optatus* pleading against the *Donatists*, that the Altars could not be polluted by the Catholicks touching them (as the *Donatists* vainly pretended) uses this Argument to confute them, *That if any Thing was polluted, it must be the Coverings, and not the Tables*; for every one knew, that the Tables [c] were covered with a Linen Cloth in time of Divine Service: So that while the Sacrament was administring, the Covering might be touched, but not the Table. And for this Reason they pretended to wash the Palls (as he calls them in another Place) in order to give [d] them an Expiation. *Victor Uticensis* makes a like complaint of one *Proculus*, an Agent of King *Geisericus*, who having plundered the Catholick Churches in *Zeugitana*, made himself [e] a Shirt and Breeches of the Palls of the Altar. *Isidore* of *Pelusium* takes notice also of the *Sindon*, [f] or fine Linen upon which the Body of Christ was consecrated; but sometimes they were of richer Materials and more sumptuous. *Palladius* speaks [g] of some of the *Roman* Ladies, who renouncing the World, bequeathed their Silks to make Coverings for the Altar. And *Theodoret* [h] says of *Constantine*, "That amongst "other Gifts which he bestowed upon his new-"built Church of *Jerusalem*, he gave Βασιλικὰ

[q] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 44. [r] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. lib. 8. c. 13. [s] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 3. Ut corpus Domini in Altari, non in Armario, sed sub Crucis titulo componatur. *So it is read in* Crab's *Edition. But others instead of* Armario, *read it* in Imaginario Ordine, *and explain it by* Ciborium. *See* Du Fresne, p. 575. [t] Suicer. Thesaur. voce κιβώριον. [u] Dallæus de Cultu Relig. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 773. [w] Chrysost. Demonstrat. Quod Christus sit Deus, c. 9. Tom. 5. p. 840. [x] Aug. Hom. 118. in Joh. Quid est signum Christi nisi Crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive Frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo quo Chrismate unguntur, sive Sacrificio quo aluntur; nihil horum rite perficitur. [y] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 12. [z] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 3. *says of one* Probianus, *that he saw in a Vision,* σαυρὸν σύμβολον τῶν ἀνακειμένων τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. [a] Gretser. de Cruce, lib. 2. c. 13. [b] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 21. [c] Optat. lib. 6. p. 95. Quis Fidelium nescit in peragendis Mysteriis ipsa Ligna Linteamine cooperiri? Inter ipsa Sacramenta Velamen potuit tangi, non lignum. [d] Optat. ibid. p. 98. Laviftis proculdubio Pallas, *&c.* [e] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 1. p. 593. De Pallis altaris, proh nefas camisias sibi & femoralia faciebat. Qui tamen Proculus frustatim sibi comedens linguam, in brevi turpissima consumptus est morte. [f] Isidor. Pelus. lib. 1. Ep. 123. [g] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 119. [h] Theodor. lib. 1. c. 31.

" ὑπερτασματα a Royal Pall, or piece of rich " Tapeſtry for the Altar." But that may ſignify the Curtains, or Hangings, of the *Ciborium*, as well as the Covering of the Altar; and ſo every Utenſil, or Ornament about the Altar, may be ſuppoſed to be rich and ſplendid in ſuch Churches as were of a Royal Foundation. The Holy Veſſels which they made uſe of to adminiſter the Euchariſt in, were another part of the Ornament of the Altar. But the Richneſs of theſe was not always eſtimated from the Materials they were made of, but from the Uſe they were put to. For the Materials were ſometimes no better than plain Glaſs, or Wood. *Irenæus* [*i*] and *Epiphanius* [*k*] after him, ſpeaking of *Marcus*, the Father of the *Marcoſian* Hereticks, ſay, he uſed a Glaſs Cup in the Celebration of the Euchariſt: Which is not noted as any ſingular Thing in him; for both *Baronius* [*l*] and *Bona* [*m*] think it was then the common Cuſtom of the Church. And it is evident, it continued in ſome Places to the Time of St. *Jerom*. For he ſpeaking of *Exuperius*, Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, and commending his Frugality, tells us [*n*], " That he miniſtred the " Body of Chriſt in a Basket of Oſiers, and " the Blood in a Glaſs Cup. *Baronius* and *Bona* will furniſh the Reader with a great many other Inſtances to the ſame Purpoſe. I ſhall only add, that in one of our own Synods here in *England*, the Synod of *Calcuth*, *An.* 787, there is a Canon [*o*] which forbids the Uſe of Horn Cups in the Celebration of the Euchariſt; which ſeems to imply that they were in uſe before. But yet I muſt note, that it was commonly Neceſſity that drove the Church to uſe Veſſels of ſuch ordinary Materials; either when ſhe laboured under extream Poverty, or thought fit to diſpoſe of her Silver and Gold Plate for the Redemption of Captives, or the Relief of the Poor, of which I have given a great many Inſtances [*] in another Place, which ſhew that the Church had her Veſſels of Silver and Gold, elſe ſhe could not have melted them down for ſuch pious Uſes. Nay even in Times of Perſecution, when there was ſome Danger of being plundered and deſpoiled, the wealthier Churches had their ſacred Veſſels of Silver and Gold. This is evident from what *Prudentius* obſerves in the *Roman* Church, in the Time of *Laurentius* the Martyr, who ſuffered in the Perſecution of *Valerian*. It was Part of his Crime, that he would not deliver up the Golden Plate [*p*], in which they were uſed to celebrate their ſacred Myſteries. And that we may not think he ſpake only with a Poetical Flouriſh, we may ſee the ſame Thing obſerved by *Optatus*, of the Church of *Carthage*, in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution. For when *Menſurius* the Biſhop was forced to go to *Rome*, to have his Tryal there, he was at ſome Loſs [*q*] what to do with the Plate, and other Silver and Gold Ornaments of the Church, which he could neither hide in the Earth, nor carry with him. At laſt he comes to this Reſolution, to leave them with the Elders of the Church, firſt taking an Inventory of them, which he gave to a Deaconneſs, with theſe Inſtructions, that if he never returned, ſhe ſhould, when Times of Peace returned, give it to the Perſon whom ſhe found ſeated on the Biſhop's Throne. Which ſhe did as ſoon as *Cæcilian* was choſen Biſhop, who calling upon the Elders to deliver up their Truſt, they having embezelled the Things, denied that ever they had received them, and to be revenged of *Cæcilian*, they joined with his Antagoniſts, *Botrus* and *Celeuſius*, who were Competitors with *Cæcilian* for the Biſhoprick, and the firſt Authors of the Schiſm of the Donatiſts. What this Inventory contain'd we may judge by another about the ſame Time, given up to the Perſecutors by *Paul*, Biſhop of *Cirta*, who was one of thoſe called Traditors upon that account. There we find two [*r*] Gold Cups, ſix Silver Cups, ſix Silver Water-pots, a ſilver *Cucumellum*, which I take to be a Flaggon, or Bowl, ſeven ſilver Lamps, *&c.* All which were Veſſels, or Utenſils belonging to the Service of the Church and the Altar. For as they had Veſſels for the Wine, ſo they had alſo Veſſels for the Water, which in thoſe Days was always mingled with the Wine, and was uſed alſo for waſhing their Hands in the Time of the Oblation; of which Cuſtoms it will be more proper to ſpeak in another Place. Theſe Veſſels we here ſee were of Silver in the Church of *Cirta*, as well as others. Their Candleſticks, or Lamps, were of the like precious Subſtance, and ſome Golden, as *Prudentius* [*s*] repreſents them, when he brings in the Tyrant demanding of *Laurentius* the *Roman* Deacon, the golden Lamps which they uſed in their Night Aſſemblies. Theſe are frequently mentioned by *Athanaſius* [*t*], and the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions [*u*] which allows Oyl to be offered for the Lamps. *Paulinus* alſo [*w*] and St. *Jerom* [*x*] ſpeak of them, and ſeem to intimate that in their Time they were lighted by Day as well as by Night: Which was an Innovation upon the old Cuſtom: For the firſt and primi-

[*i*] Irenæ. lib. 1. c. 9. [*k*] Epiphan. Hær. 34. num. 1. [*l*] Baron. an. 216. [*m*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 1. [*n*] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini caniſtro vimineo, ſanguinem portat in vitro. [*o*] Synod. Calchuthenſ. c. 10. apud Spelman. Conc. Brit. Tom. 1. p. 291. [*] *Book 5. Chap. 6. Sect. 6.* [*p*] Prudent. περὶ στεφανῶν, Hymn. 2. Hunc eſſe veſtris Orgiis moremq; & artem proditum eſt, Hanc diſciplinam fœderis, Litent ut auro Antiſtites. Argenteis Scyphis ferunt fumare ſacrum Sanguinem, *&c.* [*q*] Optat. lib. 1. p. 41. Erant Eccleſiæ ex auro & argento quamplurima Ornamenta, quæ nec defodere terræ, nec ſecum portare poterat. [*r*] Geſta Purgation. Cæciliani, ad Calcem Optati, p. 266. Calices duo aurei: Item calices ſex argentei: Urceola ſex argentea: Cucumellum argenteum: Lucernæ argenteæ ſeptem: Careofala duo, *&c.* [*s*] Prudent. de Coron. Hymn. 2. Auroque nocturnis ſacris Adſtare fixos cereos. [*t*] Athanaſ. Ep. ad Orthodox. Tom. 1. p. 946. [*u*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 3. [*w*] Paulin. Natal. 3. S. Felicis. Clara coronantur denſis altaria lychnis: Lumina ceratis adolentur odora papyris: Nocte dieque micant, *&c.* [*x*] Hieron. Ep. 53. Ripar. Accenſique ante eorum tumulos Cerei, Idololatriæ inſignia ſunt? *&c.* Id. cont. Vigilant. Tom. 2. p. 123. Aliqui propter imperitiam & ſimpliciratem ſæcularium hominum—— hoc pro honore Martyrum faciunt.

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tive Use of them was owing to Necessity, when Christians were forced to meet in nocturnal Assemblies for fear of Persecution. At which time they did not allow, or approve of lighting them by Day. Nor does St. *Jerom* say, there was any Order of the Church, or so much as general Custom to authorize it; but only it was tolerated in some Places, to satisfy the Ignorance, and Weakness, and Simplicity of some Secular Men: and all he pretends to offer in justification of it, is only, that there was no Idolatry in it, as *Vigilantius* had heavily laid the Charge upon it. However, there was this difference between the Age of St. *Jerom*, and those which went before, that the former Ages positively condemn it. For not to mention what *Lactantius* [y] and others say, to expose the like Custom among the Heathens, the Council of *Eliberis* expressly forbids it in a very plain Canon [z], though the Reason be something dark that is given for the Prohibition: "Let no one presume to set up Lights "in the Day-time in any Cœmitery, or Church: "for the Spirits of the Saints are not to be mo- "lested." I shall not now stand to enquire into the Meaning of this Reason; it is sufficient that the Thing was then prohibited in plain Terms: From whence it is evident the contrary Custom must be new, though prevailing both in the East and West in the Time of *Paulinus* and St. *Jerom*. Some also plead hard for the Antiquity of Censers and Incense, deriving them down from Apostolical Custom and Practice. So Cardinal *Bona* [a] and others of the *Romish* Church. But there are no Footsteps of these Things in the three first Ages of the Church. The Canons under the Name of the Apostles indeed [b] mention Incense in the Time of the Oblation: But it still remains a Question, Whether those Canons belong to any of the three first Ages. *Hippolytus Portuensis* is another Author produced by a learned Person [c] of our own Church in this Cause. But besides that his Authority is as questionable as the former, all that he says may be interpreted to a spiritual or figurative Sense. For speaking of the Times of Antichrist, and the Desolations of the Church in those Days, he says, "The Church shall "mourn with a very great Mourning, because "her Oblation and Incense is not duly [d] "performed. Which may mean no more than that the Liturgy, or Service of the Church will be abolished. For the Prayers and Worship of the Saints are called *the Christian Incense*, Rev. v. 8. And so I think we are to understand those Words of St. *Ambrose* [e] also, who speaking of the Angel's appearing to *Zacharias*, standing on the Right-side of the Altar of Incense, says, "I wish the Angel may stand by us when "we incense the Altar, and offer our Sacrifice. "Yea, doubtless the Angel stands by us, at the "Time that Christ stands there and is offered "upon the Altar." Here, I take it, the Sacrificing of Christ, and the Incensing of the Altar, are both of the same Nature, that is, Spiritual and Mystical: And therefore hence nothing can be concluded for the Use of Incense and Censers in the most strict and literal Sense as yet in the Christian Church. Neither do we find any mention made of Censers in any part of the Constitutions under the Name of the Apostles, which is an Argument, That when the Author of those Collections wrote, they were not yet become Utensils of the Altar, as they were when *Evagrius* [f] wrote his History; for he mentions golden Censers, as well as golden Crosses, given by *Chosroes* to the Church at *Constantinople*. By which we may guess that Crosses and Censers were the Product of one and the same Age, and came into the Church together. Images and Relicks upon the Altar are Usages also of later Ages. And so are many Utensils of the present *Greeks*, as the *Lancea*, *Asteriscus*, *Dicerion*, *Tricerion*, and *Cochlear*, which *Bona* [g] says were never known in the *Latin* Church, much less in the antient Church. So I shall not stand to explain them; nor say any thing here of the *Bible*, the Diptychs, and their Ritual Books, which were both Utensils and Ornaments of the Altar, because these will be spoken of in other Places. The *Altare Portatile*, or moveable Altars of the *Latins*, and the *Antimensia*, or consecrated Cloths of the *Greeks*, to be used in Places which have no Altars, I omit likewise, as being a modern Invention of later Ages. *Habertus* [h] indeed is very sollicitous to have their portable Altars thought as old as St. *Basil*, because St. *Basil* in one of his Epistles speaks of ἰδίαις τραπέζαις, private Tables, in some Churches. But he wholly mistakes his Author's Meaning; for he is only speaking of the Rudeness of some Hereticks, who according to their usual Custom, pulled down the Catholick Altars, and set up their own Altars, or Tables in the Room. So that it is not those portable Altars he is discoursing of, but heretical Altars set up in Opposition to the Catholicks, which *Habertus* would hardly own to be the Altars of the *Romish* Church. *Durantus* [i] and *Bona* [k] do not pretend to find them in any Author before the Time of *Bede* and *Charles the Great*, and therefore we may conclude they were a modern Invention. But the ῥιπίδια, or *Flabella*, are somewhat more antient, being mentioned by the Author of the *Constitutions* [l], who makes

[y] Lactant. lib. 6. c. 2. Accendunt Lumina, velut in tenebris agenti Deo, &c. [z] Conc. Eliber. c. 34. Cereos per diem placuit in Cœmiterio non incendi. Inquietandi enim Sanctorum Spiritus non sunt. [a] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 9. [b] Canon. Apost. c. 3. Θυμίαμα πῦ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς. [c] Bever. Cod. Canon. Vindic. lib. 2. c. 1. n. 5. [d] Hippol. de Consum. Mundi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 357. Note, *The Words are not in the genuine* Hippolytus *published by* Combefis Auctario Noviſſimo.

[e] Ambrof. Com. in Luc. 1. 11. p. 599. Utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus, assistat Angelus, imo præbeat se videndum. Non enim dubites assistere Angelum, quando Christus assistit, Christus immolatur. [f] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 21. [g] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 6. [h] Habert. Archieratic. p. 664. Portatilia illa altaria videntur dici à Basilio ἰδίαις τραπέζαις, Ep. 72. [i] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 7. [k] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 3. [l] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 12.

it one Part of the Deacon's Office in the Time of the Oblation, to ſtand on each Side of the Altar; and with theſe Inſtruments in their Hands, (Bruſhes, or Fans, we may *Engliſh* them) to drive away all ſuch little Inſects as might drop into the Cups, or infeſt the Altar. The Author of the *Faſti Siculi*, or *Chronicum Alexandrinum* [m], calls them τίμια ῥιπίδια, and reckons them among the Holy Utenſils of the Altar, which were laid up among the reſt in the *Sceuophylacium*, or Veſtry of the Church. For which Reaſon I thought it not improper to mention them, whilſt we are ſpeaking of the Utenſils of the Altar.

SECT. XXII. *Of the* Oblationarium, *or* Prothesis.

IN many Churches, beſides the Communion-table, in one of the leſſer *Receſſes*, or *Concha's* of the *Bema*, there was a Place where the Offerings of the People were received, out of which the Bread and Wine was taken that was conſecrated at the Altar. In the Liturgies, under the Names of *Chryſoſtom* [n], and St. *James* [o], and other modern *Greek* Writers, this is called προθέσις and παραπέζιον, the Side-table. In the *Ordo Romanus* it has the Name of *Oblationarium* and *Protheſis* alſo, for the one is made the Explication of the other. And here alſo it is termed *Paratorium*, becauſe when the Offerings were received, Preparation was made out of them for the Euchariſt. There is little queſtion to be made but that the antient Churches had ſomething anſwerable to this, but it went under other Names; for we never meet with a *Protheſis*, or *Paratorium*, or *Oblationarium*, in expreſs Terms, in any antient Writer. But the Thing it ſelf we often find. *Cyprian* [p] ſeems to ſpeak of it under the borrowed Name of the *Corban*, rebuking a rich and wealthy Matron for coming to celebrate the Euchariſt without any Regard to the *Corban*, and partaking of the Lord's Supper without any Sacrifice of her own, but rather eating of the Oblations which the Poor had brought. In the Fourth Council [q] of *Carthage*, this Place goes by the general Name of the *Sacrarium* or Sanctuary, as being that Part of the Sanctuary where the Oblations for the Altar were received. For they had two Repoſitories for the Offerings of the People, the one without the Church, called the *Gazophylacium*, or Treaſury, and the other within the Church, which was this *Sacrarium*, or *Corban*. And therefore it is, that that Council forbids the Offerings of ſuch Chriſtians as were at Variance one with another, to be received either in the Treaſury, or the Sanctuary. *Paulinus* is more exact in deſcribing this Place than any other antient Writer, yet he gives it a different Name, calling it one of the *Secretarium* of the Church. For he tells us [r], "There were two *Secreta-* "*riums*, one on the Right Hand, and the other "on the Left Hand of the Altar. That on the Right Hand was the ſame with the *Protheſis*, or *Paratorium* we are ſpeaking of, and the Uſe of it he deſcribes in theſe Verſes, which were ſet over it:

Hic locus eſt veneranda penus qua conditur, & qua
Promitur alma ſacri pompa Miniſterii.

This is the Place where the Holy Food is repoſited, and whence we take Proviſion and Furniture for the Altar. That on the other Side was the ſame with the *Diaconicum Bematis*, the Uſe of which he deſcribes in part, in theſe two other Verſes, ſet over it alſo:

Si quem Sancta tenet meditandi in Lege voluntas,
Hic poterit reſidens ſanctis intendere Libris.

If any one (that is, any of the Prieſts, whoſe Apartment this was) is minded to meditate in the Law of God, here he has Room to ſit and read the Holy Books. A little before [s] he makes the like Deſcription of theſe two ſecret Apartments in Proſe, telling us, That the one was the Place which prepared the Hoſt, or Oblation of Joy for the Prieſt: (Whence doubtleſs in After-ages, as I noted before, it got the Name of *Paratorium*:) And the other was a Place, whither the Clergy retired, after the Sacrifice was ended, and the People were diſmiſſed, to make their concluding Prayers in private.

SECT. XXIII. *Of the* Sceuophylacium, *or* Diaconicum Bematis.

THIS latter Place was a ſort of Veſtry within the Church, whither the Deacons brought the Veſtments, and Veſſels, and Utenſils belonging to the Altar, out of the greater *Diaconicum*, to be in a Readineſs for Divine Service. And in this reſpect it had alſo the Name of σκευοφυλάκιον, the Repoſitory of the Sacred Utenſils, becauſe hither they were carried back immediately by the Deacons, as ſoon as the Service was ended, or whilſt the Poſt-Communion-Pſalm was ſinging by the People, as the Author of the *Chronicon* [t] *Alexandrinum* repreſents it. Here the Prieſts alſo put on their Robes they uſed to officiate in: And hither they came again, when the Publick Service was ended, to make their private Addreſſes to God, as has been noted already out of *Paulinus*; and in the Liturgies aſcribed to St. *James*, St. *Mark*, St. *Chryſoſtom* [u], there are the Forms of

[m] Chronic. Alexandr. p. 892. [n] Chryſoſt. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 74. [o] Miſſa Jacobi, ib. p. 21. [p] Cyprian. de Opere & Eleemoſ. p. 203. Locuples & dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non reſpicis; quæ in Dominicum ſine Sacrificio venis; quæ partem de Sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, ſumis?
[q] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 93. Oblationes diſſidentium fratrum, neque in Sacrario, neque in Gazophylacio recipiantur.
[r] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 154. [s] Paulin. ibid. p. 152. Una earum immolanti hoſtias jubilationis patet. Leg. Parat. Altera poſt Sacerdotem. Leg. poſt Sacrificium, capaci ſinu receptat orantes. [t] Chron. Alexand. p. 892. Vid. Coteler. Not. in Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 12. [u] Liturg. Marci, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 41. Liturg. Chryſoſt. ibid. p. 88.

Prayer

Prayer appointed to be uſed in this Place, one of which particularly in St. *James*'s Liturgy is uſher'd in with this Title, or Rubrick [*w*], "The Prayer to be ſaid in the *Sceuophylacium*, "after the Diſmiſſion of the People. The Deacons commonly had the Care of this Place, and thence it is often called the *Diaconicum*, and *Bematis Diaconicum*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Diaconicum*, which we ſhall find in the next Chapter among the *Exedræ*, or outer Buildings of the Church. *Du Freſne* [*x*] thinks alſo, that the Name *Diaconicum* was ſometimes more peculiarly given to that Part of the *Bema*, or Chancel, which was between the Veils of the Chancel, and the Veils of the *Ciborium*, or Altar; and that the Place within the Veils of the Altar was diſtinguiſhed particularly by the Name of *Presbyterium*, becauſe it was the Place of the Presbyters, as the other was the Place of the Deacons, alleging for this a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*y*], which others underſtand in a different Senſe [*], for the whole Chancel, or Sanctuary of the Church.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Baptiſtery, and other Outer Buildings, called the Exedræ *of the Church.*

SECT. I. *Baptiſteries antiently Buildings diſtinct from the Church.*

WE have hitherto taken a View of the ſeveral Parts of the antient Churches within the Walls: It now remains that we conſider a little ſuch Buildings as were diſtinct from the main Body, and yet within the Bounds of the Church taken in the largeſt Senſe, which Buildings are all comprized under one general Name of the *Exedræ* of the Church. For *Euſebius*, ſpeaking of the Church of *Paulinus* at *Tyre*, ſays, "When that curious Artiſt had fi-"niſhed his famous Structure within, he then "ſet himſelf about the *Exedræ*, or Buildings "[*a*] that joined one to another by the Sides "of the Church;" By which Buildings, he tells us, he chiefly meant the Place which was for the Uſe of thoſe who needed the Purgation, and Sprinkling of Water and the Holy Ghoſt; that is, doubtleſs, the Baptiſtery of the Church. He deſcribes the Church of *Antioch* built by *Conſtantine*, after the ſame manner, telling us, "That it was ſurrounded with *Exedræ* "[*b*], and Buildings that had lower and upper "Stories in them." So that, as *Valeſius* and other Criticks have rightly obſerved, *Exedra* is a general Name for any Buildings that ſtand round about the Church. And hence it is eaſy to conclude, that the Baptiſtery, which *Euſebius* reckons the Chief of the *Exedræ*, was antiently a Building without the Walls of the Church. Which Obſervation, becauſe I find it queſtioned by ſome, who place the Font, after the modern Way, in the *Narthex* of the antient Churches, it will not be improper here to confirm by a few plain Inſtances out of other Authors. *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, ſetting forth the great Munificence of his Friend *Severus*, ſays, "He built "two Churches, and a Baptiſtery between "them [*c*] both. And ſo *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* deſcribes the Baptiſtery as a Building by it ſelf, which had firſt [*d*] its προαύλιον οἶκον, that is, its Porch, or Ante-Room, where the *Catechumens* made their Renunciation of *Satan*, and Confeſſion of Faith; and then its ἐσώτερον οἶκον, its inner Room [*e*], where the Ceremony of Baptiſm was performed. *Sidonius Apollinaris* alſo ſpeaks of it [*f*] as a diſtinct Building, and St. *Auſtin* ſeems to intimate [*g*] that there were diſtinct Apartments in it for Men and Women likewiſe. Which perhaps is the Reaſon why St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaks of it in the Plural, ſtiling it [*h*] the Baptiſteries of the Church. In the Time of *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, we are not certain that the Church had any of theſe Baptiſteries; but this is paſt all doubt however from their Authority, that the Place of Baptiſm was not in the Church, but ſomewhere diſtinct from it. For *Tertullian* ſpeaking of the Ceremonies of Baptiſm, ſays, "It was their Cuſtom "to renounce the Devil, and his Pomp, and "his Angels, firſt in the Church, and then [*i*] "again when they came to the Water. Which implies, that the Place of Baptiſm was without the Church. And ſo *Juſtin Martyr* [*k*] repreſents it, when he ſpeaks of carrying the *Catechumen* to the Place where there was Water; which perhaps was unlimited in thoſe Days; it being an indifferent Thing, as *Tertullian* [*l*]

[*w*] Liturg. Jacobi, ibid. p. 23. ἐυχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν. [*x*] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 581. [*y*] Conc. Laodic. can. 21.

[*] *See before Sect.* 4. *of this Chapter.*

[*a*] Euſeb. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 328. ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ νεὼ μετὰ πάσης ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα μεγίστους ὑπισκοδομοῦν, &c. [*b*] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. lib. 3. c. 50.

[*c*] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Tu vero etiam Baptiſterium Baſilicis duabus interpoſitum condidiſti. [*d*] Cyril. Catech. Myſtag. 1. n. 2. εἰσίει τις πρῶτον εἰς τὸ προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτισηρίου οἶκος, &c. [*e*] Id. Catech. 2. n. 1. [*f*] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 15. Baptiſterium quod olim fabricabamini, ſcribitis jam poſſe conſecrari. [*g*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. In parte Fœminarum obſervanti ad Baptiſterium, &c.

[*h*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. Symbolum aliquibus Competentibus in Baptiſteriis tradebam Baſilicæ. [*i*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, ſed & aliquanto prius in Eccleſia ſub Antiſtitis manu conteſtamur nos renunciare Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. [*k*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 93.

[*l*] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 4. Nulla diſtinctio eſt, mari quis an Stagno, Flumine an Fonte, Lacu an Alveo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Johannes in Jordane, & quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.

words

words it, whether a Man was baptized in the Sea, or in a Lake; in a River, or in a Fountain; in *Jordan*, or in *Tiber*, as St. *Peter* and St. *John* baptized their Converts. So that the firſt Ages all agreed in this, that whether they had Baptiſteries or not, the place of Baptiſm was always without the Church. And after this manner Baptiſteries continued to the Sixth Age, as appears from what *Durantus* obſerves out of *Gregory* [m] of *Tours*, That he ſpeaks of Baptiſteries ſtill without the Walls of the Church. Though ſome now began to be taken into the Church-porch, as that wherein he ſays [n] *Remigius* baptized King *Clodoveus*, and thence they were afterward removed into the Church it ſelf. Though now the Baptiſtery of St. *John Lateran*, at *Rome*, is ſtill after the antient Model, if *Durantus* rightly informs us.

SECT. II. *Theſe very capacious, and why.*

THESE Baptiſteries were antiently very capacious, becauſe, as Dr. *Cave* truly [o] obſerves, the ſtated Times of Baptiſm returning but ſeldom, there were uſually great Multitudes to be baptized at the ſame Time. And then the Manner of Baptizing by Immerſion, or dipping under Water, made it neceſſary to have a large Font likewiſe. Whence the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* [p] ſtiles the Baptiſtery, whither *Baſiliſcus* fled to take Sanctuary, μέγα φωτισήριον, the great Illuminary, or School of Baptiſm. And in *Venantius Fortunatus* [q] it is called *Aula Baptiſmatis*, the large Hall of Baptiſm. Which was indeed ſo capacious, that we ſometimes read of Councils meeting and ſitting therein, as *Du Freſne* [r] ſhews out of the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and *Suicerus* has obſerved the ſame in the Acts of the Council of *Carthage* [s], which ſpeaks of a Council at *Conſtantinople* held in the Baptiſtery of the Church.

SECT. III. *Why called φωτισήρια, Places of Illumination.*

WE may obſerve alſo in the before-mentioned Authors, how the Baptiſteries were commonly called φωτισήρια, Places of Illumination, that is, Baptiſm. For Baptiſm it ſelf in antient Writers is very uſually ſtiled φώτισμα; and hence the Place of Baptiſm called φωτισήριον, from the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm there, which was always attended with a Divine Illumination of the Soul; whence Perſons baptized were alſo called, the *Illuminate*, as has been obſerved [*] in another place. But the Baptiſteries might alſo have this Name for another Reaſon, becauſe they were the places of an Illumination, or Inſtruction, preceding Baptiſm. For here the *Catechumens* ſeem to have been trained up, and inſtructed in the firſt Rudiments of the Chriſtian Faith. At leaſt they were here taught the Creed, as is evident from that noted Paſſage of St. *Ambroſe* [t], where he ſays, "That after the Leſſons and Homily he went into the Baptiſtery "of the Church, to make the Candidates of "Baptiſm learn the Creed. Therefore from this Illumination preceding Baptiſm, as well as that which was conſequent to it, the Baptiſteries might reaſonably be called φωτισήρια, and as ſome think, φροντισήρια, Schools of Learning, or the Illuminatories of the Church.

SECT. IV. *Of the Difference between a Baptiſtery and a Font. And why the Font called* Piſcina *and* κολυμβήθρα.

IT will be eaſy now for the Reader to obſerve, from what has been ſaid, what difference there was antiently between a Baptiſtery and a Font, though the Names be ſometimes confounded together. For the Baptiſtery, properly ſpeaking, was the whole Houſe of Building, in which the Font ſtood, and where all the Ceremonies of Baptiſm were performed; but the Font was only the Fountain, or Pool of Water, wherein Perſons were immerſed, or baptized. This in the *Greek* Writers is commonly [u] called Κολυμβήθρα, and by the *Latins* [w] *Piſcina*, and is ſometimes expreſly diſtinguiſhed from the Baptiſtery, as a Part from the Whole. For *Socrates* [x] expreſly ſtiles it Κολυμβήθραν τῦ βαπτισηρίυ, the Pool of the Baptiſtery. Which Name Dr. *Beverege* [y] thinks was given to the Font by way of Alluſion to the Pool of *Bethesda*. But *Optatus* [z] has a more myſtical Reaſon for it: He ſays, it was called *Piſcina* in Alluſion to our Saviour's Technical Name ἰχθὺς, which was an Acroſtick compoſed of the initial Letters of our Saviour's ſeveral Titles, Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God our Saviour, of which I have given an Account [*] in another place. But whether either of theſe Reaſons be true, or whether the Font was not rather ſo called, becauſe *Piſcina* and Κολυμβήθρα are commonly Names of Fountains and Baths and Pools in *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, I leave to the Determination of the judicious Reader. *Du Freſne* has obſerved ſeveral other Names [a]; ſuch as ὑποδόμη, *Lavacrum*, *Natatoria*, and *Cloaca*, a Term peculiar to *Gregory the Great*: But theſe are modern Names, and ſo I paſs them over, only remarking one Thing out of him, that whereas *Procopius* in his *Hiſtoria Arcana* gives it the Name of ἀλεξαμβρή, the Receptacle, *Suidas* miſtakes it for the Communion-table; which

[m] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 19. n. 4. Greg. Turon. Hiſtor. lib. 6. c. 11. [n] Gregor. Turon. lib. 2. c. 21.
[o] Cave Primit. Chriſt. Par. 1. c. 10. p. 312. [p] Chron. Alexandr. in Baſiliſco, p. 753. [q] Fortunat. de Baptiſter. Moguntin. Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 8. p. 780. [r] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 592. Conc. Chalced. Act. 1.
[s] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccl. voce φωτισήριον, ex Actis Concilii Carthag. p. 118. ἐν τῷ φωτισηρίῳ τῆ ἁγίᾳ Κωνσαντινόπολιν ἁγιωτάτης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καθεδέντων τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων. [*] *Book* 1. *Chap.* 4. *n.* 1. [t] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Poſt Lectiones atque Tractatum, dimiſſis Catechumenis, Symbolum aliquibus competentibus in Baptiſteriis tradebam Baſilicæ. [u] Vid. Cyril. Catech. Myſtag. 2. n. 4. Catech. 3. n. 1. Chryſoſt. Hom. 64. Tom. 5. p. 970.
[w] Optat. l. 3. p. 62. [x] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 17.
[y] Bevereg. Pandect. Not. in Concil. Nicen. c. 11.
[z] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. Hic eſt Piſcis qui in baptiſmate per invocationem fontalibus undis inſeritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat, a Piſce etiam Piſcina vocitetur. [*] *Book* 1. *Chap.* 1. *Sect.* 2.
[a] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 593.

I note, only becauſe it is eaſy for any one to be led into the like Miſtake by the Authority of that celebrated Writer.

SECT. V. *How Fonts and Baptiſteries anciently adorned.*

WHAT Form the antient Baptiſteries were built in, I find no where mentioned in any antient Writer; and almoſt as little of their Ornament, that may be depended on as genuine. *Durantus* indeed has a very formal Story out of the Pontifical, under the Name of *Damaſus*, how *Conſtantine* gave a rich Font to the Church, wherein he himſelf was baptized; it was made, [b] the Author ſays, of Porphyretick Marble, overlaid with Silver; in the middle of it was a Marble Pillar, and on it a Vial of pure Gold, filled with Balſam to burn as in a Lamp. On the Brim of the Font was a Lamp of pure Gold pouring out Water. On the Right-hand of that a ſilver Image of Chriſt, and on the Left-hand a ſilver Image of St. *John Baptiſt*, holding a Label with this Inſcription, *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins of the World.* Beſides all theſe, there were ſeven ſilver Harts pouring out Water into the Fountain. But now all this is a mere fabulous Legend, and has juſt as much Truth in it, as the Story of *Conſtantine*'s Leproſy, and his being cured by Pope *Silveſter*'s baptizing him in this Font at *Rome*. And I only mention it to ſhew what ſort of Tales are urged by the *Romiſh* Ritualiſts many times for antient Hiſtory. For every one now knows this Mock-*Damaſus* to be a ſpurious Author. Perhaps in the ſixth or ſeventh Century ſuch ſort of Ornaments might be ſet up in the Baptiſteries of the Church: For in the Acts of the Council of *Conſtantinople* [c] under *Menas*, An. 536, there is mention made of ſilver and gold Doves hanging in the Baptiſtery, as well as at the Altar. But as no Pictures, or Images, were ſet up in Churches in the Time of *Conſtantine*, ſo we cannot ſuppoſe any *Roman* Baptiſteries to be adorned by him according to the aforeſaid pretended Deſcription: But if the Garments of the Miniſters baptizing, or the white Robes of Perſons newly baptized, which were reſerved in theſe Baptiſteries, as Monuments and Tokens of their Profeſſion, or the Veſſels of Chriſm uſed for Unction in Baptiſm, may be reckoned Ornaments of theſe Places; the Baptiſteries had always theſe Things from their firſt Erection, as will be ſhewed more particularly when we come to treat of the Rites of Baptiſm in its proper Place.

SECT. VI. *Baptiſteries anciently more peculiar to the Mother-Church.*

ALL that I have farther to add about Baptiſteries here, is an Obſervation made by ſome learned Men, that antiently there was but one Baptiſtery in a City, and that at the Biſhop's Church. *Vicecomes* [d] thinks it was ſo even at *Rome* it ſelf for many Ages. Dr. *Maurice* [e] ſays, "No City had "more, unleſs where the Magnificence of Em- "perors, or Biſhops made, as it were, many "Cathedrals. And therefore when the Author [f] of the Pontifical under the Name of *Damaſus* ſays of Pope *Marcellus*, "That he made "twenty-five Titles in *Rome*, as ſo many Dio- "ceſes, for Baptiſm and Penance;' that learned Perſon thinks it imports, that thoſe Services indeed belonged only to a Cathedral; and therefore the granting of thoſe Privileges to Pariſhes made them ſeem like Dioceſes. Some Remains of this antient Cuſtom are yet to be obſerved in ſeveral great Cities of *Italy*. For both *Durantus* [g] and *Vicecomes* [h] tells us, "That at "*Piſa*, *Bononia*, *Orvieto*, *Parma*, and even at *Flo- "rence* it ſelf, they have but one Font, or Baptiſtery "for a whole City at this Day.' Which is alſo noted by *Onuphrius* [i] and *Du Freſne* [k], and by Dr. *Maurice* out of *Leander Alberti*, *Mercator*, *Laſſels*, and ſome other modern Writers. I have obſerved [*] before, that this Diſtinction was antiently made between a Catholick Church and a private Oratory; that the one was a Place of publick Baptiſm, and the other not; which argues, that every Church had not a diſtinct Baptiſtery, but only ſuch as were called Baptiſmal Churches. And this is the Reaſon why antiently Men commonly reſorted for Baptiſm to the Biſhop's Church, at the two great Feſtivals *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, which were the two ſolemn Times of its Adminiſtration. In After-ages, Baptiſteries were ſet up in Country Pariſhes: For the Council of *Auxerre* [l] ſpeaks of Baptizing in Villages at *Eaſter* by Allowance; but this Privilege was not granted to every Place, but only to ſuch as the Biſhop appointed, except in Caſes of Neceſſity, as *Vicecomes* [m] has obſerved out of the Synod [n] of *Meaux*, and the Council [o] in *Verno Palatio*. Whence probably theſe got the Name of Mother-Churches alſo, in reſpect of ſuch others as depended on them for the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as anciently all Churches did on the Biſhop's Church. Thus much of the Baptiſteries of the antient Church.

SECT. VII. *Of the* Secretarium, *or* Diaconicum Magnum, *the Veſtry.*

ANOTHER noted Building, commonly reckoned among the *Exedræ* of the Church, was that which is uſually called *Secretarium*, or *Diaconicum*, concerning which learned Men are not exactly agreed. For *Valeſius* takes it [p] for a place within the

[b] Damaſ. Pontifical. Vit. Sylveſtri. [c] Conc. Conſtant. Act. 5. Tom. 5. p. 159. [d] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 1. c. 8. [e] Maurice Dioceſ. Epiſc. p. 41. & 43. [f] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Viginti quinque Titulos in Urbe Roma conſtituit, quaſi Dioceſes, propter Baptiſmum & Pœnitentiam multorum, &c. [g] Durant. de Ritib. Eccleſ. lib. 1. c. 19. n. 3. [h] Vice-comes de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 1. c. 8. [i] Onuphr. de Eccleſiis Urb. Romæ. [k] Du Freſne Gloſſar. voce Baptiſterium. [*] *Book* 8. *Chap.* 1. *n.* 4. [l] Conc. Antiſſiodor. an. 578. can. 18. [m] Vicecom. ibid. c. 9. [n] Concil. Meldenſ. can. 48. [o] Conc. in Verno Palatio, c. 7. [p] Valeſ. Not. in Philoſtorg. lib. 7. c. 3.

Church; *Gothofred* [q] and others for a place without; but *Du Freſne* [r] ſeems more juſtly to determine the Controverſy between them, by diſtinguiſhing the *Diaconicum Bematis* within the Chancel, which we have ſpoken of before, from the *Diaconicum Magnum* without the Church, which is to be conſider'd here. 'Tis of this *Philoſtorgius* is to be underſtood, when he ſays, the Chriſtians of *Paneas*, or *Ceſarea Philippi*, tranſlated the Statue of our Saviour, erected by the Woman whom he cured of an Iſſue of Blood, into the *Diaconicum* [s] of the Church, that is, into the Veſtry or Repoſitory of the Church. It was ſo named, becauſe all Things here repoſited were under the care of the Deacons, part of whoſe Office was to look after the Veſtments, Veſſels, and Utenſils belonging to the Altar, and all Things of value given to the Church; the chief Overſeer of which ſeems generally to have been a Presbyter, dignified with the Title of *Ceimeliarches*, or *Sceuophylax*, as I have ſhewed before [*] in another Place. And hence the *Diaconicum*, or rather as *Du Freſne* [t] obſerves out of an antient *Greek* Writer, the innermoſt part of it was the *Ceimeliarchium*, or *Sceuophylacium* of the Church, the Repoſitory of the ſacred Veſſels, and ſuch *Anathemata*, or Preſents, as were reputed among the chiefeſt Treaſures of the Church. It was otherwiſe called *Secretarium*, as *Du Freſne* [u] conjectures, becauſe the Conſiſtory, or Tribunal of the Church was here kept; the *Secretum*, or *Secretarium*, being a known Name for the Courts of the Civil Magiſtrate, whence this perhaps might take its Denomination. The whole Building was large and capacious enough to receive, not only a private Conſiſtory, but a provincial, or general Council; many of which we find have been held in this Apartment of the Church, as the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Councils of *Carthage* are ſaid to be kept in *Secretario Baſilicæ Reſtitutæ*, with a great many others collected by *Du Freſne*, who obſerves the Seſſions of Councils to be called *Secretaria* upon this account, from the place of their Seſſion or Convention.

SECT. VIII. *Why called* Receptorium, *or* Salutatorium.

IT was otherwiſe called *Receptorium* and *Salutatorium*, as we find in *Sidonius* [w] *Apollinaris*, *Sulpicius* [x] *Severus*, the firſt Council of *Maſcon* [y], *Theodoret*, and many others. Particularly *Theodoret* (z) ſpeaking of *Theodoſius* coming to St. *Ambroſe* to petition for Abſolution, ſays, "He found him ſitting ἐν τῷ "δικῳ ἀσπαστικῷ, in the Saluting Houſe;" which *Scaliger* miſtakes for the Biſhop's Houſe, where Strangers were entertained; whereas it was a place adjoyning to the Church, where the Biſhop and Presbyters ſat to receive the Salutations of the People, as they came to deſire their Bleſſing, or Prayers, or conſult them about important Buſineſs. As appears from *Sulpicius Severus*, who ſpeaking of St. *Martin*, ſays, "He "ſat in one *Secretarium*, and the Presbyters (a) "in another, receiving the People's Salutes, "and hearing their Cauſes.

SECT. IX. *Of the* Decanica, *or Priſons of the Church.*

Du Freſne thinks theſe *Secretaria*, or at leaſt ſome part of them, were alſo uſed as Eccleſiaſtical Priſons, or places of Confinement ſometimes for delinquent Clergy-men; and that then they were called *Decaneta*, or *Decanica*; which is a Term uſed in both the Codes and ſome Councils, as *Gothofred* [b] and ſome others explain it, for a Priſon belonging to the Church. In the *Theodoſian* Code there is a Law of *Arcadius*, which orders Hereticks to be expelled from all Places which they poſſeſſed [c], whether under the Name of Churches, or *Diaconica*, or *Decanica*. Now, that the *Decanica* here means a place of Cuſtody, or Reſtraint for Delinquents belonging to the Church, *Gothofred* proves from another Law among *Juſtinian*'s Novels [d] which orders ſuch Delinquents to be ſhut up in the *Decanica* of the Church, there to ſuffer condign Puniſhment. And by this we are led to underſtand what is meant by the *Decanica* ſpoken of in the Acts of the Council [e] of *Epheſus*, which the *Latin* Tranſlator by miſtake renders Tribunal, whereas it ſhould be the Priſon of the Church. Some take it to be no more but another Name for the *Diaconicum*, or a Corruption of it: Others derive it from δίκη, and ſo make it denote a Tribunal: which are Errors both alike. For it ſeems to have been a more general Name than the *Diaconicum*, including all ſuch Places of the Church, as were made uſe of to put offending Clerks into a more decent Confinement, which was not any one Place, but ſeveral that were made uſe of to that purpoſe; ſuch as the *Catechumenia*, as well as the *Diaconica*, or *Secretaria*, in which reſpect they had all the Name of *Decanica*, or *Carceres*, the Priſons of the Church. Which ſeems pretty evident from what *Du Freſne* has [f] obſerved out of an Epiſtle of Pope *Gregory* II. to the Emperor *Leo Iſaurus*, where he ſays, "When any one had offended, the Biſhops were

[q] Gothofred ibid. [r] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 593. [s] Philoſtorg. lib. 7. c. 3. [*] *Book.* 3. *Chap.* 13. *n.* 3. [t] Paſſio ſſ. Patrum Sabaitarum ap. Du Freſne Com. in Paulum Silentiar. p. 597. ἐσώτερον ὃ τῇ διακονικῇ κειμηλιαρχεῖον ἤτοι σκδοφυλάκιον. [u] Du Freſne ibid. p. 594. ex Geſtis de nomine Acacii. [w] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 17. [x] Sulpic. Dialog. 2. c. 1. [y] Concil. Matiſcon. 1. can. 2. [z] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 18. [a] Sulpic. Dial. 2. c. 1. Cum in alio Secretario Presbyteri ſederent, vel Salutationibus vacantes, vel audiendis negotiis occupati, &c. [b] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. leg. 30. [c] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 5. leg. 30. Cuncti Hæretici proculdubio noverint, omnia ſibi loca hujus urbis adimenda eſſe, ſive ſub Eccleſiarum nomine teneantur, ſive quæ Diaconica appellantur, vel etiam Decanica. [d] Juſtin. Novel. 79. c. 3. καθειργέσθωσαν ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις δεκανικοῖς, ποιναὶς τὰς καθηκούσας ὑπέξοντες. [e] Libell. Baſilii Diaconi ad Theodoſ. in Conc. Epheſ. Par. 1. c. 30. Conc. Tom. 3. p. 427. ἐν τῷ δικανικῷ τῷ λαῷ τυπτηθέντῳ διαφόρως, &c. [f] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 594.

"uſed to confine him as in a Priſon in one of the "[g] *Secretaria*, or *Diaconia*, or *Catechumena* of "the Church." Which implies, that all theſe places were made uſe of upon occaſion for the Confinement and Puniſhment of Delinquents, and then they had peculiarly the Name of *Decanica*, or Priſons of the Church.

SECT. X. *Of the* Mitatorium, *or* Meſatorium.

THERE is another Name for a Place belonging to the Church in *Theodorus* [h] *Lector*, which has as much puzzled Interpreters as the former. That is μιτατώριον, or μεταπώριον, as the modern *Greeks* call it. *Goar* in his Notes upon the *Euchologium* thinks it ſhould be *Minſatorium*, from μίνσ@ a Diſh, or *Menſa* a Table, and ſo he expounds it a place of Refreſhment for the Singers, where they might have Bread and Wine to recreate them after Service. *Du Freſne* [i] deduces it from *Metatum*, which is a Term of frequent Uſe in the Civil Law, and ſignifies a Station in the *Curſus Publicus*, where Entertainment was given to thoſe that travelled upon publick Buſineſs. *Suicerus* makes it [k] to be the ſame with the *Diaconicum*, or *Salutatorium*, the Saluting-Houſe, and thinks with *Goar*, it ſhould be read *Minſatorium* from *Menſa*, becauſe here was a Table erected, not for Entertainment, but for receiving ſuch Things as were brought and laid upon it. But I like beſt the Conjecture of *Muſculus*, who renders it *Mutatorium*, as ſuppoſing it to be a Corruption of that *Latin* Word, which ſignifies what we call an *Apodyterium*, or Veſtry, where the Miniſters change their Habit: And ſo it is agreed on all hands, that it was a part of the *Diaconicum*, or but another Name for it, though Men differ ſo much in their Sentiments, when they come to account for the Reaſon of it.

SECT. XI. *Of the* Gazophylacium, *and* Paſtophoria.

THE Author of the *Conſtitutions*, in his Deſcription of the Church, mentions alſo certain Places [l] called *Paſtophoria*, which according to his Account, were Buildings on each Side of the Church, toward the *Eaſt* End of it. But what Uſe they were put to we can learn no farther from that Author, ſave only that he tells us in another place, the Deacons [m] were uſed to carry the Remains of the Euchariſt thither when all had communicated. Whence *Durantus* meaſuring antient Cuſtoms by the Practice of his own Times, abſurdly concludes, that the *Paſtophoria* was the Ark where the Pyxe and Wafer (n) were laid; as if there was any Similitude betwixt a Pyxe, and a Building on each ſide of the Temple. *Bona* (o) with a little more Reaſon thinks the *Paſtophorium* was only another Name for *Sceuophylacium*, or *Diaconicum*. But indeed it ſeems to have been a more general Name, including not only the *Diaconicum*, but alſo the *Gazophylacium*, or Treaſury, and the Habitations of the Miniſters, and *Cuſtodes Eccleſiæ*, or as ſome think they are otherwiſe called, *Paramonarii*, *Manſionarii*, and *Martyrarii*, the Manſionaries, or Keepers of the Church. For the Word *Paſtophorium* is a Name taken from the Septuagint Tranſlation of the *Old Teſtament*, *Ezek.* xl. 17, where it is uſed for the Chambers in the outward Court of the Temple. And St. *Jerom* in his Comment [p] upon the Place, obſerves, that what the Septuagint call *Paſtophoria*, and the *Latins* from them *Cubicula*, is, in the Tranſlations of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, render'd *Gazophylacium* and *Exedra*; and he tells us they were Chambers of the Treaſury, and Habitations for the Prieſts and Levites round about that Court of the Temple. Therefore I think there is no queſtion to be made, but that the *Paſtophoria* in the Chriſtian Church were places put to the ſame Uſe as in the *Jewiſh* Temple, from which the Name is borrowed. For the Church had her *Gazophylacia*, or Treaſuries, as well as the Temple; which appears from a Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage* [q], which forbids the Offerings of Perſons at Variance one with another to be received either in the Treaſury or the Sanctuary. So that the Treaſury was a diſtinct place from the *Corban* in the Sanctuary, and therefore moſt probably to be reckoned among the *Paſtophoria* of the Church. Here all ſuch Offerings of the People were laid up, as were not thought proper to be brought to the Altar, but rather to be ſent to the Biſhop's Houſe, as ſome antient Canons give Direction in the caſe. Particularly among thoſe called the Canons of the Apoſtles we find two to this Purpoſe, "That beſide Bread and "Wine nothing [r] ſhould be brought to the "Altar, ſave only new Ears of Corn and Grapes, "and Oyl for the Lamps, and Incenſe for the "Time of the Oblation: But all other Fruits "ſhould be ſent εἰς οἶκον, to the Repoſitory, or "Treaſury it may be, as Firſt Fruits for the "Biſhop and Presbyters, and not be brought "to the Altar, but be by them divided among "the Deacons and other Clergy." The *Paſtophoria* were alſo Habitations for the Biſhop and Clergy, and the Guardians, or Keepers of the

[g] Greg. Ep. 2. ad Leon. Iſaur. Concil. Tom. 7. p. 26. Pontifices ubi quis peccarit, eum tanquam in Carcerem, in Secretaria, ſacrorumque vaſorum Æraria conjiciunt in Eccleſiæ Diaconia & in Catechumena ablegant. [h] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 559. [i] Du Freſne Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 595. [k] Suicer. Theſaur. voce μετατώριον. [l] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57. ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶ μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολήν. [m] Ibid. lib. 8. c. 13. λαβόντες οἱ διάκονοι τὰ προσφερόμενα. ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὰ παστοφόρια. [n] Durant. de Ritib. Eccleſ. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 8. [o] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 24. n. 2. [p] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. 40. 17. p. 640. Pro Thalamis triginta quos vertere Septuaginta, ſive Gazophylaciis atque Cellariis, ut interpretatus eſt Aquila, Symmachus poſuit ἐξέδρας··· quæ habitationi Levitarum atque Sacerdotum erant præparatæ. Id. Com. in Ezek. 42. 1. p. 652. Eductus eſt in Gazophylacium, ſive ut Symmachus & LXX. tranſtulerunt Exedram, vel ut Theodotio παστοφόριον, quod in Thalamum vertitur. [q] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 93. Oblationes diſſidentium fratrum, neque in Sacrario, neque in Gazophylacio recipiantur, [r] Canon. Apoſt. c. 4. & 5.

Church, as *Schelſtrate* [*s*] rightly concludes from another Paſſage in St. *Jerom* [*t*], where he explains *Paſtophorium* to be the Chamber, or Habitation, where the Ruler of the Temple dwelt. So that it ſeems to have been almoſt as general a Name as that of the οἶκοι, or *Exedræ* of the Church.

SECT. XII. *Of the Schools and Libraries of the Church.*

WHETHER the Libraries belonging to the Churches were any part of theſe *Paſtophoria*, is not eaſy to determine; but thus much we are certain of, that there were ſuch Places antiently adjoining to many Churches, from the Time that Churches began to be erected among Chriſtians. *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in the third Century built a Library for the Service of that Church, where *Euſebius* tells us [*u*] he found the beſt part of his Materials to compoſe his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *Julius Africanus* founded ſuch another Library at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, which *Pamphilus* and *Euſebius* much augmented. St. *Jerom* [*w*] ſays, "*Pamphilus* "wrote out almoſt all *Origen*'s Works for the "Uſe of this Library, which were reſerved there "in his Time. And he often mentions [*x*] his own conſulting it upon neceſſary Occaſions, in his Emendations of the Text of the Holy Scriptures; telling us farther [*y*], "That there was "a Copy of St. *Matthew*'s *Goſpel* in the Origi- "nal *Hebrew*, as it was firſt written by him, ex- "tant in his Time. Another of theſe Libraries we find mentioned in the Acts of Purgation of *Cæcilian* and *Felix*, belonging to the Church of *Cirta Julia*, or *Conſtantina*, in *Numidia* [*z*], where *Paulus* the Biſhop is accuſed as a Traditor, for delivering up the Goods of the Church, in the Time of the *Dioclefian* Perſecution. Theſe were all founded before the Church had any ſettled Times of Peace. In the following Ages we find St. *Auſtin* making mention of the Library [*a*] of the Church of *Hippo*, and St. *Jerom* [*b*] commending *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* for his Care in repairing the Library of *Pamphilus*, which was fallen to decay. St. *Baſil* [*c*] ſpeaks of the *Roman* Libraries, or Archives at leaſt. And the Author of the Pontifical [*d*], if any Credit may be given to him, aſcribes the building of two to Pope *Hilary*, near the Baptiſtery of the *Lateran* Church. But that which exceeded all the reſt, was the famous Library of the Church of St. *Sophia*, which *Hoſpinian* [*e*] thinks was firſt begun by *Conſtantine*, but was afterward vaſtly augmented by *Theodoſius Junior*, who was another *Ptolemy*, in whoſe Time there were no leſs than an hundred thouſand Books in it; and an hundred and twenty thouſand in the Reign of *Baſiliſcus* and *Zeno*, when both the Building and its Furniture were all unhappily conſumed together, by the firing of the City in a popular Tumult. He that would ſee a more ample Account of theſe Foundations in other Ages, muſt conſult *Lomeier*'s Diſcourſe *de Bibliothecis*, where he purſues the Hiſtory of Libraries [*f*] from firſt to laſt, as well among *Jews* and Heathens, as every Age of Chriſtians. It is ſufficient to my preſent purpoſe to have hinted here briefly a ſuccinct Account of ſuch of them, as were antiently reckoned Parts, or Appendants of the Chriſtian Churches. And for the ſame Reaſon I take notice of Schools in this place, becauſe we find them ſometimes kept in the Churches, or Buildings adjoining to the Church: Which is evident from the Obſervation which *Socrates* makes upon the Education of *Julian* the Apoſtate, "That in his Youth he frequented the "Church [*g*] where in thoſe Days the Schools "were kept. He ſpeaks of the Schools of *Grammar* and Rhetorick, which it ſeems were then taught at *Conſtantinople* in ſome Apartment belonging to the Church. Here alſo it is probable, thoſe famous Catechetick Schools of *Alexandria* and *Cæſarea* were kept. For *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* is ſaid by *Ruffin* [*h*] to have authorized *Origen* to teach as Catechiſt in the Church. Which, as I have noted in another [*] Place, cannot be underſtood of Preaching publickly in the Church; for *Origen* was then but eighteen Years old, and not in Orders, when he firſt entered upon the Catechetick School; but it muſt mean his private teaching in the School of the Church. Which whether it was in the *Catechumenia* within the Church, or in the *Baptiſteria*, or *Paſtophoria* without the Church, is not very eaſie nor very material to be determined, ſince it appears to have been in ſome place belonging to the Church, but not preciſely determined by any antient Writers. Whilſt I am upon this Head, I cannot but take notice of a Canon attributed to the ſixth general Council of *Conſtantinople*, which promotes the ſetting up of Charity Schools in all Country Churches. For among thoſe nine Canons which are aſcribed to this Council in ſome antient Collections, and publiſhed by *Crab*, there is one to this purpoſe [*i*], "That Presby- "ters in Country-Towns and Villages ſhould have

[*s*] Schelſtrat. Concil. Antiochen. p. 186. [*t*] Hieron. Com. in Eſai. [*u*] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 20. [*w*] Hieron. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccleſ. c. 75. [*x*] Id. Ep. ad Marcel. Tom. 3. p. 113. It. Com. in Tit. c. 3. [*y*] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 3. Ipſum Hebraicum habetur uſque hodie in Cæſarienſi Bibliotheca, quam Pamphylus Martyr ſtudioſiſſime confecit. [*z*] Geſta Purgat. Cæciliani ad calcem Optati, p. 267. Poſtea quam perventum eſt in Bibliothecam, inventa ſunt Armaria inania, &c. [*a*] Aug. de Hæreſ. c. 80. Audivi de Hæreſibus ſcripſiſſe ſanctum Hieronymum, ſed ipſum ejus Opuſculum in noſtra Bibliotheca invenire non potuimus. [*b*] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. c. 113. Plurimo labore corruptam Bibliothecam Origenis & Pamphili in membranis inſtaurare conatus eſt. [*c*] Baſil. Ep. 82. Tom. 3. p. 152. [*d*] Pontifical. Vit. Hilarii. Fecit Oratorium S. Stephani in Baptiſterio Lateranenſi. Fecit autem & Bibliothecas duas in eodem loco. [*e*] Hoſpin. de Templis, lib. 3. c. 7. p. 101. [*f*] Lomeier de Bibliothecis, Ultrajecti, 1680. 8vo. [*g*] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 1. εἰς βασιλικὸν, ἔνθα τότε τὰ παιδευτήρια ἦν. &c. [*h*] Ruffin. lib. 6. Hiſt. Euſeb. c. 3. Demetrius Catechizandi ei, id eſt, Docendi Magiſterium in Eccleſia tribuit. [*] *Book* 3. *Chap.* 10. *n.* 4. [*i*] Conc. 6. General. can. 5. ap. Crab. Tom. 2. p. 415. Presbyteri per Villas & Vicos Scholas habeant. Et ſi quis Fidelium ſuos Parvulos ad diſcendas Literas eis commendare vult, eos non renuant ſuſcipere, &c. Nihil autem ab eis pretii exigant, nec aliquid ab eis accipiant, excepto quod eis Parentes eorum charitatis ſtudio ſua voluntate obtulerint.

"Schools

" Schools to teach all ſuch Children as were ſent " to them, for which they ſhould exact no Re- " ward, nor take any thing, except the Parents " of the Children thought fit to make them any " charitable Preſent by way of voluntary Obla- " tion. And another of thoſe Canons [k] ſpeaks of Schools in Churches and Monaſteries, ſubject to the Biſhop's Care and Direction. From which we may conclude, that Schools were antiently very common Appendants both of Cathedral and Country Churches; and therefore it was not improper to hint thus much of them here, though a more full Account of other Things relating to them will make a Part in this Work hereafter, in its proper Place.

SECT. XIII. *In what Senſe Dwelling-houſes, Gardens, and Baths, reckoned Parts of the Church.*

EUSEBIUS, in his Deſcription of the Church of the Twelve Apoſtles, built by *Conſtantine* at *Conſtantinople*, takes notice of ſome other Buildings and Places belonging to the Church. For that Church, he ſays, was ſurrounded with a large *Atrium*, or *Area*, on each Side of which were Portico's, or Cloyſters, and along by them [l] firſt οἶκοι βασίλειοι, which *Valeſius* renders *Baſilicæ*, but I think *Muſculus* ſomething better, *Domus Baſilicæ*; for they ſeem not to mean Royal Palaces, but the Houſes of the Clergy adjoining to the Church. Then he adds λουτρὰ, which in this place neither ſignifies the Baptiſtery, nor the Fountain before the Church, but Baths belonging to the Church, which in a Law of *Theodoſius* [m], that ſpeaks alſo of the ſeveral parts of the Church, where Men ſhould be allowed to take Sanctuary, is called more plainly *Balnea*, and in the *Greek* Copy λουτρὰ, as well in the Code, as in the Acts of the Council of *Epheſus*, where the ſame Law is recited. *Euſebius* adds to theſe ἀναλαμπτήρια, which *Muſculus* tranſlates *Deambulatorii Receſſus*, taking them, I preſume, for Walks about the Church: But *Valeſius* more properly renders them *Diverſoria*; for they ſeem to mean the little Hoſpitals, or Houſes of Entertainment for the Poor and Strangers; which are the *Cellulæ*, the little Cells, or Lodgings, if I miſtake not, ſpoken of in the aforeſaid Law of the *Theodoſian* Code. And perhaps they might ſerve as Lodgings alſo for ſuch as fled to take Sanctuary in the Church. For theſe might neither eat nor lodge within the Church, but only in ſome of theſe outward Buildings, which upon that account were made as ſafe a Retreat, as the very Altar it ſelf, by the afore-mentioned Law of *Theodoſius*. And ſo were the κατηχήσια, as *Euſebius* calls them, the Habitations of the Porters, or Keepers of the Church; and likewiſe the Gardens, and *Area*, and Cloyſters enjoyed the ſame Privilege, being within the Bounds of the περίβολος, or outward Encloſure of the Church. And ſo far, as to what concerns the Privilege of yielding Sanctuary, all theſe Places were reckoned as parts of the Church. But of this more in the laſt Chapter, which treats particularly of the Laws relating to the *Aſyla*, and the Privilege of taking Sanctuary in the Church.

SECT. XIV. *When Organs firſt came to be uſed in the Church.*

I ſhould here have put an End to this Chapter, but that ſome Readers would be apt to reckon it an Omiſſion, that I have taken no notice of Organs and Bells, among the Utenſils of the Church. But the true Reaſon is, that there were no ſuch Things in Uſe in the antient Churches, for many Ages. Muſick in Churches is as antient as the Apoſtles, but Inſtrumental Muſick not ſo: For 'tis now generally agreed by learned Men, that the Uſe of Organs came into the Church ſince the Time of *Thomas Aquinas*, *An.* 1250. For he in his Summs has theſe Words, " Our Church does [n] not uſe Muſical " Inſtruments, as Harps and Pſalteries, to praiſe " God withal, that ſhe may not ſeem to Judaize. From which our learned Mr. *Gregory*, in a peculiar Diſſertation [o] that he has upon this Subject, concludes, That there was no Eccleſiaſtical Uſe of Organs in his Time. And the ſame Inference is made by *Cajetan* [p], and *Navarre* [q], among the *Romiſh* Writers. Mr. *Wharton* [r] alſo has obſerved, that *Marinus Sanutus*, who lived about the Year 1290, was the firſt that brought the Uſe of Wind Organs into Churches, whence he was ſirnamed *Torcellus*, which is the Name for an Organ in the *Italian* Tongue. And about this Time *Durandus*, in his *Rationale* [s], takes notice of them as received in the Church, and he is the firſt Author, Mr. *Gregory* thinks, that ſo takes notice of them. The Uſe of the Inſtrument indeed is much antienter, but not in Church-Service; the not attending to which Diſtinction is the Thing that impoſes upon many Writers. In the *Eaſt* the Inſtrument was always in Uſe in the Emperor's Courts, perhaps from the Time of *Julian*, who has an Epigram [t] giving an handſome Deſcription of it. But in the *Weſtern* Parts the Inſtrument was not ſo much as known 'till the Eighth Century. For the firſt Organ that was ever ſeen in *France*, was one ſent

[k] Ibid. can. 4. Si quis ex Presbyteris voluerit Nepotem ſuum aut aliquem Conſanguineum ad Scholas mittere in Eccleſiis Sanctorum, aut in Cœnobiis, quæ nobis ad regendum commiſſa ſunt, licentiam id faciendi concedimus. [l] Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. c. 59. οἶκοί τε βασίλειοι ταῖς σοαῖς, λουτρά τε, καὶ ἀναλαμπτήρια παρεξετέτατο, ἀλλά τε πλεῖστα καταγώγια τοῖς τῆ τότε ὁρμῆς, &c. [m] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. De his qui ad Eccleſias confugiunt, Leg. 4. Ut inter Templum quod parietum deſcripſimus cinctu, & januas primas Eccleſiæ, quicquid fuerit interjacens ſive in Cellulis, ſive in Domibus, Hortulis, Balneis, Areis atque Porticibus, Confugas interioris Templi vice tueatur. [n] Aquin. 2da 2dæ Queſt. 91. Artic. 2. Eccleſia noſtra non aſſumit Inſtrumenta Muſica, ſicut Citharas & Pſalteria in Divinas laudes, ne videatur judaizare. [o] Gregory *Diſcourſe of the Singing of the* Nicene *Creed*. Inter Opera Poſthuma, p. 51. [p] Cajetan. in Loc. Aquin. & in ſummula. [q] Navar. de Orat. & Horis Canonicis, cap. 16. [r] Wharton. Append. ad Cave Hiſtor. Literar. p. 13. Marinus Sanutus, cognomento Torcellus, Germani cujuſdam artificis opera uſus, Organa illa Pneumatica, quæ hodie uſurpantur, Italice Torcellos dicta, primus omnium in Eccleſiam induxit: inde datum ei Torcelli nomen. [s] Durand. Rational. lib. 4. c. 34. lib. 5. c. 2. [t] Vide Vitam Juliani per Morentinum, p. 11.

as a Preſent to King *Pepin*, by *Conſtantinus Copronymus* the *Greek* Emperor, *An.* 766, as *Bona* himſelf [*u*] ſhews out of *Sigebert* [*w*], and the antient Annals [*x*] of *France*, and M. *Gregory* adds *Marianus Scotus*, *Martin Polonus*, *Aventine*, *Platina*, and the Pontifical for the ſame Opinion. But now it was only uſed in Princes Courts, and not yet brought into Churches. Nor was it ever received into the *Greek* Churches, there being no Mention of an Organ in all their Liturgies, antient or modern, if Mr. *Gregory*'s Judgment may be taken. But *Durantus* however contends for their Antiquity both in the *Greek* and *Weſtern* Churches, and offers [*y*] to prove it, but with ill Succeſs. *Firſt*, From *Julianus Halicarnaſſenſis*, a *Greek* Writer, *An.* 510, whom he makes to ſay, "That Organs were uſed in the Church in his "Time. But he miſtakes the Senſe of his Author, who ſpeaks not of his own Times, but of the Times of *Job* and the *Jewiſh* Temple. For commenting upon thoſe Words of *Job* xxx. 31. *My Harp is turned to Mourning, and my Organ into the voice of them that weep*, he ſays, "There was "no Prohibition to uſe Muſical Inſtruments, or "Organs [*z*], if it was done with Piety, be-"cauſe they were uſed in the Temple. By which it is plain, he ſpeaks of the *Jewiſh* Temple in the Singular, and not of Chriſtian Temples, or Churches in the Plural, as *Durantus* miſtakes him. Next for the *Latin* Church he urges the common Opinion, which aſcribes the Invention of them to Pope *Vitalian*, *An.* 660. But his Authorities for this are no better than *Platina* and the Pontifical, which are little to be regarded againſt clear Evidences to the contrary. That which ſome urge out of *Clemens Alexandrinus* [*a*] I ſhall not anſwer as *Suicerus* [*b*] does, (who with *Hoſpinian* [*c*], and ſome others, wholly decrying the Uſe of Inſtrumental Muſick in Chriſtian Churches, ſays, "It is an Interpolation and "Corruption of that antient Author) but only obſerve that he ſpeaks not of what was then in uſe in Chriſtian Churches, but of what might lawfully be uſed by any private Chriſtians, if they were diſpoſed to uſe it. Which rather argues, that Inſtrumental Muſick, the Lute and Harp, of which he ſpeaks, was not in uſe in the publick Churches. The ſame may be gathered from the Words of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſays [*d*], "It was only permitted to the *Jews* as Sacrifice "was, for the Heavineſs and Groſſneſs of their "Souls; God condeſcended to their Weakneſs, "becauſe they were lately drawn off from Idols. "But now inſtead of Organs [*e*] we may uſe "our own Bodies to praiſe him withal. *Theodoret* [*f*] has many the like Expreſſions, in his Comments upon the Pſalms, and other Places. But the Author, under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr*, is more expreſs in his Determination, as to Matter of Fact, telling us plainly, "That the "Uſe [*g*] of Singing with Inſtrumental Muſick "was not received in the Chriſtian Churches, "as it was among the *Jews*, in their Infant State, "but only the Uſe of plain Song. So that there being no Uſe of Organs 'till the twelfth Century, I could not ſpeak of them as Utenſils of the antient Churches.

SECT. XV. *Of the Original of Bells, and how Church-Aſſemblies were call'd before their Invention.*

FOR the ſame Reaſon I reckon not Bells among the antient Utenſils, becauſe they are known to be a modern Invention. For the firſt Three Hundred Years it is certain, the Primitive Chriſtians did not meet in their Aſſemblies, by the Notice of any publick Signal: Though *Amalarius* [*h*] fancies they had ſome ſounding Inſtruments of Wood for this purpoſe. But this is ſo abſurd a Fancy, and altogether groundleſs Dream, to imagine, that in an Age of Perſecutions, when they met privately in the Night, they ſhould betray themſelves as it were, and provoke their Enemies to deſtroy them, that neither *Bona* [*i*] nor *Baronius* [*k*] himſelf could digeſt it. But *Baronius* has another Fancy, which is not much better grounded. He ſuppoſes there was an Order of Men, appointed on purpoſe to give private notice to every Member, when and where the Aſſembly was to be held; and theſe, he ſays [*l*], are called *Curſores*, or Διάδρομοι, Couriers, in the antient Language of the Church. His ſole Authority for this is *Ignatius* [*m*] in his Epiſtle to *Polycarp*, where he has indeed the Name, but in a quite different Senſe from what *Baronius* explains it to be. For he ſpeaks not of Perſons employed in calling together Religious Aſſemblies, but of Meſſengers to be ſent from one Country to another, upon the important Affairs of the Church, as any one that looks carefully into *Ignatius* will eaſily diſcern. Theſe he in another Place [*n*] calls πρεσβύτας, divine Ambaſſadors, as all learned Men agree that it ought to be read; and ſo the old *Latin* Tranſlation has it, *Sacros Legatos*; and *Polycarp* [*o*] uſes the ſame Name when he ſpeaks of thoſe Meſſengers of the Churches. Theſe were commonly ſome Deacons, or others of the inferior Clergy, whom the Biſhop thought fit to ſend upon the Embaſſies of the Church. But as to calling of Religious Aſſemblies, we are not ſure how it was then performed, ſave only that it was done in a private way: And perhaps the Deaconneſſes were the fitteſt Perſons to be employed therein, as being leaſt known or ſuſpected by the Heathen; but for want of Light we can determine nothing about it. In the following Ages we find ſeveral

[*u*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 19. [*w*] Sigebert. an. 766. [*x*] Annales Metenſes, an. 757. [*y*] Durant. de Ritib. lib. 1. c. 13. n. 2. [*z*] Julian. Catena in Job 30. p. 465. ἀλλὰ κεχρῆσθαι ὀργάνοις ἀπείρητο, μετ' εὐσεβείας γινομένης ὅπερ γε ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτοις ἐκέχρηντο. [*a*] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 4. [*b*] Suicer. Theſaur. voce Ὄργανον, p. 501. [*c*] Hoſpin. de Templis lib. 2. c. 11. p. 74. [*d*] Chryſoſt. in Pſal. 149. Tom. 3. p. 634. [*e*] Id. in Pſal. 144. [*f*] Theod. in Pſal. 32. & 150. [*g*] Juſtin. Quæſt. & Reſponſ. ad Orthodox. Q. 107. ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προῃρέτου ἐκ τῶν ἀσμάτων ἡ χρῆσις τῶν τοιούτων ὀργάνων, διὰ τὸ ἄλλων τῶν νηπίων ὄντων ἀρμοδίων, διὰ τοῦτο ἐλείφθη τὸ ἆσμα ἁπλῶς [*h*] Amalar. de Officiis lib. 4. c. 21. [*i*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 1. [*k*] Baron. an. 58. n. 108. [*l*] Ibid. n. 102. [*m*] Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 7. [*n*] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 11. [*o*] Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. n. 13.

other

other Inventions before Bells to call Religious Aſſemblies together. In *Egypt* they ſeem to have uſed Trumpets after the manner of the *Jews*. Whence *Pacomius* [p] the Father of the *Egyptian* Monks makes it one Article of his Rule, That every Monk ſhould leave his Cell, as ſoon as he heard the Sound of the Trumpet calling to Church. And the ſame Cuſtom is mentioned by *Johannes Climachus* [q], who was Abbot of Mount *Sinai* in the ſixth Century, whence we may conjecture, that the old Uſage continued 'till that Time in *Paleſtine* alſo. But in ſome Monaſteries they took the Office by Turns of going about to every one's Cell, and with the Knock of an Hammer calling the Monks to Church; which Cuſtom is often mentioned by *Caſſian* [r], and *Palladius* [s], and *Moſchus* [t], as uſed chiefly for their Night-Aſſemblies, whence the Inſtrument is termed by them the Night-Signal, and the Wakening-Mallet. In the Monaſtery of Virgins, which *Paula* the famous *Roman* Lady ſet up and governed at *Jeruſalem*, the Signal was uſed to be given by one going about, and ſinging *Hallelujah:* For that Word was their Call to Church, as St. *Jerom* [u] informs us. In other Parts of the Eaſt they had their ſounding Inſtruments of Wood, as *Bona* [w] ſhews at large out of the Acts of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, and *Theodorus Studita*, and *Nicephorus Blemides*, and ſeveral other Writers. And the Uſe of Bells was not known among them, as he obſerves out of *Baronius* [x], 'till the Year 865, when *Urſus Patriciacus* Duke of *Venice* made a Preſent of ſome to *Michael* the *Greek* Emperor, who firſt built a Tower to the Church of *Sancta Sophia* to hang them in. But whether it be that this Cuſtom never generally prevailed among the *Greeks*, or whether it be that the *Turks* will not permit them to uſe any Bells, ſo it is at preſent that they have none, but follow their old Cuſtom of uſing Wooden Boards, or Iron Plates full of Holes, which they call σήμανδρα, and χειροσήμανδρα, becauſe they hold them in their Hands, and knock them with their Hammer or Mallet, to call the People together to Church, as we are informed by *Allatius*, and a late learned Writer [y] of our own, who has been an Eye-witneſs of their Cuſtoms. Who firſt brought Bells into Uſe in the *Latin* Church, is a Thing yet undetermined; ſome aſcribing them to Pope *Sabinianus*, St. *Gregory*'s Succeſſor, *An.* 604, and others to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, Cotemporary with St. *Jerom*. This laſt is certainly a vulgar Error, and ſeems to owe its Riſe to no other Foundation, but only that he was Biſhop of *Nola* in *Campania*, (where Bells perhaps were firſt invented, and thence called *Nolæ* and *Campanæ*) and ſome bold modern Writer thence concluded, that he was therefore the Author of them. And it might make the Story look a little more plauſible, becauſe that he alſo founded a Church in *Nola*. But then it happened unluckily for this Fiction, that he himſelf deſcribes his Church, and that very minutely, in his twelfth Epiſtle to *Severus*, but takes no notice of Tower, or Bells, though he is exact in recounting all other leſſer Edifices belonging to his Church. Which, as *Bona* truly obſerves, is a ſhrewd Argument, joined with the Silence of all other antient Writers, to prove that he was not the Inventor of them. Yet *Bona*, after all, would have it thought, that they began to be uſed in the *Latin* Church, immediately upon the Converſion of Chriſtian Emperors, becauſe the *Tintinnabula*, or leſſer ſort of Bells, had been uſed before by the Heathens to the like Purpoſe. Which is an Argument, I think, that has very little Weight in it, ſince there is no antient Author that countenances his Conjecture. For he produces none before *Audoenus Rothomagenſis*, that mentions the Uſe of the *Tintinnabula*, nor any before *Bede*, that uſes the Name *Campana:* Both which Authors lived in the ſeventh Century, and that is an Argument that theſe Things were not come into Uſe among Chriſtians long before, elſe we might have heard of them in Writers before them, as we frequently do in thoſe that follow after. I need not now tell any Reader, that the Popiſh Cuſtom of conſecrating, and anointing, and baptizing of Bells, and giving them the Name of ſome Saint, is a very modern Invention. *Baronius* carries it no higher than the Time of *John* XIII. *An.* 968, who conſecrated the great Bell of the *Lateran* Church, and gave it the Name of *John* [z], from whence he thinks the Cuſtom was authorized in the Church. *Menardus* [a] and *Bona* [b] would have it thought a little more antient, but yet they do not pretend to carry it higher than one Age more, to the Time of *Charles the Great*, in whoſe Time ſome Rituals, *Menardus* ſays, had a Form of bleſſing and anointing Bells, under this Title or Rubrick, *Ad Signum Eccleſiæ benedicendum*, a Form for bleſſing of Bells. And it is not improbable but that ſuch a Corruption might creep into the Rituals of thoſe Times; becauſe we find among the Capitulars of *Charles the Great*, a Cenſure and Prohibition of that Practice, *Ut Clocas non baptiſent* [c], That they ſhould not baptize Clocks, which is the old *German* Name for a Bell. But what was then prohibited, has ſince been ſtifly avowed and practiſed, and augmented alſo with ſome additional Rites, to make Bells a ſort of Charm againſt Storms and Thunder, and the Aſſaults of Satan, as the Reader

[p] Pachom. Regula. c. 3. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 15. p. 629. Cum audierit vocem Tubæ ad Collectam vocantis, Statim egrediatur.
[q] Climac. Scala Paradiſi, Gradu 19. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 5. p. 244.
[r] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 2. c. 17. lib. 4. c. 12. [s] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 104. Ξυπνιασήειον σφυείνο. [t] Moſchus Prat. Spirit. Nocturnum pulſare ſignum, &c. [u] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 178. Poſt Alleluya cantatum, quo ſigno vocabantur ad Collectam, nulli reſidere licitum erat.
[w] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 2. [x] Baron. an. 865. Tom. 10. p. 319. [y] *Dr.* Smith's *Account of the* Greek *Church*, p. 70. [z] Baron. an. 968. Tom. 10. p. 810.
[a] Menard. Not. in Sacramental. Gregor. p. 207. [b] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 7. [c] Capitular. Caroli Magni, *cited by* Durantus de Ritibus, lib. 1. c. 22. n. 2.

that

that pleaſes may ſee the Ceremony deſcribed by *Sleidan* [d], and *Hoſpinian* [e], out of the old Pontificals of the *Romiſh* Church. But I fear my Readers will begin to accuſe me now, inſtead of an Omiſſion, of making too long a Digreſſion upon this Subject, and therefore I return to the Buſineſs of Antient Churches.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Anathemata, *and other Ornaments of the Antient Churches.*

SECT. I. *What the Ancients meant by their* Anathemata *in Churches.*

AFTER having taken a diſtinct Survey of the chief Parts and Buildings, and common Utenſils of the antient Churches, it will not be amiſs to caſt our Eyes upon the ornamental Parts thereof, and conſider a little after what manner the firſt Chriſtians beautify'd their Houſes of Prayer. The Richneſs and Splendor of ſome of their Fabricks, and the Value of their Utenſils belonging to the Altar, many of which were of Silver and Gold, I have already taken notice of: What therefore I ſhall farther add in this Place, concerns only the remaining Ornaments of the Church, ſome of which were a little uncommon, and but rarely mentioned by modern Writers. The general Name of all ſorts of Ornaments in Churches, whether in the Structure it ſelf, or in the Veſſels and Utenſils belonging to it, was antiently *Anathemata*; which, though it moſt commonly ſignifies Perſons Devoted, or Accurſed by Excommunication, or Separation from the Church, yet it ſometimes alſo denotes Things given to God, and devoted to his Honour and Service. In which Senſe all the ſacred Veſſels, and Utenſils of the Church, and all Gifts and Ornaments belonging to it, were called *Anathemata*, becauſe they were ſet apart from common Uſe, to God's Honour and Service. Some of the *Greeks* diſtinguiſh thus between ἀναθήματα and ἀναθέματα, as *Suicerus* has [a] obſerverved out of *Chryſoſtom* [b], and *Heſychius* [c], and *Balzamon* [d], and *Zonaras*, making the firſt to ſignify Ornaments of the Church, or Things devoted to God's Honour; and the other, Things accurſed, or devoted to Deſtruction. But others of them do not ſo nicely obſerve this Diſtinction, but uſe the ſame Word to ſignify both, Things devoted to God's Uſe, and Things devoted to Deſtruction, as *Suicerus* ſhews in the ſame place out of *Theodoret*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, the Author of the Queſtions *ad Orthodoxos*, under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr*, and ſome others. Here I take both Words only as ſignifying Gifts or Ornaments of Churches. In which Senſe ἀναθήματα is uſed by St. *Luke*, xxi. 5. for the Gifts and Ornaments of the Temple. And ſo *Euſebius*, deſcribing the Hemiſphere, or Altar-part of the Church of *Jeruſalem*, and the twelve Pillars which ſupported and ſurrounded it, ſays, "The Heads of the Pillars were adorned with "Silver Bowls, which *Conſtantine* ſet up as his "beautiful ἀνάθημα, that is, his Gift or Offer-"ing [e] to his God." And a little after he ſays again, "He adorned it [f] with innumerable "Gifts of Silver, and Gold, and precious Stones." So that all the rich Veſſels, and Utenſils of the Altar, the rich Veſtment which the Biſhop put on when he adminiſtred the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which was interwoven with Gold, and which, as *Theodoret* [g] and *Sozomen* [h] tell us, was one of *Conſtantine*'s Gifts to the Church of *Jeruſalem*; theſe, I ſay, and all other ſuch like Ornaments belonging to the Church, as well as what contributed to the Beauty and Splendor of the Fabrick it ſelf, were all reckoned among the *Anathemata* of the Church. But in a more reſtrained Senſe, the *Anathemata* ſometimes denote more peculiarly thoſe Gifts, which were hanged upon Pillars, and ſet in publick View, as Memorials of ſome great Mercy which Men had received from God. In Alluſion to which *Socrates* [i] thinks the Term *Anathema* is uſed for Excommunication, becauſe thereby a Man's Condemnation is publiſhed and proclaimed, as if it were hanged up upon a Pillar. St. *Jerom* alſo had his Eye plainly upon this Cuſtom, when he ſpeaks of Mens Gifts [k] hanging in the Church upon golden Cords, or being ſet in golden Sockets, or Sconces. For the word *Funale* ſignifies both. And tho' he rather adviſes Men to offer their Gifts to the true Temples of Chriſt, meaning the Bodies and Souls of the Poor; yet that implies another way of offering their Gifts to be in common Uſe, that is, hanging up their *Anathemata*, or *Donaria* (as he, with other *Latin* Writers, calls them) in the material Temples. *Vide Sidon. Apollinar. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 18. *& Paulin. Natali* 6. *Felicis.*

SECT. II. *One particular Kind of theſe, called* ἐκτυπώματα, *when firſt brought into Churches.*

AMONG theſe there was one particular kind of Gifts, which they called ἐκτυπώματα, becauſe they were a ſort of Symbolical Memorials, or Hieroglyphical Repreſentations of the Kindneſs and

[d] Sleidan. Commentar. lib. 21. p. 388. [e] Hoſpin. de Templis lib. 4. c. 9. p. 113.

[a] Suicer. Theſaur. voce ἀνάθημα. [b] Chryſoſt. Hom. 16 in Rom. [c] Heſych. Lexicon. [d] Balzamon. & Zonar. in Can. 3. Concil. in Templo Sophiæ. [e] Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. lib. 3. c. 38. ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον ἑτοιμάζετο τῷ αὐτοῦ θεῷ. [f] Ibid. c. 40. ἐκόσμει δ' αὐτὸν ἀσήμοις κάλλεσι ἀναθημάτων χρυσοῦ, &c. [g] Theodor. lib. 2. c. 27. [h] Sozom. lib. 4. c. 25. [i] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 34. [k] Hieron. Ep. 27. ad Euſtoch. in Epitaphio Paulæ. Jactent alii pecunias & in Corbonam Dei æra congeſta, funalibuſque aureis Dona pendentia, &c. Id. Ep. 13. ad Paulin. Verum Chriſti Templum anima credentis eſt.——Illi offer Donaria.

Favour, which in any kind they had received. When first they began to be offered and set up in Churches, is not very easy to determine: But I think *Bochart*'s Conjecture [*l*] is very probable, that it was about the middle of the fifth Age, because *Theodoret* is one of the first Writers that takes notice of them. He tells us, in one of his *Therapeuticks*, or Discourses to the *Gentiles* [*m*], "That when any one obtained the Benefit of a "signal Cure from God, in any Member of his "Body, as his Eyes, or Hands, or Feet, *&c.* he "then brought his ἐκτύπωμα, the Effigies or "Picture of that Part in Silver or Gold, to be "hanged up in the Church to God, as a Memo"rial of his Favour." This *Bochart* thinks was done by way of Emulation of the *Gentiles*, among whom it was customary for such, as had escaped any great Peril or Disaster, to consecrate some Monument of their by-past Evils, to their Gods that delivered them. As they that had escaped a Shipwrack, dedicated a Tablet to *Neptune*, or *Isis*, representing the manner of their Shipwrack. So Gladiators hanged up their Arms to *Hercules*; and Slaves and Captives, when they got their Liberty, and were made free, offered a Chain to the *Lares*. And so we read (1 *Sam.* vi. 4.) that the *Philistines* sent their golden Emrods and Mice, Figures of the Things by which they had suffered, as an Offering to the God of *Israel*. I shall make no farther Observation upon this Practice, but only remark how far the *Romish* Church is degenerate in this Matter from the antient, who offer now to Men more than they do to God, and fill their Churches with Gifts, acknowledging some Tutelar Saints as their chief Patrons and Benefactors.

SECT. III. *Churches antiently adorned with Portions of Scripture written upon the Walls.*

BUT to proceed with the antient Churches: Another Ornament, which served for Use as well as Beauty, was their comely and pertinent Inscriptions, many of which are preserved, and still to be read in antient Authors. These were of two sorts, some taken out of Scripture; others, useful Compositions of Mens own Inventing. The Walls of the Church seem commonly to have had some select Portions of Scripture written upon them, containing some proper Admonition and Instruction for all in general, or else more peculiar to that Order of Persons who had their Station in such a particular Part, or Division of the Church. Thus I have observed before [*] out of St. *Ambrose* [*n*], that the Place of the Virgins had that Text of St. *Paul* sometimes written by it on the Walls, *There is Difference between a Wife and a Virgin; the unmarried Woman careth for the Things of the Lord, how she may please the Lord*, &c. And by this one Place we may judge, how other Parts of the Church were embellished, and adorned with proper Instructions out of the Holy Scripture.

SECT. IV. *And with other Inscriptions, of Human Composition.*

BUT besides these Lessons out of the inspired Writings, it was very usual to have other Inscriptions, of Human Composure, written on the several Parts, and Utensils of many Churches. Of which I have already given some Instances out of *Paulinus*, speaking of the *Catechumenia* and *Secretaria* [*] of the Church. And the curious Reader may find abundance more of the same nature, upon the Baptistery, and the Altar, and the Frontispiece [*o*], too long to be here inserted. I shall only here repeat two short Distichs, written over the Doors of the Church, one on the Out-side, exhorting Men to enter the Church with pure and peaceable Hearts, on this wise:

Pax tibi sit, quicunque Dei Penetralia Christi
Pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis.

And the other on the Inner-side of the Doors, requiring Men, when they go out of the Church with their Bodies, to leave at least their Hearts behind them.

Quisquis ab æde Dei perfectis ordine votis
Egrederis, remea corpore, corde mane.

Many other the like Inscriptions may be seen in *Sidonius* [*p*] *Apollinaris*, and other Writers of that Age; but I will only add one more, which for the Curiosity of it may deserve to be here inserted. It is the Inscription which the Emperor *Justinian* is said to have written round about the Altar of the Church of *Sancta Sophia*. The Altar it self, *Cedrenus* tells us, was a most inimitable Work: For it was artificially composed of all sorts of Materials that either the Earth, or the Sea could afford; Gold, Silver, and all kinds of Stones, Wood, Metals, and other Things: Which being melted, and mixed together, a most curious Table was framed out of this Universal Mass; and about it was this Inscription: *We thy Servants* [*q*], Justinian *and* Theodora, *offer unto thee, O Christ, thy own Gifts out of thy own, which we beseech thee favourably to accept, O Son and Word of God, who wast made Flesh, and crucified for our Sakes; Keep us in the true Orthodox Faith; and this Empire, which thou hast committed to our Trust, augment and preserve it to thy own Glory,* πρεσβείαις τ ἁγίας Θεοτόκυ, *by the Intercessions of the Holy Mother of God, and Virgin* Mary. The Reader will not wonder at this last Part of this Inscription, in the sixth Age, when the Prayers of Saints in Heaven were thought available, without directly praying to them.

SECT. V. *Gilding and Mosaick Work used in the ancient Churches.*

ANOTHER considerable Part of the Ornament of Churches, was the Beautifying of the Roof, or *Camera*, as they then called it.

[*l*] Bochart. Hierozoic. Part 1. lib. 2. cap. 36. p. 368. [*m*] Theodor. Serm. 8. de Martyr. Tom. 4. p. 606. [*] *Book 8. Chap. 5. Sect. 9.* [*n*] Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsum. [*] *Chap. 6. Sect. 22.* [*o*] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. [*p*] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 18. [*q*] Cedren. Hist. Compend. an. 32. Justin. p. 386. τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν οἱ δοῦλοί σε χριστέ, &c.

This

This was done two ways, either by Moſaick Work, which they call *Muſivum*; or by Lacunary Work, dividing the Roof into ſeveral Pannels, by Architects termed *Laquearia*, or *Lacunaria*, from *Lacus*, ſome of which were round, and ſome ſquare, (as *Valeſius* obſerves [r] out of *Iſidore*) and divided either with Wood, or Plaiſter, or Colours from each other, and then either gilded, or painted, as Mens Fancies led them. Both theſe were uſed to adorn the antient Churches. The Temple of *Sancta Sophia* was curiouſly wrought in Moſaick, or Checquer Work, as *Procopius* [s] relates; and *Conſtantine*'s Church at *Jeruſalem* was Lacunary: For *Euſebius* [t] ſays, "The whole Roof was divided in- "to certain carved Tables, or Pannels, and all "laid over with ſhining Gold." And this he calls a little before καμάραν λακωναρίαν, a Lacunary Roof adorned with Gold. Some Churches, as that of *Paulinus* [u] of *Nola*, were beautified both ways. For *Paulinus* ſays, "The Roof of "his *Apſis*, or Altar-part, was Moſaick Work; "but the Body of the Church, and the Galle- "ries on both ſides the Church were Lacunary: that is, divided into Pannels, as we ſee in many of our modern Churches. The Reader that pleaſes may ſee a great deal more of this matter in St. *Jerom*, who often ſpeaks of their Lacunary [w] Golden Roofs, and Walls adorned with Cruſt of Marble; and Pillars with their Chapiters of ſhining Gold; and Gates inlaid with Ivory and Silver; and Altars diſtinguiſhed and beſet with precious Stones and Gold. Though he was no great Admirer of theſe Things himſelf, but a greater Friend to Charity.

SECT VI.
No Pictures, or Images, allowed in Churches for the firſt 300 Years.

THEY of the *Romiſh* Church, when they are deſcribing the antient Churches, commonly add to theſe other Ornaments, that of Pictures and Images, according to the modern Cuſtom: And nothing will content them, but to have them as antient as Churches themſelves, that is, to be derived from Apoſtolical Practice. To this purpoſe they have invented an Apoſtolical Council at *Antioch*, wherein not only the Uſe, but the Worſhip of Images is pretended to be authorized by the Apoſtles. And the Credit of this Council is ſtifly defended by *Baronius* [x], and *Turrian*, and *Binius*, and many ſuch over-zealous Writers. But *Petavius* [y], and *Pagi* [z], and other Writers of Candor and Judgment, give it up as a meer Forgery, and freely confeſs it to be a Fiction of the modern *Greeks*. *Petavius* alſo [a] owns, that for three or four of the firſt Ages there was little or no uſe of Images in Churches. And indeed the Evidences are ſo plain, that none but they who reſolve to wink hard can deny them. The Silence of all antient Authors is good Evidence in this Caſe. The Silence of the Heathen is farther Confirmation: For they never recriminated, or charged the Uſe of Images upon them. Nay, in the laſt Perſecution, when they often plundered and pillaged their Churches, we never read of any Images ſeized in them, though we have ſeveral particular Catalogues, or Inventories, of what they found there, left upon Record by the Heathen. It is a very full one which *Baronius* [b] firſt publiſhed, and is ſince inſerted among the Collections [c] at the End of *Optatus*. There is a particular Breviat of all Things, found by the Perſecutors in the Church of *Paul*, Biſhop of *Cirta*, in *Numidia*, where we find mention made of Cups, and Flaggons, and Bowls, and Water-pots, and Lamps, and Candleſticks, and Torches, and Coats, and other Clothing for Men and Women, which in thoſe Days ſeem to be laid up in Store, either for the Poor, or the *Aſceticks* of the Church: But of Images, or Pictures there is not a Syllable, which is at leaſt a good Negative Argument, that there was no ſuch Thing then in their Churches. Nay, there are poſitive Proofs in the fourth Age, that in ſome Places they were not then allowed to be ſet up in Churches. As in *Spain*, in the time of the Council of *Eliberis*, *An.* 305, there was a poſitive Decree againſt them. For one of the Canons of that Council runs in theſe Words: "We de- "cree [d], that Pictures ought not to be in "Churches, leſt that which is worſhipped and "adored be painted upon the Walls." And it was certainly ſo in *Cyprus* to the End of this Century, as appears from that famous Epiſtle of *Epi-*

[r] Iſidor. Origen. lib. 19. Laquearia ſunt quæ Cameram ſubtegunt & ornant: Quæ & Lacunaria dicuntur, quod Lacus quoſdam quadratos vel rotundos, Ligno vel Gypſo vel Coloribus habeant pictos, cum ſignis intermicantibus. [s] Procop. de Ædificiis Juſtin. lib. 1. *cited by* Valeſius Not. in Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. lib. 3. c. 36. [t] Euſeb. lib. 3. de Vit. Conſt. c. 36. τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἔσω σέγης γλυφαῖς φατνωμάτων ἀπηρτισμένα, &c. Vid. c. 32. [u] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 150, & 151. Apſidem ſolo & parietibus marmoratam Camera Muſivo illuſa clarificat. —— Totum vero extra Concham Baſilicæ ſpatium alto & lacunato culmine geminis utrinque Porticibus dilatatur. [w] Hieron. lib 2. in Zechar. 8. Non ſolum Laquearia & Tecta fulgentia auro, ſed Parietes diverſi Marmoris cruſtis veſtiti. Id. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Marmora nitent auro, ſplendent Laquearia, Gemmis altare diſtinguitur, &c. It. Ep. 30. Epitaph. Fabiolæ, c. 4. Sonabant Pſalmi, & aurata templorum tecta reboans in ſublime quatiebat Alleluya. It. Ep. 8. ad Demetriad. Virgin. Alii ædificent Eccleſias; veſtiant parietes marmorum cruſtis; Columnarum moles advehant, carumque deaurent Capita, pretioſum ornatum non ſententia; Ebore argentoque valvas, & gemmis aurata diſtinguant altaria. Non reprehendo, non abnuo. Unuſquiſque in ſenſu ſuo abundet. Meliuſque eſt hoc facere, quam repoſitis opibus incubare. Sed tibi aliud Propoſitum eſt, Chriſtum veſtire in Pauperibus, &c. [x] Baron. an. 102. n. 19, & 20. Binius Not. in Conc. Antioch. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 62. [y] Petav. Dogmat. Theol. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 5. Quod ad illum canonem Apoſtolicum attinet, quem primus edidit in lucem Franciſcus Turrianus, cum puto ſuppoſititium eſſe, &c. [z] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 56. n. 3. [a] Petav. ibid. c. 13. n. 3. Pagi. ibid. Certum eſt, Imagines Chriſti, & maxime ſtatuas, primis Eccleſiæ Sæculis non fuiſſe ſubſtitutas loco Idolorum, nec Fidelium venerationi expoſitas. [b] Baron. an. 303. n. 12. [c] Geſta Purgation. Cæcilian. ad calcem Optati, p. 266. In Brevi ſic: Calices duo aurei: Item Calices ſex argentei: Urceola ſex argentea: Cucumellum argenteum: Lucernæ argenteæ ſeptem: Cereofala duo: Candelæ breves æneæ cum lucernis ſuis ſeptem: Item Lucernæ æneæ undecim cum catenis ſuis. Tunicæ muliebres 82: Mafortea 38: Tunicæ viriles 16: Caligæ viriles paria 13: Caligæ muliebres paria 47: Coplæ ruſticanæ 19. [d] Conc. Eliber. c. 36. Placuit Picturas in Eccleſia eſſe non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

phanius to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, tranſlated by St. *Jerom*, where ſpeaking of his Paſſage through *Anablatha*, a Village of *Paleſtine*, he ſays, "He found there a Veil hanging before "the Doors of the Church, wherein was paint-"ed [e] the Image of Chriſt, or ſome Saint; "for he did not well remember whether it was: "But ſeeing however the Image of a Man hanging "in the Church, againſt the Authority of Scrip-"ture, he tore it in pieces, and adviſed the Guar-"dians of the Church rather to make a Wind-"ing-ſheet of it, to bury ſome poor Man in." Some ſtorm againſt this Paſſage as an Interpolation of ſome modern *Greek Iconoclaſt*; which is the common Evaſion of *Bellarmin* [f], and *Baronius* [g] and the reſt that follow them. But *Petavius* [h], owns it to be genuine, and ſays, "Images were not allowed in the time of *Epi-*"*phanius*, in the *Cyprian* Churches:" Which is certainly the Truth of the Matter, when Men have uſed all their Arts and Shifts to perſwade the contrary. The common Writers of the *Romiſh* Church are as uneaſy about the Council of *Eliberis*. *Baronius* flies to the old Refuge of Impoſture in that ſingle Canon; others ſay, "They "are all of the ſame Stamp." Others, who think this a little too crude and bold, ſoften the matter by ſaying, "Images were only pro-"hibited for fear the *Gentiles* ſhould think Chri-"ſtians worſhiped Stocks and Stones; or it was "only Images painted upon the Walls that "were prohibited, becauſe theſe were liable to "be abuſed by the Perſecutors, which others, "that might be removed, were not liable to. So *Sylvius* in his Notes upon this Canon. Others fly to the new Notion of *Diſciplina Arcani*, and tell us, "It was only the Images of God and "the Trinity that are here prohibited (not the "Images of Saints and Martyrs) and that only "for fear the *Catechumens* and *Gentiles* ſhould "be led into the Secrets of their Religion, and "underſtand the Myſtery of the Trinity before "their Time. Which pleaſant Notion was firſt invented by *Mendoza* [i], approved by Cardinal *Bona* [k], and highly magnified by *Schelſtrate* [l], and *Pagi* [m], as a clear Solution to the Proteſtants Argument againſt the Worſhip of Images, drawn from this Canon. But yet this does not ſatisfy either *Albaſpiny*, or *Petavius*. For *Albaſpiny* thinks the Images [n] of God and the Trinity were prohibited, for fear the *Catechumens*, and new Converts ſhould entertain wrong Notions, and diſhonourable Thoughts of the Majeſty of God, when they ſaw him, whom they were firſt taught to believe Inviſible, and Immaterial, and Incomprehenſible, afterward circumſcribed in viſible Lines and Colours. Which is a Reaſon that will always hold againſt making Images of the Deity, tho' it does not give the full Senſe of this Canon, which certainly prohibits the Uſe of Images in general, and not only thoſe of the Trinity in Churches. And therefore *Petavius* [o] gives a more general Reaſon for the Prohibition of all Images whatſoever at that Time, becauſe the Remembrance of Idolatry was yet freſh in Mens Minds, and therefore it was not expedient to ſet up Images in the Oratories and Temples of Chriſtians. So that in fact, now the caſe is clear, that Chriſtians for near four hundred Years did not allow of Images in Churches. *Tertullian* [p] indeed once mentions the Picture of a Shepherd bringing home his loſt Sheep, upon a Communion-cup, in ſome of the Catholick Churches. But as this is a ſingular Inſtance only of a Symbolical Repreſentation, or Emblem, ſo it is the only Inſtance *Petavius* pretends to find in all the three firſt Ages. In the middle of the fourth Age, the Chriſtians of *Paneas*, or *Cæſarea-Philippi*, ſhewed a little Reſpect to the Statue of Chriſt, which the *Syrophœnician* Woman, who had been cured of an Iſſue of Blood, was ſuppoſed to have erected in Honour of our Saviour. For when *Julian* had removed it, to ſet his own in the Room, and the Heathen out of Hatred to Chriſt had uſed it contumelioufly, and broken it in Pieces by dragging it about the Streets; *Sozomen* [q] tells us, "The Chriſtians gathered the Frag-"ments together, and laid them up in the "Church, where they were kept to his own "Time. *Philoſtorgius* [r] in telling the ſame Story, adds one Circumſtance, which well explains *Sozomen*'s Meaning: For he ſays, "They "were laid up in the *Diaconicum*, or Veſtry of "the Church, and there carefully kept indeed, "but by no means worſhiped or adored. So that it was not a Statue ſet up in a Church, but only the Fragments of it laid up in the Repoſitory of the Church, and there not to be worſhiped, but only to be kept from Violence, and that the Heathen might offer no more ſuch barbarous Indignities to it. Which was ſo far a commendable Act, but yet no Proof of Images being ſet up publickly in Churches.

[e] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hieroſol. Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejuſdem Eccleſiæ tinctum atque depictum, & habens imaginem quaſi Chriſti vel ſancti cujuſdam. Non enim ſatis memini cujus Imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidiſſem, in Eccleſia Chriſti contra autoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere Imaginem, ſcidi illud, & magis dedi conſilium Cuſtodibus ejuſdem Loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent & efferrent.
[f] Bellarmin. de Imagin. lib 2. c. 9. [g] Baron. an. 392. p. 668. [h] Petav. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 8.
[i] Mendoza Not. in Conc. Eliber. c. 36. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 1240.
[k] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 2. [l] Schelſtrat. Diſciplina Arcani. c. 6. art. 3. [m] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 55. n. 6. [n] Albaſpin. Not. in Can. 36. Concil. Eliber. [o] Petav. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 8. Recentem adhuc Idololatriæ memoriam fuiſſe: Ob idque nondum expediſſe Chriſtianorum in Oratoriis ac Templis Imagines ſtatui.
[p] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 10. Si forte patrocinabitur Paſtor, quem in Calice depingis—At ego ejus Paſtoris Scripturam haurio, qui non poteſt frangi. [q] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 21.
[r] Philoſtorg. lib. 7. c. 3. τὰ ἀνδριάντα μεταςησάμενοι ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διακονικῷ, τὰ πρέποντα ἐθεράπευον, σέβοντες μὲν ἢ προσκυνοῦντες οὐδαμῶς.

SECT. VII. *First brought in by Paulinus, and his Cotemporaries, privately and by Degrees, in the latter End of the Fourth Century.*

YET it is not denied, but that in ſome Places, about the latter End of the Fourth Century, Pictures of Saints and Martyrs began to creep into Churches. *Paulinus*, Biſhop of *Nola*, to keep the Country People employed, and prevent their running into Riot and Exceſs, when they met together to celebrate the Anniverſary Feſtival of the Dedication of the Church of St. *Felix*, ordered the Church to be painted with the Images of Saints and Scripture-Hiſtories, ſuch as thoſe of *Eſther*, and *Job*, and *Tobit*, and *Judith*, as he himſelf [*s*] acquaints us in his Writings. And ſome Intimations are given of the Beginnings of the ſame Practice in other Places by St. *Auſtin*, who often ſpeaks of the Pictures [*t*] of *Abraham* ſacrificing his Son, and of the Pictures [*u*] of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of ſome Worſhippers of Pictures [*w*] too, but they have not his Approbation. Nor had they the Approbation of the Catholick Church: For he ſays, "The Church condemned them, as Ig-"norant and Superſtitious, and Self-will'd Per-"ſons, and daily endeavoured to correct them "as untoward Children.

SECT. VIII. *The Pictures of Kings and Biſhops brought into the Church about the ſame Time.*

FROM which any Rational and Unprejudiced Perſon will eaſily conclude, That the firſt Deſign of bringing Pictures into Churches, was only for Ornament, or Hiſtory, and not for Worſhip and Adoration, as St. *Auſtin* and *Philoſtorgius* have declared. And this may be farther confirmed from what *Paulinus* himſelf and other Writers aſſure us of, "That at firſt the Pi-"ctures of the Living had their Place in the "Church, as well as the Dead, and Bi-"ſhops and Kings were joined with the Saints "and Martyrs. *Paulinus* his own Picture was ſet with St. *Martin*'s, in the Baptiſtery of the Church built by *Severus*, and *Paulinus* himſelf [*x*] wrote two Epigrams by way of Inſcription to be ſet by them, to teach Men not to worſhip, but to imitate them, the one as a Saint, the other as a Penitent Sinner. *Baronius* thinks [*y*] *Acacius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, was the firſt that had this Honour done him, *Anno* 488. But *Valeſius* [*z*] judiciouſly corrects his Error, and obſerves it to have been cuſtomary long before. And the Inſtance I have given in *Paulinus* ſufficiently confirms his Obſervation. *Theodorus Lector* [*a*] ſpeaks of the ſame Honour done to *Macedonius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in the Remark that he makes upon *Timotheus* his Succeſſor, "That whatever Church he went in-"to, he would never begin Divine Service, 'till "the Images of *Macedonius* were firſt pulled "down. *Suidas* takes notice of the Picture of *Gennadius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, being joined with that of Chriſt [*b*], and Chriſt ſpeaking to him in theſe Words, *Deſtroy this Temple, and in thy Succeſſors Days I will raiſe it up again.* *Damaſcen*, a great Advocate for Images [*c*], pretends to carry this Practice as high as *Conſtantine*, telling us from *Socrates*, That *Conſtantine* ordered his own Images to be ſet up in Temples: But as Mr. *Spanheim* [*d*] has obſerved, there is ſomething of Fraud in the Relation: For *Socrates* ſpeaks not of Chriſtian Churches, but of Heathen [*e*] Temples, in which having demoliſhed their Idols, he cauſed his own Images to be placed in their Room. But admitting it had been as *Damaſcen* pretends, it makes nothing to the purpoſe for which he alledges it, which was to prove the Worſhip of Images in Churches.

SECT. IX. *But neither Pictures of the Living or Dead deſigned for Worſhip.*

FOR now I preſume, no one will ſuſpect, that the Pictures of Biſhops and Kings were ſet up in Churches to be worſhiped, while they were living among other Men, but only deſigned to be an Ornament to the Church, or a Civil Honour to the Perſons. And the ſame muſt be concluded of the Pictures of the Dead, ſince the firſt Introducers of them intermixed their own Pictures with them. But it muſt be owned that this Superſtition preſently followed upon the ſetting up of Pictures in Churches: Yet it was never approved; 'till the Second Council of *Nice*, *An.* 787, made a Decree in favour of it. *Serenus*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, ordered all Images to be defaced, and caſt out of all the Churches of his Dioceſe: And though *Gregory the Great* blamed him for this, and defended the Uſe of Pictures in Churches as innocent, and uſeful for Inſtruction of the Vulgar [*f*], yet he equally condemns the Worſhip and Adoration of them. And when the Council of *Nice* had eſtabliſhed it, in Oppoſition to the Council of *Conſtantinople* of 338 Biſhops, held *An.* 754, who had before condemn'd it, the Decrees of *Nice* were rejected by all the *Weſtern* World, the Popes of *Rome* only excepted. The Council of *Frankford* in *Germany*, the Council of *Paris* in *France*, and ſome other Councils in *Britain*, agreed unanimouſly to condemn them, and for ſome hundred Years after, the Worſhip of Images was not re-

[*s*] Paulin. Natal. 9. Felicis, p. 615. Propterea viſum nobis opus utile, totis felicis domibus Pictura illudere Sancta. Id. Natal. 10. p. 617. Martyribus mediam pictis pia nomina ſignant, *&c.* [*t*] Aug. cont. Fauſt. lib. 22. c. 73. Tom. 6. [*u*] Aug. de Conſenſu Evangel. lib. 1. c. 10. [*w*] Id. de Morib. Eccl. Cathol. lib. 1. c. 34. Novi multos eſſe Sepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores—quos & ipſa Eccleſia condemnat, & tanquam malos filios corrigere ſtudet. [*x*] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 142. Adſtat perfectæ Martinus regula vitæ: Paulinus veniam quo mereare docet. Hunc Peccatores, illum ſpectate beati: Exemplar ſanctis ille ſit, iſte reis. [*y*] Baron. an. 488. p. 438. Ex Suida. voce Acacius. [*z*] Valeſ. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 167. [*a*] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 563. [*b*] Suidas Lexicon. voce Acacius. [*c*] Damaſcen. Orat. 3. de Imagin. [*d*] Spanheim. Hiſtor. Imagin. Sect. 1. p. 14. [*e*] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. εἰκόνας δὴ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπέθετο. [*f*] Gregor. lib. 9. Ep. 9. Quia Sanctorum Imagines adorari vetuiſſes, omnino laudavimus: Fregiſſe vero reprehendimus, *&c.* Vid. lib. 7. Ep. 111.

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ceived in any of the Three aforeſaid Nations. But it is as much beyond my Deſign to purſue this Hiſtory any farther, as it is needleſs, there being ſo many excellent Diſcourſes on this particular Subject, eſpecially thoſe of Mr. *Daille* [g], Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [h], and *Spanheim* [i], who have omitted nothing on this Head that was neceſſary to anſwer the Cavils of their *Romiſh* Antagoniſts, or give Satisfaction to a curious Reader.

SECT. X.
No Images of God, or the Trinity, allowed in Churches, 'till after the Second Nicene *Council.*

ALL I ſhall add farther therefore upon this Subject is only two Obſervations, which *Petavius* himſelf [k] has made for us. The firſt is, That the Antients never allowed any Pictures of God the Father, or the Trinity, to be ſet up in their Churches. For this he produces the Teſtimonies of *Origen* [l], St. *Ambroſe* [m], and St. *Auſtin* [n], who particularly pronounces it to be an impious Thing for any Chriſtian to ſet up any ſuch Image in the Church, and much more to do it in his Heart. Nay, Pope *Gregory* II. who was otherwiſe a great Stickler for Images, in that [o] very Epiſtle which he wrote to the Emperor *Leo*, to defend the Worſhip of them, denies it to be lawful to make any Image of the Divine Nature. And the Second Council of *Nice* it ſelf was againſt it, as is evident from the Epiſtles of *Germanus*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* [p], and *John*, Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, which are recited with Approbation in the Acts of that Council. And *Damaſcen* following the Doctrine of the ſame Council, ſays, "It is as great Impiety "[q] as it is Folly, to make any Image of the "Divine Nature, which is Inviſible, Incorporeal, Incircumſcriptible, and not to be figur'd by the Art of Man. And therefore in all antient Hiſtory, we never meet with any one Inſtance of Picturing God the Father, becauſe it was ſuppoſed, he never appeared in any viſible Shape, but only by a Voice from Heaven. Upon this Account, *Paulinus*, where he deſcribes a Symbolical Repreſentation of the Three Divine Perſons, made in the Painting of a Church, makes a Lamb to be the Symbol of Chriſt, and a Dove the Symbol of the Holy Ghoſt, but for God the Father [r] nothing but a Voice from Heaven. And this they did in Compliance with that Text in *Deuteronomy* iv. 12. *The Lord ſpake unto you out of the midſt of the Fire: Ye heard the Voice of his Words, but ſaw no Similitude, only ye heard a Voice.* By which we ſee how much the preſent Church of *Rome* has out-gone the firſt Patrons even of Image Worſhip it ſelf, by allowing Pictures of the Deity commonly in their Temples, which the Ancients reckoned to be Impious and Abſurd, and is acknowledged to be an Abuſe fit to be corrected, by *Caſſander* [s], though *Petavius*, after all his Conceſſions and Acknowledgments of the Novelty of the Thing, and its Contrariety to antient Cuſtom, endeavours to find out ſome Colour for the preſent Practice.

SECT. XI.
Nor uſually Statues, or maſſy Images, but only Paintings and Pictures, and thoſe Symbolical rather than any other.

HIS other Acknowledgment of a Difference between the Practice of the antient Church, and that of his own at this Day, is, That the Ancients did not approve of Maſſy Images, or Statues of Wood, or Metal, or Stone, but only Pictures or Paintings to be uſed in Churches. This he proves from the Teſtimonies of *Germanus*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* [t], and *Stephanus Boſtrenſis*, both alledged in the Acts of the Second Council of *Nice*: which ſhews, that maſſy Images, or Statues, were thought to look too much like Idols, even by that worſt of Councils. But ſome plead the Authority of *Gregory Nazianzen* [u] for Statues in Churches, to whom *Petavius* anſwers, "That he ſpeaks not of Statues "in Temples, but of Prophane Statues in other "places. Which is a very juſt and true Obſervation. For it is moſt certain from the Writings of St. *Auſtin* [w] and *Optatus* [x], that there were no Statues, in that Age, in their Churches, or upon their Altars, becauſe they reckon both thoſe to be meer Heatheniſh Cuſtoms. And *Caſſander* obſerves [y] the ſame out of the Writings of *Gregory the Great*. He alſo notes, that 'till the Time of the Sixth General Council, the Images of Chriſt were not uſually in the Effigies, or Figure of a Man, but only Symbolically repreſented under the Type of a Lamb; and ſo the Holy Ghoſt was repreſented under the Type, or Symbol of a Dove: But that Council forbad [z] the Picturing of Chriſt any more in the Symbol of a Lamb, and ordered it only to be drawn in the Effigies of a Man. I preſume, by this time the Worſhip of Images was begun, *An.* 692. And it was now thought indecent to pay their Devotions to the Picture of a Lamb, and therefore they would no longer endure it to be ſeen in the Church. I have been the more particular in recounting and explaining theſe Things diſtinctly, that the Reader might have in one ſhort View the Riſe and Progreſs of that grand Superſtition, which has

[g] Dallæus de Imaginibus. [h] Stillingfl. *Defence of the Diſcourſe of Idolatry*, &c. [i] Spanheim Hiſtoria Imaginum. Lugdun. Bat. 1686. 8vo. [k] Petav. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 1. [l] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 6. [m] Ambroſ. in Pſal. 118. Octonar. 12. [n] Aug. de Fide & Symbolo, c. 7. Tale Simulachrum nefas eſt Chriſtiano in Templo collocare, multo magis in corde nefarium eſt. [o] Gregor. Ep. 1. ad Leon. in Act. 4. Conc. Nicen. 2. [p] Germ. Ep. ad Leon. Act. 4. Conc. Nic. 2. [q] Damaſcen. de Fide Orthodox. lib. 4. c. 17. ἀλογεσώτης ἀνέας ἡ ἀσεβείας τὸ σχηματίζειν τὸ θεῖον, &c. Id. Orat. 1. & 2. de Imagin. paſſim. [r] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 150. Pleno coruſcat Trinitas myſterio; Stat Chriſtus agno; Vox Patris cœlo tonat: Et per columbam Spiritus ſanctus fluit. [s] Caſſand. Conſultat. Sect. de Imagin. p. 179. Illud quoque inter abuſus ponendum eſt, quod etiam Divinitati in Trinitatis deformatione Simulachrum effingitur, quod veteres abſurdum & nefarium judicaſſent. [t] German. Ep. ad Thom. Claudiopol. in Act. 4. Conc. Nic. 2. Stephan. Boſtren. ibid. Act. 2. [u] Nazian. Ep. 49. [w] Aug. in Pſalm. 113. [x] Optat. lib. 2. [y] Caſſand. Conſult. de Imagin. p. 165. [z] Conc. Trull. c. 83.

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ſo overſpread the Church, and defaced its Worſhip in the matter of Images, which were introduced at firſt only for Hiſtorical Uſe, to be Laymens Books, and a ſort of Ornaments for the Church, though as the Event proved, the moſt dangerous of any other.

SECT. XII. *Of Adorning the Church with Flowers and Branches.*

THERE was one Way more of Adorning Churches, which I ſhould not have thought worth mentioning, but for its Innocency and Natural Simplicity, that is, the Cuſtom of Garniſhing and Decking them with Flowers and Branches. Which was not done at any certain Times for any pretended Myſtery, but only to make them more decent and fit for a Body of Men to meet in. St. *Auſtin* takes notice of the Cuſtom, ſpeaking of one [a] who carried away with him ſome Flowers from off the Altar. And *Paulinus* in his Poetical way refers to it [b] likewiſe. But St. *Jerom* does it the greateſt Honour to give it a place in his Panegyrick upon his Friend *Nepotian*, making it a part [c] of his commendable Character, that he took care to have every thing neat and clean about the Church, the Altar bright, the Walls whited, the Pavement ſwept, the Gates veiled, the Veſtry clean, and the Veſſels ſhining; and ſo far did his pious Sollicitude about theſe matters extend, that he made Flowers, and Leaves, and Branches of Trees contribute to the Beauty and Ornament of the Churches. Theſe were but ſmall things in themſelves, St. *Jerom* ſays, but a pious Mind devoted to Chriſt is intent upon things great and ſmall, and neglects nothing that may deſerve the Name of the very meaneſt Office in the Church. And it is plain St. *Jerom* had a greater Value for ſuch ſort of Natural Beauty and Comelineſs in Churches, than for rich Ornaments of coſtly Pictures, and Paintings, and Silver, and Gold, and precious Stones. And therefore, as I obſerved before [*], he rather adviſed his rich Friends to lay out their Wealth upon the living Temples of God, the Backs and Bellies of the Poor, and commended the rich Lady *Paula* [d] for ſo doing, rather than for hanging up needleſs and ſuperfluous Gifts, as others did, upon the Pillars of the Temple. And it is no wonder then he ſhould commend *Nepotian*'s frugal Care, who had diveſted himſelf of all his Eſtate to relieve the Poor, and left himſelf no Ability to adorn the Church any other way, but that which was moſt to St. *Jerom*'s Liking and Approbation.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Conſecration of Churches.

SECT. I. *What the Ancients meant by the Conſecration of Churches.*

ANTIENTLY, when Churches were finiſhed and adorned, it was then uſual to proceed to a Dedication, or Conſecration of them; which was a Thing that was ſometimes performed with a great deal of pious Solemnity, and therefore it will be proper in the next place to make a little Enquiry into the Nature and Circumſtances of it. Now I muſt obſerve firſt of all, that by the Conſecration of a Church the Ancients always mean the devoting, or ſetting it apart peculiarly for Divine Service: But the Manner and Ceremony of doing this, was not always exactly one and the ſame; therefore we are chiefly to regard the Subſtance of the Thing, which was the Separation of any Building from common Uſe to a Religious Service. Whatever Ceremony this was performed with, the firſt Act of Initiating and Appropriating it to a Divine Uſe was its Conſecration. And therefore in Alluſion to this, the firſt Beginning of any Thing is many times called its Dedication. As when *Cyprian*, ſpeaking of *Aurelius* the Confeſſor, whom he had ordained a Reader, ſays, *He dedicated* [a] *his Reading*, he means no more but that he performed the firſt Act of his Office in the Church, which in his Phraſe was its Dedication. Whether Churches had any other Ceremony beſides this in their Dedication for the three firſt Ages, is not certain; though it is highly probable they might have a ſolemn Thankſgiving and Prayer for a ſanctified Uſe of them alſo, over and beſides the uſual Liturgy of the Church, becauſe this was in Uſe among the *Jews*; who thus dedicated not only their Temple, 1 *Kings* viii. but alſo their private Houſes, and Walls of their Cities, when they were finiſhed, as appears from the Title of the 30th *Pſalm*, which is inſcribed, *A Pſalm or Song at the Dedication of the Houſe of* David; and from the Account which is given by *Nehemiah*, xii. 27. of the Dedication of the Walls of *Jeruſalem*. It is farther probable from the conſtant Practice of Chriſtians, in conſecrating their ordinary Meat by Thankſgiving and Prayer, before they begin to uſe it; and from the manner of conſecrating Churches in the following Ages, after the Time of *Conſtantine*: All which make it

[a] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. Abſcedens aliquid de altari florum, quod occurrit, tulit, &c. [b] Paulin. Natal. 3. Felicis, p. 541. Ferte Deo pueri laudem, pia ſolvite vota: Spargite Flore ſolum, prætexite limina ſertis. [c] Hieron. Ep. 3. Epitaph. Nepotian. Erat ſollicitus ſi niteret altare, ſi Parietes abſque fuligine, ſi Pavimenta terſa, ſi Janitor creber in Portis, Vela ſemper in Oſtiis, ſi ſacrarium mundum, ſi Vaſa luculenta, & in omnes Ceremonias pia ſollicitudo diſpoſita.—— Baſilicas Eccleſiæ & Martyrum Conciliabula diverſis floribus & arborum comis, vitiumque pampinis adumbravit. [*] *See before Sect. 5.* [d] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. Nolebat in his Lapidibus pecuniam effundere, qui cum terra & ſæculo tranſituri ſunt: Sed in vivis Lapidibus, qui volvuntur ſuper terram.——

[a] Cyprian. Ep. 33. al. 38. ad Cler. Carthag. Dominico legit interim nobis, id eſt, auſpicatus eſt pacem, dum dedicat Lectionem.

highly probable, that the Christians of the three first Ages used the same Ceremony of particular Prayers and Thanksgiving to God, in the Dedication of their Churches. But having no express Testimonies for this, I will not pretend positively to assert it. *Durantus* [b] and *Bona* [c] are indeed very confident, it was always so from the Time of the Apostles: But they build upon no better Foundation than the feigned Epistles of *Clemens Romanus*, *Evaristus*, and *Hyginus*, and the Acts of St. *Cæcilia* in *Simeon Metaphrastes*, which are Writings of no Authority, when the Question is about Matters of Fact in the First and Apostolical Ages.

SECT. II. *The first Authentick Accounts of this to be fetched from the Fourth Century.*

THEREFORE leaving this Matter, for want of better Evidence, as a Thing only probable, but not certain, I proceed to consider it as practised in the next Age, when in the peaceable Reign of *Constantine* Churches were rebuilt over all the World, and dedicated with great Solemnity. Then it was a desirable Sight, as *Eusebius* [d] words it, to behold how the Consecrations of the new-built Churches, and the Feasts of the Dedications were solemnized in every City. That which made these Solemnities the more august and venerable, was, that commonly a whole Synod of the Neighbouring, or Provincial Bishops met at the Dedication. The Church of *Jerusalem*, which *Constantine* built over our Saviour's Sepulchre, was consecrated in a full Synod of all the Bishops of the *East*, whom *Constantine* called first to *Tyre*, and then to *Jerusalem*, *An.* 335, for this very Purpose, as *Eusebius* [e] and all the other Historians inform us. In like Manner *Socrates* [f] observes, that the Council of *Antioch*, *An.* 341, was summoned on purpose to dedicate the famous Church there, called *Dominicum Aureum*, which was begun by *Constantine*, and finished by *Constantius*. And there are many Examples of the like nature to be met with in antient History. Now the Solemnity was usually begun with a Panegyrical Oration, or Sermon, consisting chiefly of Praise and Thanksgiving to God, and sometimes expatiating upon the Commendation of the Founder, or the Glory of the new-built Church. Such as that Oration in *Eusebius* [g], made at the Dedication of the Church of *Paulinus* at *Tyre*, and others [h] in *Gaudentius* and St. *Ambrose*, upon the like Occasion. Sometimes they had more than one Discourse upon it: For *Eusebius*, speaking of the Dedication of Churches in the Time of *Constantine*, says, "Every Bishop that was present [i] made a Speech in Praise of the Convention; so that the Panegyrick, which he there records, was but one of many that were spoken. In another place, describing the Dedication of the Church of *Jerusalem*, he says, "Some made Speeches by way of Panegyrick [k] upon the Emperor, and the Magnificence of his Building; others handled a common-place in Divinity adapted to the present Occasion; and others discoursed upon the Lessons of Scripture that were read, expounding the Mystical Sense of them; and he bore a Part in each of these himself, being present at that Solemnity. When this part of the Ceremony was over, they then proceeded to the Mystical Service, or the Offering of the Unbloody Sacrifice, as he there terms it, to God; Praying for the Peace of the World, the Prosperity of the Church, and a Blessing upon the Emperor and his Children. Among these Prayers they seem to have had a particular Prayer for the Church then Dedicated, as some understand St. *Ambrose*, who is thought [l] to have a Form upon such an Occasion; which, because we have not many such in the Writings of the Ancients, I will here insert in his own Words: "I beseech thee now, O Lord, let thine Eye be continually upon this House, upon this Altar, which is now dedicated unto thee, upon these spiritual Stones, in every one of which a sensible Temple is consecrated unto thee: Let the Prayers of thy Servants, which are poured out in this Place, be always accepted of thy Divine Mercy. Let every Sacrifice, that is offered in this Temple with a pure Faith and a pious Zeal, be unto thee a sweet-smelling Savour of Sanctification. And when thou lookest upon that Sacrifice of Salvation, which taketh away the Sins of the World, have Respect to these Oblations of Chastity, and defend them by thy continual Help, that they may be sweet and acceptable Offerings unto thee, and pleasing unto Christ the Lord: Vouchsafe to keep their whole Spirit, Soul and Body, without blame unto the Day of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*" I do not deny, but that this Prayer in some Parts of it may seem to look more like a Consecration of Virgins, than a Consecration of Churches: Perhaps it might serve for both, the Spiritual and the Material Temples of God together; but if any thinks it means only the former, I will not contend about it, seeing it is already proved out of *Eusebius*, that at least Panegyrical Orations, and Praises of God, and

[b] Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 24. n. 1. [c] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 3. [d] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 3. τὸ πᾶσιν ἐυκτὸν θέαμα, ἐγκαινίων ἑορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἠδ' ἅμα ὅτι νεοπαγῶν περιδικτείων ἀοιδώσεις. Vid. Euseb. de Laud. Constant. c. 17. [e] Euseb. lib. 4. de Vit. Const. c. 43. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 28. Sozomen. lib. 2. c. 26. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 30. [f] Socrat. lib. c. 8. [g] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. [h] Gaudent. Serm. 17. in Dedicat. Basilicæ. Ambros. Serm. 89. [i] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 3. [k] Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 45. [l] Ambros. Exhort. ad Virgines, in fine. Te nunc, Domine, precor, ut supra hanc domum tuam, supra hæc altaria quæ hodie dedicantur, supra hos Lapides Spirituales, quibus sensibile tibi in singulis Templum sacratur, quotidianus Præsul intendas Orationesque servorum tuorum, quæ in hoc Loco funduntur, divina tua suscipias misericordia. Fiat tibi in odorem sanctificationis omne Sacrificium, quod in hoc Templo fide integra, pia sedulitate offertur. Et cum ad illam respicis hostiam salutarem, per quam peccatum mundi hujus aboletur, respicias etiam ad has piæ hostias castitatis, & diuturno eas tuearis auxilio, ut fiant tibi in ordorem suavitatis hostiæ acceptabiles, Christo Domino placentes, & integrum spiritum eorum, animam & corpus, sine querelæ loco usque in Diem Domini Jesu Christi filii tui servare digneris. Amen.

Prayers for the Church were always part of the Solemnity and Ceremony of these Dedications. And 'till a solemn Day was appointed for the Performance of these, it was not according to Rule for any one to use a New-built Church as a Place of Worship, unless a great Necessity compelled him to it. Which is evident from the Apology that *Athanasius* makes for himself to *Constantius*, for using the great Church of *Alexandria* on the *Easter*-Festival, before it was finished and dedicated by the Emperor its Founder. He says [*m*], "The Multitude was so "great, that the lesser Churches would not "contain them without Hazard of their Lives, "and therefore they importuned the Bishop that "they might assemble in the great Church, "otherwise threatning that they would meet in "the open Fields: Upon which he consented to have Prayers in this Church. But this did not go for its Dedication; for he tells the Emperor, "They still expected a Day, when he himself "should give the Orders for its *Encœnia*, or Feast "of Dedication, and then solemnly give his "Thanks to God for the finishing of it, as had "been done in the Time of his Predecessor "*Alexander*, when the Church of *Theonas* was "building, and as he had seen it done at *Triers*, "and *Aquileia*, and other Places, where Church-"es were sometimes used for Prayer upon such "urgent and pressing Necessities, before they "were finished; but the using them for Divine "Service upon such Occasions was not their "Dedication; but that always came after, and "was a proper and solemn Eucharistical Service "or Thanksgiving to God for the Accomplish-"ment of the Holy Structure. So that this evidently makes out the Observation that has been made out of *Eusebius* before, "That the Com-"mon Prayers of the Church were not looked "upon as a formal Dedication, without special "Panegyrical Orations, and Forms of Adoration "and Praise more peculiar to that Occasion. And this also confutes the Opinion of those, who think the setting up the Sign of a Cross, or placing a Communion-table in a Church, was its Dedication. For these things might be done without any Dedication. Which appears not only from this Discourse of *Athanasius*, but from a Case related in *Synesius*, where some pretended that a certain Place was consecrated into a Church, because it had been used for Prayer and Administration of the Sacrament in a Time of hostile Invasion; against which *Synesius* positively determines, [*n*] "That such an Use in time "of Necessity was no Consecration: For other-"wise Mountains and Vallies, and private Hou-"ses would be Churches.

SECT. III. *The Bishop in every Diocese the ordinary Minister of these Consecrations.*

IT is evident, from what has been already said, that these Consecrations being generally performed in a Synod of Bishops, the Bishops were the Ministers always employed in this Service. But it might happen that none but the Bishop of the Diocese could be there, and then it was his Business peculiarly to perform the Office of Consecration, which by some antient Canons is so specially reserved to the Office of Bishops, that Presbyters are not allowed to perform it. The first Council of *Bracara*, *An.* 563, makes it Deprivation [*o*] for any Presbyter to consecrate an Altar, or a Church, and says, *The Canons of Old forbad it likewise.* Among our *British* Councils collected by Sir *Henry Spelman*, there is one under St. *Patrick*, *An.* 450, where we have a Canon to this very purpose, "That a Presbyter [*p*], though "he builds a Church, shall not offer the Obla-"tion in it, before he brings his Bishop to con-"secrate it, because this was regular and decent. And antient History affords no approved Examples to the contrary.

SECT. IV. *No Church to be built without the Bishop's Leave.*

THIS will receive a little farther Confirmation from our observing two or three other things, which have a near relation to this Matter. As first, that no Church regularly could be builded without the License or Consent of the Bishop in whose Diocese it was erected. This is expresly provided in one of the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which subjects both Monasteries and Churches so to the Bishop's Care, that neither of them might [*q*] be founded without his Consent and Approbation.

SECT. V. *Nor 'till the Bishop had first made a solemn Prayer in the Place where it was to be builded.*

AND by the Laws of *Justinian*, no Church was to be begun, before the Bishop had first made a solemn Prayer, and fix'd the Sign of the Cross in the Place where a new Church was to be erected. Which we have over and over again repeated in that Emperor's Novels, both with relation to Monasteries and Churches [*r*]. And *Gothofred*, not without Reason, thinks the same Custom was observed in Expiating the Temples of the Heathen, when they were to be consecrated into Christian Churches. For so he understands that Law [*s*] of *Theodosius*, which orders the Temples to be expiated by placing in them the Sign of the Christian Religion, that is, the Sign of the Cross. And whereas some Monks, and other Orders of Men would sometimes presume to set up the Sign of the Cross in publick Buildings,

[*m*] Athan. Apol. 1. ad Constant. tom. 1. p. 682. & 684. [*n*] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 238. εὔξασθαι τἀναγκαῖα τοῦτο τόπον ἁ καθιερῶσι, &c. [*o*] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 37. Si quis Presbyter post hoc interdictum ausus fuerit Chrisma benedicere, aut Ecclesiam aut Altarium consecrare, à suo officio deponatur. Nam & antiqui Canones hoc vetuerunt. [*p*] Conc. Hibernicum. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 1480. can. 23. Si quis Presbyterorum Ecclesiam ædificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum Pontificem, ut eum consecret, quia sic decet. [*q*] Conc. Chalced. can. 4. ἔδοξε μηδένα μὴ μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μήτε σωιστῆναι μοναστήριον, ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρὰ γνώμης τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου. [*r*] Justin. Novel. 131. c. 7. Si quis voluerit fabricare venerabile Oratorium aut Monasterium, præcipimus non aliter inchoandum fabricam, nisi locorum Episcopus orationem ibi fecerit & venerabilem fixerit Crucem. Vid. Novel. 67. c. 1. Novel. 5. c. 1. [*s*] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Paganis. Leg. 25. Conlocatione venerandæ Christianæ Religionis signi expiari præcipimus.

and other Places erected for the Divertiſement of the People; which was in effect a pretending to make them Churches without the Biſhop's Leave; therefore the Emperor *Leo* [*t*] made a Decree, that nothing of this nature ſhould be done by Uſurpation for the future, but whether it was to erect a Croſs, or bring the Reliques of a Martyr into any Place, both theſe ſhould be done by the Direction of the Biſhops, and not otherwiſe. And hence it is probably conjectured both by *Suicerus* and *Meurſius*, that a Biſhop's Dioceſe is ſometimes called σταυροπήγιον, that is the Diſtrict wherein he had power to fix the Croſs within his own Bounds for the building of Churches. So the Word will ſignify both the Act of making a Croſs, and the Limits wherein he had Power to make it.

SECT. VI.
No Biſhop to conſecrate a Church in another's Dioceſe, except Neceſſity required it.

FOR it is to be obſerved farther, that though Biſhops had the Power of conſecrating Churches, yet that was limited to their own Dioceſe, and they might not exceed their own Bounds, unleſs called to aſſiſt another, or to miniſter in the Vacancy of another Biſhoprick. Which is ſo ſtrictly inſiſted on by the Council of *Orange*, that it forbids a Biſhop, who builds a Church himſelf at his own Expence in another Man's Dioceſe, to aſſume to himſelf the Conſecration [*u*] of it, but to leave that to the Biſhop in whoſe Territory the Church is erected. The third Council [*w*] of *Orleans*, and others have Decrees of the like nature. But in caſe a Church was built in a vacant Dioceſe, then any neighbouring Biſhop might be called to conſecrate it, as *Sidonius Apollinaris* was called to conſecrate the Church of *Ruteni*, or *Rhodez* in *France*, though he was Biſhop of another Dioceſe: But the reaſon [*x*] was, as *Savaro* rightly obſerves, becauſe *Rhodez* at that Time had no Biſhop of its own to officiate in the Conſecration. Now all theſe Things ſhew, that the Biſhop in every Dioceſe was the proper Miniſter of this Service; for he was to be conſulted before the Work was begun, he was to come alſo, and pray at the Place before the Foundation was laid, and when the Building was finiſhed he was to be called to conſecrate it, or elſe ſome other Biſhop in his ſtead. But if Presbyters could regularly have done it, there had been no need to have ſent for a Biſhop out of another Dioceſe to perform it. But perhaps it will be asked, "What if a Presbyter did take upon him to do "the Thing, did his Act ſtand good, or did "the Biſhop proceed to a new Conſecration? To which I anſwer, this being a Thing reſerved to Biſhops only by Eccleſiaſtical Law and Cuſtom (for the Scripture has nothing about it) we do not find any new Conſecrations practiſed in ſuch caſes; but becauſe it was a Schiſmatical Act in a Presbyter ſo to go againſt Rule and Canon in contempt of his Biſhop, therefore he was to be puniſhed [*y*] with Depoſition or Degradation, as appears from the forecited Canon of the Council of *Bracara*. And even a Biſhop that pretended to conſecrate a Church in another Man's Dioceſe, was for his Offence to be ſuſpended a Year from his Office [*z*], as a Tranſgreſſor of the Canons, in the *French* Churches.

SECT. VII.
No Neceſſity of a Licence from the Biſhop of Rome *for a Biſhop to conſecrate in former Ages.*

SOME pretend, that a Biſhop in his own Dioceſe could not, according to antient Canons, conſecrate a Church without the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Licence to authorize him to do it. This is one of *Gratian*'s Doctrines to magnify the Pope's Power [*a*] in the Canon Law. Which the new *Roman* Correctors are ſo far from altering, or cenſuring, that they bring *Socrates* in as a farther Evidence to vouch for it. *Socrates* indeed ſpeaking of the Council of *Antioch*, which *Conſtantius* ſummoned under pretence of dedicating his new Church there (though the true Deſign was to have *Athanaſius* condemned in a general Council) excepts againſt it upon this ground, "Becauſe "the Biſhop of *Rome* was not there, whoſe "Conſent was neceſſary, by the Eccleſiaſtical "Canon, to make Laws, or Rules for [*b*] the "Church. Which was a Privilege equally belonging to all Patriarchs, That no general Council ſhould be held, nor general Rules made for the whole Church, without their Preſence, and Advice firſt taken in ſuch publick Deliberations. But this has nothing to do with the Conſecration of Churches in every private Biſhop's Dioceſe, of which there is no Inſtance in all antient Hiſtory, of any Biſhop's being obliged to ſend to the Biſhop of *Rome*, for his Licenſe to conſecrate a Church within his own Dioceſe. But that which ſeems to have impoſed upon theſe Cenſors, was their miſunderſtanding thoſe *Greek* Words, κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, which does not ſignify Dedicating of Churches, (though *Muſculus* ſo tranſlates it, and *Hoſpinian* follows him in the ſame Error) but the Church's making Laws, or Canons, for her own Government: In which the Biſhop of *Rome* was allowed to have a Patriarchal Privilege, but not in the Conſecration of Churches, though that now be inſiſted on by ſome, who would have every thing flow from the immenſe Plenitude of Power in the Biſhops of *Rome*.

[*t*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Epiſc. Leg. 26. Decernimus, ut poſthac neque Monachi, neque quicunque alii in Ædes publicas, vel in quæcunque loca populi voluptatibus fabricata, venerabilem Crucem & Sanctorum Martyrum reliquias illicite inferre conentur, vel occupare audeant ea, quæ vel ad publicas Cauſas, vel ad populi Oblectamenta conſtructa ſunt, &c. [*u*] Conc. Arauſican. can. 10. Si quis Epiſcoporum in alienæ Civitatis territorio Eccleſiam ædificare diſponit——permiſſa Licentia ædificandi, non preſumat Dedicationem, quæ illi omnimodo reſervatur, in cujus territorio Eccleſia aſſurgit. [*w*] Conc. Aurelian. 3. c. 15. [*x*] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 15. & Savaro in Locum. [*y*] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 37. [*z*] Conc. Aurelian. 3. c. 15. [*a*] Gratian. de. Conſecrat. Diſt. 1. c. 6. & 27. Edit. Romæ Juſſu Gregor. 13. 1582. [*b*] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 8. κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κελεύοντες, μὴ δεῖν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.

SECT. VIII.
Churches always dedicated to God, and not to Saints, though sometimes distinguished by their Names for a Memorial of them.

NEXT to the Minister Consecrating, it will be proper to say something of the Object to whom Churches were dedicated; which antiently was solely to God and his Service. Of which Custom St. *Austin* is a most irrefragable Witness, who disputing with *Maximinus* the *Arian* Bishop, uses this Argument to prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, "That he "must be God, because Temples were builded "and dedicated to him, which it would be Sa"crilege to do to any Creature. If, says he, "we should make a Temple of Wood and Stone "to any Holy Angel, though never so excel"lent, should we not be Anathematized by the "Truth of Christ and the Church of God, for "exhibiting to the Creature that Service which "is only due to the Creator? Since therefore "we should be sacrilegious in building a Tem"ple to any [c] Creature, how can he be other"wise than the true God, to whom we not on"ly build Temples, but are our selves his Tem"ples? In another Place, he rejects with Scorn the false Imputation of *Faustus the Manichee*, who charged the Catholicks with erecting Temples to their Martyrs, and offering Sacrifice, and other Acts of Worship to them therein. To this he replies, "That they never offer'd Sacrifice to "any Martyr, but only to the God of the Mar"tyrs, though they erected Altars in the Me"morials of the Martyrs [d.] For what Bi"shop, when he stands by the Altar in any Place "where the Holy Bodies lie, ever says, *We offer* "*unto thee*, Peter, *or* Paul, *or* Cyprian? But "what is offered, is offered unto God (who "crowns the Martyrs) in the Memorials of the "Martyrs who are crowned by him. He often repeats it in other [e] places, "That they did "not so honour their Martyrs, by erecting Tem"ples, or Altars, to them, but only unto God. The same Place indeed was often a Monument or Memorial of a Martyr, and a Temple of God, because Churches were commonly built over the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, or in the Places where they suffered, or else the Reliques of the Martyrs were translated into them: And hence they were called by the Martyrs Name, because they were Memorials of them. The Church and the Altar that was built at *Carthage*, in the Place where St. *Cyprian* suffer'd Martyrdom, was upon that account called *Mensa Cypriani*, *Cyprian*'s Altar, not because it was built, or dedicated to him, or his Worship, (for St. *Austin* says [f], *It was erected only to God and his Service*) but because it was a Memorial of his Martyrdom, being built in the Place where *Cyprian* himself was offered a Sacrifice unto God.

SECT. IX.
Churches sometimes named from their Founders or other Circumstances in their Building.

AND from hence it is very plain, that the naming a Church by the Name of a Saint, or Martyr, was far from dedicating it to that Saint, or Martyr, though it served for a Memorial of him among the Living; and so far was an Honour to his Memory, though dedicated only to God and his Service. And this is farther evident from this Consideration, "That Churches were some"times named from their Founders, who cer"tainly did not intend to dedicate Churches to "themselves. Thus *Sirmond* [g] has observed three Churches in *Carthage* to be so denominated from their Founders, *Basilica Fausti*, *Florentii*, and *Leontii*. And *Sozomen* [h] tells us, "That "the Temple of *Serapis*, when it was turned into "a Church, was called by the Name of *Arcadius*. As some in *Rome* and *Antioch* bare the Name of *Constantine* and *Justinian*. Sometimes they had their Name from a particular Circumstance of Time, or Place, or other Accident in the building of them. The Church of *Jerusalem* was called *Anastasis* and *Crux*, not because it was dedicated to any St. *Anastasis*, or *Cross*, but because it was by *Constantine* built in the place of our Saviour's Crucifixion and Resurrection, as *Valesius* [i] and others have rightly observed. So the Church of *Anastasia* at *Constantinople* was so termed, not from any Saint of the same Name, but because it was the Church where *Gregory Nazianzen* by his preaching gave a fort of new Life, or Resurrection to the Catholick Doctrine of the Trinity, after it had been long oppressed by the *Arian* Faction, as he himself [k] accounts for the Reason of the Name in several places of his Writings. And upon the like ground one of the Churches of *Carthage* was called *Basilica Restituta*, from its being rescued out of the Hands of the *Arians*. One of the Churches of *Alexandria* was commonly called *Cæsareum* [l], which

[c] Aug. cont. Maximin. lib. 1. tom. 6. p. 288. Nonne si templum alicui Sancto Angelo excellentissimo de lignis & lapidibus, faceremus, anathematizaremur à veritate Christi & ab Ecclesia Dei, quoniam Creaturæ exhiberemus eam servitutem, quæ uni tantum deberetur Deo? Si ergo Sacrilegi essemus faciendo templum cuicunque Creaturæ, quomodo non est Deus verus, cui non templum facimus, sed nos ipsi templum sumus? [d] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 20. c. 21. Nulli Martyrum, sed ipsi Deo Martyrum sacrificamus, quamvis in Memoriis Martyrum constituamus altaria. Quis enim Antistitum in locis Sanctorum corporum assistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane; sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui Martyres coronavit, apud Memorias eorum quos coronavit. [e] Aug. de Vera Relig. c. 55. Honoramus eos Charitate, non servitute. Nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim sic se honorari à nobis, *&c.* It. de Civ. Dei lib. 22. c. 10. Illi (Ethnici) talibus Diis suis & Templa ædificaverunt, & statuerunt aras, & sacerdotes instituerunt, & sacrificia fecerunt. Nos autem Martyribus nostris non templa sicut Diis, sed Memorias sicut hominibus mortuis fabricamus: Nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus Martyribus, sed uni Deo & Martyrum & nostro. [f] Aug. Ser. 113. de Diversis, tom. 10. p. 592. Ut mensa illa quæ Dei est, etiam Cypriani vocetur, hæc causa est: Quia ut illa modo cingitur ab obsequentibus, ibi Cyprianus cingebatur à persequentibus, *&c.* Item. Mensa Deo constructa est, tamen Mensa dicitur Cypriani —— quia ibi est immolatus, & quia ipsa immolatione sua paravit hanc Mensam, non in qua pascat sive pascatur, sed in qua Sacrificium Deo, cui & ipse oblatus est, offeratur. [g] Sirmond. Not. in Aug. Serm. 37. à se Edit. tom. 10. p. 753. [h] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 15. [i] Vid. Vales. Epist. de Anastas. ad Calcem Eusebii. [k] Naz. Orat. 32. ad 150 Episcopos, tom. 1. p. 527. It. carm. 9. de Somnio Anastasiæ, tom. 2. p. 78. [l] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 15. Liberat. Breviar. c. 18.

Valesius [m] thinks was for no other Reason but because the Place before had been called *Cæsareum*, or the Temple of the *Cæsars*. As a Church of *Antioch* was called *Palæa*, because built in that Part of the City which they termed παλαιὰν, or the old City. So St. *Peter*'s at *Rome* was antiently called *Triumphalis*, because it stood in *Via Triumphali*, or the Triumphal Way leading to the Capitol. And we are assured from St. *Jerom* [n], that the *Lateran* Church had its Name from *Lateranus* the Heathen, who was slain by *Nero*, because it had formerly been that Nobleman's Palace in *Rome*. A thousand Observations of the like nature might be made: But these few are sufficient to shew, that there were different Reasons for giving Names to Churches; and that it was no Argument of Churches being dedicated to Saints, because they bare the Names of Saints; it being otherwise apparent, that they were consecrated only to God, and not to any Creature.

SECT. X.
When Altars first began to have a particular Consecration, with new Ceremonies distinct from Churches.

WHAT has been observed of Churches, is equally true of Altars, that they were always dedicated to God alone, and not to any other Being whatever, even after they began to have a particular Consecration with some new Ceremonies distinct from Churches: Which seems to have begun first of all in the sixth Century. For the Council of *Agde*, *An.* 506, is the first publick Record that we meet with, giving any Account of a distinct Consecration of Altars: And there we find the new Ceremony of *Chrism* [o] added to the Sacerdotal Benediction. And not long after we find a like Decree in the Council of *Epone*, *An.* 517, "That no Altars but "such as were made of Stone, should be conse- "crated with [p] the Infusion of *Chrism* upon "them. Which implies, that at least some Altars, if not all, had then the Ceremony of *Chrism* in their Consecration. But as this Ceremony was new, so was the Consecration of Altars, as distinct from Churches, a new thing also; and much more the Consecration of Communion-cloths, and Cups, and Images, and Crosses, and Paschal Tapers, and Holy Water, and Beads, and Bells, of which the Reader may find a particular Account in *Hospinian* [q], with all the new Rites of consecrating Churches in the *Romish* Rituals, which it is none of my Business here farther to pursue.

SECT. XI.
No Church to be built, or consecrated before it was endowed.

CONCERNING the antient Consecrations we have farther to observe, That by the Laws of *Justinian*, no Man was to begin to build a Church, before he had given Security to the Bishop of a Maintenance for the Ministry [r], and the Repairs of the Church, and whatever was otherwise necessary to uphold Divine Service in it. And by a Rule of one of the *Spanish* Councils [s], a Bishop was not to consecrate a Church, before the Donation of its Maintenance was deliver'd to him in writing, confirm'd by Law. Which were necessary Rules to preserve Churches from falling to Ruin, and their Ministry and Service from Contempt and Disgrace.

SECT. XII.
Yet Bishops not to demand any thing for Consecration.

BUT beyond this suitable Provision and Settlement for the Service of the Church, the Bishop was not to exact, or demand any thing farther of the Founder; but it being part of his ordinary Office to consecrate Churches, he was obliged to do it without requiring any Reward for his Service; unless the Founder thought fit to make him any voluntary Oblation, in which case he was at Liberty to receive it. So it is determined in the aforesaid *Spanish* Council of *Bracara* [t], and for the *French* Churches in the second Council of *Chalons* [u], and others in the time of *Charles the Great*.

SECT. XIII.
Consecrations performed indifferently upon any Day.

AS to the Time of Consecration, they did not antiently confine themselves to perform it only upon *Sundays*, but all Days were at first indifferent both for this and the Ordinations of the Clergy likewise. Which is an Observation frequently made by the learned *Pagi* [w] in his critical Remarks upon the Chronology of the Antient Church. Particularly he observes, that *Constantine*'s famous Dedication of the Church of *Jerusalem* in a full Synod of Bishops, *An.* 335, must needs have been upon a *Saturday*: For all Writers agree, that it was upon the *Ides* of *September*, that is, upon the 13th Day of *September*, which according to the exact Rules and Method of the *Cycle* must fall upon a *Saturday* that Year. Whence *Pagi* rightly concludes, "That the Custom had not yet prevail- "ed, which confined Consecration of Churches "to the *Lord's-Day*.

SECT. XIV.
The Day of Consecration usually celebrated among their Anniversary Festivals.

I have nothing farther to remark upon this Head, save only that the Day of Consecration was in many Churches solemnly kept and observed among their Anniversary Festivals. For *Sozomen* [x]

[m] Vales. Not. in Evagr. lib. 2. c. 8. [n] Hieron. Ep. 30. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. Ut ante diem Paschæ in Basilica quondam Laterani, qui Cæsariano truncatus est gladio, staret in ordine Pœnitentium. *Speaking of* Fabiola *doing Penance there.* [o] Conc. Agathen. can. 14. Altaria placuit non solum Unctione Chrismatis, sed etiam Sacerdotali Benedictione sacrari. [p] Conc. Epaunens. c. 26. Altaria nisi lapidea infusione Chrismatis non sacrentur. [q] Hospin. de Templis lib. 4. c. 2. *&c.* [r] Justin. Novel. 67. c. 2. Non aliter quempiam Ecclesiam de novo exædificare, priusquam loquatur ad Deo amabilem Episcopum, & definiat mensuram quam deputat ad Luminaria, & ad sacrum Ministerium, & ad domus Custodiam, & ad alimenta Ministrantium, *&c.* [s] Conc. Bracarens. 2. c. 5. Unusquisque Episcoporum meminerit, ut non prius dedicet Ecclesiam, nisi antea dotem Basilicæ & obsequium ipsius per donationem Chartulæ confirmatum accipiat. Vid. Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 15. [t] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 5. Quoties ab aliquo fidelium ad consecrandas Ecclesias Episcopi invitantur, non quasi ex debito munus aliquod a Fundatore requirant; sed si ipse quidem aliquid ex suo Voto obtulerit, non respuatur. [u] Conc. Cabillon. 2. c. 16. [w] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 335. n. 5. [x] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 26.

gives

gives us this Account of the Dedication of the Church of *Jeruſalem*, "That in Memory of it "they held a yearly Feſtival, which laſted for "eight Days together; during which Time "both they of the Church, and all Strangers, "which flocked thither in abundance, held Ec- "cleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, and met together for "Divine Service. To this *Gregory the Great* ſeems to have added a new Cuſtom here in *England*, which was, "That on the Annual Feaſt "of the Dedication, the People might build "themſelves Booths round about the Church, "and there feaſt and entertain themſelves with "eating and drinking, in lieu of their antient "Sacrifices while they were Heathens. Which is related by *Bede* [*y*], out of *Gregory*'s Letters to *Auſtin*, and *Mellitus*, the firſt Biſhop of the *Saxons*. And from this Cuſtom, it is more than probable, came our *Wakes*, which are ſtill obſerved in ſome Places, as the Remains of thoſe Feaſts of Dedication of particular Churches.

CHAP. X.

Of the Reſpect and Reverence which the Primitive Chriſtians paid to their Churches.

SECT. I. *Churches never put to any Prophane Uſe, but only Sacred and Religious Service.*

NEXT to their Adorning and Conſecration of Churches, it will be proper to examin what Reſpect and Reverence they paid to conſecrated Places, after they were once ſet apart for Divine Service. They then uſed them only as the Houſes of God, for Acts of Devotion and Religion, and did not allow of any thing to be done there, that had not ſome Tendency towards Piety, or immediate Relation to it. They might be uſed for Religious Aſſemblies for the Elections of the Biſhops and Clergy, for the ſitting of Councils for catechetick Schools, for Conferences and Collations about Religion: But not be put to the Uſe of common Houſes, to eat, or drink, or lodge in. And therefore, tho' the Law allow'd Men to take Sanctuary in the Church, as we ſhall ſee in the next Chapter, yet it did not allow them to have their Meat and Lodging there. When ſome abuſed the *Catechumenia* (which I have ſhewed before to be Places within the Church for Men and Women to hear Divine Service in) and turned them into Rooms to lodge in, the Emperor *Leo* made a Decree, that all ſuch ſhould be expell'd from their Habitations in the Church. The caſe was different when Men ſpent whole Nights in the Church in Watching and Prayer; as they did frequently both in their publick and private Vigils; ſuch Pernoctations in the Church were allow'd, becauſe they were but neceſſary Circumſtances of divine Service: Only Women were forbidden by the Council of *Eliberis* [*a*] to keep private Vigils in the Church, becauſe many times, under pretence of Prayer, ſecret Wickedneſs was committed. And for the like Reaſon their *Agapæ*, or Feaſts of Charity, which were originally an Apoſtolical Practice, and kept in the Church, were afterwards prohibited, or at leaſt diſcouraged, for the Exceſs and conſequent Prophaneneſs that attended them. The Council of *Laodicea* [*b*] peremptorily forbids them under that Name of *Charity-Feaſts*, and commands that no one ſhould eat, or prepare Beds or Tables for that purpoſe, in the Houſe of God. And the third Council of *Carthage* forbids all Feaſting in the Church [*c*] in general to the Clergy, except in caſe of Neceſſity, when they were upon a Journey, and could not otherwiſe be entertained; and orders, that the Cuſtom ſhould be diſcountenanced as much as poſſible alſo in the Laity: For though they were forced to tolerate it for ſome time, yet they did not approve of it, as St. *Auſtin* tells *Fauſtus* [*d*] the *Manichee*, but endeavoured to correct both the Exceſs that many ran into upon ſuch Occaſions, and the very Cuſtom itſelf of Feaſting in the Church, or at the Graves of the Martyrs, becauſe two Errors crept into the Church by that means, intolerable Exceſs, and an Heatheniſh Superſtition therewith: For Men began, as he [*e*] complains, in theſe Riots to worſhip Pictures and Tomb-ſtones, and reckon'd their Feaſts a ſort of Sacrifice to the Dead, placing even their Voracities and Drunkenneſs to the account of Religion; ſo that it was high time to lay aſide all manner of Banquettings in the Church, that the Houſe of God might not be prophaned with ſuch Exceſſes of Riot as were not to be endured in private Houſes. And this was their general Rule in all Caſes, to lay aſide all Cuſtoms that were not abſolutely neceſſary, though innocent and uſeful in

[*y*] Bede Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 30.

[*a*] Conc. Eliber. c. 35. Placuit prohiberi, ne fœminæ in Cœmeterio pervigilent, eo quod ſæpe ſub obtentu Religionis ſcelera latenter committant. [*b*] Conc. Laodic. c. 28. ὅτι δὲ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔικῳ τῶ Θεῶ ἐσθίειν καὶ ἀκούειν ςρωννύειν.

[*c*] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 30. Ut nulli Epiſcopi vel Clerici in Eccleſia conviventur, niſi forte tranſeuntes hoſpitiorum neceſſitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam, quantum fieri poteſt, ab hujuſmodi Conviviis prohibeantur. Vid. Cod. Afric. Can. 42. [*d*] Aug. cont. Fauſt. lib. 20. c. 21. Qui ſe in Memoriis Martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis approbari poſſunt, cum eos, etiam ſi in domibus ſuis id faciant, ſana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud eſt quod docemus, aliud quod ſuſtinemus: Aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, & donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur. [*e*] Aug. de Morib. Eccleſ. lib. 1. c. 34. Novi multos eſſe Sepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores: Novi multos eſſe, qui luxurioſiſſime ſuper mortuos bibant, & epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, ſuper ſepultos ſeipſos ſepeliant, & voracitates ebrietateſque ſuas deputent Religioni.

their Original, rather than ſuffer the Abuſes and Corruptions of them to end in the Prophanation of Churches.

SECT. II. *The like Caution obſerved about the Sacred Veſſels and Utenſils of the Church.*

THE like Reverence and Reſpect was alſo ſhewed to every ſacred Veſſel and Utenſil belonging to the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments and Divine Service: They might not be employed to any other Uſe, but only what was ſacred, and anſwerable to the Deſignation and Appointment of them. Upon this account they were kept in the *Sceuophylacium* of the Church, and never removed thence but when the Service of the Altar required them. This Cuſtom was ſo nicely obſerved, that when *Athanaſius* was accuſed for breaking the myſtical Cup, he clears himſelf of the Accuſation, by ſaying, that in the Place where it was pretended that he had broken it, there was neither Church, nor Miniſter [*b*], nor was it the time of celebrating the Euchariſt: Therefore ſince the Cup was never in the Cuſtody of any but the Miniſters of the Church, nor ever uſed but in the Church in time of Divine Service, he could not be guilty of the Crime laid againſt him, ſeeing there were none but private Men, in whoſe keeping the Cup could not be, in that Place. The Veſſels were uſually kept by the Deacon; and the Sub-deacons and other inferior Orders are by the Councils of *Laodicea* [*c*] and *Agde* [*d*] forbidden to touch them. There was but one Caſe in which it was lawful to put theſe Things to common Uſe, and that was the Caſe of abſolute Neceſſity, when no other Method could be found out to redeem Captives, or relieve the Poor in times of extreme Exigenee: Then it was thought that Mercy was to be preferred before Sacrifice, and that the living and ſpiritual Temples of God were to be preſerved at the Expence of the material ones, and they never made any ſcruple to melt down their Communion-plate, or part with their Ornaments upon ſuch Occaſions; of which I have given full Proof heretofore from the Examples of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auſtin*, *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, *Acacius* Biſhop of *Amida*, *Exuperius* of *Tholouſe*, and the Laws [*e*] of *Juſtinian*, which need not be repeated in this Place. But excepting this one extraordinary Caſe, it was eſteemed the higheſt Prophanation and Sacrilege, to divert any thing to any other Uſe, which was given to God's Service: And there are ſome Inſtances of very remarkable Judgments that befel ſuch Prophaners, one or two of which it may not be amiſs to mention. *Theodoret* [*f*] tells us, *Julian* the Apoſtate ſent two of his Officers, *Felix* and his Uncle *Julian*, to plunder the Church of *Antioch*, call'd the *Golden Church*, and bring the rich Veſſels, which *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* had dedicated, into his own Coffers. But they were not content barely to commit Sacrilege, unleſs they could vent their Spite alſo in ſome unmannerly and prophane Abuſes: Therefore *Julian* piſs'd upon the holy Table, and *Felix* ſeeing the holy Veſſels, broke out into this rude Expreſſion, *Behold what fine Veſſels* Mary's *Son is ſerv'd in!* But the impious Wretches did not long go unpuniſhed: For *Julian* was immediately ſeized with an Ulcer, which turned all his Bowels into Putrefaction, and he died voiding his own Excrements at his blaſphemous Mouth; and *Felix* by the ſame divine Vengeance voided Blood at his Mouth, without Intermiſſion, Day and Night, 'till he died. *Victor Uticenſis* [*g*] gives us a like Account of one *Proclus*, an Agent of one of the Kings of the *Vandals*, who having ravaged and plunder'd the Catholick Churches, made himſelf a Shirt and Breeches of the Palls or Coverings of the Altar. But not long after he fell into a Phrenzy, which made him eat off his own Tongue, piece by piece, and ſo he breathed out his laſt in a moſt ignominious Death. It is no leſs remarkable, what *Optatus* reports of ſome *Donatiſt* Biſhops, who in their mad Zeal againſt the Catholicks, ordered the Euchariſt which the Catholicks had conſecrated, to be thrown to their Dogs; but not without an immediate Sign of Divine [*h*] Vengeance upon them: For the Dogs, inſtead of devouring the Elements, fell upon their Maſters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to pieces, as Robbers and Prophaners of the Holy Body of Chriſt. Which makes *Optatus* put them in mind of that Admonition of our Saviour, *Mat. 7. 6. Give not that which is Holy unto the Dogs, neither caſt ye your Pearls before Swine, leſt they trample them under their Feet, and turn again and rend you.* Other Inſtances might be added of the ſame nature, but I chuſe rather to go on with the Account of their Reverence, than to dwell any longer upon the Puniſhment of the Prophaners.

SECT. III. *What Difference made between Churches and private Houſes.*

LET us next then obſerve the Difference that was made between Churches and private Houſes. Some Hereticks made very light of this Diſtinction, as the *Euſtathians*, *Maſſalians*, and others. Againſt the *Euſtathians* we have two Canons made in the Council of *Gangra*, from which we may learn their Errors, and what were the Catholick Tenets in Oppoſition to them. The firſt is, If any one [*i*] teach, that the Houſe of God, and the Aſſemblies held therein are to be deſpiſed, let him be *Anathema*. And the other, If any one [*k*] hold Aſſemblies privately out of the Church,

[*b*] Athan. Apol. 2. tom. 1. p. 732. [*c*] Conc. Laodic. c. 21. [*d*] Conc. Agathen. c. 66. [*e*] *Book V. Chap. vi. Sect.* 6. [*f*] Theodor. lib. 3. c. 12. [*g*] Victor. de Perſecut. Vandal. lib. 1. p. 593. [*h*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 55. Ut omnia Sacroſancta ſupra memorati veſtri Epiſcopi violarent, juſſerunt Euchariſtiam canibus fundi: non ſine ſigno Divini Judicii. Nam iidem canes accenſi rabie, ipſos Dominos ſuos, quaſi latrones, ſancti Corporis reos, dente vindice, tanquam ignotos & inimicos laniaverunt. [*i*] Conc. Gangren. c. 5. Εἴ τις διδάσκοι ἢ εἶκον τῷ Θεῷ ἐυκαταφρόνητον εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνάξεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [*k*] Ibid. c. 6. Εἴ τις ἴδιᾳ ἢ ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζοι, καὶ καταφρονῶν ἢ ἐκκλησίας τὰ ἢ ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι περᾶτεῖν, μὴ συνόντος τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

and

and deſpiſing the Church, chuſes to perform Eccleſiaſtical Offices, where there is no *Presbyter* appointed by the Biſhop, let him be *Anathema*. Theſe Hereticks ſeem to have contemned both a regular Miniſtry and the publick Churches, and to have made no difference between the Houſe of God, and other Houſes, but to have taught that Eccleſiaſtical Offices might as well be performed at Home as in the Church. Againſt which Errors this Council riſing up ſo ſeverely, gives us to underſtand, that according to the Sentiments of the Catholick Church, the publick Offices of the Church were to be performed in publick, and not in private Houſes, and that it was a Contempt of the Houſe of God to perform them otherwiſe. At preſent I do not remember any one allowed Inſtance of the contrary Practice in all ancient Hiſtory, except in caſes of Neceſſity, which are above all Laws. And therefore I could not but reckon this Difference, which was ſo univerſally put between the Houſe of God and private Houſes, amongſt the Inſtances of Reſpect and Reverence, which the Ancients paid to their Churches.

SECT. IV.
How ſome choſe rather to die than deliver up Churches to be prophaned by Hereticks.

IT will deſerve here alſo to be remembred, particularly to the Praiſe of St. *Ambroſe*, how he acted with the Courage and Reſolution of a Martyr in Defence of the Churches, that they might not be delivered up to the Prophanation of the *Arians*. For when the younger *Valentinian* had, by the Inſtigation of his Mother *Juſtina*, an *Arian* Empreſs, firſt publiſhed a Law, now extant in the *Theodoſian* [*l*] *Code*, allowing the *Arians* Liberty to hold Aſſemblies; and afterwards ſent his Commands to *Ambroſe* to deliver up to them one of the Churches of *Milan*; he returned him this brave and generous Anſwer: "If the Emperor asks of me any Thing [*m*] that is my own, my Eſtate, my Money, I ſhall freely recede from my Right, though all that I have belongs to the Poor. But thoſe Things which are God's, are not ſubject to the Emperor's Power. If my Patrimony is demanded, you may invade it; if my Body, I will offer it of my own accord. Will you carry me into Priſon, or unto Death? I will voluntarily ſubmit to it. I will not guard my ſelf with an Army of my People about me, I will not lay hold of the Altar, and ſupplicate for Life, but more joyfully be ſacrificed my ſelf for the Altar." He thought it abſolutely unlawful for the Emperor to grant to the *Arians*, the Enemies of Chriſt, thoſe Temples which had been dedicated to the Service of Chriſt; and that it did much leſs become a Biſhop, the Miniſter of Chriſt, to be acceſſary to ſo foul a Diſhonour to his Lord: And therefore he rather reſolved to die at the Altar, if it muſt be ſo, than give his Conſent to ſo great a Profanation. By this one Inſtance we may eaſily judge, what Opinion the Ancients had of the Sacredneſs of Churches, as God's Propriety; and that they would as ſoon deliver up their Bibles to be burnt by the Heathen, as their Churches to be prophaned by Heretical Aſſemblies, where Impiety would be taught for true Religion, and Blaſphemy offered to God inſtead of Adoration.

SECT. V.
The Ceremony of waſhing their Hands when they went into the Church.

AS to the Ceremonies of Reſpect uſed by them when they entered into the Church, we find one of pretty general Obſervation, which was the Cuſtom of Waſhing their Hands and their Face, in token of Innocency and Purity, when they went to worſhip God at the holy Altar. Which ſeems to be taken from that of the Pſalmiſt, *I will waſh my Hands in Innocency, and ſo will I compaſs thy Altar*. This Cuſtom is frequently mentioned by *Chryſoſtom*, *Euſebius*, *Tertullian*, *Syneſius*, *Paulinus* and others, whoſe Teſtimonies have been already alledged in the former Part [*n*] of this Book, where I had alſo occaſion to ſhew, that Fountains and Ciſterns of Water were commonly ſet in the *Atrium* or Court before the Church for this very purpoſe.

SECT. VI.
The Ceremony of putting off their Shoes, uſed by ſome, but this no general Cuſtom.

ANOTHER Ceremony uſed by ſome few (for it was no general Cuſtom) was putting off their Shoes, when they went into the Houſe of God. *Caſſian* obſerves of the *Egyptian* Monks, that they always wore Sandals inſtead of Shoes, and thoſe they alſo put off whenever they went [*o*] to celebrate or receive the Holy Myſteries, thinking themſelves obliged to do ſo, by interpreting literally that Intimation of Reverence, which was given to *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, *Put off thy Shoes from off thy Feet, for the Place whereon thou ſtandeſt is Holy Grouud*. But others did not underſtand this as an abſolute Command, obliging all Men preciſely to uſe this Ceremony of Reſpect, but only where the Cuſtom of any Nation had made it an Indication of Reverence, as it was among the Eaſtern Nations in the time of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*. Whence we do not find it mentioned as any general Cuſtom prevailing among the Primitive Chriſtians: Unleſs perhaps it may be thought to have been ſo in the *Æthiopian* or *Abyſſin* Churches, becauſe, as Mr. *Mede* has obſerved [*p*] out of *Zaga Zabo*'s Account of them in *Damianus a Goes*, the ſame Cuſtom continues ſtill among them at this Day. Which whether it be derived from antient Tradition of their

[*l*] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 1. de Fid. Cathol. Leg. 4. [*m*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcel. de Tradendis Baſilicis. Si à me peteret quod meum eſſet, id eſt, fundum meum, argentum meum, jus hujuſmodi meum me non refragaturum, quanquam omnia quæ mea ſunt eſſent pauperum. Verum ea quæ Divina, Imperatoriæ Poteſtati non eſſe ſubjecta, &c. [*n*] *Chap.* 3. *Sect.* 6.

[*o*] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 1. c. 10. Nequaquam tamen Caligas pedibus inhærere permittunt, cum accedunt ad celebranda vel percipienda Sacroſancta Myſteria, illud æſtimantes etiam ſecundum Literam cuſtodiri debere, quod dicitur ad Moyſen vel ad Jeſum filium Nave: Solve corrigiam calceamenti tui, locus enim in quo ſtas terra ſancta eſt. [*p*] *Mede Diſc. on Eccl.* 5. 1. *p.* 348.

Churches,

Churches, or be a Practice lately taken up among them, is not now very eaſy to be determined.

SECT. VII. *Whether the Ancients uſed the Ceremony of Bowing toward the Altar at their Entrance into the Church.*

AND I think the ſame Reſolution muſt be given to the Queſtion about Bowing toward the Altar at their firſt Entrance into Churches. Mr. *Mede* thinks there is no plain Demonſtration of it in the antient Writers, but ſome Probability of ſuch a Cuſtom derived from the *Jews*. For he ſays, What reverential Guiſe, Ceremony or Worſhip [*q*] they uſed at their Ingreſs into God's Houſe in the Ages next to the Apoſtles (and ſome I believe they did) is wholly buried in Silence and Oblivion. The *Jews* before them, from whom the Chriſtian Religion ſprung, uſed to bow themſelves down towards the Mercy-Seat. The *Chriſtians* after them in the *Greek* and *Oriental* Churches, have time out of Mind, and without any known Beginning thereof, uſed to bow in like manner, with their Poſture toward the Altar, or holy Table, ſaying that of the Publican in the Goſpel, *God be merciful to me a Sinner*; as appears by the Liturgies of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*, and as they are ſtill known to do at this Day. Which Cuſtom of theirs, not being found to have been ordained or eſtabliſhed by any Decree or Canon of any Council, and being ſo agreeable to the Uſe of God's People of the *Old Teſtament*, may therefore ſeem to have been derived to them from very remote and antient Tradition. Nothing therefore can be known of the Uſe of thoſe firſt Ages of the Church, farther than it ſhall ſeem probable they might imitate the *Jews*. This is ſpoken according to the wonted Ingenuity of that learned Perſon, who never advances a Probability into a Demonſtration. I ſhall only add one thing out of *Chryſoſtom*, to make his Opinion ſeem the more probable, which I note from the Obſervation of Mr. *Aubertin* [*r*], who among ſome other Inſtances of Reverence paid to God, at the reading of the Goſpel and reception of Baptiſm, takes notice of this, that when the Candidates of Baptiſm came near the Baptiſtery, which in *Chryſoſtom*'s Language [*s*] is the Bride-chamber of the Spirit and the Port of Grace, they were then as Captives to fall down before their King, and all to caſt themſelves together upon their Knees. Now if ſuch an Act of Reverence was performed to God at their Entrance into the Baptiſtery, it is not improbable but that ſome ſuch Reverence might alſo be uſed at their Entrance into the Temple. But in Matters which have not a clear Light and Proof, 'tis not prudent to be over-bold in our Determination.

SECT. VIII. *Kings laid aſide their Crowns and Guards, when they went into the Houſe of the King of Kings.*

IT is moſt certain, that when Kings and Emperors went into the Houſe of God, they paid this Reſpect to the Place, that they left not only their Arms and their Guards, but alſo their Crowns behind them; as thinking it indecent to appear in their Regalia in the preſence of the King of Kings, or to ſeem to want Arms and Guards when they were under the peaceable Roof of the Prince of Peace. St. *Chryſoſtom* often ſpends his Eloquence [*t*] upon this Cuſtom, and uſes it as an Argument to perſuade all Inferiors to a profound Reverence, Humility and Peace, when they came into the Courts of God, becauſe they had ſuch Examples of their Kings before them. The Emperor *Theodoſius* Junior alſo makes uſe of the ſame Topick in one of his Laws [*u*], which was made to regulate the Abuſes of ſome who fled for Sanctuary in the Church with their Arms about them: Which Prophanation was not to be endured in any, ſince he himſelf always left his Arms without Doors, and firſt laid aſide his Diadem, the Badge of Imperial Majeſty, before he went into the Church. Nay *Julian* himſelf had regard to this Cuſtom, as *Sozomen* truly obſerves [*x*] out of his Epiſtle to *Arſacius*, High Prieſt of *Galatia*, where one of the Things he would have them imitate the Chriſtians in, was this, That when they went into the Temples of their Gods, no Man of Arms ſhould appear among them. And I have already [*y*] noted out of *Leo Grammaticus*, how *Michael* the *Greek* Emperor in latter Ages was cenſured for preſuming to paſs the Beautiful or Royal Gates crowned, at which Gates it had ever been cuſtomary for his Predeceſſors to lay aſide their Crowns, when they went into the Church.

SECT. IX. *The Doors and Pillars of the Church and Altar often kiſſed and embraced in Token of Love and Reſpect to them.*

ANOTHER very uſual Piece of Reſpect paid to the Altar and the Church, was Mens embracing, ſaluting, and kiſſing them, or any Part of them, the Doors, Threſhold, Pillars, in token of their great Love and Affection for them. St. *Ambroſe* takes notice of this in the Account he gives of the great Conſternation they were in at *Milan*, when the Emperor's Orders came for delivering up the Churches to the *Arians*. The Soldiers were the Men who firſt brought the welcome News into the Church, that the Emperor had revoked his fatal Sentence: And they ſtrove who ſhould firſt get to the Altar [*z*] and kiſs it, to ſignify, that all things now were in Peace and Safety. He alludes, no doubt, to the *Oſculum Pacis*, the Solemn Kiſs of Peace, which the Faithful anciently were uſed

[*q*] *Mede Diſc. on Pſal.* 132. 7. *p.* 397. [*r*] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 2. p. 432. [*s*] Chryſoſt. in illud, Simile eſt Regnum Cælorum, &c. ἐπειδὰν εἰσδεχθῇς τὸ παστάδα τὸ χάεινθον, ἐπειδὰν πλησίον γένῃς τὸ φοβερᾶς ὁμῆ τὸ πυθενῆς κολυμβήθρας, ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι προσπέσῃς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ῥίψαλε πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ γόνατα. [*t*] Chryſoſt. Orat. poſt Redit. ab Exilio Tom. 4. p. 971. It. Hom. in Pſal. 48. Tom. 3. p. 812. [*u*] Edict. Theodoſ. ad calcem Conc. Epheſ. & in Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. leg. 4. Nos qui legitimis imperii armis ſemper circundamur——Dei templum ingreſſuri, foris arma relinquimus, & ipſum etiam Diadema, regiæ majeſtatis inſigne, deponimus. [*x*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16. [*y*] *See Chap.* 3. *Sect.* 1. [*z*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. Certatim hoc nunciare milites, irruentes in Altaria, Oſculis ſignificare pacis inſigne.

to

to give mutually to each other in the Communion-Service, as a Teſtimony of their cordial Love and Affection for one another. And therefore it cannot be ſuppos'd that ſuch Salutations of the Church or Altar were intended as Acts of Religious Worſhip, but only as civil Indications of their Love and Reſpect for them. And by this Rule we are to interpret all other Places of ancient Authors, which frequently ſpeak of this Cuſtom, as *Sidonius Apollinaris* [a], *Paulinus* [b], *Prudentius* [c], *Chryſoſtom* [d], *Anthanaſius* [e], *Caſſiodore* [f], and the Author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy* [g], under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, and ſeveral others, who wrote before the ſuperſtitious Adoration of Images had gain'd any Credit in the Church: The like Reſpect to this having been alſo ſhewed to the Book of the Goſpels, without any ſuſpicion of adoring the Materials of it.

SECT. X. *Churches us'd for Private Meditation and Prayer, as well as Publick.*

I think it not improper alſo to obſerve under this Head, that Churches were many times choſen as the propereſt Places for private Devotion and Prayer upon extraordinary Occaſions. *Theodoret* [h] obſerves of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, that the Night before he was to engage *Eugenius* the Tyrant, was by him wholly ſpent in an Oratory, which happened to be in the Place where he had pitched his Camp. And in like manner both *Athanaſius* [i] and *Socrates* [k], and the other Hiſtorians, tell us of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that when the Faction of *Euſebius* had threatned to oblige him upon a certain Day to receive *Arius* into Communion, he betook himſelf the Night before to the Church, and there proſtrating himſelf before the Altar, continued all Night in Prayer, begging of God, that if the Faith which he held was Truth, and the Opinion of *Arius* Falſe, he would puniſh *Arius* as his Impiety juſtly deſerved. Which was accordingly fulfilled: For the next Day *Arius*, as he was going triumphantly to Church, having occaſion to turn aſide to go to Stool, voided his Entrails with his Excrements, and ſo periſhed by a moſt ignominious Death. I mention theſe things only to ſhew, that the Ancients paid ſuch a Reſpect to their Churches, that upon ſpecial Occaſions they thought them the propereſt Place as well for Private Devotion as for Publick. And I have already noted [*] that many of their Churches were ſo framed, as to have private Cells or Receſſes for Men to retire to, and exerciſe themſelves at leiſure Times in private reading of the Scriptures, and Meditation and Prayer.

SECT. XI. *Their Publick Behaviour in the Church Expreſſive of great Reverence.*

As to their publick Behaviour in the Church, it was generally ſuch as expreſſed great Reverence for it, as the Sanctuary of God, and the Place of his immediate Preſence. They entered it as the Palace of the Great King, where the Angels attended, and Heaven opened it ſelf, and Chriſt ſat upon his Throne, and all was filled with Incorporeal Powers, as *Chryſoſtom* words it [l] in ſome of his elegant Deſcriptions. 'Tis particularly remarked by *Gregory Nazianzen* [m] of his own Mother *Nonna*, that the Zeal of her Devotion was always ſo flaming and fervent, that ſhe never ſpake a Word in the Church, but what was neceſſary to be done in joining in the ſacred Service; ſhe never turned her Back upon the Altar, nor ever allowed her ſelf to ſpit upon the Pavement of the Church. But I cannot ſay theſe were neceſſary Laws for all to obſerve; for *Nazianzen* intimates ſhe did ſomething above the common pitch, and conſequently that it was Choice and Zeal, and not any binding Rules of the Church, that obliged her to it. We might here have conſidered farther their reverent Poſtures of Devotion, Standing, Kneeling, and Proſtration: and have expoſed the Practice of ſitting at Prayers and at the Communion-Service, which *Perron* and ſome others for different Reaſons contend for, as a Poſture of Devotion uſed in the ancient Church; but I ſhall have a more proper Occaſion to ſpeak of theſe things hereafter, when we come to the particular Offices and Services of the Church.

SECT. XII. *Churches the ſafeſt Repoſitory for Things of any Value, and the beſt Retreat in Times of Diſtreſs.*

THE laſt Inſtance of their Reverence for Churches which I ſhall take notice of, is, That the Sacredneſs of them made them commonly the ſafeſt Repoſitory for Things of Value, and the beſt Security and Retreat in Times of common Calamity and Diſtreſs. The Church had not only her own private Archives, her Treaſury, and her *Cemeliarchium*, for preſerving her own Writings, her Utenſils and her Treaſures, but was a Place of common Tuition and Defence, both for Things and Perſons, in many other Caſes. Thus 'tis noted by *Ruffin* [n] and *Socrates* [o] and *Sozomen*, that the Cubit wherewith they were uſed to meaſure the Increaſe of the Waters of *Nile*, when it overflowed, having been before uſually kept in the Temple of *Serapis*, was by the Order of *Conſtantine* laid up in the Chriſtian Church, where it continued till *Julian* the Apoſtate cauſed it to be removed to

[a] Sidon. lib. 1. Ep. 5. Triumphalibus Apoſtolorum Liminibus affuſus, &c. [b] Paulin. Natal. 6. Felicis, p. 569. Sternitur ante fores, & poſtibus oſcula fugit. [c] Prudent. Hymn. 11. in S. Laurent. Apoſtolorum ac Martyrum exoſculantur Limina. [d] Chryſoſt. Hom. 29. in 2 Cor. προσθυρον φιλοῦμεν τοῦ ναοῦ. [e] Athanaſ. Homil. adv. eos qui in homine ſpem figunt, Tom. 2. p. 304. περισιόντες τὸ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ μὴ φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ ἀσπαζόμενοι. [f] Caſſiodor. Hiſt. Tripart. lib. 9. c. 30. [g] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hier. c. 2. [h] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 24. [i] Athanaſ. Epiſt. ad Serapion. p. 671. [k] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 27. Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 12. [*] *See Chap. 5. Sect.* 8. [l] Chryſoſt. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. & Hom. 15. in Hebr. [m] Naz. Orat. 19. in Fun. Patris. tom. 1. p. 290. [n] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 30. [o] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 18. Sozom. lib. 1. c. 8.

the Temple of *Serapis* again. But Perſons, as well as Things, found a ſafe Retreat and Security in the Sacredneſs of Churches, when many times in barbarous Invaſions no other Place would protect them againſt the Inſolence and Fury of a conquering Enemy. Nay, the very Heathens themſelves often found their Account in flying to the Chriſtian Churches, as St. *Auſtin* glories over them, beginning his famous Book againſt the *Pagans*, *De Civitate Dei*, with this Obſervation. There he tells them what ungrateful Wretches they were to the Religion of Chriſt, to clamour and inveigh ſo bitterly againſt it, when yet, had it not been for the Protection of their Lives in Places dedicated to Chriſt, whither they [*p*] fled from the Sword of their Enemies, they had never been able at that Day to have moved their Tongues againſt it. For when *Alarick* the *Goth* took and ſacked *Rome*, he gave Orders, That all the Churches ſhould be inviolable, and whoever fled thither ſhould be ſpared; the Sanctity of the Place ſhould be their Protection; by which means the Heathens eſcaped as well as the Chriſtians. For the Soldiers inviolably obſerved their General's Commands, and when they had barbarouſly plundered and murdered in all other Places, they did not pretend to meddle with Churches, or offer the leaſt Violence to any who betook themſelves thither for Safety and Protection. Nay, they carried ſome into Churches themſelves, whom they intended to ſpare, and ſo ſecured them from the Violence of others that might have aſſaulted them. So great a Veneration had even the barbarous *Arian Goths* for Churches in the midſt of all their Anger and Fury againſt the *Romans*, as not only St. *Auſtin*, but *Oroſius* [*q*], and St. *Jerom*, [*r*] and *Caſſiodore* [*s*], and *Sozomen* [*t*], with other ancient Writers relate the Story. And it can hardly be doubted then, but that the *Catholicks* had the ſame Veneration for Churches; eſpecially when it is conſidered alſo, how both by general Cuſtom and Law under the *Chriſtian* Emperors, every Church was inveſted with the Privilege of an *Aſylum*, or Place of Sanctuary and Refuge in certain Caſes; of the Original of which, and the ancient Laws relating to it (becauſe ſome Abuſes have been added in After-ages by the Canon Law) I will give a particular Account in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XI.

Of the firſt Original of Aſylums, *or Places of Sanctuary and Refuge, with the Laws relating to them, in* Chriſtian *Churches.*

SECT. I. *The Original of this Privilege to be deduced from the Time of* Conſtantine.

ALL that is neceſſary to be known of this Privilege, ſo far as concerns the Uſe of it in the ancient Church, either relates to the Original of the Cuſtom, or the Place it ſelf where Sanctuary might be had, or the Perſons who were entitled to the Benefit, or laſtly, the Conditions they were to obſerve in order to obtain and enjoy it. And therefore under theſe four Heads we will briefly conſider it. As to the Original of it, there is no Diſpute made by any Author, but that it began to be a Privilege of Churches from the Time of *Conſtantine*, though there are no Laws about it older than *Theodoſius*, either in the *Juſtinian* or *Theodoſian Code*. But the Law of *Theodoſius* is ſufficient Evidence it ſelf, that it was the Cuſtom or Practice of the Church before; for his Law was not made to authorize the Thing it ſelf, but to regulate ſome Points relating to it, which ſuppoſes the Thing to be in Uſe before. But whether *Conſtantine* made any Law to eſtabliſh it, is very much doubted by learned Men. *Baronius* [*a*] affirms it upon the Credit of the Acts of Pope *Sylveſter:* But thoſe are known to be ſpurious and forged Writings, no older than the 9th or 10th Age, by the Acknowledgment of *Papebrochius* and *Pagi* [*b*] who have accurately examined and refuted *Baronius*'s Vindication of them. However, *Gothofred* allows what ſeems to be the Truth of the Caſe, that Practice and Cuſtom eſtabliſhed this Privilege by degrees even from the time of *Conſtantine*; for before *Theodoſius* made any Law about it, the Thing was certainly in Uſe in the Church, as appears from the Account which *Gregory Nazianzen* gives of it in the Life of *Baſil* [*c*], where he tells us how St. *Baſil* protected a Widow, who fled to the Altar, againſt the Violence that was offered to her by the Governor of *Pontus*. The like is reported of St. *Ambroſe* in his Life [*d*] written by *Paulinus*; and St. *Ambroſe* himſelf ſpeaks of the Cuſtom in one of his Epiſtles, where in Anſwer to the Emperor *Valentinian* Junior, who had commanded him to deliver up one of the Churches of *Milan* to the *Arians*, he tells him, that was a Thing he could never obey him in; but if he commanded him to be carried to Priſon or to Death, that he would voluntarily ſubmit to, and neither uſe Force to defend himſelf, nor fly to the Altar to ſupplicate [*e*] for his Life. Theſe and ſome other ſuch-like Inſtances ſhew, that the Churches enjoyed this Privilege by ancient Cuſtom, before *Theodoſius* made any

[*p*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 1. c. 1. Hodie contra eam Linguas non moverent, niſi ferrum hoſtile fugientes, in Sacratis ejus Locis vitam, de qua ſuperbiunt, invenirent, &c. [*q*] Oroſ. lib. 7. c. 39. [*r*] Hieron. Epiſt. 16. ad Principiam. [*s*] Caſſiod. Variar. lib. 12. cap. 20. [*t*] Sozom. lib. 9. cap. 10.

[*a*] Baron. an. 324. n. 61. [*b*] Papebroch. Conatus Chronico-Hiſtor. p. 49. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 315. n. 4.
[*c*] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Baſil. tom. 1. p. 353. [*d*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 9. [*e*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. nec altaria tenebo vitam obſecrans, &c.

Law about it; which he did first, *An.* 392, not to authorize the Thing, but to explain and regulate some things relating to it; of which more by and by in their proper place.

SECT. II.

At first only the Altar and Inner Fabrick of the Church the Place of Refuge; but afterwards any Outer Buildings or Precincts of the Church invested with the same Privilege.

HERE we are next to examine what part of the Church was more peculiarly assigned to be the place of Sanctuary and Refuge. *Gothofred* thinks, that at first only the inner Buildings and Apartments of the Church, and especially the Altar, were the places of Refuge: Whence in *Synesius* [*h*] and other antient Writers the Altar is so frequently called ἄσυλον τράπεζα, the Table from which no one could be ravished or taken away. But whether this was originally so or not, it is certain that in the time of *Theodosius Junior*, these Limits for taking Sanctuary were enlarged. For in one of his Laws now extant in both the Codes [*i*] not only the Altar and the Body of the Church, but all between the Church and outward Walls, that is, Houses and Lodgings of the Bishop and Clergy, Gardens, Baths, Courts, Cloysters, are appointed to enjoy the same Privilege of being a Sanctuary to such as fled for Refuge, as well as the innermost part of the Temple. Particularly the Baptisteries, which, as I have shewed before, were places without the Church, were invested with this Privilege equally with the Altar: For *Proterius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, as *Liberatus* [*k*] and *Evagrius* [*l*] report, took Sanctuary in the Baptistery of the Church, to avoid the Fury of the *Eutychian* Faction headed by *Timotheus Ælurus*; and though that was a Place that even the *Barbarians* themselves had some Reverence for, yet as the *Ægytian* Bishops [*m*] complain in their Letter to the Emperor *Leo*, the Malice of the *Eutychians* pursued him thither, and there slew him, mangled his Body, dragged it about the Streets, and at last burnt it to Ashes, and scattered his Ashes in the Wind; for which unparalleled Barbarity committed against the Laws of Religion, the Emperor *Leo* deposed *Timotheus Ælurus*, and sent him into Banishment all his Life. There were a great many other Places, which had this privilege of Sanctuary also beside Churches, as the Statues of the Emperors, of which there is a particular Title [*n*] in the *Theodosian* Code; also the Emperor's Standard in the Camp, the Bishop's House, the Graves and Sepulchres of the Dead, together with the Cross, Schools, Monasteries and Hospitals in After-ages; of which, being all foreign to the business of Churches, I say nothing farther, but refer the curious Reader to the elaborate Treatise of *Rittershusius* [*o*] upon this Subject among the *London* Criticks, where each of these and some other privileged Places are particularly considered.

SECT. III.

What Persons allowed to take Sanctuary.

NEXT to the Places of Refuge, we are to consider the Persons to whom this Benefit extended, and in what Cases they were allowed to take Sanctuary in their Churches. For this Privilege antiently was not intended to patronize Wickedness, or shelter Men from the due Execution of Justice, or the Force of the Laws in ordinary cases; but chiefly to be a Refuge for the Innocent, the Injured, and Oppressed: Or in doubtful Causes, whether Criminal or Civil, only to give Men Protection so long, till they might have an equitable and fair Hearing of the Judges, and not to be proceeded against barbarously and rigorously under pretence and colour of Justice; or at most, only to give Bishops opportunity to intercede for Criminals and Delinquents in such cases, as it was both becoming and lawful for Bishops to turn Intercessors. These were the Sanctuaries which *Basil* [*p*] pleaded for, against the Governor of *Pontus*, and *Synesius* [*q*] against *Andronicus* Governor of *Ptolemais*, and *Chrysostom* against *Eutropius*, who had prevailed with *Arcadius* to abrogate by Law all Privileges [*r*] of this Nature belonging to the Church; but by God's Providence, he was the first Man that wanted this Privilege, being fallen under the Emperor's Displeasure, and forced to fly to the Altar for that Refuge which he had denied to others. This gave *Chrysostom* Occasion to make that eloquent and curious Oration upon his Case, whereby he artfully wrought the People into a tender Compassion for their bittereſt Enemy, that they might go and supplicate the Emperor for him, who now lay prostrate at the Altar, and by their Supplications they obtained his Life, for the Sentence of Death was mitigated and turned into Confiscation and Banishment only [*s*], though afterwards by Treachery he lost his Life. These were chiefly the Cases which the antient Privilege of Sanctuary respected, and commonly thirty Days Protection was granted to Men in such pitiable Circumstances, which term was thought sufficient [*t*] by the Law to end any Controversies that such Men might have before the civil Judges. Though the *Saxon* Law of King *Alfred* allowed but three Days time for this, as both *Rittershusius* and *Gothofred* have observed out of *Lambard*'s Account of our antient [*u*] *English* and *Saxon* Laws. During this Time they were maintained by the Church if they were poor, out of the Revenues of the Poor; but if they were able to subsist themselves, it was sufficient for the

[*h*] Synes. Ep. 58. p. 193. [*i*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt. Leg. 4. Inter Templum, quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, & post loca publica & Januas primas Ecclesiæ, quicquid fuerit interjacens, sive in Cellulis, sive in Domibus, Hortulis, Balneis, Areis atque Porticibus, confugas interioris Templi vice tueatur, &c. Vid. Cod. Justin. Lib. 1. Tit. 12. Leg. 3. [*k*] Liberat. Breviar. c. 15. [*l*] Evagr. Lib. 2. c. 8. [*m*] Epist. Episcoporum Ægypt. ad calcem Concil. Chalced. n. 22. p. 894. [*n*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 44. de his qui ad Statuas Imperatorum confugiunt. [*o*] Rittershusius de Asylis, c. 3. [*p*] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. [*q*] Synes. Ep. 58. [*r*] Vid. Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccl. confug. Leg 3. [*s*] Vid. Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 40. de Pœnis Leg. 17. [*t*] Vid. Just. in. Novel. 17. c. 6. [*u*] Lambard. de Legibus Angliæ, p. 28.

Church to grant them Her Protection, and that only in the foremention'd Cases, and no other.

SECT. IV. *What Sort of Persons and Crimes denied this Privilege. First publick Debtors.*

THEREFORE, that no one might presume upon Indemnity by vertue of this Privilege, who had not a just and legal Title to it, several Crimes and Cases were specified by the Law, as excepted, for which the Church could grant no Protection. As first, Publick Debtors, who either embezzel'd or kept back by Fraud the Publick Revenues of the State. By a Law of *Theodosius the Great*, now extant in both the *Codes*, such Debtors, though they fled to the Church for Sanctuary, were to reap no Benefit by it, but immediately to be taken [*w*] thence by force: Or if they were concealed by the Clergy, the Bishop and Church in that case were liable to be called upon, and made to answer the Debt to the Publick. And *Baronius* [*x*] is of Opinion, that it was by vertue of this Law, that St. *Austin* was obliged to pay the Debt of one *Fastius*, who fled to the Church for Refuge, not being able to answer the pressing Demands of the publick Exactors; and therefore St. *Austin* made a publick Collection for him in his Church, because he would not deliver him up to be tortured by his Creditors, as he himself informs us [*y*] in one of his Epistles. This was the Reason, as I have observ'd in another place [*z*], why St. *Austin* refus'd to accept the Donation of a Man's Estate, which was originally ty'd to certain publick Service in the Corporation of the *Navicularij*, or those who were bound to transport the publick Corn from *Africa* to *Rome*. For it might happen, that the Men whom the Church was to employ in this Service, might by Mischance of Shipwreck, or other means, become obnoxious to the Publick: And then the Church must either deliver up her Servants to be tortur'd, or else pay the Debt; for there was no Refuge or Sanctuary allowed in this Case but upon that Condition. And therefore St. *Austin* [*a*] himself tells us, he refus'd such an Estate, because one way or other it might have involv'd the Church in great Trouble. In private Cases *Gothofred* seems to think, that the benefit of Sanctuary was allowed to poor Debtors, that they might have a little Respite from Torture, and either compound with their Creditors, or find some other Method to discharge their Debt, whilst they were under the Shelter and Protection of the Church.

SECT. V. *Secondly*, Jews *that pretended to turn Christians only to avoid paying their Debts, or suffering Legal Punishment for their Crimes.*

BUT then even this Benefit was not universal; for the *Jewish* Converts were particularly excepted from it. For by a Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, extant in both the *Codes*, it was provided, That all *Jews*, who being either in Debt, or under Prosecution as Criminals, pretended to unite themselves to the *Christian* Religion, that thereby they might have the Privilege of taking Sanctuary in the Church, and avoid the Punishment of their [*b*] Crimes or Burden of their Debts should be rejected, and not receiv'd till they had discharged their Debts, or proved themselves innocent of the Crimes laid against them. Yet in other Cases, the *Jews* were not deny'd this Benefit, but had the common Privilege of Sanctuary with other Men, if *Gothofred* [*c*] judge right, who cites *Julius Clarus* and *Petrus Sarpus* [*d*] for the same Opinion.

SECT. VI. *Thirdly, Hereticks and Apostates.*

Rittershusius [*e*] thinks the case of Hereticks and Apostates was something worse in this respect, than that of *Jews*, because they who deserted the Church, were wholly excluded from having any benefit of Sanctuary in it. *Covarruvias* and *Panormitan* and *Sarpus* collect the same before him, but not from any express Law about this matter, but only from a general Law of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, which excludes Apostates and Hereticks from all Society, and many other common Privileges allow'd [*f*] to other Men. From whence they conclude by parity of Reason, that they could lay no Claim to the Benefit of Sanctuary, in any Case, because Deserters of Religion, which they had once owned in Baptism, were reckoned worse than *Jews*, who had never made Profession of it. And therefore by another Law of *Theodosius*, their Slaves were entitled to the Favour which the Masters themselves were deny'd: For if the Slave of an Apostate or Heretick [*g*] fled from his Master, and took Sanctuary in the Church, he was not only to be protected, but to have his *Manumission*, or Freedom, granted him likewise. There being an equal Design in the Law to encourage Orthodoxy, and discourage Heresy and Apostacy by respective Rewards and Punishments allotted to them.

SECT. VII. *Fourthly, Slaves that fled from their Masters.*

THIS was particularly determined in the Case of the *Donatists* for Re-baptizing their Slaves to initiate them into their own Religion. But in other cases the Slaves of Or-

[*w*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 1. Publicos Debitores, si confugiendum ad Ecclesias crediderint; aut illico extrahi de latebris oportebit, aut pro his ipsos, qui eos occultare probantur, Episcopos exigi, &c. [*x*] Baron. an. 392. p. 661. [*y*] Aug. Ep. 215. Ne corporalem pateretur injuriam, ad auxilium Sanctæ Ecclesiæ convolavit, &c. [*z*] *Book 5. Chap. 3. Sect. 5.* [*a*] Aug. Hom. 49. de Diversis. Tom. 10. p. 520. Navicularium nolui esse Ecclesiam Christi, &c. [*b*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 45. Leg. 2. Cod. Justin, Lib. 1. Tit. 12. Leg. 1. Judæi, qui reatu aliquo vel debitis fatigati, simulant se Christianæ Legi velle conjungi, ut ad Ecclesias confugientes evitare possint crimina, vel pondera debitorum, arceantur, nec ante suscipiantur, quam debita universa reddiderint. [*c*] Gothofred. Tom. 3. p. 361. [*d*] Sarpus de jure Asyli, c. 5. p. 53. [*e*] Rittershusius de Asylis, cap. 6. [*f*] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 7. de Apostat. Leg 4. Hi qui Sanctam fidem prodiderunt, & sanctum Baptisma hæretica superstitione profanarunt, à consortio omnium segregati sint, &c. [*g*] Cod. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 6. Ne Sanctum Baptisma iteretur. Leg. 4. His qui forsitan ad rebaptizandum cogentur, refugiendi ad Ecclesiam Catholicam sit facultas, ut ejus præsidio adversus hujus criminis auctores attributæ libertatis præsidio defendantur.

thodox

thodox Maſters had not ſo large a Privilege. For by a Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *An.* 398, Slaves are put in the ſame condition with publick Debtors, and the *Curiales*, and other publick Officers, whom no Privilege of Sanctuary [*a*] was to excuſe from the proper Duties of their Station. And therefore though any ſuch one fled to the Church for Refuge, or was ordained a Clerk in the Church, there was no legal Protection allow'd him, but he might be reclaim'd and fetch'd thence immediately to his proper Servitude or Station again, by the Authority of the Civil Judges. I know indeed *Gothofred* takes this to be that Law of *Arcadius*, procured by the Inſtigation of *Eutropius* againſt the Immunities of the Church, which is ſo much reflected on by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*], and *Proſper* [*c*], and *Socrates* [*d*], and *Sozomen* [*e*], and ſome other antient Writers of the Church, and which *Arcadius* himſelf thought fit to revoke within a Year after, when *Eutropius* was fallen under his Diſpleaſure: Which whether it be that very Law or not, is a thing I ſhall not now nicely diſpute; for admitting it be ſo, I obſerve, that it was never wholly revoked and diſannulled, but only in ſome particular Inſtances. For that Part about the Illegal Ordination of the *Curiales* was left in a great meaſure in its full Force, as has been clearly demonſtrated in another Place [*f*]: And that Part which concerns Slaves taking Sanctuary in the Church, was with a very ſmall Variation renewed and reinforced by *Theodoſius Junior*, Son of *Arcadius*, and Compiler of the *Theodoſian* Code. For by one of his Laws [*g*], which is the laſt upon this Head in that *Code*, No Slave is allowed to have Sanctuary or Entertainment in any Church above one Day, when Notice was to be given to his Maſter from whom he fled for fear of Puniſhment, that he might reclaim him and carry him back to his own Poſſeſſion, only giving a Promiſe of Indemnity and Pardon for his Faults, if they were not very great and heinous. And *Ritterſhuſius* [*h*] cites a Law of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, and ſome others, to the ſame Purpoſe.

SECT. VIII.

Fifthly, Robbers, Murderers, Conſpirators, Raviſhers of Virgins, Adulterers, and other Criminals of the like nature.

BUT in caſe Men were guilty of Crimes of a more heinous nature, ſuch as Theft and Robbery, or Treaſon and Conſpiracy againſt the Government, or Murther and Bloodſhed, or raviſhing of Virgins, or Adultery, or any Crimes of the like nature: Then it mattered not whether the Criminals were Bond or Free, there was not an Hour's reſpite allowed to ſuch Men, but they were to be taken immediately by Force of the Civil Magiſtrate, if need required, even from the very Altar; or if they pretended to make any Reſiſtance with Arms, they might with Indemnity be ſlain there. This is undeniably evident from the Laws of *Juſtinian*, which ſpecify theſe and all ſuch Criminals as excepted univerſally from all benefit of Sanctuary; it being [*i*] wholly againſt the Intent and Deſign of that Privilege to give any Protection to Murderers, Adulterers, Raviſhers of Virgins, or any the like, but rather to the innocent and injured Parties, who were expoſed to their Violence and Abuſes: Temples were never deſigned by Law to give Sanctuary both to the Paſſive and the Aggreſſors: And therefore if any that were guilty of ſuch Crimes fled to the Altar for Refuge, they ſhould be drawn thence, and puniſhed acoording to Law with Puniſhments ſuitable to their Offences. This one Law of *Juſtinian*'s ſhews us plainly the true Intent and Meaning of all other antient Laws relating to this Privilege of Sanctuary, that the Deſign of them, as I obſerved before, was chiefly to protect the Innocent, the Injur'd and Oppreſſed from Violence, and in ſome hard or dubious Caſes to grant a little Reſpite, 'till a fair Hearing might be procured. or ſome Interceſſion made to the Judges, by the Biſhop or Clergy, for ſuch Perſons as might ſeem to want it. And ſo *Gothofred* [*k*] upon the whole matter determines, That antiently Legal Refuge was no more but the Clergy's Deprecation or Interceſſion for Men in Diſtreſs. And ſuch as they might laudably and decently intercede for, they might for ſome time legally protect from Violence and Torture in the Church; but not obſtruct the due Execution of Juſtice upon other ſort of Criminals, for which it was ſcandalous to intercede.

SECT. IX.

A juſt Reflection upon the great Abuſe of Modern San-

IN which reſpect moſt of the modern Sanctuaries have been complained of by conſidering Men, as guilty of great Abuſes,

[*a*] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. leg. 3. Si quis in poſterum ſervus, Ancilla, Curialis, Debitor Publicus, Procurator, Murilegulus, quilibet poſtremo publicis privatiſve rationibus involutus, ad Eccleſiam confugiens, vel Clericus ordinatus, vel quocunque modo fuerit à Clericis defenſatus, nec ſtatim conventione præmiſſa priſtinæ Conditioni reddatur, Decuriones quidem, & omnes, quos ſolita ad debitum munus functio vocat, vigore & Solertia Judicantum ad priſtinam ſortem revocentur. [*b*] Chryſoſt. Hom. in Eutrop. Tom. 4. [*c*] Proſper. de Prædict lib. 3. c. 38. [*d*] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 5. [*e*] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 7. [*f*] *Book* 4. *Chap.* 4. *Sect.* 4. [*g*] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccleſ. confug. leg. 5. Si quidem ſervus cujuſquam Eccleſiam, Altariave, loci tantum veneratione confiſus, ſine ullo telo petierit, is non plus uno die ibidem dimittatur, quin Domino ejus, vel cujus metu pœnam imminentem viſus eſt declinaſſe, à Clericis, quorum intereſt, nuntietur. Iſque eum, impertita Indulgentia peccatorum, abducat. [*h*] Ritterſhuſ. de Aſylis, c. 8. p. 284. [*i*] Juſtin. Novel. 17. c. 7. Neque autem Homicidis, neque Adulteris, neque Virginum raptoribus, vel talia delinquentibus, terminorum cuſtodies cautelam: Sed etiam inde extrahes, & ſupplicium eis inferes. Non enim talia delinquentibus parcere competit, ſed hoc patientibus, ut non talia à præſumptoribus patiantur. Deinde Templorum cautela non nocentibus, ſed læſis datur à Lege, & non erit poſſibile utrumque tueri cautela Sacrorum locorum, & lædentem & læſum. [*k*] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. leg. 5. p. 373. Nihil ad Eccleſiam Perfugium erat, quam Clericorum Deprecatio ſeu Interceſſio.

Sanctuaries, in exempting Men from Legal Punishment, and enervating the Force of Civil Laws.

in giving Protection almost to all sorts of Criminals, and so encouraging the Practice of Villany, by exempting Men from legal Punishment, and enervating the Force of Civil Laws. For the Canon-law of *Gratian*, and the Popes Decretals, grant Protection to all Criminals, except Night-Robbers, and Robbers on the High-way, and such as commit enormous Crimes in the Church itself upon Presumption of its Protection. But all other Criminals have Liberty of taking Sanctuary, and it is reckoned a Violation of the Immunities of the Church to take them thence, unless a Promise or an Oath be first given, that neither Death [*l*] nor any other Corporal Punishment, but only a Pecuniary Mulct shall be inflicted on them, as Pope *Innocent* III. determined in one of his Letters to the King of *Scots*, which *Gregory* IX. inserted into the Body of his Decretals. The Council of *Orleans* [*m*] has some Canons to the same Purpose, which though contrary to all other ancient Laws, *Gratian* [*n*] thought fit to adopt into his own Collections. And so the modern Canon Law, under Pretence of Ecclesiastical Immunities, opened a wide Gap to Licentiousness, by taking off those Restraints which the ancient Laws had justly set upon this matter, when they granted Refuge to Innocent and Injured Men, but not to notorious Criminals. Which Difference is not only noted and complained of by all Protestant Writers, but also by some of the *Romish* Church. *Polydore Virgil* [*o*] makes no scruple to condemn them all over the Christian World, but more especially here in *England*, where Protection was given, not to the Innocent and Oppressed, but to all sorts of Criminals, such as were guilty of Treason and Rebellion not excepted. Whence he thinks it very apparent, that the Thing, as then practised, was not to be derived from *Moses*, who allowed Refuge to none but such as kill'd a Man unawares and against their Will, but from *Romulus*: Which was the Cause that so many Villains took heart and encouragement to practise Wickedness, there being Churches every where ready to receive and protect them; though nothing was more directly contrary to the Establishment of *Moses*, whose Law was guarded with this Sanction, *Exod.* xxi. 14. *If a Man come presumptuously upon his Neighbour, to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from my Altar, that he may die.* This was the Difference in the Opinion of that Author, between the modern Sanctuaries, and those of *Moses* and the ancient Church.

SECT. X.

Conditions anciently to be observed by such as fled for Sanctuary. 1st, No one to fly with Arms into the Church.

THERE is one Thing more to be observed concerning the Privilege of Sanctuary in the Laws of the ancient Church, which is, That such Persons as were allowed this Benefit, were obliged to observe certain Conditions in taking Refuge, otherwise they forfeited all their Right and Title to it. As first, they were not to fly with Arms into the Church, nor into any Place or Building adjoyning to it, as the Gardens, Houses, Courts, Cloysters, to which the Privilege of Sanctuary was annexed. This is particularly specify'd and provided by a Law [*p*] of *Theodosius* Junior, which has this Sanction added to it, That if any one pretended to act otherwise, and being admonished by the Church refused to lay aside his Arms, that then it should be lawful for the Magistrate, by the Consent of the Bishop, to send his Officers with Arms into the Church upon such an Exigency, and take him thence by Force: and if the Refugee still persisted in his Opposition, and chanced to be slain in the Engagement, it was to be reckoned purely his own Fault, and no Violation of the Church's Privilege in that case, because he refused to observe this necessary Condition of Safety. The Emperors themselves laid aside their Arms and Crowns when they entered into the Church, and therefore *Theodosius* argues [*q*], that it was but reasonable all Refugees should do the same, and trust only to the Laws and Sacredness of the Place for their Protection.

SECT. XI.

2dly, No one to raise a seditious Clamour or Tumult, as he fled thither.

A Second Condition to be observed in this Case, was, That Men should betake themselves silently and modestly to the Church, and not by any rude and indecent Clamours endeavour to raise any popular Tumult. Learned Men collect this from a Law in the *Greek Constitutions*, and the *Justinian Code* [*r*], which forbids Refugees to make any clamorous Petitions to the Emperor on such Festivals as he came to the great Church, but if they had any Request to be preferred, they should do it privately by the Archbishop or Defensors of the Church: Otherwise they should

[*l*] Decretal. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 49. de Immunit. Eccles. c. 6. Quantumcunque gravia maleficia perpetraverit, non est violenter ab Ecclesia extrahendus: Nec inde damnari debet ad mortem vel ad pœnam, sed Rectores Ecclesiarum sibi obtinere debent membra & vitam. Super hoc tamen quod inique fecit, est alias legitime puniendus. [*m*] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 3, & 4.

[*n*] Gratian. Caus. 17. Q. 4. c. 36. It. Caus. 36. Q. 1. c. 3.

[*o*] Polydor. Virgil. de Inventor. Rerum. lib. 3. c. 12. Sunt hodie in orbe nostro Christiano, præsertim apud Anglos, passim Asyla, quæ non modo insidias timentibus, sed quibusvis fontibus, etiam Majestatis reis patent: Quod facit ut manifeste appareat, nos id institutum non à Mose, qui illis duntaxat qui nolentes hominem occidissent, Asylum posuit, sed a Romulo esse mutuatos. Quæ nempe res haud dubie in causa est, cur bene multi à maleficiis minus abstineant manus, &c. [*p*] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. leg. 4. Si Ecclesiæ voce moniti, noluerint arma relinquere—— armatis, si ita res exegerit, intromissis, trahendos se abstrahendosque esse cognoscant, & omnibus casibus esse subdendos, &c. [*q*] Edict. Theodos. ad calcem Concil. Ephesin. *cited before*, chap. 10. n. 8. [*r*] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. tit. 12. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. leg. 8. Qui Imperatore ad magnam Ecclesiam in Festo procedente, exclamatione usus fuerit, excidet re Sperata, & per Præfectum ejectus castigabitur, &c.

forfeit

forfeit their Privilege, and be caſt out of the Church, and be delivered over to the City-Magiſtrate to be puniſhed.

SECT. XII.
Thirdly, No one to eat or lodge in the Church, but to be entertained in ſome outward Building.

THIRDLY, Though Refugees might fly to the Church, and even to the very Altar; yet they were neither to eat nor lodge there; but the Clergy were obliged to prohibit them from doing either of theſe by an expreſs Law of *Theodoſius* Junior [s], who to cut off all Pretences for the contrary Practices, as if Men could not be ſafe but within the Walls of the Church, made not only the Church and the Altar Places of Refuge, but all other Buildings and Places belonging to the Church; giving this Reaſon for allowing ſuch an ample Space for the Benefit of Sanctuary, that Men might not have the Excuſe of Fear to make them eat or lodge in the Church, which he thought to be Things not ſo decent in their own Nature, nor agreeable to the ſtate of Religion, and the Reſpect and Reverence that was due to Churches, as Places appropriated to God, and ſet apart for his Service.

[s] Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccleſ. confug. leg. 4. Hanc autem Spacii latitudinem ideo indulgemus, ne in ipſo Dei Templo & ſacroſanctis altaribus confugientium quenquam mane vel veſpere cubare vel pernoctare liceat; ipſis hoc Clericis Religionis cauſa vetantibus, &c.

BOOK IX.

A Geographical Deſcription of the ANTIENT CHURCH, or an Account of its Diviſion into Provinces, Dioceſes, and Pariſhes: And of the firſt Original of theſe.

CHAP. I.

Of the State and Diviſion of the Roman *Empire, and of the Church's Conforming to that in Modelling Her own External Polity and Government.*

SECT. I. *The State of the* Roman *Empire in the Days of the Apoſtles.*

HAVING thus far ſpoken of Churches, as they ſignify the Material Buildings, or Places of Convention ſet a-part for Chriſtian Worſhip, I come now to conſider them in another Notion, as they are put to ſignify any Number of Chriſtian People within a certain Diſtrict, as in a Pariſh, Dioceſe, Province, Patriarchate: Which are Names that we frequently meet with in ancient Writers, though they are not all equally of the ſame Antiquity: And therefore I ſhall here enquire both into the Nature and Original of them. Something has already been ſaid upon this Head, in ſpeaking of the ſeveral Officers of the Church that were placed in thoſe Diſtricts, as Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Biſhops, and Presbyters, ſo far as was neceſſary to explain the Powers and Duties of thoſe Miniſters in the Church: Yet there are many Things to be noted farther, which could not then come under Conſideration; for which reaſon I now make them the Subject of a peculiar Enquiry. And here to underſtand the State and Diviſion of the Church aright, it will be proper to take a ſhort View of the State and Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire: For it is generally thought by learned Men, that the Church held ſome Conformity to that in her External Polity and Government, both at her firſt Settlement, and in the Changes and Variations that were made in After-ages. In the Time of the Apoſtles every City among the *Greeks* and *Romans* was under the immediate Government of certain Magiſtrates within its own Body, commonly known by the Name of Βουλὴ or *Senatus*, its Common-council or Senate, otherwiſe called *Ordo* and *Curia*, the States and Court of the City: Among which there was uſually One Chief or Principal above the reſt, whom ſome call the Dictator, and others, the *Defenſor Civitatis*; whoſe Power extended not only over the City, but all the adjacent Territory, commonly called the περάσεια, the Suburbs, or leſſer Towns, belonging to its Juriſdiction. This was a City in the civil Account, a Place where the civil Magiſtrate and a ſort of leſſer Senate was fixed to order the Affairs of that Community, and govern within ſuch a Precinct.

SECT. II. *The State of the Church conformable to it.*

Now much after the ſame manner, the Apoſtles in firſt Planting and Eſtabliſhing the Church, where-ever they found a Civil Magiſtracy ſettled in any Place, there they endeaed to ſettle an Eccleſiaſtical one, conſiſting of a Senate or Presbytery, a Common-council of Presbyters, and one chief Preſident above the reſt, commonly call'd the πρεσβύτερος, or the Apoſtle, or Biſhop, or Angel of the Church; whoſe Juriſdiction was not confined to a ſingle Congregation, but extended to the whole Region or Diſtrict belonging to the City, which was the περάσεια, or παροικία, or as we now call it, the Dioceſe of the Church. According to this Model moſt probably St. *Paul* directed *Titus* to ordain Elders in *Crete* κατὰ πόλιν, in every City, that is, to ſettle an Eccleſiaſtical Senate and Government in every Place where there was before a Civil one: Which from the ſubſequent Hiſtory of the Church, we learn, was a Biſhop and his Presbytery, who were conjunctly call'd the Elders and Senate of the Church. The Cities of the Empire had alſo their Magiſtrates in the Territory or Country round them; but theſe were ſubordinate to the Magiſtrates of the City,

and

and generally chosen by them, as learned Men [t] have observed out of *Frontinus de Limitibus Agrariis*, and other *Roman* Antiquaries. In like manner, every City-Church had Spiritual Officers in all Towns and Villages belonging to the City-Region; and these depending on the Mother-Church both for the Exercise of their Power and their Institution; they being both subordinate and accountable to the City-Church, as the subordinate Magistrates were in the Civil Disposition.

SECT. III. *The Division of the* Roman *Empire into Provinces and Dioceses.*

ANOTHER Division of the *Roman* Empire was into Provinces and Dioceses. A Province was the Cities of a whole Region subjected to the Authority of one chief Magistrate, who resided in the Metropolis or chief City of the Province. This was commonly a Prætor, or a Proconsul, or some Magistrate of the like Eminence and Dignity. A Diocese was still a larger District, containing several Provinces within the compass of it: in the capital City of which District a more general Magistrate had his Residence, whose Power extended over the whole Diocese, to receive Appeals, and determine all Causes that were referred to him for a new Hearing from any City within the District. And this Magistrate was sometimes called an *Eparchus*, or *Vicarius* of the *Roman* Empire, and particularly a *Præfectus Augustalis* at *Alexandria*. When first this Division was made, it is not so certainly agreed among learned Men; but it is generally owned, that the Division of Provinces is more antient than that of Dioceses. For the Division into Dioceses began only about the Time of *Constantine*. But the Cantonizing of the Empire into Provinces was long before; by some referred to *Vespasian*, by others reckoned still more antient, and coæval to the first Establishment of the Christian Church.

SECT. IV. *The same Model followed by the Church.*

HOWEVER this was, it is very plain, that the Church took her Model, in setting up Metropolitical and Patriarchal Power, from this Plan of the State. For as in every Metropolis, or chief City of each Province, there was a superior Magistrate above the Magistrates of every single City: So likewise in the same Metropolis there was a Bishop, whose Power extended over the whole Province, whence he was called the Metropolitan or Primate, as being the principal Bishop of the Province. And in all Places therefore the See of the Bishop was fixed to the civil Metropolis, except in *Africk*, where the Primate was commonly the Senior Bishop of the Province, as has been shewed in another place. In like manner, as the State had a *Vicarius* in every capital City of each civil Diocese; so the Church in process of time came to have her *Exarchs*, or Patriarchs in many, if not in all the capital Cities of the Empire.

SECT. V. *This Evidenced from the Civil* Notitia *of the Empire.*

THIS will appear plainly from the civil *Notitia* of the Empire, when compared with the Ecclesiastical; which, because it not only gives light in this Matter, but is of singular Use in many other respects to all that study Ecclesiastical History, I will here insert it out of the Book called *Notitia Imperii*, said to be written about the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, where the whole Empire is divided into Thirteen Dioceses under four *Præfecti-Prætorio*; and about an hundred and twenty Provinces contained in them, in the Manner and Form following.

The Præfectus-Prætorio Orientis, *and under him five Dioceses*, viz. *The* Oriental, Egyptian, Asiatick, Pontick, *and* Thracian *Dioceses.*

I. In the *Oriental* Diocese are contained Fifteen Provinces. 1 *Palæstina.* 2 *Phœnice.* 3 *Syria.* 4 *Cilicia.* 5 *Cyprus.* 6 *Arabia.* 7 *Isauria.* 8 *Palæstina Salutaris.* 9 *Palæstina Secunda.* 10 *Phœnice Libani.* 11 *Euphratensis.* 12 *Syria Salutaris.* 13 *Osrhoena.* 14 *Mesopotamia.* 15 *Cilicia Secunda.*

II. In the Diocese of *Egypt* Six Provinces. 1 *Libya Superior.* 2 *Libya Inferior.* 3 *Thebais.* 4 *Ægyptus.* 5 *Arcadia.* 6 *Augustanica.*

III. In the *Asiatick* Diocese Ten Provinces. 1 *Pamphylia.* 2 *Hellespontus.* 3 *Lydia.* 4 *Pisidia.* 5 *Lycaonia.* 6. *Phrygia Pacatiana.* 7 *Phrygia Salutaris.* 8 *Lycia.* 9 *Caria.* 10 *Insulæ Cyclades.*

IV. In the *Pontick* Diocese Eleven Provinces. 1 *Galatia.* 2 *Bithynia.* 3 *Honorias.* 4 *Cappadocia Prima.* 5. *Paphlagonia.* 6 *Pontus Polemoniacus.* 7 *Hellenopontus.* 8 *Armenia Prima.* 9 *Armenia Secunda.* 10 *Galatia Salutaris.* 11 *Cappadocia Secunda.*

V. In the Diocese of *Thrace* Six Provinces. 1 *Europa.* 2 *Thracia.* 3 *Hæmimontis.* 4 *Rhodope.* 5 *Mæsia Secunda.* 6 *Scythia.*

The Præfectus-Prætorio *of* Illyricum, *and under him Two Dioceses*, Macedonia *and* Dacia.

VI. In the Diocese of *Macedonia* Six Provinces. 1 *Achaia.* 2 *Macedonia.* 3 *Creta.* 4 *Thessalia.* 5 *Epirus Vetus.* 6 *Epirus Nova*, and *pars Macedoniæ Salutaris.*

VII. In the Diocese of *Dacia* Five Provinces. 1 *Dacia Mediterranea.* 2 *Dacia Ripensis.* 3 *Mæsia Prima.* 4 *Dardania.* 5 *Pars Macedoniæ Salutaris*, and *Prævalitana.*

[t] *See Dr.* Maurice *Dioces. Episc.* p. 390.

The Præfectus-Prætorio *of* Italy, *and under him Three Dioceſes, viz.* Italy *or the* Italick *Dioceſe*, Illyricum, *and* Africa.

VIII. In the *Italick* Dioceſe are contained Seventeen Provinces. 1 *Venetiæ.* 2 *Æmylia.* 3 *Liguria.* 4 *Flaminia* and *Picenum Annonarium.* 5 *Tuſcia* and *Umbria.* 6 *Picenum Suburbicarium.* 7 *Campania.* 8 *Sicilia.* 9 *Apulia* and *Calabria.* 10 *Lucania* and *Brutii.* 11 *Alpes Cottiæ.* 12 *Rhætia Prima.* 13 *Rhætia Secunda.* 14 *Samnium.* 15 *Valeria.* 16 *Sardinia.* 17 *Corſica.*

IX. In the Dioceſe of *Illyricum* Six Provinces. 1 *Pannonia Secunda.* 2 *Savia.* 3 *Dalmatia.* 4 *Pannonia Prima.* 5 *Noricum Mediterraneum.* 6 *Noricum Ripenſa.*

X. In the Dioceſe of *Africa* Six Provinces. 1 *Byzacium.* 2 *Numidia.* 3 *Mauritania Sitifenſis.* 4 *Mauritania Cæſarienſis.* 5 *Tripolis.* 6 *Africa Proconſularis.*

The Præfectus Prætorio Galliarium, *and under him Three Dioceſes, viz.* Hiſpania, Gallia, Britannia.

XI. In the *Spaniſh* Dioceſe Seven Provinces 1 *Bœtica.* 2 *Luſitania.* 3 *Gallæcia.* 4 *Tarraconenſis.* 5 *Carthaginenſis.* 6 *Tingitania.* 7 *Baleares.*

XII. In the *Gallican* Dioceſe Seventeen Provinces. 1 *Viennenſis.* 2 *Lugdunenſis Prima.* 3 *Germania Prima.* 4 *Germania Secunda.* 5 *Belgica Prima.* 6 *Belgica Secunda.* 7 *Alpes Maritimæ.* 8 *Alpes Penninæ & Graiæ.* 9. *Maxima Sequanorum.* 10 *Aquitania Prima.* 11 *Aquitania Secunda.* 12 *Novem populi.* 13 *Narbonenſis Prima.* 14 *Narbonenſis Secunda.* 15 *Lugdunenſis Secunda.* 16 *Lugdunenſis Tertia.* 17 *Lugdunenſis Senonia.*

XIII. In the *Britannick* Dioceſe Five Provinces. 1 *Maxima Cæſarienſis.* 2 *Valentia.* 3 *Britannia Prima.* 4 *Britannia Secunda.* 5 *Flavia Cæſarienſis.* Thus far the *Notitia* of the Empire.

SECT. VI. *Compared with the moſt antient Accounts of the Diviſion of Provinces in the Church.*

Now though we have no *Notitia* of the Church ſo antient as this: (for that of *Leo Sapiens*, which is exhibited hereafter, is of later Date:) Yet by comparing the broken Fragments that remain in the Acts and Subſcriptions of the ancient Councils, with this *Notitia* of the Empire, and conferring both with the later *Notitia's* of the Church, it plainly appears that the Church was divided into Dioceſes and Provinces much after the ſame manner as the Empire, having an Exarch or Patriarch in almoſt every Dioceſe, and a Metropolitan or Primate in every Province. The moſt probable Account of which, conformed to the foreſaid Civil *Notitia*, is preſented in the following Table, according as the Diviſion of the Church ſeems to have ſtood in the latter End of the IVth Century.

I. *In the* Oriental *Dioceſe.* *Patriarch of* Antioch.

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Palæſtina Prima.*	1 *Cæſarea.*
2 *Phœnice.*	2 *Tyrus.*
3 *Syria.*	3 *Antiochia.*
4 *Cilicia Prima.*	4 *Tarſus.*
5 *Cyprus.*	5 *Conſtantia.*
6 *Arabia.*	6 *Boſtra.*
7 *Iſauria.*	7 *Seleucia.*
8 *Palæſtina Salutaris.*	8 *Jeruſalem* or *Ælia.*
9 *Palæſtina Secunda.*	9 *Scythopolis.*
10 *Phœnice Libani.*	10 *Emiſſa.*
11 *Euphratenſis.*	11 *Hierapolis.*
12 *Syria Salutaris.*	12 *Apamea.*
13 *Oſrhoene.*	13 *Edeſſa.*
14 *Meſopotamia.*	14 *Amida.*
15 *Cilicia Secunda.*	15 *Anazarbus.*

II. *In the Dioceſe of* Egypt. *Patriarch of* Alexandria.

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Libya Superior.*	1 *Ptolemais.*
2 *Libya Inferior.*	2 *Dranieon.*
3 *Thebais.*	3 *Antinoe*, or *Lycopolis.*
4 *Ægyptus.*	4 *Alexandria.*
5 *Arcadia.*	5 *Oxirinchus.*
6 *Auguſtanica.*	6 *Peluſium.*

III. *In the Dioceſe of* Aſia. *Exarch of* Epheſus.

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Pamphylia.*	1 *Perga*, or *Sida.*
2 *Helleſpont.*	2 *Cyzicus.*
3 *Lydia.*	3 *Sardes.*
4 *Piſidia.*	4 *Antiochia.*
5 *Lycaonia.*	5 *Iconium.*
6 *Phrygia Pacatiana.*	6 *Laodicea.*
7 *Phrygia Salutaris.*	7 *Synada.*
8 *Lycia.*	8 *Myra.*
9 *Caria.*	9 *Aphrodiſias*, or *Stauropolis.*
10 *Inſulæ Cyclades.*	10 *Rhodus.*
11 *Aſia Proconſularis.*	11 *Epheſus.*

IV. *Dioceſe of* Pontus. *Exarch of* Cæſarea.

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Galatia.*	1 *Ancyra.*
2 *Bithynia.*	2 *Nicomedia.*
3 *Cappadocia Prima.*	3 *Cæſarea.*
4 *Cappadocia Secunda.*	4 *Tyana.*
5 *Honorias.*	5 *Claudiopolis.*
6 *Paphlagonia.*	6 *Gangra.*
7 *Pontus Polemoniacus.*	7 *Neocæſarea.*
8 *Helenopontus.*	8 *Amaſea.*
9 *Armenia Prima.*	9 *Sebaſtia.*

10 *Armenia*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
10 *Armenia Secunda.*	10 *Melitine.*
11 *Galatia Salutaris.*	11 *Peſſinus* al. *Juſtinianopolis.*
V. *Dioceſe of* Thrace.	*Exarch of* Heraclea *firſt, afterward* Conſtantinople.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Europa.*	1 *Heraclea.*
2 *Thracia.*	2 *Philippopolis.*
3 *Hæmi montis.*	3 *Adrianople.*
4 *Rhodope.*	4 *Trajanople.*
5 *Mæſia Secunda.*	5 *Marcianople:*
6 *Scythia.*	6 *Tomi.* But the Biſhop of *Tomi* is rather to be reckoned an Autocephalus than a Metropolitan, becauſe he had no Suffragan Biſhops under him.
VI. *In the Dioceſe of* Macedonia.	*The Exarch of* Theſſalonica.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Achaia.*	1 *Corinthus.*
2 *Macedonia.*	2 *Theſſalonica.*
3 *Creta.*	3 *Gortyna.*
4 *Theſſalia.*	4 *Lariſſa.*
5 *Epirus Vetus.*	5 *Nicopolis.*
6 *Epirus Nova.*	6 *Dyrrachium.*
VII. *Dioceſe of* Dacia.	*Exarch perhaps firſt at* Sardica, *afterwards at* Acrida *or* Juſtiniana Prima, *erected by* Juſtinian.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Dacia Mediterranea.*	1 *Sardica.*
2 *Dacia Ripenſis.*	2 *The ſame.*
3 *Mæſia Prima.*	3 *The ſame.*
4 *Dardania.*	4 *Scupi.*
5 *Prævalitana.*	5 *Acrida.*

VIII. The Dioceſe of *Italy* is by ſome reckoned but one Dioceſe, by others divided into two, the Dioceſe of *Italy*, and Prefecture of *Rome*.

In the Italick *Dioceſe.*	*Exarch of* Milan.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Flaminia* and *Picenum Annon.*	1 *Ravenna.*
2 *Venetia* and *Hiſtria.*	2 *Aquileia.*
3 *Æmilia.*	3 *Ravenna.*
4 *Liguria.*	4 *Mediolanum, Milan.*
5 *Alpes Cottiæ.*	5 *Milan.*
6 *Rhætia Prima.*	6 *Milan.*
7 *Rhætia Secunda.*	7 *Milan,* others *Rhætiopolis,* called *Auguſta Tiberij,* now *Ratisbone.*
In the Roman *Prefecture.*	*Patriarch of* Rome.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Picenum Suburbicarium.*	1 *Rome.*
2 *Campania.*	2 *Rome,* others *Capua.*
3 *Tuſcia* and *Umbria.*	3 *Rome.*
4 *Apulia* and *Calabria.*	4 *Rome.*
5 *Brutij* and *Lucania.*	5 *Rome.*
6 *Samnium.*	6 *Rome.*
7 *Valeria.*	7 *Rome.*
8 *Sicilia.*	8 *Syracuſe.*
9 *Sardinia.*	9 *Calaris.*
10 *Corſica.*	10 *Uncertain.* Others ſay *Rome.*
IX. *Dioceſe of* Illyricum Occidentale.	*Exarch of* Sirmium.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Pannonia Prima* or *Superior.*	1 *Laureacum.*
2 *Pannonia Secunda.*	2 *Sirmium.*
3 *Salvia.*	3 *Sirmium.* Others *Vindomana.*
4 *Dalmatia.*	4 *Salona.*
5 *Noricum Mediterraneum.*	5 Some ſay, *Saltzburg.*
6 *Noricum Ripenſe.*	6 Some ſay, *Laureacum:* Others leave theſe two uncertain.
X. *Dioceſe of* Africa.	*Exarch of* Carthage.
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Africa Proconſularis.*	1 *Carthago.*
2 *Byzacium.*	2 Civil Metropolis, *Adrumetum.* But the Eccleſiaſtical followed the See of the Senior Biſhop. So in all the reſt.
3 *Numidia.*	3 *Cirta Julia* or *Conſtantina.*
4 *Tripolis.*	4 *Tripolis.*
5 *Mauritania Sitifenſis.*	5 *Sitifi.*
6 *Mauritania Cæſarienſis.*	6 *Cæſarea.*
XI. *Dioceſe of* Spain.	*Exarch uncertain.*
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Bætica.*	1 *Hiſpalis.*
2 *Luſitania.*	2 *Emerita Auguſta.*
3 *Gallicia.*	3 *Bracara.*
	4 *Tar-*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
4 *Tarraconenſis.*	4 *Tarraco.*
5 *Carthaginenſis.*	5 *Carthago Hiſpanica.*
6 *Tingitana.*	6 See of the *Sen.* Biſhop.
7 *Inſulæ Baleares.*	7 Uncertain; ſome ſay *Palma.*
XII. *Dioceſe of* Gallia.	*Exarch uncertain.*
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Viennenſis.*	1 *Arelate*; others ſay, *Vienna.*
2 *Lugdunenſis.*	2 *Lugdunum.*
3 *Germania Prima.*	3 *Treviris.* Since *Mentz.*
4 *Germania Secunda.*	4 *Treveris.* Since *Colen.*
5 *Belgica Prima.*	5 *Treveris.*
6 *Belgica Secunda.*	6 *Rhemi.*
7 *Alpes Maritimæ.*	7 *Ebrodunum.*
8 *Alpes Penninæ & Graiæ.*	8 *Vienna.*
9 *Maxima Sequanorum.*	9 *Veſontio. Beſanſon.*
10 *Aquitania Prima.*	10 *Bituriges. Bourges.*
11 *Aquitania Secunda.*	11 *Burdigala.*
12 *Novem Populorum.*	12 *Eluſa*, or *Auguſta Auſciorum.*
13 *Narbonenſis Prima.*	13 *Narbo.*
14 *Narbonenſis Secunda.*	14 *Aquæ Sextiæ. Aix.*
15 *Lugdunenſis Secunda.*	15 *Rothomagus. Rouen.*
16 *Lugdunenſis Tertia.*	16 *Turones. Tours.*
17 *Lugdunenſis Senoniæ.*	17 *Senonæ. Sens.*
XIII. *Dioceſe of* Britain.	*Exarch of* York, *if any.*
Provinces.	Metropoles.
1 *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, which was at the firſt all from the *Thames* to the *Northern* Borders.	1 *Eboracum. York.*
2 *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, taken out of the former, and containing all from the *Thames* to the *Humber.*	2 *York.*
3 *Britannia Prima*, all on the South of *Thames.*	3 *London.*
4 *Britannia Secunda*, or all beyond *Severn.*	4 *Caerleon.*
5 *Valentia*, beyond the *Picts Wall.*	5 *York.*

This in the main was the State and Diviſion of the Church into Provinces, and Exarchates, or Metropolitical and Patriarchal Dioceſes, in the latter End of the IVth Century: From which it appears, that a very near Correſpondence was obſerved between the Church and State in this Matter both in the Weſtern and Eaſtern Empire.

SECT VII. *This evidenced farther from the Rules and Canons of the Church.*

AND this may be evidenced farther both from the Rules and Canons, and the known Practice of the Church in this caſe. For when any Provinces were divided in the State, there commonly followed a Diviſion in the Church alſo: And when any City was advanced to a greater Dignity in the Civil Account, it uſually obtained a like Promotion in the Eccleſiaſtical: So when Controverſies aroſe about Primacy between two Churches in the ſame Province or Diſtrict, the way to end the Diſpute was to enquire, which of them was the Metropolis in the State, and order the ſame to be the Metropolis in the Church. Of all which there are manifeſt Proofs in antient Hiſtory. It was by this Rule that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was advanced to Patriarchal Power in the Church, who before was not ſo much as a Metropolitan, but ſubject to the Primate of *Heraclea* in *Thrace*. And this very Reaſon is given by two General Councils, which confirmed him in the Poſſeſſion of this new acquired Power. The firſt of *Conſtantinople* decreed [*a*], that he ſhould have the next place of Honour after the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe *Conſtantinople* was *New Rome*. Which was thus again confirmed and ratified in the Council of *Chalcedon*, which ſays, Foraſmuch as we think it proper to follow the Decrees of the holy Fathers, and allow the Canon made by thoſe hundred and fifty Biſhops aſſembled under the Emperor *Theodoſius* in the Royal City *Conſtantinople*, we ourſelves order [*b*] and decree the ſame concerning the Privileges of the moſt holy Church of the ſaid City, which is *New Rome*. For our Forefathers gave *Old Rome* her Privileges in regard that ſhe was the Royal City: And thoſe hundred and fifty Biſhops were moved with the ſame Conſideration to grant equal Privileges to the Epiſcopal Throne of *New Rome*; judging it but reaſonable, that the City which was honoured with the Royal Seat of the Empire and Senate, and enjoyed the ſame Privileges with *Old Rome*, in all Matters of a Civil Nature, ſhould alſo be advanced to the ſame Dignity in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and be accounted the ſecond in Order after her. Accordingly they determined now, that the three whole Dioceſes of *Aſia*, *Pontus* and *Thrace* ſhould be ſettled under the Juriſdiction of this new Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. Which plainly ſhews, they had a particular regard to the Model of the State in ſettling the Bounds and Limits of Juriſdiction in the Church. The Council of *Antioch* aſſigns this for the Reaſon of paying Deference to Metropolitan Biſhops in general, becauſe they were placed in the Metropolis of the Province [*c*] whither the Men that had Buſineſs or Controverſies, had recourſe. And therefore if any Diſpute happened, as ſometimes there did, between two Biſhops in the

[*a*] Concil. Conſtant. c. 3. Τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ρώμην. [*b*] Conc. Chalced. c. 28. [*c*] Conc. Antioch. c. 9.

ſame

ſame Province about Metropolitical Power, each laying a Claim to it: the way to end this Controverſy was to enquire, which of their Sees was the true Metropolis in the State? and adjudge the ſame to have the true legal Right and Privilege in the Church. By this Rule the Council of *Turin* [d] determined the Controverſy about Preſidency betwixt the two Churches of *Arles* and *Vienna*, decreeing, That that Biſhop ſhould be the Primate, who could prove his City to be the Metropolis of the Province. It ſometimes happened, that an ambitious Spirit would petition the Emperor to grant him the Honour and Power of a Metropolitan in the Church, when yet the Province to which he belonged had but one Metropolis in the State: Which was ſo contrary to the foreſaid Rule of the Church, that the great Council of *Chalcedon* [e] made it Depoſition for any Biſhop to attempt it. But on the other hand, if the Emperor thought fit to divide a Province into two, and erect a new Metropolis in the ſecond Part; then the Church many times allowed the Biſhop of the new Metropolis to become a Metropolitan in the Church alſo. By this means *Tyana* in *Cappadocia* came to be a Metropolitical See, as well as *Cæſarea*, becauſe the Province was divided into two by Imperial Edict. And the like happened upon the Diviſion of many other Provinces, *Galatia*, *Pamphylia*, &c. As may be ſeen in the *Notitia* of the Church, which follows in the End of this Book. The Canons of the Church were made to favour this Practice in the Erection of new Biſhopricks alſo. For the Council of *Chalcedon* [f] has another Canon which ſays, That if the Imperial Power made any Innovation in the Precincts or Pariſhes belonging to any City, then the State of the Church-precincts might be alter'd in conformity to the Alterations that were made in the Political and Civil State. Which Canon is repeated and confirmed in the Council [g] of *Trullo*. So that if any Place was advanced to the Privilege of a City, and governed by a civil Magiſtracy of its own, which was not ſo before, it might then alſo be freed from the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of its former Biſhop, and be governed by one of its own. Thus when *Maiuma* in *Paleſtine*, a Dependant on *Gaza*, was advanced by *Conſtantine* to the Privilege of a City, and governed by a Magiſtracy of its own; that was preſently followed with the Erection of a new Biſhop's See, which continued ever after, notwithſtanding that *Julian* in ſpite to Chriſtianity disfranchized the City, and annexed it to *Gaza* again. *Sozomen* is our Author for this, and he adds farther [h], that in his Time the Biſhop of *Gaza*, upon a Vacancy of *Maiuma*, laying Claim to it as only an Appendage of his own City; and pleading, that one City ought not to have two Biſhops; the Cauſe came to an hearing before a Provincial Synod, which determined in favour of the *Maiumitans*, and ordained them another Biſhop. For they thought it not proper, that they who for their Piety had obtained the Privilege of being made a City, and were only deprived of their Right by the Envy of a Pagan Prince, ſhould loſe their other Rights, which concerned the Prieſthood and the Church. So it always continued an Epiſcopal See, and has its Place among the reſt in the *Notitia* of the Church. The like may be obſerved of *Emmaus*, which at firſt was but a Village belonging to the Dioceſe and City of *Jeruſalem*. But being afterward rebuilt by the *Romans*, and called *Nicopolis*, from their great Victories over the *Jews*, it became a City and a Biſhop's See, under which Character the Reader may alſo find it in the *Notitia* of the Church. Theſe are evident Proofs, that in ſettling the Limits of Dioceſes and other Diſtricts, and modelling the external Polity of the Church, a great regard was had to the Rules of the State, and many Things ordered in conformity to the Meaſure obſerved in the *Roman* Empire.

SECT. VIII. *Yet the Church not tyed preciſely to obſerve this Model, but uſed her Liberty in varying from it.*

YET theſe being Matters only of Conveniency and outward Order, the Church did not tye herſelf abſolutely to follow that Model, but only ſo far as ſhe judged it expedient and conducive to the Ends of her own Spiritual Government and Diſcipline. And therefore ſhe did not imitate the State-model in all things: She never had one Univerſal Biſhop in Imitation of an Univerſal Emperor; nor an Eaſtern and a Weſtern Pontificate, in Imitation of an Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire; nor four grand Spiritual Adminiſtrators, anſwering to the four great Miniſters of State, the *Præfecti-Prætorio* in the civil Government; not to mention any other Forms or Miniſters of State-affairs, Multitudes of which may be ſeen in the *Notitia* of the Empire. Nay in thoſe things wherein ſhe followed the civil Form, her Liberty ſeems to have been preſerved both by the Laws of Church and State; and nothing of this nature was forced upon her, but as ſhe thought fit to order it in her own Wiſdom and Diſcretion. This may be collected from one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels, where having divided the two *Armenias* into four Provinces, he adds [i] That as to what concerned the State of the Church, his Intent was to leave every thing in its ancient Form, and make no Alterations in the Rights of the old

[d] Concil. Taurin. c. 1. Illud inter Epiſcopos urbium Arelatenſis & Viennenſis, qui de Primatus apud nos honore certabant, à Sancta Synodo definitum eſt, ut qui ex eis comprobaverit ſuam Civitatem eſſe Metropolim, is totius Provinciæ honorem Primatus obtineat, & ipſe juxta præceptum Canonum, Ordinationum habeat poteſtatem. [e] Concil. Chalced. c. 12. [f] Concil. Chalced. c. 17. εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθέτω. [g] Concil. Trul. c. 38. *which inſtead of* παροικιῶν, *reads,* πραγμάτων [h] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3. [i] Juſtin. Novel. 31. Quæ vero ad ſacerdotia ſpectant, ea volumus in priſtina manere Forma, ut neque circa Jus Metropoliticum, neque circa Ordinationes quicquam innovetur. Vid. 28. c. 2.

Metro-

Metropolitans, or their Power of ordaining their Suffragans, *&c.* And this appears farther from the Anſwer of Pope *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, or one under his Name, given to *Alexander* of *Antioch*, who had put the Queſtion [*k*] Whether upon the Diviſion of a Province, and the Erection of two civil Metropolis in it by a Royal Decree, there ought alſo to be two Metropolitan Biſhops in the Church: To this he anſwers, That there was no Reaſon the Church ſhould undergo Alterations upon every neceſſary Change that was made in the civil State, or have her Honours and Dignitaries multiply'd or divided according to what the Emperor thought fit to do in his own Affairs. This ſhews, that the Church was at Liberty in this matter, to follow the Model and Diviſions of the civil State or not, as ſhe judged moſt expedient for her ſelf: And when any Alterations of this nature were made, they were generally done by the Direction or Conſent of a Provincial or General Council, or the tacit Conſent and Approbation of the Church.

SECT. IX. *An Account of the* Eccleſiæ Suburbicariæ *in the Diſtrict of the* Roman *Church.*

WHILST we are upon this Head relating to the antient Diviſion of the Church, it comes properly to be enquired, What the Primitive Writers mean by the Term *Eccleſiæ Suburbicariæ*, Suburbicary Churches, in the Diſtrict of the *Roman* Church. *Ruffinus* in his Tranſlation and Abſtract of the *Nicene* Canons, gives us the ſixth of them in theſe Words [*l*]: "The ancient "Cuſtom of *Alexandria* and *Rome* ſhall ſtill be "obſerved, that the one ſhall have the Care or "Government of the *Egyptian*, and the other "of the Suburbicary Churches." A great many Queſtions have been rais'd by Learned Men in the laſt Age concerning this, which I ſhall not clog this Diſcourſe with, but only reſolve two Queſtions, which are moſt material for the Reader to know. 1. What was the Extent of this Diſtrict? 2. Whether it was the Limits of his Metropolitical or Patriarchal Power? To know what was the Extent of this Diſtrict, we cannot take a ſurer way, than to conſider what is meant by the Suburbicary Regions in other Places. For this is a Term that often occurs in the *Theodoſian Code* [*m*], where *Gothofred* [*n*] and our learned Dr. *Cave* [*o*] and many others take it to ſignify the Diſtrict of the *Præfectus Urbis*, or Juriſdiction of the Provoſt of *Rome*, which was a Circuit of about an hundred Miles next to *Rome*; as is evident from the ancient Law, which ſays, his Government extended not only to *Rome*, but to an hundred Miles [*p*] round it, where the Limits of his Juriſdiction ceaſed. Which is noted alſo by *Caſſidore* [*q*], and *Dio* [*r*], who inſtead of *Centeſimus Lapis*, uſes the phraſe of Seven hundred and fifty *Stadia*, or Furlongs, which is not much ſhort of the legal Computation. Others reckon the *Regiones Suburbicariæ* to be the ſame ten Provinces of the *Italick* Dioceſe which were under the *Vicarius Urbicus*, who with the other *Vicarius* of *Italy* divided the *Italick* Dioceſe between them: So that the *Roman Vicarius* had ſeven Provinces in *Italy* (mentioned before in the *Notitia*) and the three Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, under his Juriſdiction; which they reckon the Suburbicary Provinces of *Rome*. So our learned Mr. *Brerewood* [*s*], and *Sirmond* [*t*] and *Du Pin*, and ſome others, who extend the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome* to all thoſe ten Provinces under the Inſpection of the *Vicarius Urbis*. Either of theſe Opinions may be admitted, as having at leaſt their Arguments of Probability to defend them: Whereas they who confine the Suburbicary Churches to a ſingle Dioceſe, or extend them ſo far as to include all the Provinces of the Weſtern Empire, run into contrary Extreams, for which there is no Ground either in the *Nicene* Canon itſelf, or any other Part of the Hiſtory of the Church in that Age. For it is evident the Canon ſpeaks of the Power of the three great Biſhops, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, as extending farther than a ſingle Dioceſe: But that the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* in thoſe Days extended over the whole Weſtern Empire, is not once ſo much as hinted in the *Nicene* Canon, but is contrary to all the common Senſes of Suburbicary Churches, and refuted by the known Diſtinction between *Italick* and *Roman* Churches or Provinces, and the conſtant Oppoſition that was made by the *African* Churches, and thoſe of *Britain*, *Milan* and others, to the leaſt Pretence of Patriarchal Power over them. From which it is rational to conclude, that the Notion of Suburbicary Churches ought not to be extended beyond the Limits either of the *Præfectus Urbis*, which was an hundred Miles about *Rome*; and, as Dr. *Cave* and ſome others think, was alſo the Limits of the Pope's Metropolitical Power: Or at moſt not beyond the Limits of thoſe ten Provinces, which were immediately ſubjected to the civil Diſpoſition and Juriſdiction of the *Vicarius Urbis*, viz. 1 *Campania*. 2 *Tuſcia* and *Umbria*. 3 *Picenum Suburbicarium*. 4 *Valeria*. 5 *Samnium*. 6 *Apulia* and *Calabria*. 7 *Lucania* and *Brutii*. 8 *Si-*

[*k*] Innocent. Ep. 18. ad Alex. Antioch. Quod ſciſcitaris, utrum diviſis Imperiali Judicio Provinciis, ut duæ Metropoles fiant, ſic duo Metropolitani Epiſcopi debeant nominari: Non viſum eſt ad mobilitatem neceſſitatum mundanarum Dei Eccleſiam commutari, honoreſque aut diviſiones perpeti, quas pro ſuis cauſis faciendas duxerit Imperator. [*l*] Ruffin. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 6. Ut apud Alexandriam, & in Urbe Roma, vetuſta Conſuetudo ſervetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic Suburbicariarum Eccleſiarum ſollicitudinem gerat. [*m*] Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 1. de Annona. leg. 9. Vid. plura apud Gothofred. in locum. [*n*] Gothofred. in Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 1. de Annona. leg. 9. [*o*] Cave *Anc. Church Gov.* c. 3. p. 115. [*p*] Digeſt. lib. 1. tit. 12. leg. 1. Si quid intra Centeſimum Milliarium admiſſum ſit, ad Præfectum Urbi pertinet, &c. [*q*] Caſſiodor. Form. lib. 5. p. 207. [*r*] Dio lib. 52. p. 548. [*s*] Brerewood *of Patriarch. Gov.* Q. 1. p. 99. [*t*] Sirmond. Cenſur. Conjectur. lib. 1. c. 4.

cilia.

cilia. 9 *Sardinia.* 10 *Corſica.* Which Dr. *Cave* [*u*] ſuppoſes to have been the exact and proper Limits of the Pope's Patriarchal Power, as he thinks the other were the Bounds of his Metropolitical Juriſdiction.

SECT. X. *This moſt probably the true ancient Limits of the Biſhop of* Rome's *both Metropolitical and Patriarchal Juriſdiction.*

BUT it matters not much, I think, whether we call this Diſtrict of theſe ten Provinces the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Metropolitical or Patriarchal Dioceſes or Provinces. For after all the Diſputes that have been raiſed about this Matter, theſe ſeem to have been in a great meaſure the true ancient Limits both of his Metropolitical and Patriarchal Power. Many, I know, will take this for a Paradox: But I have ſhewed it to be true [*] in the caſe of the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the Bounds of whoſe Juriſdiction were the ſame, *viz.* the Six Provinces of the *Egyptian* Dioceſe, both when he was a Metropolitan and Patriarch: And why then might not the Caſe be the ſame with the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe Privileges are preſcribed as a Model for the Biſhop of *Alexandria* by the Council of *Nice*, whoſe Words [*x*] are theſe: Let ancient Cuſtoms prevail; In *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*, let the Biſhop of *Alexandria* have Authority over all, becauſe the ſame is cuſtomary with the Biſhop of *Rome:* In like manner at *Antioch*, and in other Provinces, let the Privileges be ſecured to the Churches. Some think the Biſhop of *Rome* was only a Metropolitan, when this Canon was made, as *Launoy*, Biſhop *Beveridge*, Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Cave*; according to whoſe Sentiments it muſt follow, that the Suburbicary Churches were the Diſtrict or Subject of his Metropolitical Power. Mr. *Brerewood* [*y*] and *Spalatenſis* after St. *Jerom* think he was properly a Patriarch; And I have ſhewed elſewhere [†] that there are ſome Reaſons to countenance their Opinion: But then the Limits of his Patriarchal Power were ſtill the ſame (according as was at *Alexandria*) and the ten Provinces of the *Roman* Dioceſe were the legal Bounds of his Juriſdiction. And ſo *Du Pin* [*z*] amongſt the *Romaniſts* makes no ſcruple ingenuouſly to confeſs; exempting *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, *Britain*, *Africa*, *Illyricum*, and Seven of the *Italick* Provinces from any Subjection to the Juriſdiction of the *Roman* Patriarch in thoſe firſt and Primitive Ages.

SECT. XI. *Some evident Proofs of this.*

THIS is contrary to the general Stream and Current of the *Romiſh* Writers, one of which is ſo angry with *Du Pin* upon this Account, that he treats him with all the Scorn and Bitterneſs imaginable for making ſuch a bold Conceſſion, and endeavours to anſwer [*a*] both what he and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* had advanced againſt the Pope's Pretence to Patriarchal Power over the whole Weſtern Empire: But with what Succeſs, the Reader may eaſily judge from theſe few Inſtances, which are evident Proofs of the Senſe that has been given of the Extent and Limits of the Pope's Patriarchal Juriſdiction. 1. *Ruffinus*, who was an *Italian*, and Presbyter of *Aquilea*, and therefore could not be ignorant of the Bounds of the Pope's Patriarchal Power, in interpreting the ſixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, confines his Juriſdiction to the [*b*] Suburbicary Provinces; and other ancient Verſions publiſhed by *Sirmondus* and *Juſtellus*, agree with his Interpretation. 2. The other Seven Provinces of *Italy*, which properly conſtituted the *Italick* Dioceſe as diſtinct from the *Roman* Provinces, with *Milan* their Metropolis at the Head of them, were not anciently ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*. For *Milan* is frequently ſtyled the Metropolis of *Italy* by *Athanaſius* [*c*] and *Theodoret* [*d*], taking *Italy* in its ſtrict and peculiar Notion, as diſtinct from the Provinces ſubject to *Rome*. The Biſhop of *Milan* was never ordained by the Biſhop of *Rome* (which yet he muſt have been, had he been ſubject to his Patriarchal Power) but by the Biſhop of *Aquileia*, as the Biſhop of *Aquileia* and other Places were ordained by *Milan*, which is evident from the Epiſtle of Pope *Pelagius* [*e*], and *De Marca* [*f*] does not pretend to deny it. The like has been obſerved by learned Men concerning *Ravenna*, and other Places in *Italy*, which frequently conteſted the Point of Superiority and Subjection with the Biſhops of *Rome*, of which Dr. *Cave* [*g*] gives the Reader a particular Hiſtorical Account for many Ages ſucceſſively, too long to be here inſerted. 3. For the *African* Provinces (which are pretended to be part of the Pope's Patriarchal Dominions) they had always an Exarch or Patriarch of their own, the Primate of *Carthage*, who was Abſolute and Independent [*h*] of any other, as *Juſtinian* declares in one of his Novels. And it is plain, the *African* Councils always thought ſo: For as they never ſent to *Rome* for Ordinations, ſo they prohibited all Appeals thither upon any Account whatſoever. Which is evident beyond all Contradiction from the Council of *Milevis* [*i*], which orders every *African* Clerk, that appeals from the Sentence of his own Biſhop, or a Synod of Select Judges, to appeal to none but *African* Synods, or the Primates of the Provinces. And if any preſumed to appeal beyond Seas,

[*u*] Cave *Anc. Church Gov.* c. 5. p. 256. [*] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 17. *Sect.* 11. [*x*] Conc. Nic. c. 6. [*y*] Brerewood *of* Patriarchal Power, ☞. 1. [†] *Book* 2. *Chap.* 17. *Sect.* 8. [*z*] Du Pin de Diſciplin. Eccleſ. Diſſert. 1. n. 14. p. 92. [*a*] Schelſtrate's *Diſſertation of Metropolitical and Patriarchal Power againſt* Stillingfleet. Lond. 1688. [*b*] Ruffin. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 6. *See before Sect.* 9. [*c* Athanaſ. Ep. ad ſolitar. tom. 1. p. 831. [*d*] Theod. lib. 2. c. 15. [*e*] Pelag. Ep. 17. Conc. tom. 5. p. 805. [*f*] Marca de Concord. Sacerdot. lib. 6. c. 4. n. 7, 8. [*g*] Cave Anc. Church Gov. c. 5. [*h*] Juſtin. Novel. 131. c. 4. [*i*] Conc. Milevit. c. 22. Quod ſi & ab eis appellandum putaverint, non provocent niſi ad Africana Conſilia, vel ad Primates Provinciarum ſuarum. Ad Tranſmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, à nullo intra Africam in Communione ſuſcipiatur.

meaning

meaning to *Rome*, he ſhould be excluded from all Communion in the *African* Churches. This Decree was farther confirmed by ſeveral Acts of their General Synods, made upon the famous Caſe and Appeal of *Apiarius* an *African* Presbyter, whom *Zoſimus* Biſhop of *Rome* pretended to reſtore to Communion, after he had been depoſed by an *African* Council. *Zoſimus* alledged for himſelf a pretended Decree of the Council of *Nice*, giving him authority to receive Appeals: But this the *African* Fathers proved to be a Forgery, by ſending for Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Decrees from *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, where no ſuch thing appeared. Upon this the *African* Fathers write a very ſharp Letter to Pope *Celeſtine*; (for *Zoſimus* and *Boniface* his Succeſſor were both dead whilſt this Controverſy was depending:) Where among other things they deſire him, that he would not for the future give Ear to any that came from *Africk*, nor admit thoſe to Communion, whom they had excommunicated, which he might eaſily perceive to be prohibited by the Council of *Nice*, according to whoſe Decrees both the inferior Clergy, and the Biſhops themſelves were committed to the Judgment of their own Metropolitans: For the *Nicene* Fathers very juſtly and wiſely conceive, that all Controverſies ought to be ended in the Places where they aroſe. And it was very unreaſonable in itſelf to think, that God ſhould enable a ſingle Perſon to examine the Juſtice of a Cauſe, and deny his Grace to a vaſt Number of Perſons aſſembled in Council. Therefore upon the whole Matter they deſire him henceforth to forbear ſending any of his Clerks into *Africk*, to execute his Sentence there, leſt they ſhould ſeem to introduce the ſmoaky Pride of the World into the Church of Chriſt. With abundance more to the ſame purpoſe, which the Reader may find at large inſerted [*k*] among the Canons of the *African Code*. From which it is as plain as the Sun at Noonday, that in the Time of St. *Auſtin* the Pope could lay no juſt Claim to Patriarchal Power over any of the *African* Churches. 4. *Baluzius* has farther demonſtrated for the *Gallican* Churches (in his excellent Preface to *Antonius Auguſtinus*'s Book *De Emendatione Gratiani*) that for eight hundred Years the *French* Synods never allowed of any Appeals from their own Determinations to the Pope. They always ordained their own Metropolitans, as is evident from the ſecond Synod of *Orleance* [*l*] *an* 533; and many times ſtoutly reſiſted the Encroachments of the Popes: for which I refer the Reader to the foreſaid *Baluzius* and Dr. *Cave* [*m*], the Particulars being too long to be inſerted here. 5. Laſtly, for the *Britannick* Churches, it is evident, that for ſix hundred Years they never acknowledged any Dependance upon *Rome*. When *Auſtin* the Monk came into *England*, and pleaded with the *Britiſh* Biſhops (Seven in number) for Subjection to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and Conformity to the *Roman* Rites in the Obſervation of *Eaſter*, and ſome other Things: He was anſwered poſitively [*n*] That they owed no Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*, but were under the Government of the Biſhop of *Caerleon* upon *Uske*, who was their Overſeer under God. And for the buſineſs of the Paſchal Controverſy, they were ſo far from paying any Deference to the *Roman* Cuſtom, that they continued their ancient Practice of obſerving *Eaſter* on a different *Sunday* from *Rome* for ſome Ages after, notwithſtanding all the Arguments that the Pope or his Party could urge againſt them: For which Reaſons they were treated as Schiſmaticks by the Agents and Emiſſaries of *Rome*: Which is an evident Demonſtration, that they did not then acknowledge any thing of the Pope's Patriarchal Power over them. All this is clear from *Bede* [*o*], who repeats it in ſeveral places. And *William* of *Malmsbury* [*p*], and *Stephen Heddius* [*q*], and *Eadmerus* [*r*], and other Writers of the Life of *Wilfrid* Archbiſhop of *York*, (a great Zealot for the *Romiſh* Cauſe againſt the *Britiſh* Cuſtoms) tell us the very ſame Story. For they ſay, *Wilfrid* refuſed to receive Ordination from the *Scottiſh* or *Britiſh* Biſhops, or from any ordained by them, becauſe the Apoſtolical See had rejected their Communion. So that, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* has obſerved [*s*] out of theſe Authors, it is plain, the *Britiſh* and *Scottiſh* Churches ſtood Excommunicate at that time by the Church of *Rome*, becauſe they would not ſubmit to her Rites and Cuſtoms about *Eaſter*, and her pretended Power over them. A great deal more has been alledged by our learned Antiquaries Mr. *Brerewood* [*t*], Mr. *Watſon* [*u*], Dr. *Cave* [*w*], and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [*x*], to ſhew the ancient Liberty and Independency of the *Britannick* Churches, which I ſhall not here repeat, but only conſider an Exception or two, which are made by *Schelſtrate* in his Diſſertation concerning the Patriarchal Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, in Anſwer to Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Antiquities of the *Britiſh* Church.

SECT. XII. *The contrary Exceptions of* Schelſtrate, *relating to the* Britannick *Church, conſidered.*

HE ſays [*y*] the Manuſcript ſet out by Sir *H. Spelman*, containing the Anſwer of *Dinothus* to *Auſtin*, is ſpurious and forged: For the Style manifeſtly diſcovers it to be Modern. Which is a weighty Argument indeed from a Perſon, who was ſo competent a Judge of the *Britiſh* Style, in which that Manuſcript was written, that he profeſſes he did not underſtand even the *Engliſh*

[*k*] Cod. Can. Afric. a cap. 135. ad cap. 138. [*l*] Conc. Aurel. 2. c. 7. [*m*] Cave Anc. Church Gov. c. 5. p. 220. [*n*] Spelman. Concil. Britan. an. 601. tom. 1. p. 108. [*o*] Bede Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 2. & 19. lib. 3. c. 25. lib. 5. c. 16, & 22. [*p*] Malmsbur. de Geſtis Pontific. Anglor. lib. 3. [*q*] Steph. Heddius Vit. Wilfrid. c. 12. [*r*] Eadmer. Vit. Wilfrid. [*s*] *Stillingfleet's* Anſwer to *Creſſy*, p. 300. [*t*] *Brerewood* of Patriarch. Gov. Q. 3. [*u*] Watſon De Eccleſ. Britan. Antiqua Libertate. Theſ 2. [*w*] Cave Anc. Church Gov. c. 5. p. 244. [*x*] Stilling. Origin. Britan. c. 5. [*y*] Schelſtrat. Diſſert. c 6. p. 130.

Tongue without the help of an Interpreter. And how then ſhould he be able to judge of a *Britiſh* Writing by its Style, without knowing a Syllable of its Language? But, he adds, the Matter of it alſo diſcovers it to be a Forgery: For it is manifeſt there was no Archbiſhop of *Caerleon* upon *Uſk* at that time, as the Writing pretends; but that the Metropolitan Juriſdiction had for above a hundred Years before been tranſferred to *Menevia*. As if it was not as manifeſt to all the World, that the Archbiſhop of *Menevia* or St. *David*'s might retain the Title of *Caerleon*, though the See was removed, becauſe *Caerleon* was the original Seat; as well as the Biſhop of the Iſle *Man* now retains the Title of *Epiſcopus Sodorenſis*, becauſe *Sodora* and all the *Hebrides*, or Iſlands on the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, were once part of his Dioceſe, though now for many Ages they have been ſeparated from it. Or to give an inſtance nearer *Rome*, we are told by Geographers [*z*], that *Oſtia* and *Porto* ſtill give title to two Biſhops, one whereof is always a Senior Cardinal, and the other Dean of the College of *Cardinals*, though both places are now in ſuch Ruins, that there is ſcarce an Inhabitant in either. We ſhall ſee hereafter in the 5th Chapter of this Book, that many times three or four antient *Italian* Biſhopricks were united into one, as *Holſtenius* [*a*] has obſerved of *Tarquina*, *Cornetum* and *Graviſca*; in which caſe no Abſurdity is committed, which ever of the Titles the Biſhop of the united Dioceſe was called by. Why then muſt it be an Objection againſt the Validity of this Teſtimony, that it calls the Biſhop of *Menevia* by the Title of *Caerleon*, when that was the original Title? But 2dly, he ſays, It appears from *Bede*, that the Queſtion was not concerning the Primacy of the *Roman* Biſhop, but about *Auſtin*'s Metropolitical Juriſdiction over them. But how then came the *Britiſh* Biſhops to be reckoned Schiſmaticks, if the Pope's Authority was no ways concern'd in the diſpute? Would they be Schiſmaticks for rejecting *Auſtin*'s Metropolitical Juriſdiction, had he unwarrantably uſurped that power of his own head, and without a legal Commiſſion from ſome ſuperior obtruded himſelf upon them? It is plain therefore the one was included in the other, and the rejecting *Auſtin* was rejecting the Power that ſent him. But they alſo conteſted the Pope's Supremacy in another reſpect, refuſing to comply with the *Romiſh* Rites and Uſages in the obſervation of *Eaſter*, the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, St. *Peter*'s Tonſure, and ſome other Cuſtoms; which was an argument, that as they had no dependence upon the Church of *Rome* heretofore, nor much Communication with her, but rather with the *Eaſtern* Churches; ſo now they intended not to ſubmit to her Dictates, but to follow their own antient Cuſtoms as a free Church, and independent of her. Can any one ſuppoſe, that had the *Britiſh* Biſhops looked upon the Pope as inveſted with a legal Supremacy over them they would have ſcrupled complying with Directions in ſuch Matters, as the Obſervation of *Eaſter* and the like, when ſuch things were but the ſmalleſt part of Patriarchal Juriſdiction? Even our Author himſelf, when he comes to conſider the Matter a little farther, is not ſo hardy as to ſtand by his own Aſſertion, but comes to call them Names at laſt with *Baronius* and others of his own Party, telling us [*b*] that after the *Saxons* had broken in upon them, they deſerted the Doctrines and Rites of the Catholick Church, and receded as Schiſmaticks from the Center of Eccleſiaſtical Communion: And that it ought to be concluded, that God was willing to ſhew the Falſhood of the Schiſmatical Church of *Britain*, by the Miracle which he wrought upon *Auſtin*'s Interceſſion. This is home to our point, and gives up the Cauſe in queſtion, which is, Whether the *Britiſh* Church owned the Pope's Supremacy at the coming of *Auſtin* hither: Which our Author, after ſome ſmall Bickerings with his learned Adverſary, is forced to deny, and join Iſſue with him, and then betakes himſelf to their laſt and common Refuge, ill Names and Miracles, which being no Arguments in this caſe, I ſhall not ſtand to give them any Anſwer; but only enquire into one thing more, how it appears that the *Britains* had deſerted any antient Doctrine relating to the Pope's Patriarchal Power, upon the coming of the *Saxons*? To evidence this, our Author muſt give us very plain Proofs, that before that time the *Britiſh* Church always owned the Biſhop of *Rome*'s patriarchal Juriſdiction over them. And this indeed is the pretended Deſign of his whole Diſſertation: But his Proofs amount to no more than a few ſlight Conjectures, by which he would be thought to have demonſtrated theſe four things. 1. That St. *Peter* was the Founder of the *Britiſh* Church [*c*], which any one that reads Biſhop *Uſher de Primordiis* [*d*], will as readily attribute to St. *Paul* or twenty others: So little reaſon is there for grounding the Pope's Patriarchal Power upon the firſt Converſion of the *Britiſh* Church. 2. He argues from antient Tradition, that Patriarchal Power is an Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and that thereby [*e*] the *Britiſh* Church was made ſubject to the *Roman*, whoever was the firſt Converter of it. But this Tradition is involv'd in greater Obſcurity, and proceeds upon more precarious Proofs than the former. 3. He ſays, The *Britiſh* Biſhops in the Council of *Arles* own'd the Pope's [*f*] Patriarchal Power over them, and all the *Weſtern* World. 4. And laſtly, That this Power, in this full Extent and Latitude, is both acknowledged and confirmed [*g*] by the ſixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*. How far the Council of *Nice* allowed or confirmed this Power, has been already ſhew'd in diſcourſing of the Suburbicary Churches. So that the only thing remain-

[*z*] Ferrar. Lexicon. Geogr. voce, Oſtia, & Portus Auguſti. [*a*] Holſten. Annot. in Geograph. Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 8. [*b*] Schelſtrat. Diſſert. c. 6. p. 106. [*c*] Schelſtrat. Diſſert. c. 1, & 2. [*d*] Uſſer. de Antiquit. Eccleſ. Brit. c. 1. [*e*] Schelſtrat. Diſſert. c. 3. [*f*] Ibid. c. 4. [*g*] Schelſtrat. Diſſert. c. 5.

ing is to examine what weight there is in his Argument from the Council of *Arles*. This Council was ſummon'd by *Conſtantine*, and not by the Pope, againſt the *Donatiſts*, *An.* 314. Here were preſent three *Britiſh* Biſhops, *Eborius* from *York*, *Reſtitutus* from *London*, and *Adelphius* from *Lincoln*, (*Colonia Lindi*) as I ſhall ſhew hereafter it probably ought to be read. Now in their Synodical Epiſtle to Pope *Sylveſter* there is a Paſſage (but by all acknowledged to be a very corrupt one) which ſpeaks ſomething of his holding the greater [*b*] Dioceſes. Which our Author interprets to mean his having a Patriarchal Power over all the great Dioceſes of the *Weſtern* Empire, *Macedonia*, *Dacia*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, *France* and *Britain*. But one queſtion may be here asked, which will ſpoil all this flouriſh of a Comment. Did the *African* Fathers, many of which were preſent at this Council, ſo underſtand the Words, Greater Dioceſes? If they did, How came it to paſs, that within an Age after they ſo ſtifly oppoſed three Popes ſucceſſively, and vindicated their own Liberties in this very point (as we have ſeen before [*] they did) denying them abſolutely all Power of receiving Appeals from any of the *African* Churches? Had St. *Auſtin* and all the reſt of them forgot what their Forefathers had ſo lately ſubſcribed at *Arles*, that *Africa* was one of the Pope's larger Dioceſes? Or had they been harraſſed out of their Senſes, like the poor *Britains*, by ſome *Saxon* Invaſion, and were now run into Schiſm, as the other are reproachfully and falſly ſaid to have done? Nothing of all this can be pretended in the preſent caſe: And therefore that is Demonſtration to me, that neither the *African* Fathers, nor the *Britains*, nor any others then preſent in Council, took the Words Greater Dioceſes, in the Senſe which this Author puts upon them. So that whatever Meaning they muſt have, it is plain this cannot be their Meaning: And then all the Argument, which our Author has built upon this Suppoſition, in order to ſubject the *Britains* to the Pope, at once falls to the Ground. I will not now ſtand diſputing with him, whether the Word Dioceſe, was never about this time taken in any Author for one of the great Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire. He ſays *Conſtantine* [*i*] ſo uſes it in one place, ſpeaking of the *Aſiatick* and *Pontick* Dioceſes: And if that will do him any Service, I can help him to another; for *Conſtantine* alſo ſpeaks of a Civil Officer, called Καθολικὸς διοικήσεως, or *Rationalis* of the Dioceſe [*k*], where I agree with *Valeſius*, we are to underſtand one of the great Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire. Nay I have ſaid before, that I think there were Patriarchs too in the Church at that time, and that they had the great Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire divided among them. But does it hence follow, that becauſe the word Dioceſe, is ſome times ſo uſed, that therefore it muſt needs ſignify ſo in this Place, when there is plain Demonſtration to the contrary? All the World knows that about the ſame time the Name Dioceſe was given to ſingle Epiſcopal Churches alſo, and they too were called greater Dioceſes in oppoſition to the *Tituli* or Pariſhes, which were *quaſi Diœceſes*, the leſſer Dioceſes under them, as the Pontifical words it [*l*] in the Life of Pope *Marcellus*, who was one of *Sylveſter*'s Predeceſſors. So that *Sylveſter*'s holding greater Dioceſes, may mean no more than his being a Metropolitan, or having ſeveral Epiſcopal Dioceſes under his Juriſdiction, to whom he was to ſignify according to Cuſtom the Time of keeping *Eaſter*, and other things decreed in the Council. Or if we ſuppoſe him to have been a Patriarch at that time, then his greater Dioceſes may ſignify thoſe ten Suburbicary Provinces, which were the antient Bounds of his Patriarchal Juriſdiction. But whatever meaning they have, it is certain they cannot be underſtood in our Author's Senſe, of the great Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire: Becauſe it were abſurd to think, that *Africa* ſhould acknowledge it ſelf to be one of the Pope's Dioceſes, which never was reckoned among the Suburbicary Provinces, and what is more always reſolutely oppoſed the Pope's Pretences to the leaſt ſhadow of power over it, claiming an abſolute and independent power within it ſelf in all Matters of Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance and Juriſdiction. And the caſe of the *Britannick* Church being the ſame with that of *Africk*, it follows, that it was as independent of *Rome* as the other was, notwithſtanding any pretended Confeſſion of Subjection made by its Biſhops in the Council of *Arles*, upon which our Author lays the main Strength of his Cauſe, though there is nothing in it, when fairly canvaſſed and examined, as I doubt not I have made it appear to every unprejudiced Reader. I was the more willing to conſider here ſome of the chief Exceptions of this celebrated Writer againſt the Liberties of the *Britannick* Church, becauſe I know not whether any one elſe has made a Reply to them; and theſe Strictures will ſerve to ſuggeſt at once to the Reader the true Grounds upon which our antient Liberties were founded, and the contrary pretences, which would ſubject us to the power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the *Weſtern* Empire, though the *Britannick* Dioceſe had as juſt Title to be independent at that Time as *Rome* it ſelf, or *Africk*, or any other Dioceſe in the Empire. I make no farther Enquiry here into the Bounds of other Patriarchs or Metropolitans, or their Dioceſes, becauſe no ſuch momentous Diſputes have

[*b*] Conc. Arelat. 1. Epiſt. Synod. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 1426. Placuit etiam antequam a te, qui majores Diœceſes tenes, per te potiſſimum omnibus inſinuari. Schelſtrate *and* Perron *correct it thus*: Placuit etiam hæc juxta antiquam conſuetudinem a te, qui majores Diœceſes tenes, & per te potiſſimum omnibus inſinuari.

[*] *See Sect.* 11.

[*i*] Conſtant. Ep. ad omnes Eccleſias ap. Euſeb. de Vit. Conſ. Lib. 3. c. 9.

[*k*] Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 36.

[*l*] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Viginti quinque Titulos in Urbe Româ conſtituit, quaſi Diœceſes, &c.

been

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Episcopatuum Geographica Nova Descriptio.

been raiſed about them, and they may be eaſily learned from the *Notitia* of the Church here ſubjoyned in the latter part of this Book. Therefore I proceed in the next place to examine the ordinary Extent of the antient Epiſcopal Dioceſes, or as we now call them, Dioceſan Churches.

CHAP. II.

A more particular Account of the Number, Nature and Extent of Dioceſes, or Epiſcopal Churches, in Africa, Ægypt, *and other* Eaſtern *Provinces.*

SECT. I. *Dioceſes antiently called παροικίαι,* Parœciæ.

IT is evident from what has been diſcourſed in the laſt Chapter, that the moſt antient and Apoſtolical Diviſion of the Church was into Dioceſes, or Epiſcopal Churches; that is, ſuch Precincts or Diſtricts, as ſingle Biſhops govern'd with the Aſſiſtance of their Presbyters. But yet we are to make a little farther Enquiry into the nature and extent of theſe, becauſe great Errors have been committed by ſome late Writers about them. There are who pretend, that a Dioceſe for the three firſt Ages was never more than ſuch a number of People as could meet, and ordinarily did meet in a ſingle Congregation: Others extend the Limits of antient Dioceſes farther than this at firſt, to include a City and the whole Region about it: But then they reckon, that upon the general Converſion of Heathens to Chriſtianity, ſuch Dioceſes ought to have been divided into ſingle Congregations, and a new Biſhop and Clergy ſet over every one. There is no difference betwixt theſe two Opinions, ſave only this, that the one wholly miſtakes the Church's firſt and primitive Model, and the other quarrels with her Practice. But the truth of the matter was, that the Church in ſettling the Bounds of Dioceſes went by another Rule, not that of ſingle Aſſemblies or Congregations, but the rule of Government in every City, including not only the City it ſelf, but the Suburbs, or Region lying round about it within the Verge of its Juriſdiction. Which ſeems to be the plain reaſon of that great and viſible difference which we find in the extent of Dioceſes; ſome being very large, others very ſmall, according as the civil Government of each City happened to have a larger or leſſer Juriſdiction. There are two things indeed that commonly impoſe upon unwary Readers in this matter. One is, that the ancient name of an Epiſcopal Dioceſe for three hundred Years is commonly παροικία, which they miſtake for a Pariſh Church, or ſingle Congregation: Whereas, as learned Men [a] have rightly obſerved, it ſignified then not the Places or Habitations near a Church, but the Towns or Villages near a City, which together with the City was the Biſhop's παροικία, or as we now call it, his Dioceſe, the Bounds of his ordinary Care and Juriſdiction. That thus it was, appears evidently from this, that the largeſt Dioceſes, ſuch as thoſe of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, which had many particular Churches in them, were called by the ſame Name, as the Reader may find an hundred Paſſages in *Euſebius* [b], where he uſes the word παροικία, when he ſpeaks of thoſe large and populous Cities, which had many particular Churches in them. The City of *Alexandria* in the time of *Alexander* and *Athanaſius* was divided into ſeveral Diſtricts called *Laura*, in every one of which there was a Church, with a Preſbyter fix'd upon it: And yet all theſe were but one παροικία, as *Alexander* calls it in his *Circular Epiſtle* [c] againſt *Arius*. The Reader may ſee the Word ſo uſed by *Epiphanius* [d], St. *Jerom* [e], the Councils of *Antioch* [f], *Ancyra* [g], and many others in After-ages, when it is certain Epiſcopal Dioceſes were ſomething larger than Pariſh-Churches, as thoſe are taken to ſignify ſingle Congregations. So that nothing can be plainer than the uſe of the Word παροικία, for a Dioceſe, to the IVth Century.

SECT. II. *When the Name, Dioceſe, began firſt to be uſed.*

AND now about this time the name Dioceſe began to be uſed likewiſe. For the Council of *Arles*, which was held in the beginning of the IVth Century, writing to the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſays, that he did *Majores Diœceſes tenere* [h], poſſeſs greater Dioceſes; which though *Schelſtrate* and other *Romiſh* Writers interpret Patriarchal Dioceſes, to aggrandize the Pope's Juriſdiction; yet it is more probable, as Dr. *Cave* [i] obſerves, that it means only ſingle Biſhopricks; though I grant *Conſtantine* might have made the diviſion of the Empire into civil Dioceſes, from whence Patriarchal Dioceſes

[a] Brerewood *of Patriarch. Gov.* Q 1. p. 102. [b] Euſeb. lib. 1. c. 1. lib. 2. c. 24. [c] Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6. [d] Epiph. Ep. ad Joh. Hieroſol. Ad meæ Parochiæ videbantur Eccleſiam pertinere, &c. [e] Hieron. Ep. 53. ad Ripar. Miror Sanctum Epiſcopum, in cujus Parochia eſſe Presbyter dicitur Vigilantius, acquieſcere furori ejus, &c. [f] Concil. Antioch. c. 9. [g] Concil. Ancyr. c. 18. Auguſt. Epiſt. 261. Baſil. Ep. 264. [h] Concil. Tom. 1. p. 1429. [i] Cave's *Anc. Ch. Gov.* c. 3 p. 130.

took their name in the following Ages. The Word is uſed frequently for a ſingle Dioceſe in the *African* Councils, as where it is ſaid [*k*], A Biſhop ſhall not leave his principal Seat, and betake himſelf to any other Church in the Dioceſe: So likewiſe often in the *African Code*, and the Collation of *Carthage*. From which it appears, that the words *Parochia* and *Diœceſis* were of the ſame import in thoſe times, and the calling of a Dioceſe by the name of *Parochia*, does not make it a ſingle Congregation.

SECT. III. *What meant by the προάστεια, or Suburbs of a City.*

ANOTHER thing that impoſes upon Men in this matter is the Ambiguity of the names, προάστεια, and *Suburbia*, the Suburbs of a City; which in the modern acceptation ſignifies no more than the Houſes or Habitations next adjoyning without the walls of a City; but antiently it denoted all the Towns or Villages, which lay round the City in a certain Diſtrict, which were therefore reckoned as belonging to that City, though many times at ſeveral Miles diſtance from it. Thus *Canopus* was twelve Miles diſtant from *Alexandria*, and yet in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon* we find it called by one *Athanaſius* [*l*], the προάστειον, or Suburbs of that City. So *Sozomen* [*m*] calls *Daphne* the Suburbs of *Antioch*, though it was forty Furlongs or five Miles diſtance from it. And *Pancirol* [*n*] notes of the famous Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, called ἕβδομον, or *Septimum*, that it was ſo denominated from its being ſeven Miles off from the City at firſt, though afterward by the ſtrange Growth and Increaſe of that City it came to be reckon'd a more immediate part of it. So there was in the Suburbs of *Carthage*, a Place called *Decimum*, becauſe it was ten Miles diſtant from the City, as *Procopius* [*o*] informs us. And ſome think the *Ager Sexti*, in which *Cyprian* ſuffered Martyrdom, was ſo named from its being ſix Miles off from the City. For the *Roman* Martyrology puts *Sextum Milliare* inſtead of *Ager Sexti*. Now in all ſuch Suburbs as theſe there were particular Aſſemblies, diſtinct from thoſe of the City Churches; as appears from what *Euſebius* [*p*] obſerves out of the Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who ſays, when he was baniſhed to *Colluthion*, a place in the Region of *Mareotes*, that he ſhould ſtill hold particular Aſſemblies, as they were us'd to do in thoſe Suburbs that were ſomething more remote from the City. So that theſe antient Words, παροικία and προάστεια, when taken in their true, antient and primitive Senſe, do not make a Biſhop's Dioceſe to be only a ſingle Pariſh in the modern Senſe, but a City with all the Towns or Villages within the Region or Diſtrict, to which the City Magiſtrate extended his Juriſdiction. For that, *Juſtellus* [*q*] has ſhewed out of good Authors, is the difference between πόλις and Κώμη, a City and a Village: A City is a place that is govern'd by a Magiſtracy and Laws of its own, and exerciſes Authority over the Region or Territory that lies about it; but a Village is a dependent only on a City, and has no Magiſtrates of its own, but ſuch as belong to the City whereof it is a Dependent. According to which notion an Epiſcopal Church was generally a City and a whole Region, of the very ſame Extent with the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate, whoſe Bounds for the moſt part were the Bounds of the Biſhop's Dioceſe; though the Rule was not ſo univerſal, but that it admitted of ſome particular Exceptions. And from hence it will appear, that though there was great difference in the Extent of Dioceſes, as there was in City-Regions and Diſtricts, and many of them were but ſmall in compariſon of others; yet they were generally ſo large as to admit both of a Biſhop and a Presbytery in the City Church, and Presbyters and Deacons in the Country Regions.

SECT. IV. *Dioceſes not generally ſo large in Nations of the firſt Converſions, as in thoſe converted in the Middle Ages of the Church.*

TO clear this whole Matter (which is of great Uſe upon ſeveral Accounts towards underſtanding rightly the State of the antient Church) I will here make a particular Enquiry into the Extent both of the largeſt and narroweſt Dioceſes, and diſtinctly conſider the State of each. For though they differed much in Extent, yet they all agreed in the ſame Species of Government; the Eſſence of which conſiſted not in being confined preciſely to ſuch or ſuch Limits; for that was but accidental to the Conſtitution: The ſame Species of Government is ſtill preſerved in moſt Parts of the Church, and yet any one that will allow himſelf the Liberty of making juſt Obſervations, may eaſily diſcern a Difference between ſome of the firſt Converſions, and thoſe that followed in the middle Ages of the Church: For in the former, it is evident, Dioceſes were generally more numerous, and not ſo large as in the latter. The whole Extent of *Aſia Minor*, from the *Helleſpont* to the River *Euphrates*, is eſtimated by the beſt Geographers at 630 Miles; the Breadth from *Sinus Iſſicus* in *Cilicia* to *Trabezond* at 210: Yet there were almoſt 400 Dioceſes in this Tract of Land, as the Reader may ſatisfy himſelf from the *Notitia* of the Church at the End of this Book. But now if we look into any middle Age Converſions, we ſhall find the Number of Dioceſes very ſmall in compariſon of theſe, and their Extent very great. For in *Germany*, which is computed about twice as large as *Aſia Minor* (being 840 Miles in length, and 740 in breadth) there are but 40 Biſhopricks; in all *Belgium* but 18;

[*k*] Concil. Carthag. 5. c. 5. Nemini ſit facultas, relicta Principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Eccleſiam in Diœceſi conſtitutam ſe conferre. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 117, 118, 119, 123. [*l*] Concil. Chalced. Act. 3. Tom. 4. p. 408. [*m*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 19. [*n*] Pancirol. Com. in Notit. Imper. lib. 1. c. 72. [*o*] Procop. Vandalic lib. 2. [*p*] Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 11. ὡς ἐν προαστείοις πορροττέρω κειμένοις, κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί. [*q*] Juſtel. Not. in Cod. Canon. &c. Concil. Antioch. c. 9.

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in *Denmark* but 15; in *Swedeland* but 10; in *Ruſſia* 21; in *Poland* 30; as Dr. *Heylin* and other Geographers have computed them. And our Number in *England*, being alſo a later Converſion, bears no Proportion to thoſe of *Aſia Minor*, though the Iſle of *Great Britain* is not much inferior to it in Bigneſs. I leave the Curious and the Learned to enquire into the Reaſons of this Difference, while I go on to ſhew the different Extent of Dioceſes in the Primitive Church, where we ſhall meet with ſome very large, others very narrow, but the ſame Species of Epiſcopacy preſerved in all, and none confined abſolutely to a ſingle Congregation.

SECT. V. *A particular Account of the Dioceſes of* Africk.

I ſhall begin with the Dioceſes of *Africk*, which ſome by Miſtake have reckoned the leaſt Biſhopricks in the World; whereas upon a juſt Computation they will appear to be far larger than many others. The whole Extent of *Africk* (comprehending the ſix *Roman* Provinces, *Tripolis*, *Byzacena*, *Africa Proconſularis*, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritanias)* is computed by *Procopias* [r] to be ninety Days Journey in length: Which, reckoning as he does, that a Day's Journey was 210 *Stadia*, or twenty ſix Miles and a quarter, amounts to above 2360 Miles: The breadth was in ſome places 200, and in others 500 Miles: Which makes it by Computation twice as big as *Germany* or *France*. Now there were in this Compaſs, in St. *Auſtin*'s Time, about 466 Biſhopricks, as appears both from the Collation of *Carthage* [s], and the Abſtract of St. *Auſtin* [t], and the *Notitia* of the *African* Church, made about 50 Years after St. *Auſtin*'s Death, and publiſhed [u] by *Sirmondus*. The preſent Dioceſes in *France*, if compared with theſe, will appear to be as large again, and thoſe of *Germany* much larger: Yet the *African* Biſhopricks, as a learned Man [w] rightly calculates, might one with another notwithſtanding be reckoned to contain each of them threeſcore or fourſcore Towns and Villages. It is certain, at leaſt, that many of them were of very large Extent. St. *Auſtin*'s Dioceſe of *Hippo* was above forty Miles long: For he himſelf tells us [*], that *Fuſſala*, a Place in his Dioceſe, which he erected into a new Biſhoprick, was forty Miles diſtant from him. Some other Churches in his Dioceſe are alſo mentioned in his Epiſtles [x] and other Writings, which Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [y] has collected together: To which the Reader may add other Epiſtles [z], where he mentions the Churches of *Subſana*, *Turres*, *Ciza*, *Verbalis*, *Fundus Strabonianenſis*, and *Gippitanus*, as Parts of his Epiſcopal Care alſo. In *Hippo* it ſelf there were ſeveral Churches, three of which are occaſionally mentioned by St. *Auſtin*, one called *Eccleſia Pacis* [a], another [b] *Baſilica Leontii*, and a third, *Ad viginti Martyres*, the Church of the twenty Martyrs [c], whoſe Memory was famous at *Hippo* [d], as being in all Probability *African* Martyrs, and of that particular Church whereof St. *Auſtin* was Biſhop. In the other *Hippo*, called *Hippo Diaretorum* for diſtinction ſake, the *African* Canons [e] ſpeak of ſeveral Churches. And in the Collation of *Carthage* we often meet with Complaints of the Catholick Biſhops, that the *Donatiſts* had ſet up Anti-biſhops, not only in their Cities, but in other Places [f] of their Dioceſes: And the *Donatiſt* Biſhops return the Charge, telling the *Catholicks* particularly, that at *Conſtantina* [g] they had not only ſet up a Biſhop in the City, but another in the middle of the Dioceſe: And that at *Milevis* they had done the ſame, making one Biſhop in that place, another at *Tunca*, a City in the ſame Dioceſe, and a third at *Ceramuſſa*. From which it is eaſy to conclude, that thoſe Dioceſes were then ſo large, as not only to have a Country Region, but ſometimes more Cities than one within their Diſtrict. The like may be inferred from that Canon of the *African* Councils, which ſays, [h] no Biſhop ſhall leave his principal Cathedral, and reſide in any other Church of his Dioceſe. That manifeſtly implies, that their Dioceſes had other Churches in the Country, beſide the City Cathedral in them. And indeed Inſtances of this kind would ariſe without number to any one that would make a curious Search into the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the *African* Church. I ſhall only add two things more relating to it: 1. That *Carthage* is well known to have had a great number of Churches belonging to its Dioceſe in the IVth Century. Mr. *Sirmond* [i] in his Notes upon St. *Auſtin*'s Sermons gives us the Names of ſeven of them, which were mentioned in the Titles of his Sermons, *viz.* The Cathedral Church, call'd *Baſilica Major & Reſtituta*, *Baſilica Fauſti*, *Baſilica Leontiana*, *Baſilica Celerinæ*, *Baſilica Novarum*, *Baſilica Petri* in the third Region, and *Baſilica Pauli* in the ſixth Region. To which Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [k] adds two Churches without the City, one where St. *Cyprian* ſuffered Martyrdom, and another where his Body was buried at a Place called *Mappalia*, both which are mentioned by *Victor Uticenſis*. Dr. *Maurice* [l], who examined a little

[r] Procop. Vandalic. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 177. [s] Collat. Carthag. Die 1. [t] Aug. Brevic. Collat. Die 1. c. 14. [u] Notic. Afric. ap. Sirmond. Miſcellan. [w] Maurice's *Defence of Dioceſ. Epiſc.* p. 163. [*] Aug. Ep. 221. ad Cæleſtin. [x] Id. Ep. 74, 203, 212, 236. It. de Cura pro mortuis, c. 12. [y] Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, Part 3. n. 9. p. 251. [z] Aug. Ep. 236, 240. [a] Aug. Ep. 110. [b] Ser. 11. de Diverſ. [c] Ser. 10. de Diverſis. [d] Id. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. [e] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 78. [f] Collat. Carth. Die 1. c. 181. Alypius dixit, Scriptum ſit iſtos omnes in Villis vel in Fundis eſſe Epiſcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus Civitatibus. [g] Collat. Carth. ibid. c. 65. Petilianus dixit, in Plebe mea, id eſt, Civitate Conſtantinenſi, adverſarium habeo Fortunatum. In medio autem Diœceſis meæ nunc inſtitutum habeo, imo ipſi habent nomine Delphinum—Etiam in Plebe fratris mei Adeodati, id eſt in Civitate Milevitana, ita commiſſa res eſt, ut unum ibidem habeat adverſarium, alterum in Tuncenſi Civitate, qui ad hujus Plebem antiquitus pertinet.—Tertius vero ſit in loco qui dicitur Ceramuſſa. [h] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 5. Nemini ſit facultas, relicta Principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Eccleſiam in Diœceſi conſtitutam ſe conferre. [i] Sirmond. Not. in Ser. 14. a ſe edit. Tom. 10. p. 151. [k] Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, p. 249. [l] Maurice's *Defence of Dioceſ. Epiſc.* p. 51.

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farther, adds ſtill to thoſe within the City, the Church called *Florentia*, and *Baſilica Gratiani*, and *Theodoſiana*, and *Honoriana*, and *Tricillarum*: And doubtleſs there were many others not mentioned, ſince *Victor* [m] reckons about five hundred Clergy belonging to the Church of *Carthage*. The other thing I would note concerning the *African* Church, is, that in *Tripolis*, one of the ſix Provinces of the *Roman Africa*, there were but five Biſhops, which we learn both from the Canons of the *African* [n] Councils, and the antient *Notitia* of that Church, which names their Sees, *Leptis Magna*, *OEea*, *Tacapa*, *Sabrata*, and *Girberis*; from three of which there were Biſhops in the Council under *Cyprian* at *Carthage*: And the Preſence of no more was required, becauſe of the Paucity of them. But now this was a large Tract of Ground, as *Blondel* [o] himſelf proves out of *Ptolemy*, who names many other Cities, *Chuzis*, *Sumucis*, *Piſinda*, *Sydedenis*, *Azuis*, *Geriſa*, *Iſcina*, *Amuncla*, *Butta*, and others. So that whether we compare the whole Extent and Dimenſions of *Africk* with the Number of Dioceſes contained therein, or conſider any particular Province or Dioceſe by it ſelf, it plainly appears, that every Biſhop had a City, and a Region or large Territory for his Dioceſe; ſome two Cities or more; and none ſo ſmall a People, as to deſerve the Name that ſome have beſtowed upon them, of Country Pariſhes or ſingle Congregations.

SECT. VI. *Of the Dioceſes of* Egypt, Libya *and* Pentapolis.

OUT of the *African* Provinces let us paſs into thoſe of the *Egyptian* Dioceſe, as it is called in the civil Account of the *Roman* Empire, under which are comprehended all the Regions of *Libya*, *Pentapolis*, and *Egypt* from *Tripolis* to the *Red Sea*. Theſe Countries all together are juſtly computed by a learned Man [p] to be three times as great as *England*: Yet they never had above an hundred Biſhops in them all. For *Alexander* and *Athanaſius*, who were very competent Judges, reckon ſcarce ſo many. *Athanaſius* [q] ſays, there was ἐγγὺς ἑκατὸν, near an hundred in *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*; and *Alexander* [r] uſes the ſame Expreſſion in his circular Epiſtle againſt *Arius*, ſaying, that he and the reſt of the Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, being near an hundred, met together in Council, had condemned *Arius* and his Followers. And after this the *Notitia's* of the Church reckon no more. That which the Reader will find at the End of this Book, has but ninety ſeven, excluding thoſe of *Tripoli*, which have been ſpoken of before: And others in *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* never exceed an hundred and one. So that the number of Dioceſes ſeems to have continued near the ſame without Alteration for ſeveral Ages. *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* has collected their Names out of the ancient Writers, and Subſcriptions of Councils, and other Monuments of the Church, which I ſhall here ſubjoin, as I ſhall for all o ther Countries as we paſs on, that ſuch Readers as pleaſe to compare the Names with the Maps of Eccleſiaſtical Geography, which I have cauſed to be publiſhed with ſome Corrections to attend this Work, may the better underſtand the Extent of Dioceſes, and the true ancient State and Geography of the Church. The *Egyptian* Patriarchate was ſometimes divided into three Provinces, ſometimes into ſix, ſometimes into nine, but the Limits of the whole were the ſame, including *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*: *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* follows the largeſt Diviſion, and ſo makes ſeven Provinces in *Egypt*, reckoning the Dioceſes in this Order.

In Ægyptus Prima.

1 *Alexandria*. 2 *Hermopolis Parva*. 3 *Metelis*. 4 *Copritbis*. 5 *Sais*. 6 *Letus*, al. *Latopolis*. 7 *Naucratia*. 8 *Andromena*, or *Andropolis*. 9 *Nicium*. 10 *Onuphis*. 11 *Taua*. 12 *Cleopatris*. 13 *Mareotis*. 14 *Schedia* and *Menelaites*. 15 *Phthenegus*, al. *Phthenoti Nomus*. 16 *Nitria*.

In Auguſtamnica Prima.

1 *Peluſium*. 2 *Heraclea* in *Sethræte Nomo*. 3 *Tanis*. 4 *Rhinocurura*. 5 *Thmuis*. 6 *Oſtracina*. 7 *Phacuſa*. 8 *Caſſium*. 9 *Aphnæum*, which he thinks *Antonine's Itinerary* calls *Daphnis*. 10 *Hephæſtus*. 11 *Panæphyſus*. 12 *Gerus*. 13 *Thennefus*. 14 *Sela*.

In Auguſtamnica Secunda.

1 *Leontopolis*. 2 *Atribis*. 3 *Onium*, al. *Ilium*. 4 *Babylon*. 5 *Bubaſtus*. 6 *Pharbæthus*. 7 *Heliopolis* 8 *Scenæ Mandrorum*. 9 *Thou*. 10 *Antithou*.

In Ægyptus Secunda.

1 *Cabaſa*. 2 *Phragonea*. 3 *Pachneumonis*. 4 *Elearchia*. 5 *Dioſpolis*. 6 *Sebennythus*. 7 *Cynopolis Inferior*. 8 *Buſiris*. 9 *Paralus*. 10 *Xoes*. 11 *Butus*.

In Arcadia.

1 *Oxyrinchus*. 2 *Heraclea Superior*. 3 *Arſinoe*, al. *Civitas Crocodilorum*. 4 *Theodoſiopolis*. 5 *Aphroditopolis*. 6 *Memphis*. 7 *Clyſma*. 8 *Nilopolis*. 9 *Parallus*. 10 *Thamiate*, now called *Diamata*. 11 *Cynopolis Superior*; which, as *Holſtenius* obſerves, is in the *Notitia* of *Hierocles* made the Metropolis of this Province.

In Thebais Prima.

1 *Antinoe*. 2 *Hermopolis Magna*. 3 *Cuſa*. 4 *Lycopolis*. 5 *Oaſis Magna*. 6 *Hypſela*. 7 *Apollinis Civitas Parva*. 8 *Antæum*. 9 *Panopolis*.

In Thebais Secunda.

1 *Ptolemais*. 2 *Thinis*. 3 *Coptus*. 4 *Tentyra*. *Holſtenius* corrects it *Teuchira*, from the *Greek*. 5 *Maximianopolis*. 6 *Latopolis*. 7 *Hermetes*, al. *Hermonthes*. 8 *Dioſpolis Magna*, al. *Thebais Magna*.

[m] Victor. de Perſec. Vandal. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 7. p. 613. [n] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 39. In Tripoli, ut aſſeritur, Epiſcopi ſunt quinque tantummodo. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 49. al. 50. [o] Blondel. Apol. p. 185. ex Ptolem. lib. 4. c. 3. [p] Maurice's *Defence of Dioceſ. Epiſc.* p. 71. [q] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 788. [r] Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6.

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9 *Therenunthis.* 10 *Phylæ.* 11 *Thoi.* 12 *Ombi.* 13 *Tathyris.* 14 *Dioſpolis Parva.*

In Libya Cyrenaica, *otherwiſe called* Pentapolis.
1 *Ptolemais*, where *Syneſius* was Biſhop. 2 *Sozuſa.* 3 *Lemandus.* 4 *Cyrene.* 5 *Teuchira.* 6 *Berenice.* 7 *Ticelia*, al. *Piſila.* 8 *Aptuchi Fanum.* 9 *Erythra.* 10 *Barca.* 11 *Hydrax.* 12 *Diſthis.* 13 *Palæbiſca.* 14 *Olbia.* To which *Holſtenius* adds *Boræum.*

In Libya Marmarica, *al.* Libya Secunda.
1 *Darnis.* 2 *Parætonium.* 3 *Antipyrgus.* 4 *Antiphra.* 5 *Marmarica.* 6 *Zagula.* Which *Holſtenius* obſerves to be ſometimes corruptly read *Gazula.* 7 *Zygris.*

Beſide theſe, *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* reckons ſeven others in *Egypt* of uncertain Poſition. *Vantena*, *Gauœa*, *Flagonita*, *Cotenopolis*, *Gazula*, *Eleſma*, and *Pſynchus:* But *Holſtenius* rightly obſerves, that five of theſe are but Corruptions of others named before. *Vantena* is put for *Antinoe*; *Flagonita* for *Fragonita*; *Eleſma* for *Clyſma*; *Gazula* for *Zagula*; and *Pſynchus* for *Oxyrinchus:* And I obſerve, that *Paralus*, and perhaps one or two more, ſeem to be named twice. So that we cannot reckon the whole Number of Dioceſes much above an hundred in theſe nine Provinces. Now, to make a tolerable Eſtimate of the Largeneſs and Extent of theſe Dioceſes, we muſt conſider a little the State of theſe Countries, together with the Extent of them. And by this means we ſhall find this Obſervation to be true (which I am alſo to make upon *Paleſtine*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Italy*) that here were ſome of the largeſt and ſome of the ſmalleſt Dioceſes in the World under the ſame form of Epiſcopal Government. In *Libya* and *Pentapolis* the Dioceſes ſeem to have been very large; for the whole Number in both Provinces was but twenty two: And yet theſe Provinces were of great Extent, as appears from what *Pliny* [*s*] delivers out of *Eratoſthenes*, that from *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to *Cyrene* in *Pentapolis* was five hundred twenty five Miles, the greateſt part of which muſt be divided among theſe Biſhopricks; which is ſome ground to conjecture that they were of the largeſt Size. *Berenice* was the moſt *Weſtern* Border of *Pentapolis*, from whence to *Arſinoe* or *Teuchira*, the next neighbouring Seat, *Pliny* [*t*] reckons forty three Miles, and from *Arſinoe* to *Ptolemais* twenty two. And it is certain ſeveral others lay at greater Diſtance from each other. But ſome may fancy perhaps, they were ſmall inconſiderable Dioceſes for all this, becauſe *Syneſius* [*u*] ſpeaking of his own City *Ptolemais*, the Metropolis of *Pentapolis*, ſays, it was but a ſmall City. To obviate this, I will note a few things out of *Syneſius* concerning the Cities and Dioceſes of this Region. That *Ptolemais*, where *Syneſius* was Biſhop, had a Territory and Country Churches in its Dioceſe, is evident from *Syneſius* himſelf, who writing to his Preſbyters upon his firſt Conſecration, deſires them to pray for him, and enjoin the People both in the City and Country Churches [*] both publickly and privately to pray for him likewiſe. This is evident Proof, that though *Ptolemais* itſelf might not be a very large City, yet it had a Dioceſe of ſome Extent, and Village Churches in the Circuit of it. In another Place he complains, that all the Churches [†] of *Ampelitis*, that were under him, were burned down and deſtroyed. There were two Regions of this Name in *Pentapolis*, one belonging to *Cyrene*, the other to *Ptolemais*: And it is probable there were in both of them Towns and Villages depending reſpectively upon thoſe Mother-Churches. Indeed *Carolus à Sancto Paulo*, out of *Syneſius*, ſpeaks of one or two Dioceſes in this Province, which ſeem to be leſs. For *Hydrax* and *Palæbiſca* were but Villages, once belonging to the Dioceſe of *Erythros*, from which they were ſeparated in the time of the Emperor *Valens*, and had a diſtinct Biſhop of their own. But there was none before him, nor any after, for it was united by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* [*w*] to *Erythros* again. So that it rather proves the Largeneſs of the Dioceſes, that they were of ſuch an Extent as to admit of others being taken out of them. In another Place *Syneſius* [*x*] ſpeaks of the *Olbiatæ*, whom he ſtyles δῆμον κωμήτης, a Country People, and ſays they had a Biſhop. But a learned Man obſerves [*y*] rightly, that this may ſignify a People or Nation living in many Villages, of which ſort there were ſeveral in the Region of *Pentapolis* and other Parts of *Africk*, where there were but few Cities: For, as he ſhews out of *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*, theſe Country People generally inhabited in great Numbers together, and were under the Denomination of little Nations, though they dwelt in Cottages, or *Mapalia*, as they called them in the Language of thoſe Countries. So that though a Biſhop's Seat was in a Village, he might have a large Region for his Dioceſe, as we ſhall find in purſuing the Hiſtory of other Nations. In the neighbouring Province of *Libya*, *Zygus* was a Village, and a Biſhop's Seat: Yet, as the ſame learned Perſon [*z*] obſerves out of *Ptolemy* [*a*], it was ſuch a Village as had a Territory along the Sea-ſide; and the whole Sea-coaſt of *Libya* was divided between that and two or three other ſuch Villages or Cities, call them which you pleaſe. For there were but ſeven Dioceſes in all this *Libya*, which extended three hundred Miles along the Sea-ſhore, ſo that the Biſhops Sees were at leaſt fifty Miles from each other. And yet perhaps being a deſert Country, and inhabited by very barbarous People, the Dioceſes might be leſs than many others, if computed by the Number of Chriſtians, rather than the Extent of Ground; as if we compare them with ſome in *Egypt*, their next Neighbours. In *Egypt* the Dioceſes can-

[*s*] Plin. lib. 5. c. 6. [*t*] Plin. lib. 5. c. 5. [*u*] Syneſ. Ep. 58. [*] Syneſ. Ep. 11. πῶ τε ἐν ἄγει δήμῳ, καὶ ὅσοι καθ' ἀγρὸς, ἢ κωμητικὰς ἐκκλησίας οἰκίζουσι, &c. [†] Syneſ. Cataſtaſ. p. 301. [*w*] Syneſ. Ep. 67. [*x*] Id. Ep. 76. [*y*] Maurice's *Defence of Dioceſ. Epiſc.* p. 60. [*z*] Maurice, ibid. p. 61. [*a*] Ptolem. lib. 4.

not

not be reckoned ſo large as thoſe of *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, becauſe here were eighty Biſhopricks; and yet the Extent of *Egypt* was not more than the other two, but the Country was infinitely more populous, and ſo capable of more Biſhopricks in a leſs compaſs. Dr. *Heylin* computes the Length of it to be only five hundred ſixty two Miles, and the Breadth one hundred and ſixty: Which comes pretty near the Computation of *Pliny* [*b*], who reckons it five hundred eighty ſix Miles long, and one hundred and ſeventy broad from *Peluſium* to *Canopus*. This divided into eighty Dioceſes, will allow above thirty Miles length and breadth to every Dioceſe; which is a competent Space for an Epiſcopal Dioceſe conſiſting of many Towns or Pariſhes, but too large for any ſingle Congregation. We may judge of the Extent of ſome of theſe Dioceſes by that of *Alexandria*, which had firſt a great many Churches with Presbyters fixed upon them in the City it ſelf, in the time of *Alexander* and *Athanaſius*, as *Epiphanius* [*c*] more than once informs us, naming beſide the great Church, commonly called *Cæſarea*, thoſe of *Dionyſius*, *Theonas*, *Pierius*, *Serapion*, *Dizyas*, *Mendidius*, *Annianus*, *Abias* and *Baucalis*, where *Arius* was Preſbyter. Then again it had the large Region of *Mareotes* belonging to it. For *Athanaſius* [*d*] ſays, there never had been either Biſhop or Chorepiſcopus in all that Region, but only Presbyters under the Biſhop of *Alexandria*; and that they were fourteen in Number, (beſides thirteen Deacons) ſome of which had two Villages, and others more within their reſpective Pariſhes. *Canopus* alſo was once in this Dioceſe, being reckoned one of the Suburbs of *Alexandria* (as has been noted before) though a large Place, and twelve Miles diſtant from it. *Nicopolis* alſo was in this Dioceſe, which *Strabo* equals [*e*] to a City. So that there muſt be particular Aſſemblies in the remoter Suburbs of this Dioceſe, which could not poſſibly meet with the Mother-Church. We have not ſo particular an Account of any other Dioceſe in *Egypt*, but from this we may make ſome Eſtimate of the reſt, ſince it appears that a competent Territory of twenty or thirty Miles might be allowed to every Dioceſe upon a rational Computation. Nor is it any juſt Exception to this, that here were ſometimes Biſhops Seats in Villages as well as Cities. For many Villages were equal to Cities, and had alſo large Territories belonging to them. As *Strabo* particularly notes of *Schædia*, which was but a Village in his Time [*f*], yet ſuch an one as might compare with a City; and in *Athanaſius*'s time it ſeems to have been advanced into a City, or was at leaſt the Head of a *Nomus* or Region called *Menelaites*: For *Athanaſius* ſtyles *Agathodæmon* [*g*] Biſhop of *Schædia* and *Menelaites* together. So that though we find in the *Greek Notitia* of this Province ſeveral Biſhopricks denominated from Villages, as *Vicus Pſaneos*, and *Cotrideos*, *Rhicomerium*, *Pariana*, and *Anaſſa*; yet we are not to imagine the Biſhops of theſe Places were Paſtors only of a private Village, but that they had each a larger Territory, after the Example of *Schædia*, for their Juriſdiction. In the Dioceſe of *Arſinoe*, it is plain, there were Country-Pariſhes in the middle of the third Century: For *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſpeaks of them in one of his Epiſtles, where he diſcourſes of *Nepos* the *Millenary*, who was Biſhop of the Place. After his Death, he ſays, he went into the Region of *Arſinoe*, and having called together the Presbyters and Teachers of the Country Villages [*h*], he held a Conference with them for three Days together about *Nepos*'s Opinions, which it ſeems had infected ſome of their Churches, and drawn them into Factions and Schiſms. The like Obſervation is made by *Caſſian* [*i*] upon *Panæphyſus* in the Province of *Auguſtamnica Prima*, that it had many Towns and Villages under it, till they were ſwallowed up with the Inundation of the Sea and an Earthquake. And *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* rightly obſerves out of *Athanaſius* [*k*], that *Phragonea* in *Ægyptus Secunda* had the whole *Nomus* of *Elearchia* for its Dioceſe. And excepting *Thenneſus* in the Province of *Auguſtamnica*, which *Caſſian* [*l*] ſeems to make an Iſland, without any Territory about it, it may be generally affirmed of all the *Egyptian* Cities, that they had their περάσεια, or Country-Towns and Villages about them, ſome more, ſome leſs, where, as *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* words it [*m*], they had their holy Aſſemblies diſtinct from thoſe of the Mother-Churches.

Yet, not to put a Fallacy upon my Readers, I muſt obſerve one thing, which will much diminiſh the Largeneſs of thoſe Dioceſes in one Part of *Egypt*; that is, that as it was the moſt populous Country in the World in ſome Parts of it, ſo it was abſolutely deſert and uninhabited in others. The Cities were generally placed pretty near the Banks of the *Nile*, but on both Sides within ten or twenty Miles from them were vaſt Mountains and Deſerts, where no Mortal dwelt, till, as *Oroſius* obſerves [*n*], the Monks firſt took up their Abode there, leaving the Cities, to inhabit thoſe vaſt Tracts of Wilderneſſes and Sands, which for their Barrenneſs and want of Water, and Multitudes of Serpents, had never before ſeen any thing of human Converſation. This Account of the *Egyptian* Deſerts is confirmed by *Joſephus*, [*o*] where he ſpeaks of *Moſes* making an incredible Expedition with an Army through them, to ſurprize and come

[*b*] Plin. lib. 5. c. 9. [*c*] Epiph. Hær. 68. Melet. n. 4. Hæret. 69. Arian. n. 1. [*d*] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 802. [*e*] Strabo, lib. 17. [*f*] Strabo, lib. 17. [*g*] Athan. Ep. ad Antioch. p. 580. [*h*] Dionyſ. Ep. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 24. Συγκαλέσας τὸς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῆς ἐν τῇ κώμαις ἀδελφῶν. [*i*] Caſſian. Collat. 11. c. 3. [*k*] Athan. Ep. ad Antiochenos. [*l*] Caſſian. Collat. 11. c. 1. Thenneſi accolæ ita vel mari vel ſtagnis ſalſis undique circumluuntur, ut ſolis, quia terra deeſt, Negociationibus dediti, &c. [*m*] Dionyſ. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 11. [*n*] Oroſ. Hiſt. lib. 7. c. 33. Vaſtas illas tunc Ægypti ſolitudines, arenaſque diffuſas, quas propter ſitim ac ſterilitatem, periculoſamque ſerpentum abundantiam converſatio humana non noſſet; magna habitantium Monachorum multitudo compleverat. [*o*] Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. 2. c. 5.

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unexpectedly upon the *Ethiopians*. And the Chriſtian Writers, who treat of the Monaſtick Life, give a more particular Deſcription of them. *Sulpicius Severus* makes the Entrance on theſe Deſerts in *Thebais* [p] to be only twelve Miles from the River *Nile*. But the Deſerts themſelves were vaſtly greater. For *Caſſian* ſpeaking of the Wilderneſs of *Scethis*, where *Paphnutius* was Abbot, ſays, there was one of the Monks who had his Cell [q] eighteen Miles from Church. But the Deſert of *Porphyrion*, he ſays, was abundantly larger than this: For a Man might travel ſeven or eight Days Journey in it [r] without coming near any Houſe or Town, before he came to the Cells of the Monks, which had their Habitation therein. So that by this Account, 'tis probable almoſt one half of *Egypt* was cut off in Sands and Deſerts, which could not be cultivated, and therefore were not inhabited, till the Monks, who found out a new way of living, left the Cities, to become here and there ſcattered Inhabitants of the Wilderneſs. And by this means the Dioceſes of *Egypt*, if we ſpeak properly of the habitable Part of them, will be reduced to a much narrower Compaſs, and fifteen Miles may perhaps paſs for a general Meaſure of their Extent in this Senſe one with another. But as *Alexandria* and others might be larger, ſo it is certain *Thennefus*, and *Panephyſus* and others were much leſs: Which makes good the Obſervation and Reflection I at firſt paſſed upon them, that here were ſome of the largeſt and ſome of the ſmalleſt Dioceſes in the World, under the ſame Species and Form of Epiſcopal Government, for any thing that we find to the contrary.

SECT. VII. *Of the Dioceſes of* Arabia. *And why theſe more frequently in Villages than in other Places.*

OUT of the Patriarchate of *Alexandria* we ſhould next have gone into that of *Jeruſalem*, but *Arabia* coming between, we will take a View of it here, though it belonged to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* calls it by Miſtake *Arabia Petræa*, which, as *Holſtenius* obſerves, was a diſtinct Province under the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and commonly known in antient Church-Records by the Name of *Palæſtina Tertia*. But *Arabia* here is taken only for that Part which was under the Metropolis of *Boſtra*, and ſometimes called *Philadelphia* in antient Writers. In this Province we have Accounts of twenty one antient Dioceſes, whereof eighteen are recounted by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*. 1 *Boſtra*. 2 *Adra*. 3 *Medaba*. 4 *Geraſa*. 5 *Nibe* or *Nive*. 6 *Philadelphia*, whence in *Epiphanius* and others the Region is called *Arabia Philadelphiæ*. 7 *Esbus*. 8 *Neapolis*. 9 *Philippopolis*. 10 *Conſtantine*. 11 *Dionyſias*. 12 *Maximianopolis*. 13 *Avara*. 14 *Alana*, al. *Neela*. 15 *Zerabena*. 16 *Erra*. 17 *Anitha*, or, as *Holſtenius* reads it, *Eutimia*. 18 *Parembola*. To which *Holſtenius* adds three more, *Canotha*, *Phæno*, and *Bacatha*, mentioned by *Epiphanius* and *Euſebius*. In After-ages, when the *Notitia* was made which is publiſhed in the 7th Chapter of this Book, the number of Dioceſes was augmented to thirty four, whereof twelve are called Villages. And it appears from *Sozomen* [s] that this was no new thing in this Country; for he takes notice that it was uſual in ſome Provinces to conſecrate Biſhops in Villages, and he particularly ſpecifies *Arabia* and *Cyprus* for it. But then we are not to imagine, that theſe Dioceſes were confined to a ſingle Village, as ſome have vainly concluded, to favour the Hypotheſis of Congregational Epiſcopacy. For theſe Villages were what the Antients commonly called *Metrocomiæ*, Mother-Villages, which had many other Villages depending on them; ſo that they were the chief Villages of a certain Diſtrict. This is evident from *Epiphanius* [t], who ſpeaking of *Bacathus*, one of the Village-Biſhopricks, ſtyles it μητροκωμίαν ἀραβίας, a Mother-Village in *Arabia*, which implies, that there were others depending on it. So that theſe Dioceſes might be as large as any other, having not only that Village, but whole Tracts and Regions ſometimes depending on them, as may be ſeen in the foreſaid *Notitia*, where ſome of them are called *Clima Orientalium*, and *Clima Occidentalium*; denoting not only a particular Village, but a little People or Nation of ſuch a Combination or Diſtrict, under a Mother-Village, from which the whole Dioceſe or Circuit had its Denomination. The *Arabians* were a People that choſe rather to live in Villages, and had but few Cities in compariſon of others: And that ſeems to be the Reaſon why Village-Biſhops were allowed in this Country, which otherwiſe were forbidden by the Canons of the Church, as has been ſhew'd in another [*] Place.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Dioceſes of* Paleſtine, *or the Patriarchate of* Jeruſalem.

OUT of *Arabia* our next Step is into *Paleſtine*, or the Patriarchate of *Jeruſalem*, which being taken out of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, had three Provinces aſſigned for the Limits of its Juriſdiction, which in the antient Monuments of the Church are commonly called *Palæſtina Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia*, following the Civil Account of the *Roman* Empire. In theſe three Provinces (compriz'd within the Borders of the Land of *Canaan*, and *Arabia Petræa*) *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons about forty ſeven antient Dioceſes.

In Palæſtina Prima.

1 *Hieruſalem*. 2 *Cæſarea*. 3 *Dora*. 4 *Antipatris*. 5 *Dioſpolis*, in Scripture called *Lydda*. 6 *Jamnia*. 7 *Nicopolis*, which is *Emmaus*. 8 *So-*

[p] Sulpic. Dial. 1. c. 7. Ubi prima Eremi ingreſſus ſum, duodecim fere à Nilo millibus, &c. [q] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 5. c. 40. Decem & octo millibus longe ab Eccleſia commanebat.

[r] Id. Collat. 24. c. 4. Calami & Porphyrionis Eremus longioris ſolitudinis intervallo ab univerſis urbibus & habitaculis hominum, quàm Eremus Scythij dividitur: Septem ſiquidem vel octo Manſionibus vaſtiſſimæ ſolitudinis deſerta penetrantes, vix ad Cellularum ſuarum ſecreta perveniunt, &c. Vid. Inſtit. lib. 10. c. 24.

[s] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19. [t] Epiphan. Epitom. Panarii.

[*] *Book* II. *Chap.* xii. *Sect.* 1.

zuſa. 9 *Maiuma.* 10 *Joppa.* 11 *Aſcalon.* 12 *Gaza.* 13 *Raphia.* 14 *Anthedon.* 15 *Eleutheropolis*, antiently ſome Place about *Hebron.* 16 *Neapolis* or *Sichem.* 17 *Elia.* 18 *Sebaſte* or *Samaria.* 19 *Petra.* 20 *Jericho.* 21 *Libias.* 22 *Azotus.* 23 *Zabulon.* 24 *Araclia*, al. *Heraclea.* 25 *Baſchat.* 26 *Archelais.*

In Palæſtina Secunda.

1 *Scythopolis.* 2 *Pella.* 3 *Caparcotia*, or *Capernaum.* 4 *Gadara.* 5 *Capitolias.* 6 *Maximianopolis.* 7 *Tiberias.* 8 *Mennith.* 9 *Hippus.* 10 *Amathus.*

In Palæſtina Tertia.

1 *Petra.* 2 *Auguſtopolis.* 3 *Arindela.* 4 *Arad.* 5 *Areopolis.* 6 *Eluſa.* 7 *Zoara.* 8 *Sodoma.* 9 *Phenon.* 10 *Pharan.* 11 *Aila. Holſtenius* in his Corrections upon this Catalogue ſtrikes two out of the Number, *viz. Baſchat*, which he reckons to be the ſame with *Bacatha* in *Arabia Philadelphiæ*; and *Phenon*, which he aſſigns to the ſame Province. But inſtead of theſe two he has found out three more in *Palæſtina Prima*, viz. *Sycamazon*, *Gerara*, and another *Lydda* diſtinct from *Dioſpolis* afore-mentioned. So that the whole number of known Dioceſes was forty eight.

Now if we look upon all theſe together, and compare them with the forty Dioceſes in *Germany* at this Day, they will appear very ſmall indeed in compariſon of them. For whereas *Germany* is computed eight hundred and forty Miles in length, and ſeven hundred and forty in breadth; the whole Extent of theſe three Provinces will not amount to a Square of one hundred and ſixty Miles. For the length of all *Paleſtine*, or the Land of *Canaan*, taking in part of *Phœnicia* as far as *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which yet is excluded from theſe Provinces, is computed by St. *Jerom* [*u*], *Cotovicus* [*w*], *Maſius* [*x*] and others, to be but an hundred and ſixty Miles; and the breadth from *Joppa* to *Jordan* not above ſixty: To which if we add about ſixty more beyond *Jordan*, for the breadth of *Palæſtina Tertia*, to the Borders of *Arabia Philadelphiæ* and *Boſtra*, we have then the compleat Dimenſions of the three Provinces together. By which it appears, that two *German* Dioceſes of one hundred Miles length, are as large as all thoſe forty eight Dioceſes put together. Yet there were ſome Dioceſes among them of a competent Bigneſs. *Eleutheropolis*, a City much ſpoken of by St. *Jerom*, not far from the Place where *Hebron* ſtood, in the Borders of *Dan* and *Judah*, ſeems to have had a pretty large Territory. For St. *Jerom* ſpeaks of Villages belonging to it at ſeventeen Miles [†] diſtance from it, and mentions a great many other Villages in the ſame Territory, though he does not ſo exactly tell us their diſtance from the City. *Sozomen* names ſome others, as *Beſanduca* [*y*], where he ſays *Epiphanius* was born: And *Ceila*, and *Berathſatia* [*z*], where the Bones of the Prophets *Micah* and *Habbakuk* were found. Near *Beſanduca Epiphanius* built his Monaſtery, and the Village had a Church in it, where *Epiphanius* ordained a Deacon, as he himſelf informs us [*a*]. From all which it is very evident this City had a large Territory and conſiderable Dioceſe, with many Country-Towns and Churches belonging to them. And there were ſeveral others, eſpecially in *Palæſtina Secunda* and *Tertia*, equal in Extent to the Dioceſe of *Eleutheropolis.* But a judicious Reader will eaſily conclude from the Largeneſs of theſe, that ſome others muſt needs therefore be very ſmall, ſince there were ſo great a Number in ſo ſhort a Compaſs. If we caſt our Eye upon the Sea-coaſt of *Paleſtine*, and reckon *Tyre* and *Sidon* and *Ptolemais* and *Sycaminum* and *Porphyria* into the Account (as being within the antient Bounds of the Land of *Canaan*, though they now belong to the Province of *Phœnice* and the Patriarch of *Antioch*) we ſhall find ſeventeen or eighteen Cities in a Line of one hundred and ſixty Miles, and ſome very near Neighbours to one another. *Cotovicus* [*b*] reckons it but four Miles from *Ptolemais* to *Porphyria*; and *Sicaminum* and *Zabulon* were not farther removed from it. But *Ferrarius* reckons it twenty or twenty four; ſo that the Poſition of the two firſt is a little doubtful, but the other three may be reckoned within five or ſix Miles of one another. *Baudrand* obſerves [*c*] the like of *Dora*, and *Cæſarea* the Metropolis, that they were but five Miles diſtant from each other. So *Ferrarius* computes *Antipatris* ten Miles from *Cæſarea*, and *Dioſpolis* ten more from *Antipatris. Dioſpolis* is in the Scripture called *Lydda*, and ſaid to be nigh unto *Joppa. Baudrand* reckons it but ſix Miles, correcting *Ferrarius*, who computes it ten. *Jamnia* was alſo about ten Miles from *Joppa*, and but twelve from *Lydda*, as is collected out of *Antonine*'s Itinerary. So that theſe three Cities were not above twelve Miles diſtant from each other. But *Gaza*, *Maiuma* and *Anthedon*, were ſtill nearer Neighbours, not above twenty Furlongs or three Miles from each other, as *Sozomen* particularly [*d*] remarks their Diſtance. *Maiuma*, he tells us, was once only a Village belonging to *Gaza*, to which it was the Sea-port, ſeated nearer the Sea upon the River *Beſor*: But when *Conſtantine*, for its Merit in readily embracing Chriſtianity, had granted it the Privilege of a City, it preſently, according to the antient Rule, became a Biſhop's Seat, and continued ever after ſo to be, notwithſtanding ſome Attempts made againſt it, of which I have given an Account in the foregoing Chapter. But though theſe Cities lay ſo near together, we are not to think, they were of the Congregational way, or

[*u*] Hieron. Ep. ad Dardan. [*w*] Cotovic. Itinerar. Hieroſol. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 327. [*x*] Maſius Comment. in Joſhuam xii. 24. [†] Hiceron. de Locis Hebra. voce Duma. Duma vicus grandis in finibus Eleutheropoleos, decem & ſeptem ab ea milliaribus diſtans. [*y*] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 32. [*z*] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 28. [*a*] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hieroſol. Eccleſia Villæ quæ eſt juxta Monaſterium noſtrum, &c. [*b*] Cotovic. Itin. lib. 1. c. 20. [*c*] Baudrand. Lexic. Geogr. voce Dora. [*d*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3, & 9.

their

their Biſhops only Pariſh-Paſtors. While *Maiuma* was joined to *Gaza*, the Church was doubtleſs more than a ſingle Congregation. For *Euſebius* ſpeaking of *Silvanus* Biſhop of *Gaza*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the time of the *Diocletian* Perſecution, ſtyles him [e] Biſhop of the Churches in and about *Gaza*: Which implies, that his Dioceſe was more than a ſingle Congregation. Nay after *Maiuma* was taken from it, *Gaza* had ſtill many other Villages, and a populous Territory belonging to it. *Sozomen* [f] mentions three Villages, one called *Thabaca*, where *Hilarion* was born; another *Sopharconbra*, where *Ammonius* was born; and a third named *Bethelia*, which he calls πολυάνθρωπον κώμην γαζαίαν, a moſt populous Village under the Juriſdiction of *Gaza*; which was alſo famous for the Heathen *Pantheon*, beſide other Temples that were in it; whence he conjectures, it had the Name of *Bethelia*, which in the *Syrian* Tongue is the ſame as *Domicilium Deorum*, or the Houſe of the Gods. Now a Village that had ſeveral Heathen Temples in it, had no doubt upon its Converſion ſome Chriſtian Churches alſo, where they had Presbyters to celebrate Holy Offices, though in Dependance on the Church of *Gaza*. And for *Maiuma*, when it became a diſtinct Dioceſe, its Biſhop was not a ſingle Pariſh-Paſtor, but he had a Clergy under him, and all other Things that the Epiſcopal Church of *Gaza* had, as *Sozomen* [g] particularly notes in the caſe, ſaying, Each City had their own Biſhop and Clergy, and their own proper Feſtivals for their Martyrs, and Commemorations of the Biſhops and Prieſts that had lived among them, and their proper Bounds of the Country lying round about them. And that we may not wonder that there ſhould be ſuch Villages as theſe, it will not be amiſs to obſerve what *Joſephus* reports of two Villages of *Idumæa* not far from theſe, *Begabri* and *Caphartophan*, where he ſays [h] *Veſpaſian* ſlew above ten thouſand People, took a thouſand Captives, and forced many others to fly away. He alſo ſays [i] in another place, there were many Villages in *Galilee* ſo populous, that the leaſt of them had above fifteen thouſand Inhabitants in them. Now a few ſuch Villages as theſe, united under a *Metrocomia*, or Mother-Village, might quickly ariſe into Numbers enough to become a Dioceſe, and have a Biſhop and Clergy of their own, which it would be abſurd to miſtake for the Paſtor of a ſingle Congregation. And this was evidently the Caſe of the ſmalleſt Dioceſes in this Part of *Paleſtine*, where notwithſtanding the Narrowneſs of their Limits, they were under the ſame ſpecies of Epiſcopal Government with other Churches.

The Inland Dioceſes of *Paleſtine* were generally larger; yet ſome of them were ſmall. For *Emmaus* was but ſixty Furlongs, or ſeven Miles and a half from *Jeruſalem*, as both the Scripture and Travellers [k] inform us: Yet when of a Village it became a City, being rebuilt by the *Romans* in the time of *Adrian*, and by them called *Nicopolis* in Memory of their Victories over *Jeruſalem*, as *Sozomen* [l] and *Euſebius* [m] and St. *Jerom* [n] inform us; it then alſo advanced itſelf to an Epiſcopal See, and according to the Rule of the Church had the City-Territory for its Dioceſe; under which Denomination and Quality we find it afterwards in the *Notitias* of the Church. This perhaps brings the Dioceſe of *Jeruſalem* into narrower Bounds one way than is commonly imagined; but ſtill it was of ſufficient Extent to have many particular Churches in it. For the Jewiſh Antiquaries commonly tell us, there were above four hundred Synagogues in the City itſelf. Dr. *Lightfoot* [o] reckons four hundred and fifty. Others [p] four hundred and ſixty, and ſome ſay [q] there were four hundred and eighty for *Jews* and Strangers there. *Optatus* ſays, there were ſeven in a very ſmall Plain upon the top of Mount *Sion*, where the *Jews* [r] were uſed to meet and hear the Law of *Moſes* read. And *Epiphanius* [s] mentions the ſame, which he ſays were alſo left ſtanding after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to the time of *Adrian*, and one of them to the time of *Conſtantine*. Now it would be very ſtrange, that a City which had ſo many Synagogues, ſhould not afford above one Church, after it was made Chriſtian, and ſo many thouſand Converts were in it even in the time of the Apoſtles. But it had alſo a Territory without the City, and Churches at ſome diſtance from it. For *Bethlehem* was in the Dioceſe of *Jeruſalem*, ſix Miles from the Mother-Church; upon which account it had a Church and Presbyters of its own, but thoſe ſubject to the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as St. *Jerom* [t] informs us, who charges *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* for an extravagant Abuſe of his Power, in laying his Injunctions on his Presbyters at *Bethlehem*, that they ſhould not baptize the *Catechumens* of the Monaſtery, who ſtood Candidates at *Eaſter*, upon which they were ſent to *Dioſpolis*, for Baptiſm. St. *Jerom* mentions the Church of *Thiria* [u] in the ſame place, where the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* ordained Presbyters and Deacons: And there is no doubt but there were many other ſuch Pariſhes within the Precincts of his Dioceſe, acknowledging his Juriſdiction. We cannot give ſo particular an Account of all the Dioceſes of *Paleſtine*; but thoſe which ſome have thought the leaſt, *Lydda* and

[e] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 13. Ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτοῖς τῆς Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν. [f] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. lib. 5. c. 15. lib. 6. c. 32. [g] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3. [h] Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib. 5. c. 4. [i] Idem de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. c. 2. [k] Cotovic. Itiner. lib. 2. c. 19. [l] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 21. [m] Euſeb. Chron. an. 2237. [n] Hieron. de Locis Hebr. voce Emmaus. [o] Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. in Matth. Procem. [p] Otho Lexic. Rabbin. p. 627. [q] Sigon. de Repub. Hebr. lib. 2. c. 8. Goodwin. Moſ. & Aaron. lib. 2. c. 2. [r] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. In cujus vertice eſt non magna Planities, in qua fuerant ſeptem Synagogæ, ubi Judæorum populus conveniens, Legem per Moyſem datam diſcere potuiſſet. [s] Epiph. de Menſur. & Ponder. [t] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 16. Tu potius ſcindis Eccleſiam, qui præcepiſti Bethleem Presbyteris tuis, ne competentibus noſtris in Paſcha baptiſmum traderent. Vid. Sulpic. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 4. Parochia eſt Epiſcopi qui Hieroſolymam tenet. [u] Ibid. Theoſobium Thiriæ Eccleſiæ Diaconum facis Presbyterum, & contra nos armas.

Jamnia, appear to have been Cities, and to have had their Dependencies in their neighbouring Country round them. So that except *Maiuma*, which was disfranchiſed by *Julian*, there was no Village in *Paleſtine* that had a Biſhop of its own; but the Villages were all as ſo many Pariſhes to the neighbouring City in whoſe Territory they lay: Which made theſe Dioceſan Churches ſtill of the ſame ſpecies with the reſt, that had a large Extent of Juriſdiction. *Joſephus* indeed calls *Lydda* a Village, but he ſays, it was a Village not inferior to a City; and afterward it was made a City, and called *Dioſpolis*, when it was a Biſhop's See: And though its Dioceſe could not extend very far one way, being it was but ſix Miles from *Joppa* toward the Sea; yet other ways it extended farther, for St. *Jerom* [w] ſpeaks of *Bethſariſſa* a Village belonging to it, though it was near fifteen Miles diſtance from it, in the Region call'd *Regio Tamnitica*, which ſeems to have been the Territory belonging to this City.

I have been the more particular in deſcribing the Dioceſes of *Paleſtine*, becauſe here Chriſtianity was firſt planted, and the true Model of antient Epiſcopacy may beſt be collected from them. They who reckon theſe Biſhopricks no larger than Country-Pariſhes, are ſtrangely miſtaken on the one hand; and they who extend their Bounds as wide as *German* Dioceſes, are no leſs extravagant on the other. To make the right eſtimate, the Reader muſt remember that there were never quite fifty Biſhops in all the three *Paleſtines*. In the middle of the VIth Century there were but forty five, who ſubſcribed in the Council of *Jeruſalem*, *An.* 536. And we do not find upon the niceſt Enquiry they ever exceeded forty eight. So that it were the abſurdeſt thing in the World to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, that theſe Dioceſes were but Pariſh Churches, or ſingle Congregations. On the other hand, when it is remember'd, that the Extent of the whole Country was not above an hundred and ſixty Miles, it is as evident theſe Dioceſes could not be of the largeſt Size, and if compared with ſome others, ſcarce be found to have the Proportion of one to twenty, which needs no farther Demonſtration.

SECT. IX. *A Catalogue of the Provinces and Dioceſes under the Patriarch of* Antioch.

THE next Patriarchate is that of *Antioch*, to which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* aſſigns theſe thirteen Provinces: *Syria Prima. Syria Secunda. Theodorias. Cilicia Prima. Cilicia Secunda. Iſauria. Euphratenſis. Oſrhoena. Meſopotamia. Phœnicia Prima. Phœnicia Secunda. Arabia*, and the Iſle of *Cyprus*. One of theſe, *Arabia Philadelphiæ*, has been already ſpoken of; and three others, *Iſauria* and *Cilicia Prima* and *Secunda*, lying in *Aſia Minor*, ſhall be conſidered in the next Chapter among the Provinces of that Country. For the reſt I will here give firſt a particular Catalogue of the Dioceſes in each Province, and then make a few Remarks upon them, and ſome other *Eaſtern* Provinces not mentioned by that Writer.

In Syria Prima.

1 *Antiochia.* 2 *Seleucia Pieria.* 3 *Berrœa*, by ſome called *Aleppo.* 4 *Chalcis.* 5 *Onoſarta*, or rather *Anaſarta.* 6 *Gabbus.* To which *Holſtenius* adds another called *Paltus*, which he thinks wrong placed in *Theodorias.*

In Syria Secunda.

1 *Apamea* upon the River *Orontes.* 2 *Arethuſa.* 3 *Epiphania.* 4 *Lariſſa.* 5 *Mariama*, or *Mariamne.* 6 *Raphanæa.* 7 *Seleucia juxta Belum*, al. *Seleucobelus.* To theſe alſo *Holſtenius* transfers another, named *Balanea*, out of the Province of *Theodorias*, where he thinks it was wrong placed; but he is miſtaken.

In Theodorias.

1 *Laodicea.* 2 *Gabala.* 3 *Paltus.* 4 *Balanæa.*

In Euphrateſia *or* Comagene.

1 *Hierapolis.* 2 *Cyrus.* 3 *Samoſata.* 4 *Doliche.* 5 *Germanicia.* 6 *Zeugma.* 7 *Perre*, by ſome corruptly read *Perga*, and *Pella*, and *Peria*, as *Holſtenius* obſerves. 8 *Europus*, al. *Amphipolis* and *Thapſacum.* 9 *Urima.* 10 *Cæſarea*, otherwiſe called *Neocæſarea Euphratenſis.* 11 *Sergiopolis.* 12 *Sura.* 13 *Marianopolis*, which ſome place in *Syria Secunda.*

In Oſrhoena, *or* Meſopotamia Inferior.

1 *Edeſſa.* 2 *Carræ.* 3 *Circeſium.* 4 *Nicephorium.* 5 *Batnæ.* 6 *Callinicus*, al. *Leontopolis.* 7 *Marcopolis.* 8 *Himeria.* 9 *Dauſara.*

In Meſopotamia Superior.

1 *Amida*, now called *Caramit.* 2 *Niſibis.* 3 *Rheſina.* 4 *Martyropolis.* 5 *Caſchara.* To theſe *Holſtenius* adds two more, *Cepha*, and *Mniſus* or *Miniza.*

In Phœnicia Prima.

1 *Tyrus.* 2 *Sidon.* 3 *Ptolemais*, or *Acon.* 4 *Berytus.* 5 *Byblus.* 6 *Tripolis.* 7 *Area.* 8 *Orthoſias.* 9 *Botrus.* 10 *Aradus.* 11 *Antardus.* 12 *Porphyrium.* 13 *Paneas*, or *Cæſarea Philippi.* 14 *Sycaminum*, now called *Capo Carmelo.*

In Phœnicia Libani.

1 *Damaſcus.* 2 *Laodicea Scabioſa.* 3 *Abyla.* 4 *Heliopolis.* 5 *Jabruda.* 6 *Palmyra.* 7 *Emeſa.* 8 *Danaba.* 9 *Evaria*, al. *Euroia*, al. *Juſtinianopolis.* 10 *Comoara.* 11 *Corada.* 12 *Saracenoram Civitas*, which rather belongs to *Arabia. Holſtenius* adds one more called *Arlana.*

In Cyprus.

1 *Conſtantia.* 2 *Citium.* 3 *Amathus.* 4 *Curium.* 5 *Paphos.* 6 *Arſinoe.* 7 *Lapithus.* 8 *Thamaſſus.* 9 *Chytrus.* 10 *Tremithus.* 11 *Soli.* 12 *Ledra.* 13 *Tiberiopolis. Holſtenius* adds, *Carteriopo-*

[w] Hieron. Loc. Hebr. voce Bethſariſſa. Eſt in finibus Dioſpoleos villa, quindecim ferme ab ea millibus diſtans contra Septentrionem in regione Tamnitica.

PATRIARCHATUS ANTIOCHENI GEOGRAPHICA Nova Descriptio.

lis, and *Carpaſia*, where *Philo* was Biſhop, who commonly by a vulgar Error is call'd *Carpathius*, as if he had been Biſhop of *Carpathus* an Iſland in the *Mediterranean*-Sea, whereas he was Biſhop of this *Carpaſia* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, as *Holſtenius* and Dr. *Cave* have both obſerved.

SECT. X. *Obſervations on the Dioceſes of* Cyprus.

NOW to make ſome few Remarks upon theſe Dioceſes diſtinctly, I obſerve that by the ſame Reaſon that *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* places *Cyprus* under the Patriarch of *Antioch*, he might have brought *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, *Adiabene*, *India*, and the Nation of the *Homerites* in *Arabia Felix*, under *Antioch* alſo. For there were Biſhops in all theſe places, as I ſhall ſhew, but independent of any Patriarch except their own Metropolitans. And ſo *Cyprus* was declared to be by the Council of *Epheſus*; whence it was always reckoned an *Autocephalus*, or Independent Province, as has been more fully proved [*] in another place. All I have farther to obſerve of it here, is in reference to thoſe fifteen Dioceſes that we have found there, that they were large ones, if compared with thoſe of *Paleſtine:* For *Cyprus* is computed by *Ferrarius* 170 Miles long, and by others 200; which is more than *Paleſtine*. *Baudrand* reckons it 500 Miles in compaſs; which, without enquiring any farther into the particular diſtance of Places or largeneſs of the Cities or Villages, is ſufficient to ſhew that thoſe Dioceſes were none of the leaſt Size, though ſhort of ſome that we ſhall meet with in the Continent, as we take a View of the other Provinces.

SECT. XI. *Of the Dioceſes of* Syria Prima *and* Secunda.

THAT which lay next to *Cyprus* was *Syria*, which anciently comprehended all the Country betwixt the *Mediterranean* and *Euphrates*; but the *Romans* divided it into ſix Provinces, *Syria Prima* and *Secunda*, *Phœnicia Prima* and *Secunda*, *Theodorias*, and *Euphratenſis*, otherwiſe called *Hagiopolis* and *Comagene*. The ſix Provinces together are computed by Geographers to be between three and four hundred Miles in length, and two hundred broad from the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates*. And the whole Number of Dioceſes in all the Provinces was about fifty ſix, that is, but eight more than we found in *Paleſtine*. By which the Reader may eaſily make a general Eſtimate of the Largeneſs of theſe in compariſon of the other in *Paleſtine*, by conſidering the Dimenſions of each Country, and comparing them together. But I will ſpeak a little more particularly of a few Dioceſes in theſe Provinces. *Syria Prima* had anciently but ſix Dioceſes, and in the later *Notitia's* we find only five. The Metropolis was *Antioch*, one of the largeſt Cities in the World. *Chryſoſtom*, who may be ſuppoſed to be a competent Judge of its Greatneſs, ſpeaks ſometimes of ten or twenty *Myriads* [*x*], that is an hundred or two hundred thouſand People in it. And he makes this a Part of his Panegyrick upon *Ignatius*, That whereas it is a difficult Matter ſometimes to govern an hundred or fifty Men; yet ſuch was his Wiſdom and Virtue, that St. *Peter* doubted not to commit to his Care a City, which had two hundred thouſand People in it. The Territory without the City was anſwerable to its Greatneſs within: For one way it reached two Days Journey, or fifty Miles, to the Territory of *Cyprus*, where *Theodoret* was Biſhop: For *Strabo* [*y*] ſays, theſe two Territories joined one to another. There were many great Villages like Cities in this compaſs; as *Daphne* in the Suburbs of *Antioch*; *Gindarus* in the Borders of the Dioceſe toward *Cyprus:* In *Strabo*'s time it was a City [*z*] belonging to *Cyprus*, or *Cyrrheſtica*. But I muſt note, that there ſeem to have been two Places of that Name, the one a City, the other a Village. For *Strabo* [*] ſpeaks of a *Gindarus* in the *Regio Cyrreſtica*, which he calls a City: And we find one *Petrus Gindarenſis* ſubſcribing among the Biſhops of *Syria* in the Council of *Nice*; who was alſo among the Biſhops of the Council of *Antioch* which condemned *Athanaſius*, as *Holſtenius* [*a*] and *Schelſtrate* have obſerved out of the Subſcriptions of theſe Councils. Whence we may conclude, that *Gindarus* mentioned by *Strabo*, was probably the ſame City, whereof this *Peter* was Biſhop, and that there was another *Gindarus*, a Village in the time of *Theodoret* belonging to *Antioch*, where *Aſterius* the Monk lived, of whom *Theodoret* [*b*] ſpeaks in his religious Hiſtory; where he alſo mentions other Villages [*c*] near Mount *Amanus* in the Territory of *Antioch*; which muſt be at a great Diſtance from *Antioch:* For Mount *Amanus* was the Northern Limit of *Syria*. *Berræa* and *Chalcis* were large Cities, 20 Miles from one another. In the ſame Province lay *Selecia Pieria* ſixteen Miles from *Antioch* down the River *Orontes*, and five Miles from Sea; which was Compaſs enough to make a large Dioceſe, though much inferior to the former.

In *Syria Secunda* there was anciently ſeven Biſhopricks, and we find the ſame Number in the later *Notitia's* of the Church. Of theſe *Apamea* was the Metropolis, a City which *Theodoret* [*d*] makes to be ſeventy five Miles from *Antioch:* And that it had a large Territory and many Villages, we learn from *Strabo* [*e*] and other antient Writers. *Lariſſa* in this Province is computed by *Ferrarius* to be fourteen Miles from *Apamea*; *Arethuſa* ſixteen from *Epiphania*; *Epiphania* eighteen from *Lariſſa*. So that at leaſt twenty Miles will be allotted to every Dioceſe in the Province.

[*] *Book* II. *Chap.* xviii. *Sect.* 2. [*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 26. in Matth. It. Hom. 42. in Ignat. Tom. 1. p. 567. [*y*] Strabo lib. 16. p. 751. [*z*] Strabo Ibid. [*] Holſten. Annotat. Geograph. p. 206. [*a*] Schelſtrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 93. [*b*] Theod. Hiſt. Relig. vit. Julian. p. 777. [*c*] Ibid. vit. Simeon. c. 6. p. 808. [*d*] Theod. Ep. 113. [*e*] Strabo, lib. 16.

SECT. XII. *Of the Dioceſes of* Phœnicia Prima *and* Secunda.

IN *Phœnicia Prima* ſome few Cities, as I have obſerved before in ſpeaking of *Paleſtine*, lay very near together, as *Sycaminum* and *Porphyrium*, whoſe Dioceſes could not be very large upon that Account. But *Tyre* and *Sidon* and *Berytus* were both large Cities and at a greater diſtance. For *Tyre* was twenty five Miles diſtant from *Sidon* on the one ſide, and as much or more from *Ptolemais* on the other ſide. *Cotovicus* [*f*] reckons it but twenty, but *Ferrarius* ſays it was two and thirty. And the City itſelf was very large, if we take *Strabo*'s Account, for he ſays [*g*] it filled an Iſland that was nineteen Miles in compaſs. *Pliny* [*h*] agrees as to the bigneſs of the Iſland, but makes the City only two and twenty Furlongs. *Sidon* was alſo a large City, and not within twenty five Miles of any other. *Baudrand* makes it twenty five from *Tyre*, and thirty five from *Berytus*. *Berytus* was famous for the Study of the *Civil-Law*, and reckoned among the great and flouriſhing Cities of the *Eaſt*, and it had no nearer Neighbours than *Sidon* on the *South*, and *Byblus* on the *North*, which *Ferrarius* ſets at thirty four Miles diſtance from it. The Dioceſes in the other *Phœnicia* toward Mount *Libanus*, were greater than the former. For here were ſome larger Cities and at a greater Diſtance from one another. Among theſe was the great City *Damaſcus*, once the Metropolis of the Province, the Largeneſs of which may be collected from what *Joſephus* relates [*i*] how that the *Damaſcenes* ſlew there ten thouſand *Jews* in one Day. *Emiſſa*, the new Metropolis, is accounted alſo a large City by *Ammianus Marcellinus* [*k*], who equals it to *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, and *Berytus*. And for their Territories, we muſt judge of them by their Diſtance from other Places. *Laodicea* and *Arethuſa* were the neareſt Neighbours to *Emiſſa*, and *Ferrarius* makes them ſixteen Miles diſtant from it. And we do not find *Damaſcus* pent up in narrower Bounds: For it was ſurrounded with *Abyla*, and *Jabruda*, and *Cæſarea Philippi*, the laſt of which *Ferrarius* reckons twenty ſix Miles from it. *Abyla* was the Head of a Region, thence called *Abylene*, which gave the Denomination of a Tetrarch to *Lyſanias*, as St. *Luke* informs us: Whence we may collect there was a conſiderable Territory belonging to it. Here was alſo the great City *Palmyra*, the Head of another Region, thence called *Palmyrene*, of which it is reaſonable to make the ſame Concluſion; though I have nothing more particularly to remark of the Extent of theſe Regions, ſave that *Abyla* is reckoned thirty two Miles from *Heliopolis*, another noted City in this Province, and one of its neareſt Neighbours, as *Ferrarius* out of *Antonine*'s *Itinerary* computes their Diſtance. *Vid. Ferrar. voce Heliopolis.*

SECT. XIII. *Of* Theodorias.

IN the Province of *Theodorias* between *Syria Prima* and *Phœnicia* on the Sea-coaſt there were but three Dioceſes. *Laodicea* the Metropolis, *Balanea* and *Gabala*, and the ſame are mentioned in *Goar*'s *Notitia* and others. Now the diſtance of theſe Places may be ſeen in *Antonine*'s *Itinerary*. *Balanea* was twenty four Miles from *Antaradus* in *Phœnicia*; *Gabala* twenty ſeven Miles from *Balanea*, which *Ferrarius* calls twenty four according to modern Accounts; and *Laodicea* the Metropolis was eighteen from *Balanea*. And their Territories extended farther other ways.

SECT. XIV. *Of* Euphrateſia, *or* Comagene.

IN the Province of *Euphrateſia* or *Comagene* there were anciently thirteen Dioceſes, and but one more in later *Notitia*'s. Here were ſeveral large Cities, as *Hierapolis* the Metropolis of the Province, and *Samoſata* on the *Euphrates*, which both *Joſephus* [*l*] and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [*m*] deſcribe as a great and magnificent City. But the largeſt Dioceſe for Extent of Territory in theſe Parts was that of *Cyrus*, where *Theodoret* was Biſhop, who gives a moſt particular Account of it. He ſays in one place [*n*] it was forty Miles in length and forty in Breadth; and that there were above ſix Myriads, or threeſcore thouſand ζύγα or *Juga* of Land in it. Now a *Jugum* of Land was not a ſingle Acre, as ſome learned Men miſtake; but as much Land as a Yoke of Oxen could plough in a Year; and the *Roman* Taxes were raiſed by ſuch Proportions of Land, whence the ordinary Tax upon Land was ſtiled *Jugatio* in the Civil-Law, as I have had Occaſion to note [*o*] in another Place. So that threeſcore thouſand *Juga*, according to this Account, will make a far greater Dioceſe, than if we ſhould underſtand it of ſingle Acres only. And that we may not think this was barren and unoccupied Land, *Theodoret* in another Place ſpecifies what number of Churches and Pariſhes he had in his Dioceſe, which he ſays [*p*] were eight hundred: Some of which were over-run with the Hereſies of *Marcion*, *Arius*, and *Eunomius*, when he came to the Dioceſe; but he converted above ten thouſand of one Sect only, *viz. Marcionites*, [*q*] to the Catholick Faith, and of others ſome thouſands more. All which Arguments agree to make it one of the largeſt Dioceſes in the *Eaſt*, as *Blondel* [*r*] ingenuouſly confeſſes it to be, though ſome others would fain inſinuate the whole Story to be a Fiction, when yet all Circumſtances concur to give it the cleareſt Evidences of Truth. They who would ſee Objections anſwered, may conſult Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [*s*] or Dr. *Maurice* [*t*], who have particularly conſidered the Exceptions that have been raiſed againſt it. As to the other Cities of this Province, *Doliche*, *Germanicia*, *Nicopolis*,

[*f*] Cotovic. Itinerar. lib. 1. c. 20. [*g*] Strabo lib. 16. [*h*] Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. [*i*] Joſeph. de Bell. lib. 2. c. 25. [*k*] Ammian. lib. 24. c. 26. [*l*] Joſeph. de Bello. lib. 7. c. 27. [*m*] Ammian. lib. 14. [*n*] Theodor. Ep. 42, & 47. [*o*] *See Book V. c. iii. n.* 3. [*p*] Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon. ἐν ὀκτακοσίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἔλαχον ποιμαίνειν. τοσαύτας γὰρ ὁ Κύρρῳ παροικίας ἔχει. [*q*] Id. Ep. 145. p. 1026. πλείους ἢ μυρίους, &c. [*r*] Blondel. Apol. p. 187. [*s*] Stillingfleet *of Separation*, p. 258. [*t*] Maurice's *Defence of Dioc. Epiſc.* p. 396.

Zeugma, *Cæsarea*, &c. Some of them were but small Cities, as *Doliche*, which *Theodoret* speaks of [*u*] with the diminutive Title of πολίχνη σμικρά, a very small City: But they might have large Dioceses, as *Cyrus* had, which itself was neither a great City nor very well inhabited, but had a Diocese larger than many other Cities which were ten times the bigness of it.

SECT. XV. *Of* Osbroena, *and* Mesopotamia.

IN the *Roman* Provinces beyond the *Euphrates* (which some call by the general Name of *Mesopotamia*, because it lay between the two Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; but the *Romans* divided it into two Provinces, *Osbroena* on the Banks of *Euphrates*, and *Mesopotamia* toward the *Tigris*) there are so few Dioceses to be found in antient Records, that to me it seems probable that our Accounts are very imperfect: For the whole Number in both Provinces is but sixteen; whereas in the later *Notitia's* there are sixteen in *Osbroena* alone, and in the other Province thirty five more; which makes it probable that antient Accounts are here defective. Otherwise we must say, that these Dioceses were extremely large. For *Baudrand* makes the Country four hundred and twenty Miles long, and two hundred and seventy broad. Which divided into sixteen Dioceses would make them all of great Extent. But the Country seems not to have been all converted, for the *Roman* Cities were only such as lay by the Banks of the Rivers, and chiefly upon the *Euphrates*. I shall therefore make no other Estimare of them, than by the certain Light we have of them in antient History. From which it is clear, that some of them were at least such Episcopal Dioceses as were in all other parts of the World, that is, Cities with Country-Regions, and Village-Churches. This is evident from what *Epiphanius* observes of *Chascara*, one of the Cities of *Mesopotamia*, that beside the Bishop's See it had Village-Churches, and Presbyters incumbent on them in the IIId Century. For speaking [*w*] of *Manes* the Heretick, the first Founder of the *Manichees*, he says, when he had been baffled at a publick Disputation by *Archelaus* Bishop of *Chascara*, and had like to have been stoned by the People, he fled to *Diodoris* a Village belonging to *Chascara*, where one *Tryphon* was Presbyter, whom he challenged to a new Disputation. And if the lesser Cities had such kind of Dioceses, we may readily conclude the same of *Nisibis* the Metropolis, which was so large a City as to be able to defend itself sometimes against all the Power of the *Persian* Empire; being, as *Sozomen* [*x*] observes of it, in a manner all Christian in the time of the Emperor *Julian*. *Edessa*, the Metropolis of the other Province of *Osbroena*, was also a very large City, and the Royal Seat of *Agbarus*, who lived in our Saviour's Time, and by whose Means it is generally thought to be converted very early to Christianity; and so it might perhaps from the very first have several Churches in it. However, in After-ages we are sure it had: For *Sozomen* speaking of the Persecution under *Valens* the *Arian* Emperor, says, he took away all the Churches within the City, among which [*] that of St. *Thomas* was one, so that the People were forced to assemble in Gardens without the City for Divine Service.

SECT. XVI. *Of* Armenia Persica.

BESIDE these Provinces mentioned by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*, there were some other Countries out of the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, which had the same Form of Episcopal Government, upon which therefore it will not be amiss to make a few Strictures, whilst we are speaking of the Eastern Provinces. That which we now call *Armenia Magna*, was anciently called *Armenia Persica*, because it belonged not to the *Roman*, but to the *Persian* Empire. Here were also Bishops in the time of *Theodoret*, as appears from some of his Epistles. For writing to one *Eulalius* a Bishop, he styles him [*y*] for distinction sake, τὸ περσικῆς Ἀρμενίας, Bishop of the *Persian Armenia*. And another Epistle [*z*] is directed to one *Eusebius* a Bishop of the same Region. By which it is plain there were Bishops in that Country in *Theodoret's* time; but how many we cannot learn from him or any other antient Writer. *Otho Frisingensis* [*a*] and *Baronius* [*b*], and some other modern Writers, talk much of the *Catholick* of *Armenia* that sent to submit himself to the Pope in the XIIth Century, having a thousand Bishops under him. But as Mr. *Brerewood* [*c*] rightly observes, if the whole Story be not a Fiction, *Otho* must needs mistake Obedience for Communion: For the *Catholick* of *Armenia* might have a great number of the *Jacobite* Bishops in his Communion, but there could not be so many in *Armenia* under his Jurisdiction. For the modern *Notitia* mentions but nineteen Bishops in this *Armenia*, as the Reader will find in the seventh Chapter of this Book. And it is not probable they should multiply from twenty to a thousand in an Age or two. However this Story has no relation to the State of the Church in the Primitive Ages, about which the present Enquiry is only concerned.

SECT. XVII. *Of* Assyria *or* Adiabene, *and* Chaldæa.

WE have some farther Account of the Churches in other Parts also of the *Persian* Dominions beyond the River *Tigris*, in *Adiabene*, which is a Region of *Assyria*, and in *Babylonia* or *Chaldæa*, in which we find two large Cities, *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, under one Bishop. These were the Royal Seats of the *Persian* Kings, and but three Miles from each other, as *Pliny* [*d*] and *Ferrarius* after him compute, though

[*u*] Theod. lib. 5. c. 4.
[*w*] Epiph. Hær. 66. Manichæ. n. 13.
[*x*] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3.
[*] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 18.
[*y*] Theodor. Ep. 77. ad Eulal.
[*z*] Theod. Ep. 78.
[*b*] Baron. an. 1145.
[*d*] Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.
[*a*] Otho Friſing. lib. 7. c. 32.
[*c*] Brerewood Enquir. c. 24.

others

others place them at a greater distance. *Seleucia* is by some said to be the same as *Mosul*, the present Seat of the Patriarch of the *Nestorians*. But antiently they were both but one Diocese, as we learn from *Sozomen* [e], who styles *Simeon* Archbishop of *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, under *Sapores* King of *Persia*, who lived in the time of *Constantine*. There were other Bishops also in these parts at the same time, some of which suffered Martyrdom together with *Simeon*, as the same Author informs us [f]. He also mentions one *Acepsimas*, a Bishop in the Region of *Adiabene*, and 23 more, whose Names are there recorded, as suffering Martyrdom about the same time [g] in several parts of the *Persian* Empire. And what sort of Dioceses they had, we may conjecture from what *Sozomen* [h] says of one of them named *Bichor*, That he suffered Martyrdom together with *Maurcandus* his *Chorepiscopus*, and two hundred and fifty more of the Clergy that were under him. Such a number of Clergy, and a *Chorepiscopus* among them, seem to bespeak a pretty large Diocese; and if the rest were answerable to this, we may conclude the Bishops were all of the same Species as we have seen in all the Eastern Nations.

SECT. XVIII. *Of the* Immireni *in* Persia, *and* Homeritæ *in* Arabia Felix.

Theodorus Lector [i] speaks of another Nation converted to Christianity in the time of *Anastasius* the Emperor, whom he names *Immireni*, and says, they were Subjects of the *Persian* Empire, and dwelt in the most southern parts of their Dominions. Whether they had above one Bishop is not certain; for only one is mentioned as set over them upon their Conversion. And it might be with them, as it was with some other barbarous People, *Goths*, *Saracens*, &c. that one Bishop served the whole Nation. *Valesius* confounds this People with the *Homeritæ*, whom *Bochart* and others more truly place in *Arabia Felix* toward the *South*-Sea. *Baronius* [k] supposes the *Homerites* first converted to the Christian Faith about the Year 354, at the same time that the *Indians* or *Ethiopians* were converted in the Reign of *Constantius*. But we have no account then of what Bishops were settled among them: But in the beginning of the VIth Age we find the Christian Religion in a flourishing Condition there, till one *Dunaan* an Apostate *Jew*, having gotten the Kingdom, raised a great Persecution against the Church, especially at *Nargan*, where one *Arethas* was a petty King, subject, as many other small *Reguli* were, to the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, whom he barbarously destroyed with all his people. But this Cloud quickly blowing over by the Assistance of *Justin* the *Roman* Emperor, and *Elesban* King of *Ethiopia*, who conquer'd *Dunaan* [l], the Government fell again into the Hands of a Christian King, in whose Time *Gregentius* Archbishop of *Tephra*, the Royal City, is said to have had that famous Disputation with *Herbanus* the *Jew*, the result of which was the Conversion of an incredible number of *Jews* in that Region. Here I chiefly observe that *Gregentius* is styl'd Archbishop of *Tephra*, which implies, that he had Suffragan Bishops under him: And in the Relation of his Death at the end [m] of the Dispute, it is added, that both Bishop, Priests and Deacons were gather'd together to attend his Funeral. By which it appears, that the state of that Church, so far as we have any account of it, was conformable to other Churches.

SECT. XIX. *Of Bishops among the* Saracens *in* Arabia.

WE have some few Intimations also given us of Churches planted antiently among the *Saracens* in *Arabia*, which were never under the *Roman* Empire. *Hilarion* is said by some [n] to have begun the Conversion of this Nation, but it was not compleated till *Mauvia* Queen of the *Saracens* made it a Condition of her making Peace with the *Romans* in the time of *Valentinian*, that they should send her one *Moses* a famous Monk to be the Bishop of her Nation; which was accordingly done, and so he became the first Bishop of that Region of the *Saracens*, as *Ruffin* [o] and *Socrates* [p] and the other Historians inform us. *Sozomen* also adds, that one *Zocomos* another *Regulus* or petty Prince of another Region of the *Saracens*, being converted by a Monk, brought over all his Subjects to the Christian Faith. *Theodorus Lector* [q] likewise mentions another of these *Saracen* Princes, named *Alamundarus*, who embraced the Faith in the Reign of the Emperor *Anastasius*, *An.* 513. And *Cyril* of *Scythopolis*, who wrote the Lives of *Euthymius* and *Sabas*, takes notice also of a Plantation of *Saracens* under the *Roman* Government in *Palestine* [r], over whom one *Peter*, a converted *Saracen*, who had before been their Captain, was made the first Bishop by *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem* about the middle of the Vth Century. Now we are to observe, that as these *Saracens* were thus divided into little Nations (after the manner of the *Arabians*) and had each their *Regulus* or petty Prince: So they seem each to have had their proper Bishop, one to a Nation, and no more. And therefore in Councils we find them usually subscribing themselves rather by the Title of their Nation, *Episcopus Gentis Saracenorum*, than any other way. Which I take to be an Indication, not that all the *Saracens* in the World had but one Bishop, but that every petty Nation had a Bishop of its own, though it is hard to distinguish sometimes which Family or Tribe of them is meant by that general Title. In the second Council of

[e] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 8. [f] Ibid. c. 9. [g] Ibid. c. 13. [h] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 14. [i] Theodor. Lect. lib. 2. p. 567. [k] Baron. an. 354, & 522. p. 85. [l] Acta Martyr. Homeritar. ap. Baron. an. 522, & 523. [m] Gregent. Disput. cum Herban. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 1. p. 272. [n] Baron. an. 372. p. 344. [o] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 6. [p] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 36. Theodor. lib. 4. c. 2. Sozom. lib. 6. c. 38. [q] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. [r] Cyril. vit. Euthym. ap. Baron. an. 420. p. 481.

ANTIQUORUM ASIÆ MINORIS EPISCOPATUUM GEOGRAPHICA Descriptio.

PONTUS EUXINUS
Cherſoneſus
Daphnuſia
Panium
Conſtantinopolis
Heraclea
Boſpho Thrac.
BITHYNIA
Bithis Fl.
Calpes R.
Chalcedon
Prænetum
Nicomedia
Dreppanum alias Helenopolis
PROPONTUS
Inſula Præconeſus
NICEA
Neocæſarea
Apamea
Prouſa
Hadriana
Cyzicus
Rhindacus Fl.
Parium
Lampſacus
Abidus
Dardanum
Sepus
Germa
HELLESPONTUS
Ceramus
Bareli
Ilium
Pomanium
Therma
Ocea
Melimpolis
Troas
Adrianothere
Adriana
Andera
Gargaria
Antandrus
Aſſus
Anæa
Hellespont. Fl.
Antiſſa
LESBOS IN.
Methymna
Proſelen
Mytilene
Stephane
Sinope
Iunopolis
Amaſtris
Gangra
Dadibra
Tion
Heracleapontica Cratia
Claudiopolis als Bythinium
PAPHLAGONIA
Sora
Elæus R.
Parthenius Fl.
Halicus Fl.
Amiſus
Iris Fl.
Ceraſus
Pharnacia
Pitiuſa
Polemonium
Trapezus
Thermodon Fl.
PONTUS POLEMONIACUS
Neocæſarea
Amaſia
Androſia
Iborea
HELENOPONTUS
Andrapa
Cariſſa
Pompeiopolis
Tauium alias Tabia
Aſpona
Irocmi
Anaſtaſiopolis
Iuliopolis
Berin Topolis
Sangarius Fl.
Ancyra
Peſſinus
Prouſa
Hadriana
Ariſta
Dablis
Patauium
Apamea
Neocæſarea
GALATIA PRIMA
PHRYGIA
Hipſus
Midaium
Cydiſſus
Polibotus
Amorium
Otrum
Nacolia
Doryleum
Myrum
Synaus
Egara
Aneyra
Dioclia
Cotiæum
Amadaſſa
GALATIA SECUNDA SALUTARIS
Docimæum
Prymneſia
Synnada
Augustopolis
Cinaborium
Eucarpia
Bryzon
Lyſias
Phrygia Pacatiana Prima
Lydia
Cerata
Iulia Gordus
Tiberiopolis
Eumenia
Meonia
Thyatira
Heroceſaria
Cabala
Aurelio polis
Hercani al Orcani
Arſinoe
Naulochus
Pitane
Aminetum
Myrina
Elea
Sardis
Magneſia
Palæopolis
Trallis
Hypepa
Cuma
Phocea
Lebedus
Teos
Clazomenæ
Erythræ
Chios In. & V.
Smyrna
Metropolis
Colophon
Ephesus
Icaria In.
Samus In. & V.
CYCLADES
Leria In.
Coin & V.
INSULÆ
Aſtypalæa In.
Carpatus In.
Carpathus
Cnidus
Ceramus
Laryma
Halicarnaſſus
CARIA
Myndus
Bargillia
Erisy
Iaſſus
Anaſtaſiopolis
Tabæ
Miletus
Alinda
Cyhira
Stauropolis
Latmi
Briullum
Amyzon
Stratonicea
Sion
Bargaſa
Arpaſa
Apollonia
Hieropolis
Aphrodiſias
Priene
Magneſia
Tralles
Maſtaura
Evaza
Thyatira
Heraclea
Hyllus
Hyrcanis
Hermus Fl.
Caicus R.
Caſtabus Fl.
Cayſter Fl.
Meander Fl.
Lycus Fl.
Xanthus Fl.
Calbis Fl.
Axylus
Rhodus
Rhodus In. & V.
MARE RHODIUM
MARE PAMPHYLIUM
Xanthus Fl.
Caſtabus Fl.
Antiphellus
Patara
Phellus
Olympus
Phaſelis
Attalia
Aſpendus Fl.
Eurymedon Fl.
Cestrus Fl.
Sida
Sifdra
Erimne
Coracesium
Carallus
Etene
Lyrbe
Selga
Aſpendus
Perga
Panemorius
Adriana
Side
Comana
Cappadocia
Cæſarea
Mocissus
Nazianzum
Colonia
Sassimi
Ciscissa
Theodosiopolis
Tyana
Faustinopolis
Iconium
Laranda
Honomada
Derbe
Baratha
Corna
Paralais
Isaura
Sauatra
Lystra
Canna
Hydmatus
Poara
Parnassus
CAPPADOCIA TERTIA
CAPPADOCIA SECUNDA
CAPPADOCIA PRIMA
ARMENIA
Arcas
Phuphena
Antitaurus Mons
Melas Fl.
Meliten e
Zoropassus
Ariarathia
Nosalene
Arabissus
Cocussum
Dalisandus
Cybistra
Cappa-docia
Comana
Coryeus
Farsus
Sebaste
PATRIARCHATUS ANTIOCHENI
PARS
MARE CILICIUM
Salamis
CYPRUS IN.
Amasia
Sebaste
Sebastopolis
Zelus
Nicopolis
Satala
Comanapontica
Halis Fl.
Thermæ
Camuliana
Euphrates Fl.
Berisse
ARMENIA PRIMA

Epheſus [s] one *Auxilaus* is ſtyled *Epiſcopus Saracenorum Fœderatorum*, among the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*, whence it is eaſy to conclude, there is meant the ſame *Saracens* that *Cyril* ſpeaks of, who were Confederate with the *Romans*, or under the *Roman* Government. But in other places we are left to gueſs what *Saracens* may be meant, ſince they were divided into ſeveral petty Nations, and more than one Nation of them, as we have ſeen, were converted to the Chriſtian Faith.

SECT. XX. *Biſhops of the* Axumites *or* Indians *beyond* Egypt.

THERE is one Eaſtern Country more, famous for its Converſion by *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius* in the time of *Athanaſius*, but yet learned Men are not agreed where to place it. The antient Hiſtorians *Ruffin* [t], *Socrates* [u], and the reſt that relate the Story, commonly call it *India ulterior*, the *Inner India*: Whence *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* [w] and *Baronius* [x], and many others, take it for granted, that they mean *India* within *Ganges*, the other part without *Ganges* having been converted before (as they think) by the Apoſtle St. *Bartholomew*. But *Holſtenius* [y] and *Valeſius* [z] correct this miſtake, and Biſhop *Pearſon* [a] has more fully proved that the *India* they ſpeak of was no part of the *Eaſt-Indies*, but *India* beyond *Ægypt*, which was part of *Ethiopia*, whereof *Axumis* was the Metropolis. This lay not far from the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* over-againſt the Country of the *Homerites* in *Arabia*, whence *Conſtantius* in one of his Laws [b] joyns theſe two Nations together. From which and many other Authorities, Biſhop *Pearſon* unanſwerably proves, that this *India* can be underſtood of no other but the *Ethiopick India*, whereof *Axumis* was the Metropolis. This the Ancients called *India*, as well as the other: For *Virgil* ſays, The *Nile* flowed from the *Blackamoor Indians* [c], and *Procopius Gazenſis* ſtyles the *Red*-Sea, the *Indian*-Sea, becauſe it bordered upon this *India* beyond *Egypt*. Now in this Country *Frumentius* was the firſt Biſhop that we read of, being ordained Biſhop of *Axumis* by *Athanaſius* and a Synod of *Egyptian* Biſhops, and ſent thither to convert the Country and ſettle Churches among them: Which therefore we need not doubt, were of the ſame Species with thoſe in *Egypt* and the reſt of the World. For *Axumis* was not the only Place that had a Biſhop. For *Palladius* mentions one *Moſes* [d] Biſhop of *Adulis*, which was another City of *Ethiopia*. And in his Life of St. *Chryſoſtom* [e] he alſo ſpeaks of one of his own Name, *Palladius* Biſhop of the *Blemmyes*, which were a People of *Ethiopia*, adjoining to *Egypt*, as *Strabo* and *Pliny* and other Geographers inform us. Biſhop *Pearſon* gives ſome other Proofs, out of *Cedrenus* and the *Arabick* Canons of the *Nicene* Council, and their antient *Liturgies*, that they had Biſhops in that Country ever ſince this their firſt Converſion. But nothing more particular occurring concerning their Dioceſes, for want of better Light we can give no farther Account of them. And for the ſame Reaſon I muſt omit ſeveral other Eaſtern Nations, as the *Parthians*, and *Indians* about *Ganges*, which were converted by St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle; and the *Iberians* and other Nations lying upon the *Caſpian*-Sea, which *Ruffin* [f] ſays, were converted firſt by a Captive Woman in the time of *Conſtantine*. Antient Hiſtory affords us but ſlender Accounts of the Original of theſe Churches, and leſs of the Conſtitution and Settlement of them. So that taking our leave of theſe far diſtant Regions, we will come next to a Part of the World which is better known, which is the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, under which were antiently comprehended all the Provinces of *Thrace* and *Aſia Minor*, except *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*, which alway belonged to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. I ſhall firſt ſpeak of *Aſia Minor*, and then proceed to the *European* Provinces, taking each Country as they lie in their natural Order.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of this Account in the Provinces of Aſia Minor.

SECT. I. *Of the Extent of* Aſia Minor, *and the Number of Dioceſes contained therein.*

TO underſtand the State of Dioceſan Churches in *Aſia Minor*, it will be proper, before we deſcend to Particulars, to examine the Extent of the Country in groſs, and ſee how many Dioceſes are to be found in the whole: For by this we may make an Eſtimate of them in general, allowing each Dioceſe its Proportion upon an equal Diſtribution of the Country into ſo many Parts as there were Dioceſes in it. Not that they were really ſo equally divided: (For in ſumming up

[s] Conc. Epheſ. 2. in Act. 1. Conc Chalcedon. Tom. 4. p. 118. [t] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9. [u] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. [w] Carol. a S. Paulo. Geogr. Sacr. p. 268. [x] Baron. Not. in Martyrol. Die 27. Octob. [y] Holſten. Not. in Car. a S. Paulo. Geogr. p. 171. [z] Valeſ. Not. in. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. [a] Pearſon Vind. Ignat. Par. 2. c. 11. p. 332. [b] Nullus ad Gentem Auxumitarum & Homeritas ire præceptus, ultra annui temporis ſpatia debet Alexandriæ de cætero commorari. [c] Virgil. Georg. 4. ver. 293. Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis. [d] Pallad. de Gentibus Indiæ. [e] Pallad. vit. Chryſoſt. [f] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 10.

the Particulars we ſhall find here were ſome of the largeſt and ſome of the ſmalleſt Dioceſes in the World:) But we may conceive them as equal, in order to make a Diviſion of the whole Country at once among them. Now Dr. *Heylin* in his Geography [a] reckons the length of *Aſia minor* from the *Helleſpont* to the River *Euphrates* to be 630 Miles; and the breadth from *Sinus Iſſicus* in *Cilicia* to *Trabezond* in *Pontus* to be 210 Miles. The antient Geographers *Strabo* [b] and *Pliny* [c] make it almoſt 200 Miles more in length. But then their Accounts are taken from ſome antient *Periplus* or Sea-voyage, which never proceeds in a direct Line, but takes in the Bendings and Windings of the Sea, which may eaſily ſtretch 600 to 800 Miles: So that the Accounts may be the ſame, when Allowance is made for the Exceſſes of one way of meaſuring above the other. As to the breadth, *Pliny*'s Account is rather leſs: For he makes it but bare 200 Miles [d] from *Sinus Iſſicus* to the *Euxine* Sea. But then he ſays, this was the narroweſt Part of it, where the two Seas almoſt made it a *Peninſula*. And it is certain in other Parts it was much broader. For *Strabo* [e] reckons the breadth of *Cappadocia* only from *Pontus* to Mount *Taurus* 1800 Stadia, which is above 200 Miles: And yet *Caſaubon* [f] ſuppoſes, that by *Pontus* he does not mean the *Pontus Euxinus*, but the Province of *Pontus*, which was to be added to the breadth of *Aſia* on one ſide of *Cappadocia*, as *Cilicia* was on the other. So that we can hardly ſuppoſe the breadth of *Aſia*, taking one Part with another, to be leſs than 300 Miles. Now this was divided by the *Romans* into two large Civil Dioceſes, the *Aſiatick* and *Pontick*, each of which had ten or eleven Provinces in them, and every Province ſeveral Cities and Epiſcopal Dioceſes, beſide thoſe of *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*, which are reckoned to the *Oriental* Dioceſe, and were under the Patriarch of *Antioch*. *Chriſtopherſon* in his Tranſlation of *Theodoret*, makes a ſtrange Miſtake concerning theſe Biſhopricks. For whereas *Theodoret* ſays, that *Aſia* or the *Aſiatick* Dioceſe was τῶν ἕνδεκα ἀρχόντων, under eleven Civil Prefects [g], he tranſlates it, *undecim Antiſtites*, as if there had been but eleven Biſhops in all the *Aſiatick* Dioceſe; and only as many in the *Pontick* Dioceſe, becauſe *Theodoret* ſays it had ἰσαρίθμους ἡγεμένας, the ſame number of Governors; whereas *Theodoret* is not ſpeaking of Eccleſiaſtical Governors but Civil Governors of Provinces; whereof there was the Number *Theodoret* ſpeaks of in each of thoſe Dioceſes; but Biſhopricks were abundantly more numerous: For ſome ſingle Provinces had above forty, and in the whole Number they were according to *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*'s reckoning 388, *viz.* In *Aſia* 42. *Helleſpont* 19. *Phrygia Pacatiana Prima* 29. *Pacatiana altera* 5. *Phrygia Salutaris* 20. *Lydia* 24. *Caria* 25. *Piſidia* 28. *Pamphylia prima* 12. *Pamphylia ſecunda* 24. *Piſidia* 19. *Lycaonia* 19. *Cappadocia prima* 6. *Cappadocia ſecunda* 6. *Cappadocia tertia* 5. *Armenia prima* 5. *Armenia ſecunda* 10. *Galatia prima* 7. *Galatia ſecunda* 4. *Pontus Polemoniacus* 6. *Elenopontus* 6. *Paphlagonia* 5. *Honorias* 5. *Bithynia prima* 14. *Bithynia ſecunda* 4. *Cilicia prima* 7. *Cilicia ſecunda* 9. *Iſauria* 23. In the latter *Notitia*, which the Reader will find at the end of this Book, the Number is a little increaſed to 403. For though ſome Provinces decreaſed, yet others increaſed in their Numbers, ſo that in the VIIIth Century we find 15 Dioceſes more than were in former Ages, which is no great Alteration in ſuch a multitude, conſidering what great Additions have been made in ſome other Countries in compariſon of this. Now then, ſuppoſing 400 Dioceſes to have been in a Country 600 Miles in length and 300 in breadth, let us examine how much upon an equal Diſtribution will fall to every Dioceſe. And it appears upon an exact Computation, that ſuppoſing there had been 450 Dioceſes, there would have been 20 Miles to each Dioceſe: And conſequently, there being not ſo many by 50, every Dioceſe muſt have ſo much the more upon an equal Diſtribution. But then it muſt be owned, that the Diſtribution was generally unequal in this Country: For the Biſhopricks of the *Pontick* Provinces were for the moſt part very large, and thoſe of the *Aſiatick* Provinces conſequently the ſmaller upon that Account, and abundantly more numerous: So that here the Reader may view the largeſt and ſmalleſt Dioceſes in the World together, and yet the ſame Species of Epiſcopacy maintained in all without Diſtinction.

SECT. II. *Of* Cappadocia *and* Armenia Minor.

To begin with the *Pontick* Provinces, *Cappadocia* was a very large Country, and had but few Biſhopricks. *Strabo* [h] reckons it 3000 Stadia in length, that is 375 Miles: But then he takes it in a larger Senſe than we do now, as including all from the Provinces of *Lycaonia* and *Phrygia* to the *Euphrates*; which takes in *Armenia minor* as well as *Cappadocia*: For antiently they were all one Kingdom, though afterwards divided into five Provinces, three *Cappadocia*'s, and *Armenia prima* and *ſecunda*. But now in all theſe five Provinces there were not thirty Dioceſes at firſt, and ſome of thoſe were new erected in the IVth Century, as *Saſima*, where *Gregory Nazianzen* was made Biſhop, which before belonged either to *Cæſarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia prima*, from which it was an 100 Miles diſtant; or to *Tyana* the Metropolis of *Cappadocia ſecunda*, from which it lay 32 Miles, [i] as *Ferrarius* computes. This ſhews that theſe Dioceſes were of great Extent: But we have ſtill more certain Evidence of the thing: For *Gregory Nazianzen* [k] ſays, that St. *Baſil*, who was Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, had fifty *Chorepiſcopi* under

[a] Heylin. Coſmogr. lib. 3. p. 3. p. 547, & 548. [b] Strabo, lib. 12. [c] Plin. lib. 6. c. 2. [d] Plin. lib. 6. c. 2. [e] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 539. [f] Caſaub. in Loc. [g] Theod. lib. 5. c. 28. [h] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 539. [i] Ferrar. Lexic. Geograph. voce Saſima. [k] Naz. Carm. de Vita ſua.

him; and *Basil* himself often speaks of his *Chorepiscopi* [l] and Country Presbyters and Deacons [m] under them: Which argues his Diocese to be of great Extent, though we cannot precisely fix the Limits of it. And the Paucity of Dioceses in this Province argues the same. For by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*'s Account, beside *Cæsarea*, the Metropolis of the first *Cappadocia*, there were but five Bishopricks more in that Province, *Nyssa*, where *Gregory Nyssen* was Bishop, *Thermæ Regiæ*, *Camuliana* or *Justinianopolis Nova*, *Ciscissa*, and *Theodosiopolis* at the time of the sixth General Council; which are the same that are mentioned in the later *Notitia's*, only *Methodiopolis* is put for *Theodosiopolis Armeniæ*, to which Province the Council of *Chalcedon* ascribes it. So that there were really never above five Dioceses in this Province, and two of those, *Camuliana* and *Ciscissa*, erected after the Council of *Chalcedon*. For in the Synodical Epistle of this Province to the Emperor *Leo* at the end of that Council, there are but two Bishops subscribe beside the Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, *viz.* the Bishops of *Nyssa* and *Thermæ*. *Sozomen* [n] speaks of one *Prapidius*, Governor of St. *Basil*'s Hospital (called *Basilias* from its Founder) who was likewise a Bishop that had several Villages under his Jurisdiction. But whether his Diocese was in this *Cappadocia* is uncertain.

The second *Cappadocia*, which was made by a Division of the Province in the time of St. *Basil*, had according to *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*'s Account six Dioceses, *Tyana* the Metropolis, *Sasima*, *Justinianopolis*, *Asuna*, *Faustinopolis*, and *Cybistra*. But as *Holstenius* [o] has observed, two of these are mistaken. For there never was any such City as *Asuna*, which is only a corruption in the *Latin* Editions of the Councils for *Sasima*; it being in the *Greek*, ἐπισκοπῶν σασίμων, Bishop of *Sasima*. And *Justinianopolis* was only another Name for *Mocissus*, which *Justinian* having advanced to be a Metropolis in the third *Cappadocia*, stiled it by his own Name *Justinianople*. So that there were really no more than four Dioceses in this Province, and one of them, *Sasima*, but of late Erection. This was also but an obscure Village, σενὸν κωμύδριον *Nazianzen* [p] himself calls it. So that the three ancient Dioceses must be of very large Extent, though we have no farther Account of them, save that *Pasa* a Village twelve Miles distant from *Tyana*, is said to be in that Diocese [q], by one *Buphrantes* in the fifth General Council, and *Sasima* was originally part of the same Diocese, though thirty two Miles distant from the Cathedral. Which sufficiently demonstrates the largeness of Dioceses in this Province.

The third *Cappadocia* had never above five Bishopricks, *Mocissus*, *Nazianzum*, *Colonia*, *Parnassus*, and *Doara*. Of these *Mocissus* was the Metropolis, which owed its Honour to *Justinian*, who dignify'd it with the Title of a Metropolis, and as *Procopius* [r] informs us, gave it his own Name *Justinianople*; by which Title *Peter* Bishop of the Place subscribes himself [s] in the Council under *Mennas*. *Doara* was but a Village, as *Holstenius* [t] observes out of St. *Basil*, who styles it [u] κώμην Δώαρα. And *Nazianzus* was but a small City, as *Gregory Nazianzen* himself [w] styles it: But they must have large Dioceses, else the other three must be so much the larger for it. For Geographers place them at a considerable distance from one another. *Nazianzus* had its *Chorepiscopi*, sometimes mentioned in *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Epistle [x], which is an Argument that it had a large Country Region.

In *Armenia prima*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* could find but five Bishopricks, *Sebastea* the Metropolis, *Sebastopolis*, *Nicopolis*, *Satala* and *Berisse*. And the latter *Notitia's* add but one more, *Colonia*, which is also reckoned to *Cappadocia tertia*, unless there were two of the same Name in those Provinces. In the second *Armenia* he augments the Number to Ten, *Melitene* the Metropolis, *Arca*, *Comana*, *Arabissus*, *Cucusus*, *Ariarathia*, *Amasa*, *Zelona*, *Sophene*, *Diospontum*. But *Holstenius* in his Animadversions upon the place [y] observes that four of these are to be struck out of the Account: For *Amasa* or *Amasia* belonged to *Hellenopontus*; and *Zelona* was no other than *Zela* in the same Province; *Sophene* belonged to *Armenia major*; and *Diospontum* was not the Name of a Bishoprick, but only an old Name for the Province of *Hellenopontus*. And his Conjecture is confirmed by the later *Notitia's*, which name the six first of these Dioceses, but none of those four, under the Title of *Armenia minor*. So that in all these five Provinces upon an exact Computation, there were not above twenty four Dioceses in the whole: Some of them therefore must be very large in a Country of three hundred Miles Extent.

SECT. III. *Of* Pontus Polemoniacus.

THE next Province to these upon the *Euxine* Sea, was *Pontus Polemoniacus*, so called from *Polemonium* a chief City in the Province; beside which, and *Neoæsarea* the Metropolis, there were but three other Bishopricks, *Trapezus*, *Cerasus*, and *Comana:* All which lay at a great distance from one another. *Polemonium*, *Cerasus* and *Trapezus*, lay in a Line on the Sea-coast: And by *Pliny*'s reckoning [z] *Polemonium* and *Trapezus* were a hundred fifty five Miles distant from each other, and *Cerasus* lay in the middle between them. *Neocæsarea* was a hundred Miles

[l] Basil. Ep. 181. [m] Basil. Ep. 412. [n] Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 34. [o] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 157. [p] Naz. Carm. de Vita sua. [q] Conc. Gener. 5. Collat. 5. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 478. [r] Procop. de Ædific. Justin. lib. 5. p. 48. [s] Concil. sub Menna. Act. 2. [t] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 159. [u] Basil. Ep. 10. [w] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patris T. 1. p. 310. [x] Naz. Ep. 88. [y] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 161. Id. Annot. in Ortelium, p. 172. *Observes out of* Antonine's Itinerary, *That* Sebastea *and* Sebastopolis *were thirty six Miles distant from each other.* [z] Plin. lib. 6. c. 4.

within Land, and *Comana* ſixty from it. *Juſtinian* [*] mentions theſe five Cities in one of his Novels, and ſays, there were no more in the Province. For *Pitius* and *Sebaſtopolis* were not Cities, he ſays, but only Caſtles: And, as *Holſtenius* [†] obſerves, they were not properly of this Province, but lay in *Solo Barbarico*, and were only Appendages to this Province, becauſe they could not conſtitute a Province of themſelves. So that though *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* make *Pitius* a ſixth Biſhoprick of this Province, yet the later *Notitia's* leave it out of the number, and only retain the five firſt mentioned. Which ſhews, that for eight hundred Years there never was any Alteration made in this Province, nor more Epiſcopal Dioceſes erected, than there were Imperial Cities, though they lay at ſo great a diſtance from one another.

SECT. IV. *Of* Helenopontus.

THE next Province to this on the Sea-coaſt, was *Helenopontus*, which had only ſix Biſhopricks at the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Amaſea* the Metropolis, *Amiſus*, *Sinope*, *Iborea*, *Zela*, and *Andrapa*, as appears from the Synodical Epiſtle of the Biſhop of this Province [*a*] to the Emperor *Leo*: And there was but one more added in After-ages. Of theſe *Amiſus* and *Sinope* lay upon the Sea-coaſt at a great diſtance from one another. For *Pliny* ſays, *Amiſus* lay in the Way between *Polemonium* and *Sinope*, a hundred and twenty Miles from *Polemonium* [*b*], and a hundred and thirty from *Sinope* [*c*]. Which comes pretty near the Account of *Strabo*, who reckons it nine hundred Stadia, or a hundred and twelve Miles from *Amiſus* [*d*] to *Sinope*. He alſo ſpeaks of *Armena* a Village of *Sinope* [*e*] fifty Stadia from it. And of *Amaſea*, the Place of his Nativity, he gives a more particular Account, telling us, that it had a very large Territory one way, which for Number of Villages in it was called χιλιόκωμον πεδίον [*f*], the Country of a thouſand Villages. This was an In-land City, reckoned by ſome a hundred Miles from Sea. *Zela* was as far from *Amaſea*. So that without all doubt theſe were Dioceſes of the largeſt Size, ſince the Cities lay ſo remote from one another.

SECT. V. *Of* Paphlagonia *and* Galatia.

NEXT to *Helenopontus* on the Sea-coaſt lay the Province of *Paphlagonia*, in which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons five Biſhopricks, *Gangra* the Metropolis, *Sora*, *Junopolis*, *Pompeiopolis*, and *Amaſtris*. To which *Holſtenius* has added *Dadibra*, whoſe Biſhop *Polychronius* ſubſcribed in the Council of *Chalcedon* [*g*] by *Peter* the Metropolitan of *Gangra*. In the following Ages the Number decreaſed; for there is no mention of *Pompeiopolis* or *Amaſtris* in the later *Notitia's* of the Church. Among theſe *Gangra* is noted by St. *Baſil* [*h*] as a Place that had ſeveral Churches and Altars in it. *Amaſtris* was a large City, which grew out of four others adjoining to it, *Seſamus*, *Cytorus*, *Cromna* and *Teius*, as *Ferrarius* obſerves, who [*i*] makes it to be ſixty eight Miles from *Heraclea* in the next Province of *Honorias*. And all the reſt ſeem to have been at as great diſtances from each other.

On the *South* of *Paphlagonia* lay *Galatia*, an In-land Country, having *Cappadocia* on the *Eaſt*, and *Phrygia* on the *Weſt*. This by the *Romans* was divided into two Provinces, *Galatia Prima*, and *Secunda* or *Salutaris*. In the firſt there were ſeven Biſhopricks, *Ancyra* the Metropolis, *Tabia*, *Heliopolis*, or *Juliopolis*, *Aſpona*, *Cinna*, *Berinopolis*, and *Anaſtaſiopolis*. The laſt of which ſeems to be erected in the latter End of the VIIth Century only; for there is no mention of it till the ſixth General Council of *Conſtantinople*, *An.* 681. The *Greek Notitia's* add but one more, *Mizzi*, retaining all the other old Names; which ſhews that little Alteration was made in this Province for the ſpace of eight Ages in the Church. The other *Galatia* had originally but four Dioceſes, *Piſſinus*, *Orciſtus*, *Peteneſſus*, and *Trochmada* or *Trochmi*: But the number was doubled in After-ages, as appears from the *Notitia* at the End of this Book, which adds, *Eudoxias*, *Mericium*, and *Therma* or *Germocolonia*, and *Juſtinianopolis*, otherwiſe called *Spalea*. Now *Galatia* was a large Country, and the Dioceſes (even when theſe four laſt mentioned were added) were ſtill of great Extent. For *Baudrand* [*k*] obſerves, that *Peſſinus* was fifty Miles from *Ancyra*, and thirty from *Therma*, by which we may gueſs at the diſtance of other Places. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* places *Cinna* pretty near *Ancyra*; but *Baudrand* removes it to the Southern Borders of *Galatia* nearer *Synada* in *Phrygia* [*l*]. And *Ferrarius* computes *Aſpona* to be ſixty four Miles from *Ancyra* Eaſtward. *Berinopolis* and *Juliopolis* ſeem to have been almoſt as much to the *Weſt*. Which leaves room for the Territory of *Ancyra* to be ſufficiently large, though I find no particular Account given of it, nor of ſome other Places in theſe two Provinces of *Galatia*.

SECT. VI. *Of* Honorias.

NEXT to *Paphlagonia* on the Sea-coaſt lay the Province of *Honorias*, or *Pontus Honorii*, ſo called by *Theodoſius* the Emperor in honour of his Son *Honorius*. This was divided from *Bithynia* by the River *Sangarius*, and from *Paphlagonia* by the River *Parthenius*. Here were antiently five Biſhopricks, and the later *Notitia's* have but ſix, *Claudiopolis*, *Heraclea*, *Pruſias*, *Tium*, *Cratea*, *Adrianopolis*, which laſt is not to be met with in the Subſcriptions of any antient Council. Of theſe, *Tium* and *Heraclea* lay upon the *Euxine* Sea, thirty eight Miles diſtant from each other, as *Pliny* [*m*] informs us. *Claudiopo-*

[*] Juſtin. Novel. 28. in Præfat. [†] Holſten. Annot. Geograph. p. 164. [*a*] Append. Concil. Chalced. c. 53. Conc. T. 4. p. 963. [*b*] Plin. lib. 6. c. 4. [*c*] Ibid. c. 2. [*d*] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 547. [*e*] Strabo, ibid. p. 545. [*f*] Ibid. p. 561. [*g*] Concil. Chalced. Act. 6. [*h*] Baſil. Ep. 73. [*i*] Ferrar. voce Amaſtris. [*k*] Baudrand. Lexic. voce Peſſinus. [*l*] Baudrand, voce Cinna. [*m*] Plin. lib. 6. c. 1.

lis

lis was at as great distance from them in the middle of the Province; *Baudrand* [n] says, it was above thirty Miles from *Heraclea*. So that we may judge of *Cratia*, otherwise called *Flaviopolis*, and of *Prusias*, by what we have discovered of the former. All these Cities are sometimes reckoned to *Bithynia*, because *Honorias* was antiently Part of *Bithynia*, till *Theodosius* made a distinct Province of it.

SECT. VII. *Of* Bithynia prima *and* secunda.

BUT after the Separation was made, *Bithynia* was again divided into two Provinces. In the first of which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons fourteen Dioceses. 1 *Nicomedia* the Metropolis. 2 *Chalcedon*. 3 *Prusa ad Olympum*. 4 *Prænetum*. 5 *Helenopolis*. 6 *Basilinopolis*. 7 *Apollonias*. 8 *Hadriana*. 9 *Cæsarea*, al. *Smyrdiana*. 10 *Arista*. 11 *Patavium*. 12 *Dablis*. 13 *Neocæsarea*. 14 *Cius*. In the other *Bithynia* only four. 1 *Nicæa*, where the famous Council of *Nice* was held, the Metropolis of the Province. 2 *Apamea*. 3 *Linoe*. 4 *Gordus*. And the later *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* makes but one more in both Provinces, though some new Names of Places are inserted. Among these I observe the City of *Nice* had a large Diocese: For several Regions belonging to it are mentioned in the Council of *Chalcedon*, in a famous Dispute between the Metropolitans of *Nicomedia* and *Nice*, both laying Claim to the Diocese of *Basilinopolis*, as one of their Suffragans. *Anastasius* Bishop of *Nice* pleaded, That *Basilinopolis* [o] was once but a Region belonging to *Nice*, as *Tacteus* and *Doris* then were, till *Julian* or some other Emperor made it a City, setting up a *Curia* or Civil Magistracy therein, upon which it became also a Bishop's See, according to the known Rule and Practice of the Church. So that the Diocese of *Nice* was once so large, as to have another Diocese taken out of it, and yet there remained several Regions belonging to it. The like may be collected from its distance from other Places. *Pliny* [p] says, It was twenty five Miles from *Prusa*, and *Ferrarius* reckons forty four Miles from *Nicomedia*, but sets *Helenopolis* or *Drepanum* in the Middleway [q] between them. *Basilinopolis* by mistake is set by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* at a greater distance from it, between *Nicomedia* and *Chalcedon*; but it must be nearer, having been once a Part of its Diocese, as was observed before. For other Places I find little Account of them in particular, save only that *Strabo* makes it three hundred Furlongs or thirty seven Miles from *Nicomedia* to the Mouth of the River *Sangarius*, whereabout *Cius* stood; and *Ferrarius* computes sixty from *Nicomedia* to *Chalcedon*, in all which Tract there were but these three Dioceses, and one more called *Prænetum*; so that if we had a particular Account of *Nicomedia* and *Chalcedon*, we might perhaps find them to have had Dioceses of as great Extent as any other. But *Apamea* and *Prusias*, *Baudrand* [r] says, were but nine Miles distant from one another. For these lay in the Southern Parts of *Bithynia*, and were some of the last in the *Pontick* Civil Diocese toward the *Asiatick* Diocese, where, as I observed before, the Cities were more numerous and thicker set together, and consequently the Episcopal Dioceses were generally less than in the other Provinces, as will appear by taking a distinct View of them in order as they lay.

SECT. VIII. *Provinces in the* Asiatick *Diocese.* Hellespontus.

IN the *Asiatick* Diocese the first Province next adjoyning to *Bithynia* was *Hellespontus*, so called from the Straits of the Sea named *Hellespont*, which was its western Border. It was antiently Part of *Mysia* and *Phrygia minor*, bordering on *Phrygia major* Eastward, and *Asia* to the *South*. In this Province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* has observed nineteen Dioceses in the antient Councils. 1 *Cyzicus* the Metropolis. 2 *Germa*. 3 *Pæmanium*. 4 *Occa*. 5 *Bares*. 6 *Adrianotheræ*. 7 *Lampsacus*. 8 *Abydus*. 9 *Dardanum*. 10 *Ilium*. 11 *Troas*. 12 *Melitopolis*. 13 *Adriana*. 14 *Scepsis*. 15 *Pionia*. 16 *Præconesus*. 17 *Ceramus*. 18 *Parium*. 19 *Thermæ Regiæ*. But the last of them *Holstenius* thinks is mistaken for *Germa* by a corrupt Reading of the antient Subscriptions. The *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* has but thirteen of these, so that five of them were sunk and united to others in the VIIIth Century. The greatest distance that I can find, of any of these Cities, was not above twenty Miles from one another. Which was the distance between *Cyzicus* and *Parium*, and *Lampsacus* and *Abydus*. But then *Dardanum* was but seventy Furlongs or eight Miles from *Abydus*; *Ilium* but thirteen Miles from *Dardanum*; *Troas* but twenty seven Miles from *Abydus*, though *Pionia*, *Ilium*, *Bares*, and *Dardanum* lay between them. So *Præconesus* was but a very small Island, and *Præmanium* a Castle once belonging to the Territory of *Cyzicus*, as *Ferrarius* has noted out of *Strabo*, *Stephanus*, and other antient Writers.

SECT. IX. Asia Lydiana, *or* Proconsularis.

THE two next Provinces I joyn together, because we sometimes find them under the common Name of *Asia Lydiana*, or *Proconsularis*, under which Title Bishop *Usher* has a most accurate Dissertation [s] upon them, where he distinguishes the several Acceptations of the Name *Asia*, either for the greater *Asia*, or *Asia minor*, or *Asia proprie dicta*, which was the *Romans* first Conquests in *Asia*, containing the Provinces of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Caria* and *Lydia*; or lastly, for *Asia Lydiana* or *Proconsularis*, which was those

[n] Baudrand. voce Claudiopolis. [o] Conc. Chalced. Act. 13. ap. Crab. p. 918. Sicut Tacteus & Doris Regiones sunt sub Nicæa, sic fuit ante hoc Basilinopolis, sub Nicæa, &c. [p] Plin. lib. 5. c. 32. [q] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Nicæa & Drepanum. [r] Baudrand. Lexic. voce Apamea. [s] Usser. Disquisitio Geographica de Asia Lydiana sive Proconsulari.

two Provinces which in *Conſtantine*'s diviſion are called diſtinctly *Aſia* and *Lydia*, as we here now take them. In this ſenſe we may call the former, *Aſia maxime proprie dicta*, which is bounded on the *North* by the Province of *Helleſpontus*, on the *Eaſt* by *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, on the *South* by the River *Mæander*, which ſeparates it from *Caria*, and on the *Weſt* by the *Ægean* Sea. In it *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* has found forty two antient Dioceſes. 1 *Epheſus* the Metropolis. 2 *Hypæpa*. 3 *Trallis*. 4 *Magnæſia ad Mæandrum*. 5 *Elæa*. 6 *Adramyttium*. 7 *Aſſus*. 8 *Gargara*. 9 *Maſtaura*. 10 *Brullena*, al. *Priulla*. 11 *Pitane*. 12 *Myrrina*. 13 *Aureliopolis*. 14 *Nyſſa*. 15 *Metropolis*. 16 *Valentinianopolis*. 17 *Aninetum*. 18 *Pergamus*. 19 *Anæa*. 20 *Priene*. 21 *Arcadiopolis*. 22 *Nova Aula*. 23 *Ægea*. 24 *Andera*. 25 *Sion*. 26 *Fanum Jovis*. 27 *Colophon*. 28 *Lebedus*. 29 *Teos*. 30 *Erytræ*. 31 *Antandrus*. 32 *Pepere* or *Perpere*. 33 *Cuma* or *Cyme*. 34 *Aulium*, al. *Aulii Come vel Vicus*. 35 *Naulochus*. 36 *Palæopolis*. 37 *Phocæa*. 38 *Bargaza*, al. *Baretta*. 39 *Thymbria*. 40 *Clazomenæ*. 41 *Magneſia*. 42 *Smyrna*. To theſe *Holſtenius* adds four more, *Evaza*, *Areopolis*, *Temnus* and *Argiza*. And thirty eight of theſe are the ſame that are mentioned in the *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* in the ſeventh Chapter of this Book. Now this was but a very ſmall Province for ſo many Dioceſes, if we examine either the whole Extent of it, or ſome particular Dioceſes therein. The Extent of it in length was from *Aſſus* near *Troas* to the River *Mæander*, or the Cities *Bargaſa* and *Sion*: Which was antiently the Country of *Ionia*, *Æolis* and part of *Myſia*, about two hundred Miles in length upon the *Ægean* Sea. But the breadth was nothing anſwerable to its length, being not above fifty Miles, taking one part with another. As to particular diſtances of Places, I find ſome of them thus noted by *Ferrarius* and *Baudrand*. *Aſſus* in the moſt northern Border was fifteen Miles from *Gargara*, and thirty from *Antandrus*; but *Anæa* and *Andera* lay between or near unto them. From *Antandrus* to *Adramyttium* is alſo reckon'd thirty Miles, but then *Trenænothyra* in *Phrygia* and *Nova Aula* in this Province come between them. On the ſame Shore we find *Naulochus* and *Pitane*, and then *Elea*, *Myrina* and *Cyme*, whereof *Myrina* was but ſeven or eight Miles from *Elea*, and *Cyme* the ſame diſtance, ſixty Furlongs from *Myrina*. Between *Pergamus* and *Cyme* is reckon'd twenty ſix Miles, but the forementioned Cities *Myrina* and *Elea*, with *Aminetum* and *Hierocæſarea*, lay between them. On the South of *Cyme* lay *Phocæa*, ten Miles from the Mouth of the River *Hermus*, and about the ſame diſtance from *Cyme*. From *Phocæa* to *Smyrna* is computed twenty five Miles, and from *Smyrna* to *Colophon* twenty Miles, but *Lebedus* lay in the middle way between them. *Colophon* and *Metropolis* upon the *Cayſtrus* were each of them twenty Miles from *Epheſus*, and *Epheſus* ſeems not to have had any nearer Neighbour, unleſs it was *Priene* towards the River *Mæander*, from whence we may conclude, that *Epheſus* was the largeſt Dioceſe in all this Province. And by theſe few Hints we may judge of the general Extent of them.

In the other Province of *Lydia*, *Carolus a Sacto Paulo* reckons twenty ſix Dioceſes. 1 *Sardis* the Metropolis. 2 *Philadelphia*. 3 *Tripolis*. 4 *Thyatira*. 5 *Septe*. 6 *Gordus*. 7 *Trallis*. 8 *Silandus*. 9 *Mæonia*. 10 *Fanum Apollinis*. 11 *Moſtena*. 12 *Apollonia*. 13 *Attalia*. 14 *Bana*. 15 *Balandus*. 16 *Hierocæſarea*. 17 *Acraſſus*. 18 *Daldus*. 19 *Stratonicia*. 20 *Satala*. 21 *Gabala*. 22 *Heraclea*. 23 *Areopolis*. 24 *Hellene*. 25 *Sena*, al. *Setta*. 26 *Civitas Standitana*. To which *Holſtenius* adds three more, *Maſtaura*, *Ceraſa*, and *Orcanis* or *Hircani*, which *Triſtan* and *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* both miſtake for a City ſomewhere among the *Hircanians*, but *Holſtenius* ſhews it belonged to *Aſia minor* and this Province of *Lydia*. I will not ſtand to examine the particular Bounds and Extent of Dioceſes throughout this Province; it being ſufficient to obſerve in general, that both it and *Aſia* put together, were not larger than the Provinces of *Pontus Polemoniacus* and *Helenopontus*; and yet there were not above ten or eleven Dioceſes in thoſe two Provinces, whereas we have diſcovered in theſe above ſeventy five, which is almoſt the Diſproportion of eight to one, and fully makes out the Obſervation I at firſt made of *Aſia minor*, That it had ſome of the greateſt and ſome of the ſmalleſt Dioceſes, quietly enjoying the ſame Form of Government together.

SECT. X. *Of* Caria.

THE next Province on the *South* of *Aſia* and *Lydia*, is *Caria*, bounded on the *Eaſt* with *Lycia*, and on the *South* and *Weſt* with the *Ægean* Sea, having the Rivers *Mæander* and *Calbis* for its Inland Bounds. Here *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* has found twenty five Dioceſes. 1 *Aphrodiſias* the Metropolis. 2 *Stauropolis*. 3 *Cybira*. 4 *Heraclea Salbaci*. 5 *Apollonias*. 6 *Heraclea Latmi*. 7 *Tabæ*. 8 *Antiochia ad Mæandrum*. 9 *Næapolis*. 10 *Orthoſias*. 11 *Harpaſa*. 12 *Alabanda*. 13 *Stratonice*. 14 *Alinda*. 15 *Amyzon*. 16 *Jaſſus*. 17 *Bargyla*. 18 *Halicarnaſſus*. 19 *Larima*, al. *Halarima*. 20 *Cnidus*. 21 *Myndus*. 22 *Ceramus*. 23 *Anaſtaſiopolis*. 24 *Eriſa*. 25 *Miletus*. The *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* increaſes the Number to thirty one. *Miletus* was the Place whither St. *Paul* called the Elders of *Epheſus*, which was about forty Miles diſtant from it. But ſeveral Dioceſes lay between them, as *Heraclea* near Mount *Lathmus*, which *Ferrarius* computes but twelve Miles from *Miletus*, ſo alſo *Briullium*, *Sion* and *Arpaſa* in the ſame Coaſt toward *Epheſus*. On the *South* of *Miletus* the other way, we have *Jaſſus* fifteen Miles from it, and *Tabæ* placed between them. From *Jaſſus* to *Halicarnaſſus* is computed fifty five Miles, but *Bargillia* and *Mundus* ſtand between them. From *Halicarnaſſus* to *Gnidus* is thirty Miles, but *Ceramus* is an intervening Dioceſe. And ſo the Reader may find all the Dioceſes of this Province ſcarce exceeding the Compaſs of ten or fif-

teen Miles throughout. But this was Territory ſufficient to make them exceed ſingle Congregations, and we need not queſtion but it was true of them all, what *Sozomen* (*Lib.* 5. *c.* 20.) particularly obſerves of *Miletus*, That in the Time of *Julian* it had ſeveral Chriſtian Oratories in its Neighbourhood. For he ſays *Julian* ſent Orders to the Governour of *Caria*, that whereas there were ſeveral Oratories or Churches built in Honour of the Martyrs near the Temple of *Didimæum*; (ſo the Temple of *Apollo* was called, that ſtood before *Miletus*;) he ſhould, if they were covered and had Communion-Tables in them, burn them with Fire: or, if they were half decayed of themſelves, he ſhould take care utterly to demoliſh and deſtroy them. There were, it ſeems, Churches then in the Suburbs or Country Regions of *Miletus*, which *Julian*, remembring what had lately happened to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne* in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, was ſo careful to have deſtroy'd, becauſe they were an Annoyance to his God.

SECT. XI. *Of* Lycia.

THE next Province to *Caria*, on the Sea-coaſt, is *Lycia*, where *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons twenty eight Dioceſes. 1 *Myra* the Metropolis. 2 *Maſtaura*. 3 *Telmeſſus*. 4 *Limyra*. 5 *Araxa*. 6 *Podalæa*. 7 *Sidyma*, al. *Diduma*. 8 *Olympus*. 9 *Zenopolis*. 10 *Tios*. 11. *Corydalla*. 12 *Caunus*, al. *Acaleia*. 13 *Acaraſſus*. 14 *Xanthus*. 15 *Marciana*. 16 *Choma*. 17 *Phellus*. 18 *Antiphellus*. 19 *Phaſelis*. 20 *Aucanda*. 21 *Eudoxias*. 22 *Patara*. 23 *Nyſa vel Neſus*. 24 *Balbura*. 25 *Oeneanda*. 26 *Bubon*, al. *Bunum*. 27 *Calinda*. 28 *Rhodia*. The *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* has moſt of the ſame Names and eight more; for it makes the whole Number of Dioceſes thirty ſix. But the leſſer Number in ſo ſmall a Province is ſufficient to ſhew the narrow Extent of its Dioceſes in compariſon of thoſe of the *Pontick* Provinces. For this Province was not above eighty or an hundred Miles ſquare, and the Cities therefore, one may eaſily conclude, lay pretty cloſe together. *Phellus* is reckoned but ſix Miles from *Antiphellus* one way, and ten from *Myra* the Metropolis another way. *Antiphellus* was nine from *Patara*, and *Telmeſſus* and *Patara* ſcarce ſo much from *Xanthus*; for *Baudrand* reckons but ſeventy Furlongs. By which it is eaſy to make an Eſtimate of the remaining Cities of this Province, which lay about equal Diſtances from one another.

SECT. XII. *Of* Pamphylia prima *and* ſecunda.

THE next Province on the ſame Shore, is *Pamphylia*, divided by the *Romans* into two, called *Pamphylia prima* and *ſecunda*. In the ſecond of them, which bordered upon *Lycia*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons twenty ſix Dioceſes. 1 *Perga* the Metropolis. 2 *Termeſſus*. 3 *Eudoxias*. 4 *Maximianopolis*. 5 *Palæopolis*. 6 *Penteneſſus*. 7 *Diciozanabrus*, al. *Zenopolis*. 8 *Ariaſſus*. 9 *Pugla*. 10 *Adriana*. 11 *Attalia*. 12 *Magidis*. 13 *Olbia*. 14 *Corbaſa*. 15 *Lyſinia*. 16 *Cordylus*. 17 *Lagania*. 18 *Panemoticus*. 19 *Geone*. 20 *Commachum*. 21 *Silvium*. 22 *Piſinda*, al. *Sinda vel Iſinda*. 23 *Talbonda*. 24 *Unzela*. 25 *Gilſata*. 26 *Pella*. To which *Holſtenius* adds five more, *Colobraſſus*, *Coraceſium*, *Senna*, *Primopolis*, and *Seleucia*. But three of theſe are by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* ſet in the other *Pamphylia* with nine more, in this order. 1 *Sida* the Metropolis. 2 *Aſpendus*. 3 *Etene*. 4 *Erymne*. 5 *Caſſus*. 6 *Semneam*, which is the ſame with *Senna* before mentioned. 7 *Carallus*. 8 *Coraceſium*, mentioned before. 9 *Syſdra*. 10 *Lyrbæ*. 11 *Colibraſſus*. 12 *Selga*. To which *Holſtenius* adds *Catana*, which makes the whole Number in theſe two Provinces forty one. And the Number is ſome Evidence that they were comparatively but ſmall. Sometimes, as *Holſtenius* has obſerved, two of them were united together. For in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Flavian*, one *Sabianianus* ſubſcribes himſelf Biſhop of *Eudocias*, *Termeſſus*, and *Jobia* [*]. Which we find in the firſt Seſſion of the Council of *Chalcedon*. And in the time of *Leo Sapiens* ſome more of them were united together; for his *Notitia* has but thirty ſix Dioceſes in both the Provinces. Yet any of them ſingle were of a competent Extent, to confute the Notion of thoſe who make Epiſcopal Dioceſes only Pariſh-Churches.

SECT. XIII. *Of* Lycaonia.

ON the North of *Pamphylia*, more within Land, lay the Province of *Lycaonia*, where we find nineteen Dioceſes. 1 *Iconium* the Metropolis. 2 *Lyſtra*. 3 *Derbe*, all mentioned in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. 4 *Onoſada*, al. *Uſada*. 5 *Amblada*. 6 *Honomada*. 7 *Laranda*. 8 *Baratta*. 9 *Hyda*. 10 *Sabatra*. 11 *Canna*. 12 *Berinopolis*. 13 *Iliſtra*. 14 *Perte*. 15 *Arana*, al. *Barattа*. 16. *Iſaura*. 17 *Miſthium*. 18 *Corna*. 19. *Pappa*. To which *Holſtenius* adds another, called *Hydmautus*, or *Gadamautus* in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*. But the *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* has but fifteen.

SECT. XII. *Of* Piſidia.

IN the next Province of *Piſidia*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds twenty Dioceſes. 1 *Antiochia* the Metropolis. 2 *Sagalaſſus*. 3 *Sozopolis*. 4 *Apamea*. 5 *Tityaſſus*. 6 *Baris*. 7 *Adrianopolis*. 8 *Limenopolis*. 9 *Laodicea Combuſta*. 10 *Seleucia*. 11 *Adada*. 12 *Mallus*. 13 *Siniandus*. 14 *Metropolis*. 15 *Paralaus*. 16 *Bindeum*. 17 *Philomeum*, which ſome place in *Phrygia*. 18 *Proſtama*. 19 *Gortena*. 20 *Theodoſiopolis*. The *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* augments the Number to twenty three. I ſtand not to make any particular Remarks upon theſe Dioceſes, becauſe any Reader that knows theſe two Provinces, will

[*] Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. Tom. 4. p. 230.

eaſily

easily imagine they are not to be compared with the other Dioceſes in the Northern Parts of *Pontus*.

SECT. XV. *Of* Phrygia Pacatiana *and* Salutaris.

THE laſt Provinces in the *Aſiatick* Dioceſe, are thoſe which the old *Greeks* and *Romans* called by one common Name *Phrygia Major*, but the *Roman* Emperors divided it at firſt into two, and then into three Provinces, one called *Phrygia Salutaris* from the Medicinal Waters found there, another *Phrygia Pacatiana*, or as ſome Books read it corruptly, *Capatiana*; and a third *Pacatiana Secunda*. In *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons up twenty Dioceſes. 1 *Synnada* the Metropolis. 2 *Dorylæum*. 3 *Polybotus*. 4 *Nacolia*. 5 *Midaium*. 6 *Hipſus*. 7 *Prymneſia*. 8 *Myrum* or rather *Merum*. 9 *Eucarpia*. 10 *Lyſias*. 11 *Auguſtopolis*. 12 *Bryſum*. 13 *Otrum*. 14 *Stectorium*. 15 *Cinnaborium*. 16 *Amadaſſa*. 17 *Cotyaium*. 18 *Præpeniſſus*. 19 *Docimæum*. 20 *Amorium*.

In *Phrygia Pacatiana prima*, he recounts twenty nine. 1 *Laodicea* the Metropolis. 2 *Tiberiopolis*. 3 *Azana*. 4 *Itoana*, or *Bitoana*. 5 *Ancyra Ferrea*, which *Holſtenius* obſerves to be ſometimes attributed to the Province of *Lydia* adjoyning. 6 *Cidiſſus*. 7 *Egara*, which *Holſtenius* corrects into *Aliana*. 8 *Pelte*. 9 *Apira*. 10 *Cadi*. 11 *Tranopolis vel Trajanopolis*. 12 *Sebaſta*. 13 *Eumenia*. 14 *Temenothyræ*. 15 *Aliona*. 16 *Trapezopolis*. 17 *Silbium*. 18 *Iluſa*. 19 *Nea*. 20 *Chæretapa*. 21 *Coloſſa*, now called *Chone*. 22 *Sinaus*. 23 *Philippopolis*. 24 *Themiſonium*. 25 *Sanis*. 26 *Acmonia*. 27 *Theodoſiopolis*. 28 *Bleandrus*. 29 *Atanaſſus*. *Holſtenius* ſtrikes out one of the Number, for *Nea* is but a corruption of the *Greek*, for *Sanæa* or *Sanans*, as he ſhews, but he finds out another, call'd *Dioclia*, to ſupply its room.

In *Pacatiana ſecunda* there were but five Dioceſes, being by much the leaſt of all the Provinces. 1 *Hierapolis* the Metropolis. 2 *Dionyſiopolis*. 3 *Anaſtaſiopolis*. 4 *Moſynus*. 5 *Attudi*. But this Province being of later Erection, theſe Dioceſes are more commonly attributed to *Phrygia Pacatiana* without any Diſtinction. Now I obſerve of *Phrygia* in general, that ſome of its Dioceſes bordering upon *Galatia*, were like thoſe of *Galatia* and the other *Pontick* Provinces, of a larger Extent than the reſt about *Hierapolis* and *Laodicea*, which two Metropolitical Sees were not at very great Diſtance from one another. *Ferrarius* in one place ſays, but ſix Miles; but it ſeems to be a Typographical Error, for in another place he makes *Coloſſæ* † to be between *Hierapolis* and *Laodicea* upon the Confluence of the Rivers *Lycus* and *Mæander*, at twenty Miles diſtance from them both. So that there muſt be a miſtake one way or other. *Pliny* is very exact in deſcribing the Situation of *Laodicea* [*], for he ſays, it ſtood upon the *Lycus*, and had its Walls waſhed alſo with the *Aſopus* and the *Caprus:* But yet he does not tell us how far the Confluence of theſe Rivers was from the Confluence of the *Lycus* with the *Mæander*, where *Coloſſæ* ſtood. But it may be concluded, it was no greater Diſtance from it, ſince all Authors agree, that *Laodicea* ſtood near the *Mæander*; and theſe three Cities, *Coloſſæ*, *Hierapolis*, and *Laodicea*, which St. *Paul* joyns together, are ſaid by *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, and others to be very near each other. They who have Opportunity to conſult *Antonine*'s *Itinerary*, which at preſent I have not, may perhaps find them more exactly deſcribed, and limited with more certain Bounds than I can pretend to aſſign them. If the firſt Opinion of *Ferrarius* be true, and agreeable to *Antonine*, That they lay but ſix Miles aſunder; then it will readily be concluded, that the Dioceſes in this part of *Phrygia*, were comparatively very ſmall, ſince by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*'s Deſcription, *Itoana*, *Trapezopolis*, *Attudi*, *Moſynus*, and *Antioch* upon the *Mæander* in *Caria*, ſeem not to have been at much greater Diſtance from one another.

SECT. XVI. *Of* Iſauria *and* Cilicia.

BESIDE theſe ſeveral Provinces of the *Aſiatick* and *Pontick* Dioceſes in *Aſia Minor*, there were alſo three Provinces in it which were reckoned to the Eaſtern Dioceſe and the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, viz. *Iſauria*, *Cilicia Prima*, and *Cilicia Secunda*, which muſt be ſpoken of in this place. *Iſauria* was antiently reckoned only a part of *Cilicia*, but from the time of *Conſtantine* both in the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Account it was eſteemed a diſtinct Province. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* mentions twenty two Dioceſes. 1 *Seleucia* the Metropolis. 2 *Celenderis*. 3 *Anemurium*. 4 *Lamus*. 5 *Antiochia ad Tragum*. 6 *Selinus*, al. *Trajanopolis*. 7 *Jotape*. 8 *Diocæſarea*. 9 *Philadelphia*. 10 *Domitiopolis*. 11 *Titopolis*. 12 *Hierapolis*. 13 *Niphelis*. 14 *Daliſandus*. 15 *Claudiopolis*, al. *Iſauria*. 16 *Germanicopolis*. 17 *Sbide*, al. *Iſis*. 18 *Ceſtrus*. 19 *Olbus*. 20 *Lybias*. 21 *Hermopolis*. 22 *Irenopolis*. To which *Holſtenius* adds two more; *Charadra* and *Lauzada*, which is ſometimes written corruptly *Vaſada* and *Nauzada*.

In *Cilicia Prima* there were eight Dioceſes. 1 *Tarſus* the Metropolis. 2 *Pompeiopolis*. 3 *Sebaſte*. 4 *Coricus*. 5 *Adana*. 6 *Mallus*. 7 *Zephyrium*, and 8 *Auguſta*, added by *Holſtenius*, who ſhews it to be a diſtant place from *Sebaſte*.

In the *Cilicia* there are reckoned nine. 1 *Anazarbus* the Metropolis. 2 *Mopſueſtia*. 3 *Ægæ*. 4 *Epiphania*. 5 *Irenopolis*. 6 *Flaviopolis*. 7 *Caſtabala*. 8 *Alexandria*, now called *Scanderon*. 9 *Roſſus*, in the Confines of *Syria*. The greateſt Part of theſe were large Dioceſes, like thoſe of *Syria*, as any one that computes the diſtance be-

[†] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Coloſſæ.

[*] Plin. lib. 5. c. 29. Celeberrima urbs Laodicea impoſita eſt Lyco flumini, latera alluentibus Aſopo & Capro.

tween

ANTIQUORUM ILLYRICI Orientalis & THRACIÆ Episcopatuum Geographica Descriptio.
DACIA ANTIQUA
DACIA RIPENSIS
MŒSIA PRIMA
MŒSIA 2da sive SUPERIOR
PREVALIS
DACIA MEDITERRANEA
DARDANIA
THRACIA
HÆMIMONTUS
RHODOPE
EPIRUS VETUS
EPIRUS NOVA
THESSALIA
MACEDONIA
PARAXIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
PONTUS HELLESPONTUS
PROPONTIS
SCYTHIA
SCYTHIÆ MAIOR PARS
ILLYRICI
ACHAIA
PELOPONNESUS
CRETA IN.
CYCLADES INSU.
SPORADES INSU.
LESBOS INSU.
MARE
IONIUM
ÆGEUM
Danubius Fl.
Aluta Fl.
Rhabon Fl.
Durostorum
Nicopolis
Marcianopolis
Dionysiopolis
Odyssus
Panisus Fl.
Anchialus
Apiara
Noua
Comsea
Abrittum
Mensembria
Deueltus
Pristia
Naissus
Escopolis
Budine
Remessiana
Sardica
Ulpianum
Putalia
Philippopolis
Diospolis
Diocletianopolis
Nessyna C. als Nessus
Orbelus M.
Scupi
Scodra
Doclea
Sardonus M.
Lucanus M.
Achrida
Drillo Fl.
Rhizinium
Lissus
Scardus M.
Primula
Zapara
Stobi
Thessalonica
Philippi
Paroeopolis
Neapolis
Strimon Fl.
Nicopolis
Topirus
Nessus
Abdera
Maronia
Thassus
Strimonicus Sinus
Coelos als Cylla
Ilipoli
Abidus
Cyzicus
Lysimachia
Heraclea
Constantinopolis
Byzia
Bergula als
Arcadiopolis
Hadrianopolis
Plotinopolis
Drusipara
Theodosiopolis
Cypsillo
Trajanopolis
Maximianopolis
Aenos
Aphrodisias
Axius Fl.
Lete
Gerons
Doberus
Candauy M.
Lychnidus
Heraclea
Erigon Fl.
Lucmagus Fl.
Barrhæa
Aliacmon Fl.
Dium
Peneus Fl.
Pindus M.
Pecus M.
Amantia
Apollonia
Dyrrachium
Scampes
Aulona
Valona
Bullis
Phanice
Anciasmus als Anchiaxus
Buthrotum
Hadrianopolis
Gomphi
Tricca
Dicæsarea
Cypera
Pagasa
Demetrias
Larissa
Thebæ Phthioticæ
Echinus
Lamia
Scarphia
Maliacus Sinus
Metropolis
Dodone
Euria
Nicopolis
Corcyra
Elatea
Oeta M.
Opus
Strategis
Coronæa
Parnassus M.
Thebæ
Platea
Thespiæ
Cytheron M.
Marathon
Athenæ
Megara
Sinus Corinthiacus
Helice
Patræ
Corinthus
Argos
Erymanthus M.
Cyllene M.
Tegea
Megalopolis
Lacedæmon
Taygetus M.
Messena
Corone
Ithaca I.
Cephalenia
Phonica
Achelous Fl.
Eurotas Fl.
Sinus Thermaicus
Chalcidica
Cassandria
Singiticus Sinus
Torone
Toronaicus Sinus
Hellespontus
Lemnos In.
Hephæstia
Eubœa
Oreum
Chalcis
Caryst.
Forthin.
Andros I & V.
Tenos I & V.
Myconus I.
Rhena I.
Cia I & V.
Coressia
Chios I & V.
Iscaria I.
Paros I & V.
Cuthunus I.
Melos I & V.
Therasia
Cydonia
Cisamus
Lappa
Eleuthera
Subrita
Cytæum
Cherronesus
Gnossus
Hierapitna
Gortyna
Cantanum

tween *Epiphania*, *Alexandria*, *Roſſus*, &c. will eaſily imagine.

SECT. XVII. *Of* Lazica *or* Colchis.

SOME reckon *Lazica*, which was antiently called *Colchis*, an Appendix to *Aſia Minor*, and therefore I mention it in this place. It is all the Country on the *Euxine*-Sea from *Trebezond* in *Pontus* to *Phaſis*, which *Strabo* reckons near two hundred Miles. The modern *Notitia's* ſpeak but of five Dioceſes, but that of *Leo Sapiens* in *Leunclavius* has fifteen. It was firſt made a *Roman* Province in the time of *Juſtinian*, who mentions the Cities [*t*] that were in it, *Petra* and *Juſtiniana*; with four Caſtles, *Pitius*, *Sebaſtopolis*, *Archæopolis* and *Rhodopolis*, which had antiently been in the Hands of the *Romans*; and four other Caſtles, *Scandias*, *Sarapenes*, *Muriſios*, and *Luſieros*, which he had lately taken out of the Hands of the *Perſians*. Of theſe one is as antient as the Council of *Nice*: For *Stratophilus* Biſhop of *Ptyuſium* or *Pitius* ſubſcribes there among the Biſhops of *Pontus Polemoniacus*, to which Province it was then annexed, as lying in *Solo Barbarico*, and not conſtituting any other Province. In the ſixth General Council there is mention of *Petra*, and *Phaſis* the Metropolis. And that is all the Account we have of them in the antient Councils.

SECT. XVIII. *Of the Iſle of* Lesbos *and the* Cyclades.

ANOTHER Appendix to *Aſia Minor*, are the leſſer Iſlands of the *Ægean* Sea, which conſtituted a Province by themſelves. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons four Dioceſes in *Lesbos* it ſelf, *Mytelene*, *Methymna*, *Tenedos*, and *Poroſelene*. But *Poroſelene* and *Tenedos* were diſtinct Iſlands by themſelves, which ſometimes had Biſhops of their own, and ſometimes were united to *Lesbos*: In the Council of *Sardica*, *Dioſcorus* ſubſcribes himſelf Biſhop of the Iſle of *Tenedos* alone: But in the ſecond Council of *Epheſus*, and in the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Florentius* ſubſcribes himſelf Biſhop of *Lesbos* and *Tenedos* together. Now as we muſt ſay, that *Tenedos* was but a ſmall Dioceſe by it ſelf, for it was but ten Miles in compaſs, as *Ferrarius* computes; ſo when *Lesbos* was joyned with it, it was a large one. For *Pliny* ſays, *Lesbos* alone had nine famous Towns, and *Strabo* makes it 1100 Stadia, or 140 Miles in compaſs.

The other Iſlands, called *Cyclades*, were divided into eleven diſtinct Dioceſes. 1 *Rhodus* the Metropolis. 2 *Samos*. 3 *Chios*. 4 *Coos*. 5 *Naxus*. 6 *Paros*. 7 *Thera*. 8 *Delos*. 9 *Tenus*. 10 *Melos*. 11 *Carpathus*. Now the largeſt of theſe, *Rhodes*, *Samos* and *Chios*, were about 100 or 120 Miles in compaſs, as *Pliny* [*u*] informs us. But the leſſer ſort of them, *Tenos* and *Thera*, were not above fourteen or fifteen Miles long, or forty in compaſs. So that among theſe we find Dioceſes of different Extent, as in the reſt of *Aſia*, but all agreeing in the ſame Species of Epiſcopal Government; and ſome of them, as *Lesbos*, having their *Chorepiſcopi*, but none ſo ſmall as to be confined to a ſingle Congregation.

And ſo we have gone over all the Provinces of the *Eaſt* under the Civil Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Orientis*, except the ſix Provinces of the *Thracian* Dioceſe, which becauſe they are *European* Provinces, we will conſider them as ſuch among the Provinces of *Europe*, and give them the firſt place in the following Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

A Continuation of the former Account in the European *Provinces.*

SECT. I. *Of the ſix Provinces of* Thrace. *And firſt of* Scythia.

IN Purſuance of the former Enquiry, we are led out of *Aſia Minor* into the Provinces of *Europe*, where the ſix Provinces of the *Thracian* Dioceſe, *Europa*, *Thracia*, *Hæmimontis*, *Rhodope*, *Mœſia ſecunda*, and *Scythia*, firſt offer themſelves to Conſideration. This was all the Country from *Macedonia* and the River *Strymon* to the *Danube*, which is now *Romania* and *Bulgaria*. A Country extending from *Conſtantinople* to *Sardica* above three hundred Miles one way, and from the *Ægean* Sea to the *Danube* almoſt as much the other. In all theſe Provinces the Dioceſes were very large. For in *Scythia*, the moſt Northern Province, there was but one Biſhoprick, though there were many Cities. For the Biſhop of *Tomi* was the ſole Biſhop of this whole Region, as is noted by *Sozomen* [*a*] and *Theodoret* [*b*] and other antient Writers, by whom he is ſometimes called the Biſhop of *Tomi*, and ſometimes the Biſhop of *Scythia*, as being the only Superintendent of all the Churches in that *Scythia*, which was made a Province of the *Roman* Empire.

SECT. II. *Of* Europa.

THE Province of *Europa* had alſo large Dioceſes. For ſeveral Cities were under one Biſhop. We find in the Acts of the Council of *Epheſus* [*c*] a Petition offered to that Council by the Biſhops of this Province, wherein they pray, that an Immemorial Cuſtom of their Country might be continued, whereby the Biſhop of *Heraclea* had alſo *Panium* in his Dioceſe, the Biſhop of

[*t*] Juſtin. Novel. 28. [*u*] Plin. lib. 5. c. 31. c. 35. [*c*] Concil. Epheſ. Par. 2. Act. 7. [*a*] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 21. lib. 7. c. 19. [*b*] Theodor. lib. 4.

Bizya had *Arcadiopolis*, the Biſhop of *Cœle* had *Callipolis*, the Biſhop of *Subſadia* had *Aphrodiſias:* To which Petition the Council agreed, and ordered, that no Innovation ſhould be made in the matter. Nor was there any Alteration in the time of the Council of *Chalcedon:* For there we find one *Lucian* [*d*] ſtyled Biſhop of *Bizya* and *Arcadiopolis* ſtill. But in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas* [*e*] we meet with ſome Alterations: For there *Panium* had a diſtinct Biſhop from *Heraclea*, and *Callipolis* from *Cœle*. And in the *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* in *Leunclavius*, *Bizya* and *Arcadiopolis* are not only diſtinct Biſhopricks, but both of them advanced to the Honour of *Autocephali* or Titular Metropolitans in the Church. In this Province ſtood alſo *Byzantium*, once ſubject to *Heraclea* the Metropolis, till it was rebuilt, and advanced to be the royal City by *Conſtantine*, after which it grew ſo great and populous, as to equal *Old Rome*. *Sozomen* [*f*] ſays, *Conſtantine* adorned it with many noble Oratories; and it appears from one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels [*g*] that in his time four of theſe Churches had no leſs than five hundred Clergy of all ſorts belonging to them. The *Novatians* themſelves, as *Socrates* [*h*] obſerves, had three Churches within the City: And in the Suburbs, or Region belonging to the City, the *Catholicks* had many Pariſhes and Churches at a conſiderable diſtance, as *Hebdomum*, *Sycæ*, *Marianæ*, *Hieron*, *Elea*, *Therapea* and *Heſtiæ*, otherwiſe called *Michaelium*, which *Sozomen* [*i*] ſays, was thirty five Furlongs from the City by Water, and ſeventy by Land. I think it needleſs to be more particular in the Deſcription of this Dioceſe, ſince theſe are ſufficient Indications of the largeneſs of it. I ſhall only add concerning this Province of *Europa*, that though *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons thirteen Dioceſes in it, *Heraclea*, *Panium*, *Cœlos*, *Callipolis*, *Cyla*, *Aphrodiſias*, *Theodoſiopolis*, *Cherſoneſus*, *Druſipara*, *Lyſimachia*, *Bizya*, *Selymbria* and *Arcadiopolis:* Yet really there were but nine: For *Cœlos* and *Cyla*, as *Holſtenius* has obſerved [*k*], were two Names for the ſame City, and *Callipolis* was joyned in the ſame Dioceſe with it; in like manner as *Panium* was annexed to *Heraclea*, and *Arcadiopolis* to *Bizya*. So that theſe were anciently Dioceſes of great Extent.

SECT. III. *Of* Thracia.

IN the Province of *Thracia*, properly ſo called, there were but four Dioceſes, *Philippopolis*, *Diocletianopolis*, *Nicopolis* and *Dioſpolis*. And the modern *Notitia*'s, that of *Leunclavius* only excepted, have but three: For *Nicopolis* is not mentioned in them.

SECT. IV. *Of* Hæmimontis.

IN the Province of *Hæmimontis* there were antiently ſix Dioceſes, *Adrianopolis*, *Meſembria*, *Sozopolis*, *Plutinopolis*, *Develtus* and *Anchialus*. The latter *Notitia's* reckon but the four firſt, and *Zoida* inſtead of the two laſt, which are omitted, as being ſunk or united into one.

SECT. V. *Of* Rhodope.

IN the Province of *Rhodope*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds ſix Dioceſes, *Trajanopolis*, *Maximianopolis*, *Abdera*, *Maronia*, *Ænus*, and *Cypſela*. To which *Holſtenius* adds, *Topirus*, which the other by miſtake places in *Macedonia*. But theſe were ſo far from increaſing in later Ages, that they ſunk into three, *Trajanopole*, *Anaſtaſiopole*, and *Perus*, which are all that the modern *Notitia's* mention.

SECT. VI. *Of* Mœſia ſecunda.

IN *Mœſia inferior*, or *ſecunda*, the laſt of the ſix *Thracian* Provinces, which is now much the ſame with *Bulgaria*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons nine Dioceſes, *Marcianopolis*, *Nicopolis*, *Novæ*, *Abritum*, *Duroſtorum*, *Dionyſiopolis*, *Odeſſus*, *Apiaria*, *Comæa*; to which *Holſtenius* adds another called *Triſta*, or *Priſta*, by *Socrates*, and *Nicephorus Caliſtus* σεξανλάωρσα. But whether increaſed or diminiſhed, we know not, for there is no Account of them in the *Notitia's* of later Ages. I make no further Remark upon theſe Dioceſes, ſave that they were generally large ones, as any one that will caſt his Eye upon a Map, or examine particular diſtances of Cities, will eaſily be convinced. And we may make the ſame general Obſervation upon moſt of the Dioceſes of the *European* Provinces in *Macedonia*, *Dacia* and *Illyricum*, till we come as far as *Italy*. For which Reaſon, it will be ſufficient to give the Reader only a Catalogue of the Names of Dioceſes in every Province of thoſe Regions, according to the Order and Diſtribution of them in the Church, following the Model of the Civil Government, which divided theſe Countries into three great Dioceſes, and ſeventeen or eighteen Provinces, under the general Name of *Illyricum Orientale* and *Occidentale*.

SECT. VII. *Provinces in the Civil Dioceſe of* Macedonia. *Epiſcopal Dioceſes in* Macedonia prima *and* ſecunda.

THE firſt of theſe are the Provinces of *Greece*, which by the *Romans* are all comprehended under one common Name of the Civil Dioceſes of *Macedonia*, which with the Dioceſe of *Dacia* was antiently the Diſtrict of the *Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici Orientalis*. In the Dioceſe of *Macedonia* were antiently ſix Provinces, or according to *Hierocles*'s Account, ſeven: *Macedonia prima* and *ſecunda*, *Epirus vetus*, and *Epirus nova*, *Theſſalia*, *Achaia*, and the Iſle of *Crete*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* confounds the two *Macedonia's* together, and reckons ſeventeen Dioceſes in both. 1 *Theſſalonica* the Metropolis of the firſt *Macedonia*. 2 *Philippi* the Metropolis

[*d*] Concil. Chalced. Act. 16. Tom. 4. p. 800.
[*e*] Concil. ſub Men. Act. 3. & 4.
[*f*] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 3.
[*g*] Juſtin. Novel. 3.
[*h*] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 38.
[*i*] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 3.
[*k*] Holſten. Annot. Geograph. p. 131.

of the ſecond. 3 *Stobi* the old Metropolis of the ſecond Province. 4 *Berrhæa*. 5 *Dium*. 6 *Particopolis*. 7 *Doberus*. 8 *Caſſandria*. 9 *Neapolis*. 10 *Heraclea Pelagoniæ*. 11 *Torone*. 12 *Lete*. 13 *Topiris*. 14 *Serre*. 15 *Heraclea Strymonis*. 16 Iſle of *Thaſſus*. 17 *Hephæſtia* in the Iſle of *Lemnos*. To which *Holſtenius* [*m*] adds *Primula* and *Zapara*, but rejects *Topiris*, as belonging to *Rhodope* a Province in the *Thracian* Dioceſe, and obſerves of *Serre*, that it was but another name for *Philippi*.

SECT. VIII. *Of* Theſſalia.

THE next Province upon the *Ægæan* Sea is *Theſſalia*, where *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds but eight Dioceſes. *Lariſſa* the Metropolis, *Demetrius*, *Echinus*, *Cypera*, *Metropolis*, *Lamia*, *Triccæ* and *Thebæ Phthioticæ*. But *Holſtenius* [*n*] adds three more, *Diocæſarea*, *Gomphi* and *Scarphia*, the laſt of which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* confounds with *Echinus*. The *Notitia* in *Leunclavius* calls this Province *Hellas ſecunda*, and names eleven Dioceſes in it, four of which retain their old Names, by which it is reaſonable to conjecture, that *Hellas ſecunda* and *Theſſalia* were but two Names for the ſame Province; and the Number of Dioceſes agreeing exactly in both Accounts, we may conclude there never were above eleven Dioceſes in all this Province.

SECT. IX. *Of* Achaia, Peloponneſus *and* Eubœa.

THE next Province to *Theſſaly* is *Achaia*, which was a very large Province, including not only what the Antients called *Attica* and *Achaia*, but alſo all *Peloponneſus*, and the Iſle of *Eubœa*. Here *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds twenty ſix Dioceſes, four of which were in the Iſle of *Eubœa*. 1 *Chalcis*, now called *Negroponte*. 2 *Oreum*. 3 *Porthmus*. 4 *Cariſtus*. Nine in *Peloponneſus*. 1 *Corinthus* the Metropolis of the whole Province. 2 *Argos*. 3 *Tegea*. 4 *Megalopolis*. 5 *Lacedæmon*. 6 *Meſſena*. 7 *Corone*. 8 *Petræ*. 9 *Hellice*. Thirteen in the other Part of *Achaia*. 1 *Athenæ*. 2 *Megara*. 3 *Theſpiæ*. 4 *Naupactus*. 5 *Secorus*. 6 *Elatea*. 7 *Opus*. 8 *Strategis*. 9 *Thebæ*. 10 *Platea*. 11 *Tanagra*. 12 *Marathon*. 13 *Carſia*, al. *Coriſſia*. *Holſtenius* adds another *Corone* or *Coronia* in *Bœotia*, beſide the *Corone* that was in *Peloponneſus*. The *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* in *Leunclavius* and the ſeventh Chapter of this Book, makes three Provinces of this, calling them *Hellas prima*, and *Peloponneſus prima* and *ſecunda*, and the number of Dioceſes is pretty near the ſame, by which we may gueſs no great Alteration was made in them for ſeveral Ages. The Largeneſs of theſe Dioceſes may eaſily be concluded from the Greatneſs of many of the Cities and their large Territories, which the Reader may find already demonſtrated by Dr. *Maurice* in his Diſcourſe of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, *p.* 380. concerning *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, *Megalopolis*, and other Cities of this Province in particular.

SECT. X. *Of* Epirus Vetus *and* Epirus Nova.

THE next Region is *Epirus*, ſeparated from *Achaia* by the River *Achelous*. This was antiently one Kingdom, but the *Romans* divided it into two Provinces, *Epirus Vetus* and *Epirus Nova*. In the former, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons ten Dioceſes. 1 *Nicopolis* the Metropolis. 2 *Anchiaſmus*. 3 *Phœnicia*. 4 *Dodone*. 5 *Adrianopolis*. 6 *Buthrotum*. 7 *Euria*. 8 *Photica*. 9 Iſle of *Cephalenia*. 10 Iſle of *Corcyra*. In the new *Epirus* only eight. 1 *Dyrrachium*, or *Doracium*, the Metropolis. 2 *Scampes*. 3 *Apollonia*. 4 *Aulon*. 5 *Amantia*. 6 *Lychnidus*. 7 *Bullidum* or *Bulis*. 8 *Prina* or *Priſna*. To which *Holſtenius* adds *Liſtra* or *Heliſtra*, but with ſome Doubting, whether it do not rather belong to *Lycaonia*. Theſe were very large Dioceſes, above forty or fifty Miles long: Notwithſtanding which, two of them were ſometimes united together: For in the Acts of the Council of *Epheſus*, as *Holſtenius* has obſerved, one *Felix* is called [*] Biſhop of *Bulis* and *Apollonia* together. In the *Greek Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens*, *Old Epirus* goes by the name of *Ætolia*, and has the ſame number of ten Dioceſes only, though not the ſame Names. The other *Epirus* has ſixteen, but then the Province of *Prevalitana* is joyned to it, and moſt of its Dioceſes taken in to make up the number. Whence I conclude that the Dioceſes in theſe Provinces have been of great extent in all Ages; the Iſle of *Corcyra* it ſelf being reckoned by ſome Geographers forty five Miles long, and by *Pliny* [*o*] no leſs than ninety ſeven.

SECT. XI. *Of the Iſle of* Crete.

IN the Iſle of *Crete*, which was the laſt of the *Macedonian* Provinces, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* names eleven Dioceſes. 1 *Gortyna* the Metropolis. 2 *Gnoſſus*. 3 *Hierapetra*. 4 *Lappa*. 5 *Sabrita*. 6 *Eleuthera*. 7 *Cherroneſus*. 8 *Sidonia*. 9 *Cyſamus*. 10 *Citium*. 11 *Cantanum*. The *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* in *Leunclavius* makes them twelve, but *Hierapetra* is there by miſtake of ſome Tranſcriber divided into two, which being corrected reduces them to the ſame number. Whence I conclude, this was pretty near the ſtanding Number for ſeveral Ages. Now *Crete* is reckoned by *Ferrarius* and others out of *Pliny* and *Strabo* two hundred and ſeventy or three hundred Miles long, and fifty broad. Which makes twelve Dioceſes equal to the reſt of the *Macedonian* Provinces, all which appear viſibly to be Dioceſes of great extent, without deſcending any farther to give a more particular Account of them.

SECT. XII. *Of the Five Provinces in the Dioceſe of* Dacia. *Of* Prævalitana.

THE other civil Dioceſe of *Illyricum Orientale*, went by the common name of *Dacia*, conſiſting of five Provinces, *Prævalitana*, *Mœſia ſuperior*, *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dacia Ripenſis* and *Dardania*. *Prævalitana* lies

[*m*] Holſten. Annot. Geograph. p. 114. [*n*] Holſten. ibid. p. 115. [*] Conc. Epheſ. Act. 1. [*o*] Plin. lib. 4. c. 12.

on the *North* of *Epirus* to the *Adriatick* Sea, being Part of that Country which is now called *Albania*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* names but two Dioceſes in it, *Scodra*, the old Metropolis of the Province, and *Achrida*, which was antiently called *Prævalis*, but afterwards *Juſtinian* honoured it with his own Name, *Juſtiniana prima*, and advanced it to Patriarchal Dignity, aſſigning it all the five Provinces [p] of the *Dacian* Dioceſe, and the two *Pannonia's* in the Dioceſe of *Illyricum Occidentale*, for the Limits of its Juriſdiction. Beſides theſe two Biſhopricks, *Holſtenius* has found out two more in this Province, *Rhizinium* and *Liſſus*, now called *Aleſſio* on the *Adriatick* Sea; *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* alſo by Miſtake places *Scodra* in the Province of *Dalmatia*, making *Juſtiniana prima* a Metropolitan See without any Suffragans under it.

SECT. XIII. *Of* Mœſia ſuperior.

ON the North of *Prævalitana* to the *Danube* lay *Mœſia ſuperior*, between *Pannonia* on the Weſt, and *Dacia* on the Eaſt. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* confounds the Epiſcopal Dioceſes of this Province and the *Dacia's* together, making *Sardica* the Metropolis of them all, and calling them from that by the common Name of *Provincia Sardicenſis*; and beſide *Sardica* he finds but three more Dioceſes in the three Provinces, *Remeſſiana*, *Aquæ*, and *Caſtrum Martis*. But *Holſtenius* is a little more accurate, and treats diſtinctly of them. He aſſigns to *Mœſia ſuperior*, *Caſtrum Martis*, and another called *Margus*, ſeated on the Confluence of the River *Margus* and the *Danube*.

SECT. XIV. *Of* Dacia Mediterranea *and* Dacia Ripenſis.

TO *Dacia Mediterranea* he aſſigns *Sardica* the Metropolis, and *Romatiana* and *Naiſſus*, which he and *Pagi* make to be the Birthplace of *Conſtantine the Great*. In the other *Dacia*, called *Ripenſis* from its running along the Banks of the *Danube* between *Mœſia prima* and *ſecunda*, he places *Aquæ*, which is mentioned in the Council of *Sardica* in St. *Hilary*'s Fragments, and *Iſcus* or *Iſcopolis*, another City, whoſe Biſhop ſubſcribed out of the ſame Province in the aforeſaid Council. In his Annotations alſo upon *Ortellius* [q] he obſerves two other Epiſcopal Cities in this Province, one called *Martis* by *Hierocles*, or *Stramartis* by *Procopius*, and another called *Budine*, now *Bodine* in *Bulgaria* upon the *Danube*: But perhaps theſe are both Modern Sees, for he cites no other Authority but that of the *Notitia's* for them, and *Stramartis* ſeems to be a corruption of *Caſtra Martis*.

SECT. XV. *Of* Dardania *and* Gothia.

ON the South of *Dacia*, between it and *Macedonia*, was the Province of *Dardania*, divided from *Macedonia* by Mount *Scardus*, and from *Thracia* by part of Mount *Hæmus*. It is now part of *Servia*, and was antiently a part of *Mœſia*, as *Dacia* alſo was, till the *Daci* paſſing over the *Danube*, got themſelves planted in the middle of *Mœſia*, which from that time was call'd *Dacia nova*, as the other beyond the *Danube* was call'd *Dacia antiqua*, and *Gothia*. In this Province of *Dardania*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds four Dioceſes. 1 *Scupi*, the Metropolis. 2 *Ulpianum*, otherwiſe called *Juſtiniana ſecunda*. 3 *Diocletiana*, which at the time of the Council of *Sardica* was reckon'd a City of *Macedonia*. 4 *Neſſyna* or *Neſſus*. *Holſtenius* adds another called *Pautalia*, which *Hierocles* in his *Notitia* reckons among the Cities of *Dacia Mediterranea*, and *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy* among the Cities of *Thracia*, as lying in the Confines of thoſe Provinces. Beſides theſe five Provinces of the *Dacian* Dioceſe on the South-ſide of the *Danube*, there was another on the North-ſide out of the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, called *Dacia Antiqua*, and *Gothia* from the time that the *Goths* ſeated themſelves in it. *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of one *Silvanus* Biſhop of *Gothia* beyond *Scythia*, taking *Scythia* for the *Roman Scythia* on this ſide the *Danube*, whereof *Tomi* was the Metropolis. Whence *Holſtenius* rightly concludes that *Gothia* was the Region which is now called *Tranſilvania* or *Walachia*. But what Epiſcopal Sees they had, or whether they had in all this Region any more than one Biſhop, as the *Scythians* and *Saracens*, and ſome other ſuch barbarous Nations, is uncertain. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* thinks, *Zarmizegethuſa* was the Seat of their Biſhop, becauſe *Ptolemy* makes it the Royal Seat and Metropolis of the Kingdom. And this he ſuppoſes to be the ſame with *Gothia* mentioned in the *Notitia* of *Leo Sapiens* among the *Autocephali*, or ſuch Biſhops as had no Suffragans under them. But theſe being Matters involved in obſcurity, I leave them to farther Enquiry.

SECT. XVI. *Of the Six Provinces in the Dioceſe of* Illyricum Occidentale. *Of* Dalmatia.

OUT of *Illyricum Orientale*, we paſs next to the Civil Dioceſe of *Illyricum Occidentale*, which was under the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. In this Dioceſe were ſix Provinces, *Dalmatia*, *Savia*, *Pannonia ſuperior*, *Pannonia inferior*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, and *Noricum Ripenſe*. In *Dalmatia*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons four Epiſcopal Dioceſes. 1 *Salona* the Metropolis. 2 *Jadera*, now called *Zara*. 3 *Epidaurus*, now *Raguſa*. 4 *Scodra* or *Scutari*. But *Scodra* is wrong placed in *Dalmatia*, for, as has been noted before, it was rather the Metropolis of *Prævalitana*. But *Holſtenius* adds two more in the room of it, *Doclea*, and *Senia*, now called *Segna*, a City upon the *Liburnian* Shore.

SECT. XVII. *Of* Savia.

THE next Province to this was *Savia*, which ſeems to be ſo nam'd from the River *Savus* running through the middle of it. It is ſometimes called *Pannonia Sava*, being Part of *Pannonia* on

[p] Juſtin. Novel. 131. c. 3. [q] Holſten. Annot. in Ortel. p. 116.

a Eugubium	w Ferentinum	17 Velitræ
b Tadinum	x Falaris	18 Albanum
c Septempeda	y Aqua Viva	19 Verulæ
d Assisium	z Forū Novum	20 Aquinum
e Hispellum	1 Balneū Regū.	21 Venafrum
f Fulginum	2 Bolimarium	22 Fundi
g Nuceria	3 Vlrinium	23 Minturnæ
h Camerinum	4 Forum Cassij	24 Suessa
i Faleronia	5 Blera	25 Teanū
k Mevania	6 Nepe	26 Calenum
l Vettona	7 Sutrium	27 Beneventū
m Forū Flaminij	8 Forū Claudij	28 Atella
n Trebia	9 Gravisca	29 Cumæ
o Forum Novū.	10 Cabij	30 Misenum
p Interamna	11 Lavici	31 Nola
q Pitinum	12 Signia	32 Abellinum
r Amiternum	13 Anagnia	33 Grumentum
s Narnia	14 Ferentinū	34 Fidenæ
t Ocriculū	15 Subaugusta	
v Hortanum	16 Tusculum	

the *Savia*, and ſometimes *Pannonia Sirmienſis* and *Cibalienſis*, from the Cities *Sirmium* and *Cibalis* which lay in this Part of it. But here we conſider it as a diſtinct Province from *Pannonia*, from which it was ſeparated by the River *Dravus*, and is what we now call *Sclavonia*, and Part of *Boſnia* and *Servia*. In this Province were ſix Epicopal Dioceſes. 1 *Sirmium* the Metropolis, near the Confluence of the *Savus* and the *Danube*. 2 *Singidunum*. 3 *Murſa*, now called *Eſſek*. 4 *Cibalis*. 5 *Noviodunum*. 6 *Siſcia*.

SECT. XVIII. *Of* Pannonia ſuperior *and* inferior.

BETWEEN the River *Dravus* and the *Danube* lay the two *Pannonia's*, *ſuperior* and *inferior*, which are now the Southern Part of *Hungary*. In the former of theſe, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* out of *Lazius* ſpeaks of four Dioceſes: *Vindobona* or *Vienna*, *Sabaria*, *Scarabantia* and *Celia*. To which *Holſtenius* adds *Petavia*, now called *Petow*, which the other confounds with *Petavia* or *Batavia Caſtra* in *Noricum*, now called *Paſſaw* in *Bavaria*. *Victorinus Martyr* was Biſhop of this City, though *Baronius* and many others commonly ſtyle him *Pictavienſem*, as if he had been Biſhop of *Poictiers* in *France*; whereas he was Biſhop of this City in *Pannonia prima*, called *Petavia* or *Petow*, as is obſerved by *Spondanus*, and *Pagi*, and *Du Pin*, in their Critical Remarks upon the Life of that antient Writer. In the lower *Pannonia* there were but three Dioceſes, *Curta*, *Carpis*, and *Stridonium*, the Birth-place of St. *Jerom*.

SECT. XIX. *Of* Noricum Mediterraneum *and* Ripenſe.

MORE Weſtward from *Pannonia* was the Province of *Noricum*, confined on the North with the *Danube*, and on the South and Weſt with *Venetia* and *Rhætia*, two *Italick* Provinces. This the *Romans* divided into two, *Noricum Mediterraneum* and *Ripenſe*, in both which *Lazius* mentions but four Dioceſes, *Laureacum*, now called *Lork*, *Juvavia* or *Saltsburg*, *Ovilabis* and *Solva*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* by miſtake adds a fifth, *Petavia*, *Petow*; but that, as was ſaid before, belongs to another Province. And the reſt were not erected till the ſixth Century, when that Part of *Germany* was firſt converted, which is now *Carniola* and *Carinthia*, with part of *Bavaria*, *Stiria*, *Tirol* and *Auſtria*. By which it is eaſy to judge of what vaſt Extent thoſe Dioceſes antiently were, as they are now at this Day; two of them, as I obſerved, being as large as ten or twenty in ſome other Parts of the World, particularly in *Paleſtine* and *Aſia Minor*; which have been already conſidered; and the Obſervation will be more fully verified by taking a particular View of *Italy*, whoſe Epiſcopal Dioceſes come now in Order in the next place to be conſidered.

CHAP. V.

A Particular Account of the Dioceſes of ITALY.

SECT. I. *Of the Extent of the Dioceſe of the Biſhop of* Rome.

ITALY, in the Senſe we are now to ſpeak of it, as it was taken for the whole Juriſdiction of the *Præfectus Urbis & Vicarius Italiæ* under the *Roman* Emperors, was of ſomewhat larger Extent than now it is: For not only the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, were taken into the Account, but alſo *Rhætia ſecunda*, which is that part of *Germany*, that lies from the *Alpes* to the *Danube*. In this Extent it was divided into two large civil Dioceſes, containing ſeventeen Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, as has been ſhewed before [a]; and in theſe Provinces there were about three hundred Epiſcopal Dioceſes, the Names of which are ſtill remaining, but the Places themſelves many of them demoliſhed or ſunk into Villages, and other new Biſhopricks ſet up in their Room. I ſhall not concern my ſelf with the Number or Extent of the modern Dioceſes, but only thoſe that were antient, and erected within the firſt ſix hundred Years, of which I am to make the ſame Obſervation in general, as I have done upon thoſe of *Paleſtine* and *Aſia minor*, that here were ſome of the largeſt, and ſome of the ſmalleſt Dioceſes, for extent of Ground, of any in the World, and yet the ſame Species of Epiſcopacy retained in all without any Variety or Diſtinction. The Dioceſes of the Suburbicary Provinces, that lay next to *Rome*, were generally ſmall, in compariſon of thoſe that lay farther to the *North* and *Weſt* in the *Italick* Provinces. For about *Rome* the Country was extreamly populous, and Cities much thicker ſpread, which occaſioned ſo many more Epiſcopal Sees to be erected in thoſe Provinces above the other. This will plainly appear by taking a View of each particular Province, and comparing the Dioceſes one with another: Of which we ſhall be able to give a more exact Account, becauſe ſo much Pains has been taken by learned Men in all Ages, eſpecially *Cluver* and *Holſtenius*, *Ferrarius* and *Baudrand* in the laſt Age, to deſcribe minutely and exactly the ſeveral Places of this Country, and their diſtance from *Rome* and one other. To begin with *Rome* it ſelf: This was a very large Dioceſe in one reſpect, and very ſmall in another. In reſpect of the City it ſelf, and the number of People that were

[a] See Chap. I. of this Book.

therein,

therein, it might be called one of greateſt Dioceſes in the World. For *Pliny* [*b*] ſpeaks of it as the moſt populous City in the Univerſe, in the time of *Veſpaſian*, when it was but thirteen Miles about. But [*c*] *Lipſius* in his Book *de Magnitudine Romana*, and Mr. *Mede* [*d*] and ſome others think, that is meant only of the City within the Walls; for otherwiſe it was but forty two Miles in compaſs when St. *John* wrote his *Revelations* in the time of *Domitian*. And afterward it received conſiderable Additions; for in the Days of *Aurelian*, the Hiſtorian [*e*] ſpeaks of it as no leſs than fifty Miles in Circumference. And before this time the Chriſtians made a conſiderable Figure in it: For *Cornelius*, who lived in the middle of the third Century, ſpeaks of forty ſix Presbyters [*f*], beſide Deacons, Sub-Deacons, and other inferior Clergy, belonging to the Church in his time. And within half an Age more we find an Account of above forty Churches in it. For ſo many *Optatus* [*g*] ſays there were, when *Victor Garbienſis* the *Donatiſt* Biſhop was ſent from *Africk* to be the Antibiſhop there: Though there were forty Churches and more in the City, yet he could not obtain one of them to make his handful of Sectaries look like a Chriſtian Congregation. This, as *Baronius* and *Valeſius* have rightly obſerved, was ſpoken by *Optatus* not of his own Times, but of the time when *Victor Garbienſis* came to *Rome*, which was in the beginning of the *Diocletian* Perſecution. Whence it may be rationally inferred, that if there were above forty Churches in *Rome* before the laſt Perſecution, there would be abundance more in the following Ages, when the whole City was become Chriſtian. But as by the vaſt Increaſe of this City the Dioceſe was very large within, ſo for the ſame Reaſon it became very ſmall without. For that which was at firſt the Territory of *Rome*, ſeems afterward to have been ſwallowed up in the City it ſelf by the prodigious Increaſe of it. Inſomuch that ſome have thought, that in the time of *Innocent* I. the Dioceſe of *Rome* had no Country Pariſhes belonging to it, but that they were all within the City: Becauſe in his Epiſtle to *Decentius* Biſhop of *Eugubium* [*h*] he ſeems to make this difference between other Dioceſes and that of *Rome*, that in the *Roman* Dioceſe the Cuſtom was to ſend the Sacrament from the Mother Church to the Presbyters officiating in other Churches, becauſe all their Churches lay within the City; but this was not proper to be done in other Places, which had Country Pariſhes [*i*], becauſe the Sacraments were not to be carried to Places at too great a diſtance. But however this was (for learned Men are not exactly agreed upon it, and I conceive it to be a Miſtake) this is certain, that the Dioceſe of *Rome* could not extend very far any way into the Country Region; becauſe it was bounded on all Sides with neighbouring Cities, which lay cloſe round it. On the *North* it had *Fidenæ*, a Biſhop's See in thoſe times, though as *Cluver* [*k*] and *Ferrarius* [*l*] ſhew out of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, it lay but forty *Stadia*, or five Miles diſtant from it. On the *Eaſt* it was bounded with the Dioceſe of *Gabii*, which ſome by miſtake place ſeventy Miles from *Rome*, but *Holſtenius* [*m*] and *Cluver*, who are more accurate, tell us, it lay in the middle way between *Rome* and *Prænesſte*, about twelve or thirteen Miles from each. In the ſame Coaſt lay *Tuſculum*, but twelve Miles from *Rome*. A little inclining to the *South* lay the Dioceſe of *Subauguſta* cloſe by *Rome*. Here *Helena* the Mother of *Conſtantine* was buried, whence it was called *Subauguſta Helena*. *Holſtenius* [*n*] ſays, the Remains of it are ſtill viſible at the Place called *Turris Pignatara*. It was ſo near *Rome*, that the Writers which ſpeak of *Helena*'s Interment, commonly ſay ſhe was bury'd at *Rome* in the Church of St. *Marcelline* in *Via Lavicana*; which is to be underſtood of *Marcelline*'s Church in *Subauguſta*, which lay in the Way betwixt *Rome* and *Lavici*, whence the Way was called *Via Lavicana*. If we look to the South of *Rome* down the River *Tiber* toward the Sea, there we find three Dioceſes in three Cities, none of them above three Miles from each other, nor above ſixteen Miles from *Rome*. Theſe were *Oſtia*, *Portus Auguſti*, and *Sylva Candida*. The firſt and ſecond of which lay within two Miles of each other, *Oſtia* on the Eaſt-ſide, and *Portus* on the Weſt-ſide of the River *Tiber*; and *Sylva Candida* a little more Weſt from *Portus*. The Site and Diſtance of *Oſtia* and *Portus* from *Rome* we have exactly delivered both from antient and modern Geographers. In *Antonine*'s *Itinerary* it is call'd eighteen; but *Holſtenius* [*o*] obſerves that the antient Miles were ſhorter than the modern, and therefore both he and *Ferrarius*, and others, reckon theſe Places preciſely but ſixteen Miles from *Rome*. Now theſe being Sea-ports, had probably the chief extent of their Dioceſes toward *Rome*, which takes off from the largeneſs of the former. On the Weſt it was bounded with the Dioceſe of *Lorium*, which lay in *Tuſcia* in the *Via Aurelia* betwixt *Rome* and *Turres*, which *Holſtenius* [*p*] ſays, was but twelve Miles from *Rome*, and ten from *Turres*. And many other Dioceſes lay in the ſame Circle about *Rome*, not at much farther diſtance. For *Nepe* in *Tuſcia*

[*b*] Plin. l. 3. c. 5. [*c*] Lipſius de Magnitud. Roman. l. 3. c. 2. p. 111. [*d*] Mede Commentat. Apocalypt. p. 488. [*e*] Vopiſc. Vit. Aurel. p. 645. [*f*] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [*g*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 49. Non enim Grex aut Populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui inter Quadraginta & quod excurrit Baſilicas, locum ubi colligerent non habebant. [*h*] Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. De Fermento autem quod die Dominico per Titulos mittimus ſuperflue nos conſulere voluiſti, cum omnes Eccleſiæ noſtræ intra Civitatem ſunt conſtitutæ, &c. [*i*] Ibid. Quod per Parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda ſunt Sacramenta. [*k*] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 654. [*l*] Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Fidenæ. [*m*] Holſten. Annot. in Ortel. p. 85. Cluver. Ital. p. 955. [*n*] Holſten. Annot. Geogr. in Car. a Sancto Paulo, p. 11. [*o*] Holſten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 79. *Others reckon but twelve modern Miles. So* Lipſius *out of* Appian. [*p*] Holſten. in Cluver. Ital. p. 43.

was

was but twenty Miles from *Rome*, and *Sutrium* but four from *Nepe*. *Nomentum* among the *Sabines* in *Valeria*, was but twelve Miles from *Rome*, and *Tibur* in the ſame Tract about ſixteen. *Lavici* in *Campania* or *Latium* was but fifteen, and *Tres Tabernæ*, according to ſome Accounts, but twenty one, and *Velitræ* ſo near that, that *Gregory the Great* united them together. But we ſhall ſee more of this in ſpecifying the Dioceſes of each particular Province, and aſſigning the Bounds of ſuch as were moſt remarkable for their nearneſs one to another.

SECT. II. *Of* Tuſcia *and* Umbria.

I ſhall begin with thoſe Provinces which are properly called *Roman*, in Contradiſtinction to the reſt of the *Italick* Dioceſes; and in each of theſe aſſign both the Names and Number of the antient Epiſcopal Dioceſes, that the Reader who is curious in this matter, may exerciſe his Geographical Knowledge in a more particular Search into the State of them. The firſt of theſe in order is *Tuſcia* and *Umbria*, which the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Account always joins together as one Province, tho' had they diſtinct Bounds upon other Occaſions. *Tuſcia* was the ſame that was antiently called *Etruria*, bounded with the *Tiber* on the *Eaſt*, and the River *Marca* on the *Weſt*, the *Apennine* Hills on the *North*, and the *Tuſcan* Sea on the *South*; and includes now St. *Peter*'s Patrimony in the Eaſtern Part, and the Dukedom of *Florence* or *Tuſcany* in the *Weſt*. In this Province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds thirty five antient Dioceſes. 1 *Portus Auguſti*, now called *Porto*. 2 *Sylva Candida*, now *Sancta Ruffina*. 3 *Nepe*, *vulgo Nepi*. 4 *Aqua Viva*, al. *Carpenatum Urbs*. 5 *Phalaris*, now *Citta Caſtellana*. 6 *Ferentium*, *Ferento*. 7 *Polymartium*, *Bomarſo*. 8 *Hortanum*, *Horti*. 9 *Blera*, now *Bieda*. 10 *Sutrium*. 11 *Tarquina*. 12 *Salpis*. But *Holſtenius* thinks this is miſtaken for *Sæpinum* in the Province of *Samnium*. 13 *Tuſcani*, *Tuſcanello*. 14 *Balneum Regis*, *Bagnarea*. 15 *Peruſia*, now *Perugia*. 16 *Urbs Vetus*, *Orvieto*. 17 *Cluſium*, *Chiuſa*. 18 *Cortona*. 19 *Aretium*, *Arezzo*. 20 *Volſinium*, *Bolſena*. 21 *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*. 22 *Graviſca*, now *Montalto*. 23 *Cornetum*. 24 *Forum Claudii*, now *Oriolo*. 25 *Piſa*. 26 *Luca*. 27 *Luna*. 28 *Sena*. 29 *Florentia*. 30 *Feſulæ*, now *Fiezoli*. 31 *Suana*. 32 *Manturanum*. 33 *Ruſella*, *Roſella*. 34 *Populonia*, *Porto Baratto*. 35 *Volaterræ*: To which *Holſtenius* adds *Volſcæ*, or *Civitas Bulcentina*, *Caſtrum Valentini* and *Lorium*. Now ſome of theſe, as has been already obſerved, were very near Neighbours to *Rome*, and they were yet nearer to one another. *Nepi* was but four Miles from *Sutrium*, as *Ferrarius* [*q*] computes, and ſo they were afterwards united together, as the ſame Author informs us. *Portus Auguſti* was bounded on one Side with *Oſtia*, which was but two Miles from it, as *Ferrarius* [*r*] and *Cluver* inform us; and on the other ſide with *Sylva Candida*, which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* places about the ſame diſtance from it. *Faleria* or *Phalaris* is reckoned by *Cluver* [*s*] about five or ſix Miles from *Nepe*, and four Miles from *Hortanum* by *Ferrarius* [*ſs*], who ſays *Hortanum* lay upon the *Tiber* oppoſite to the *Ocriculi* in *Umbria*, and not above four Miles to the *Weſt* of it. *Holſtenius* [*t*] ſhews out of the *Jeruſalem Itinerary*, that *Aqua Viva* was but twelve Miles from *Ocriculi*, and *Phaleria* lay between them. *Polymartium* was but five Miles *Weſt* from *Hortanum*, as *Ferrarius* [*u*] computes, and *Ferentium* about the ſame diſtance from *Polymartium*; which two laſt were united into one before the Council of *Rome* under *Martin*, *An.* 649, as *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* collects from the Subſcriptions of that Council. *Blera* was but nine Miles from *Forum Claudii*, as *Holſtenius* [*w*] ſhews from the old *Itineraries*; and *Forum Claudii* not above five from *Sutrium* according to *Cluver*'s reckoning. *Lorium* was but twelve Miles from *Rome* in the way to *Civita Vecchia*; as has been ſhewed before. *Tarquina* is reckon'd by *Ferrarius* [*x*] about five Miles from *Cornetum*, and about the ſame diſtance from *Graviſca*, by *Cluver*'s Tables. Which is the more probable, becauſe *Holſtenius* [*y*] obſerves, that theſe three Dioceſes were at laſt united into one. *Centumcellæ* or *Civita Vecchia* lay upon the Sea, 12 Miles from *Graviſca*, as appears from the *Jeruſalem Itinerary* in *Holſtenius* [*z*]. *Tuſcania* and *Volſinium*, and *Urbs Vetus*, now called *Orvieto*, and *Balneum Regis*, had much about the ſame diſtances from one another. And all theſe lay within that little compaſs of Land, which is now call'd St. *Peter*'s *Patrimony*, hemmed in on the Eaſt and North with the River *Tiber*, on the Weſt with the River *Marta*, and on the South with the *Tuſcan* Sea. A Country that is not much above fifty Miles ſquare, as *Cluver* rightly deſcribes it. For from *Rome* to *Centumcellæ* or *Civita Vecchia*, which lies but ten Miles from the River *Marta*, which now divides St. *Peter*'s *Patrimony* from *Caſtro Ducato*, *Cluver* and *Holſtenius* [†] out of *Antonine*'s *Itinerary*, in the direct Courſe of the *Via Aurelia*, reckon but forty ſeven Miles, which do not exceed forty Miles according to the preſent Eſtimation. So that there being in this compaſs twenty Biſhopricks, including *Rome* in the Number; if we will ſuppoſe all the Dioceſes to be equal, each Dioceſe will be about ten or 12 Miles ſquare, which confirms the Account that has been given of the diſtance of the ſeveral Cities from each other. And hence it appears, that as in ſome Parts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, Dioceſes have been multiplied above what they were in former

[*q*] Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Nepe & Sutrium. [*r*] Ibid. voc. Oſtia, & Portus. [*s*] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 557. [*ſs*] Ferrar. Lexic. voc. Hortanum. [*t*] Holſten. Annot. in Cluver. p. 80. [*u*] Ferrar. voce Polymartium. [*w*] Holſten. in Cluver. p. 47. [*x*] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Tarquina. [*y*] Holſten. Annot. in Car. a Sancto Paulo, p. 8. [*z*] Holſten. in Cluver. p. 80. [†] Holſten. in Cluver. p. 78. Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. 2. p. 405. *reckons it two hundred and eighty Stadia, or thirty five Miles.*

Ages,

Ages, ſo in this and other Parts of the Pope's Dominions they have as ſtrangely decreaſed. For now there are not near half the Number, there being ſometimes two or three or four united into one. For *Ferrarius* informs us, that *Viterbo* was raiſed, *An.* 1074, out of the Ruins of three old ones, *Ferentum*, *Tuſcany* and *Polymartium*. So *Citta Caſtellana* aroſe from the decay of *Faleria* and *Hortanum*. *Sutrium* was united to *Nepe*; *Tarquina* and *Graviſca* to *Cornetum*; not to mention any more of this kind, which concern not the preſent Enquirty. As to thoſe Dioceſes which lay in the Weſtern part of *Tuſcia*, now called the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, they were much larger in Proportion than the former, for excepting *Feſulæ*, which lay but three Miles [*a*] from *Florence*, all the other Dioceſes were of greater Extent. Of which I need only give this Evidence, that this Part of *Tuſcia* is reckoned [*b*] above two hundred Miles in length, and near a hundred in breadth, excluding the Pope's Dominions. Which being divided among fifteen or ſixteen Dioceſes, will afford a large Territory to every one: So that it is needleſs to look farther for a particular Account of them.

But if we return back again into *Umbria*, nearer *Rome*, there we ſhall find Dioceſes of the ſame Size and as thick as in the *Patrimony of St.* Peter. For it was but a little Tract of Ground, bounded with the Rivers *Nar* and *Tiber* and the *Apennine* Hills, and only a Part of the *Old Umbria*, which reach'd beyond the *Apennine* to the *Adriatick* Sea. In the preſent *Umbria*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons eighteen Biſhopricks. 1 *Ocriculum*. 2 *Narnia*. 3 *Tuder*, now *Todi*. 4 *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*. 5 *Tifernum Tiberinum*, now *Citta di Caſtello*. 6 *Interamnia*, now *Terni*. 7 *Ameria*, *Amelia*. 8 *Trebia*, *Trebi*. 9 *Spoletum*, *Spoleto*. 10 *Fulginum*, *Fulgino*. 11 *Camerinum*. 12 *Hiſpellum*. 13 *Aſſiſium*. 14 *Forum novum*, now *Veſcovio*. 15 *Forum-Flaminii*, now *For-flammo*. 16 *Vettonium*, *Bittona*. 17 *Nuceria*, *Nocera*. 18 *Eugubium*, *Gubbio*. To which *Holſtenius* adds *Tadinum* [*c*] and *Martula*. Now five of theſe, *Fulginum*, *Hiſpellum*, *Aſſiſium*, *Forum-Flaminii*, and *Mevania*, lay ſo cloſe together, that none of them was above ten Miles diſtance from any of the other. *Fulginum* had on the North towards *Nuceria*, *Forum-Flaminii* to bound it, which *Ferrarius* [*d*] ſays, was but 3 Miles removed from it. *Hiſpellum* was but the ſame diſtance in the way to *Aſſiſium*. *Trebia* on the Eaſt was but ſix Miles from *Fulginum*, and nine from *Spoletum*, as *Ferrarius* alſo informs us [*e*], who ſays alſo it was but fifteen Miles from *Fulginum* to *Spoletum*; ſo that *Trebia* muſt lie exactly in the way betwixt them. On the South *Fulginum* was bounded again with *Mevania*, which was but ſix Miles from it [*f*]. On the Weſt lay *Aſſiſium*, famous in modern Stories for the Birth of St. *Francis* the Father of the *Franciſcans*; and this *Ferrarius* ſays was but ten Miles [*g*] from *Fulginum*, and about twelve from *Perufia* in *Tuſcia*. If we look a little more Northward, from *Forum-Flaminii* to *Nuceria* is computed nine Miles [*h*] by *Ferrarius*. From *Nuceria* to *Tadinum* (the Remains of which, *Holſtenius* [*i*] ſays, are yet to be ſeen in the *Via Flaminia* near *Gualdo* on the top of the *Apennine*) is computed no more than eight Miles by *Holſtenius* [*k*] and *Baudrand*. And from *Tadinum* to *Eugubium* muſt be about thirteen. But here the Dioceſes began to inlarge toward the Weſtern Parts of this Province, as was obſerv'd before of *Tuſcia*. For Weſtward of *Eugubium* there was no City betwixt it and *Tifernum Tiberinum*, which was twenty Miles from it. Nor had *Tifernum Tiberinum* any nearer Neighbours than *Aretium*, which is reckon'd 18, and *Callium* 22, and *Perufia* 24 Miles from it, as *Baudrand* [*l*] and *Ferrarius* have computed. But then if we look towards *Rome* again, and deſcend from the *Apennine* to the Southern Parts of this Province toward the Rivers *Nar* and *Tiber*, we there firſt meet with *Martula* on the River *Nar*, which *Holſtenius* [*m*] aſſures us, was but ſix Miles to the Eaſt of *Spoleto*. Down the ſame River lay *Interamnia* about the ſame Diſtance from *Martula*. And below that was *Narnia*, which *Cluver* [*n*] from the *Jeruſalem Itinerary* reckons to be nine Miles from *Interamnia*; but *Holſtenius*, who was at the Pains to meaſure it, ſays [*o*] it was but five Miles and $\frac{2}{3}$ from the Gate of the one City to the Gate of the other. A little to the Weſt of *Narnia* lay *Ameria*, which *Ferrarius* [*p*] ſays, was not quite ſix Miles from it. And to the South of *Narnia*, more down the River *Nar* toward *Rome*, there was *Ocriculum*, which the *Jeruſalem Itinerary* in *Cluver* [*q*] makes to be twelve Miles from *Narnia*; but *Ferrarius* from the modern Account reckons but eight, and four from *Hortanum* in *Umbria*, as has been noted before in ſpeaking of *Hortanum*. In the middle of this Province upon the Confluence of the Rivers *Tinia* and *Aſius*, between *Mevania* and *Perufia* lay *Vettonium*, which *Ferrarius* [*r*] accounts ſix Miles from *Mevania*, and eight from *Perufia* in *Tuſcia*. So that all the Dioceſes of this Province, except two or three, were very ſmall, and one with another not to be reckon'd above eight or ten Miles in length, ſince there was ſcarce ſo much diſtance from one City to another. And upon this account, as the Cities decayed, ſeveral of theſe Dioceſes were united together in After-ages. For *Tadinum* is

[*a*] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 452. [*b*] Ferrar. lexic. Geogr. voce Tuſcia. [*c*] Holſten. Annot. in Car. a S. Paulo, p. 9. & in Cluver. p. 98. [*d*] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Forum-Flaminii. [*e*] Ibid. voce Trebia, & Fulginum, & Hiſpellum. [*f*] Ferrar. voce Mevania. [*g*] Ferrar voce Fulginum, & Perufia. [*h*] Ibid. voce Nuceria. [*i*] Holſten. Annot. in Car. a S. Paulo, p. 9. [*k*] Holſten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 86. [*l*] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Tifernum. [*m*] Holſten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 98. [*n*] Cluver. Ital. p. 526. [*o*] Holſten. Annot. in Cluver. p. 95. ſunt à Narnienſi porta ad portam Interamnii cannæ Romanæ 3760. quæ ſunt 5 Mil. Paſs. $\frac{2}{3}$. [*p*] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Amelia. [*q*] Cluver. Ital. p. 526. [*r*] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Vettonium.

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joyn'd to *Nuceria*, as *Holſtenius* [s] informs us. *Hiſpellum* and *Forum-Flaminii* are ſwallow'd up in *Fulgino*. So *Mevania* and *Trebia* and *Martula* are ſunk and united to other Dioceſes; and in all this Province, that I can learn, there is not one new See erected.

SECT. III. *Of the Province of* Valeria.

OUT of *Umbria* our next Step toward the Eaſt, is into the Province of *Valeria*, ſo called, *Holſtenius* thinks, from the *Via Valeria*, which ran directly through it. It was bounded on the North with the *Apennine*, on the Weſt with the River *Nar*, which divided it from *Umbria*, on the South with the *Tiber* and the *Anio*, which divided it from *Latium*, or that which is now call'd *Campagna di Roma*. On the Eaſt it border'd upon *Samnium*, from which it was divided by a Line drawn from the River *Aternus* to the Head of *Anio*. It was anciently the Country of the *Sabines* and *Marſi*, and Part of *Old Latium*, and is now called *Sabina* in that Part which runs toward *Rome*, the reſt being now Part of the Dukedom of *Spoleto* and *Abruſſo*. In this Province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons eleven Dioceſes. 1 *Fidenæ*, now called *Caſtel Jubileo*. 2 *Nomentum*, now *Lamentana*. 3 *Tibur*, *Tivoli*. 4 *Nurſia*, *Norza*. 5 *Marſi*, al. *Marruvium*, and *Valeria*. 6 *Prænestе*, now *Paleſtrina*. 7 *Furconium*, *Forconio*. 8 *Amiternum*, now *S. Vittorino*. 9 *Reate*, *Rieti*. 10 *Cures*, *Cureſe*. 11 *Liſta*. But *Holſtenius* [t] obſerves, that the laſt of theſe is miſtaken for *Liſſum*, or *Aleſſio*, as it is now called, in *Prævalitana* on the other ſide of the *Adriatick* Sea; and *Prænestе* belongs to *Latium*: Inſtead of which he ſubſtitutes two others, *Pitinum* and *Forum novum*, or *Sabinum*, now *Veſcovio*, once a chief City among the *Sabines*. Now of theſe, *Fidenæ* was but five Miles from the Gates of *Rome*, as has been noted before. *Nomentum* was about eight from *Fidenæ*, and twelve from *Rome*, as *Baudrand* [u] ſhews out of *Sanſon* and *Brietius*; though others place it beyond *Tibur* ten Miles, and twenty ſix from *Rome*. *Tibur* it ſelf was but ſixteen Miles [w] from *Rome*, and twelve from *Prænestе*. But it was a pretty large Dioceſe for all that. For *Holſtenius* [x] obſerves that *Sublaqueum* was a Dependent on it, till it became a Monaſtery exempt from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; and *Ferrarius* [y] ſays, that Abbey had fourteen Villages belonging to it. *Prænestе* was thirteen Miles from *Gabii*, and fourteen from *Anagnia*, and not ſo much from *Nomentum*. *Cures*, now called St. *Anthimo*, was only ten Miles from *Reate*, according to *Ferrarius* [z], and probably ſomething nearer to *Nomentum*, becauſe *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* [a] obſerves out of an Epiſtle of *Gregory* [b] *the Great*, that it was united in his time to *Nomentum*. Some confound *Cures* with *Sabinum*, or *Forum novum*; but *Holſtenius* [c] ſhews, that *Sabinum* was a diſtinct City, and ſtood in the place which is now called *Veſcovio*, where the Ruins of the Cathedral Church are ſtill remaining: Which *Baudrand* ſays [d], was but three Miles from *Reate*, and eleven from *Interamnia*; but the Site of this Place may be paſs'd over as a little uncertain. The Ruins of *Amiternum* are ſtill to be ſeen, *Cluver* ſays [e], near where *Aquila* now ſtands. *Ferrarius* [f] thinks, it was only five Miles from it. *Pitinum* was but two Miles from *Aquila*, and conſequently, as *Holſtenius* obſerves [g], muſt be near *Amiternum*. *Furconium* was another See in that Neighbourhood, but eight Miles from *Aquila*, as *Ferrarius* [h] acquaints us. So that theſe three Dioceſes lay in a ſmall compaſs, and are now ſwallowed up in the new Dioceſe of *Aquila*, which aroſe out of the Ruins of them all united together. The largeſt of theſe Dioceſes in this Tract, were *Reate*, *Nurſia*, and *Marruvium* or *Marſi*. For from *Reate* to *Nurſia*, *Baudrand* [i] calls it thirteen Miles, *Ferrarius* twenty: To *Aquila* twenty five Miles, and as much to *Narnia*. But *Interamnia* and *Furconium* were ſomething nearer to *Reute*. *Marruvium* or *Marſi* on the Lake *Fucinus* was at a conſiderable diſtance from *Furconium* and *Sulmo*, which Cities lay the neareſt to it. But the exact diſtance is not ſo certain, becauſe 'tis not agreed on which ſide the Lake *Fucinus Marruvium* was.

SECT. IV. *Of* Picenum Suburbicarium.

OUT of *Valeria* and *Umbria* croſs the *Apennine* we come into the Province of *Picenum Suburbicarium*, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from *Picenum Annonarium*, which belonged to the *Italick* Dioceſe. This lay betwixt the *Apennine* on the South, and the *Adriatick* Sea on the North, and was divided from *Picenum Annonarium* by the River *Æſis* on the Weſt, and from *Samnium* by the River *Aternus*, now called *Peſcara*, on the Eaſt; and it is now the Provinces of *Marca di Ancona* and *Abruſſo Ultra*. In this Province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons fourteen Dioceſes. 1 *Pinna*, now *Penna*. 2 *Interamnia*, now *Teramo*. 3 *Aſculum*, *Aſcoli*. 4 *Firmum*, *Fermo*. 5 *Tolentinum*, *Tolentino*. 6 *Septempeda*, now *S. Severino*. 7 *Matelica*. 8 *Cingulum*, *Cingulo*. 9 *Auximum*, *Oſmo*. 10 *Potentia*. 11 *Numana*, now *Humana*. 12 *Ancona*. 13 *Hadria*, *Adri*. 14 *Aternum*, now *Peſcara*: To which *Holſtenius* [k] adds five more, *Truentum*, *Auſinia*, *Faleronia*, *Urbs Salvia*, now called *Urbiſaglia*, and *Pauſola*, or *Pauſulæ*, as *Ferrarius* calls it, which now goes by the Name of *Monte del Olmo*. The moſt Eaſtern City of this Province was *Aternum* on the Mouth of the River

[s] Holſten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 86. [t] Holſten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo. p. 16. [u] Baudr. voce Nomentum. [w] Ferrar. voce Tibur. [x] Holſten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 147. [y] Ferrar. voce Sublaqueum. [z] Ferrar. voce Cures. [a] Carol. a S. Paulo Geogr. Sacra. p. 58. [b] Greg. lib. 2. Ep. 2. [c] Holſten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9. [d] Baudr. voce Cures. [e] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 686. [f] Ferrar. voce Amiternum. [g] Holſten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 16. Pitinum non longe fuit ab Amiterno, duobus Mil. Paſs. ab Aquila. [h] Ferrar. voce Furconium. [i] Ferrar. & Baudrand. voce Nurſia, & Reate. [k] Holſten. Annot. Geogr. in Car. a S. Paulo.

Aternus or *Peſcara*, which (as *Ferrarius* [*l*] and *Baudrand* compute) was but eight Miles from *Teate*, and eleven from *Ortona*, two Cities in the Province of *Samnium*, and not above eleven from *Adria*, and twelve from *Pinna*. *Pinna* was the ſame diſtance from *Teate* and *Adria*. *Interamnia* is reckon'd by *Ferrarius* twenty Miles from *Aſculum*; but *Baudrand* ſays only thirteen. In the Weſtern Parts of the Province, *Matelica* is computed but nine Miles from *Septempeda*; and *Septempeda* ſix from *Tolentinum*, and ten from *Camerinum*, and twelve from *Cingulum*; *Cingulum* is reckon'd but eight from *Æſium* in *Picenum Annonarium*, and twelve from *Auximum*; *Auximum* twelve from *Æſium*, and the ſame from *Ancona*; *Ancona* twelve from *Numana*; *Numana* twelve from *Potentia*; the Remains of which laſt, *Holſtenius* ſays [*m*], are ſtill to be ſeen, not far from *Portus Ricanaticus* and *Laureto*. *Urbs Salvia*, according to *Ferrarius*'s Account, was but ten Miles from *Tolentinum*, and by *Baudrand*'s but ſix. *Firmum*, *Truentum*, and *Aſculum* lay at a greater diſtance: For *Ferrarius* reckons them near twenty Miles from each other: But then he ſays, that *Pauſulæ* was in *Comitatu Firmano*, and therefore not far from *Firmum*; and if *Faletonia* and *Aufinia* (whoſe Situation is uncertain) lay in thoſe Parts alſo, they might bring the Dioceſes of *Aſculum* and *Truentum* to the ſame Pitch with the reſt of the Province. So that few Dioceſes in this Province could be much above ten Miles in Extent, and the largeſt not above twenty, as appears from *Ferrarius* and other Geographers Computation.

SECT. V. Of Latium *and* Campania.

FROM the *Adriatick* Sea we muſt again croſs the *Apennine* to take a View of *Latium* and *Campania*, the antient Glory of *Italy* along the *Tuſcan* Sea Eaſtward to the River *Silarus* from the *Tiber* and the Gates of *Rome*. This in the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Account is reckoned but one Province: But ſince *Latium* is commonly diſtinguiſhed from *Campania*, I will ſpeak firſt of the Dioceſes that were in that, as being the neareſt Neighbours to *Rome*. This Country was antiently bounded with the Rivers *Tiber*, *Anio*, and *Liris*, which laſt divided it from *Campania* properly ſo called. It now contains *Campagna di Roma*, and part of *Lavoro* in the Realm of *Naples*. It had antiently twenty three Dioceſes, as *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* and *Holſtenius* have computed. 1 *Subauguſta*. 2 *Oſtia*. 3 *Gabii*. 4 *Albanum*. 5 *Alba*. 6 *Antium*. 7 *Tres Tabernæ*. 8 *Velitræ*. 9 *Tuſculum*. 10 *Lavici*. 11 *Præneſte*. 12 *Signia*. 13 *Anagnia*. 14 *Ferentinum*. 15 *Aletrium*. 16 *Verulæ*. 17 *Tarracina*. 18 *Fundi*. 19 *Formiæ*. 20 *Aquinum*. 21 *Caſſinum*. 22 *Atina*. 23 *Sora*. Of theſe, as has been obſerved before, *Subauguſta* lay cloſe by *Rome*, *Oſtia* ſixteen Miles from *Rome* and two from *Porto*; *Gabii* thirteen from *Rome* and as many from *Præneſte*. *Tuſculum*, which ſome miſtake for *Tuſculanum*, where *Cicero* wrote his *Tuſculan* Queſtions, was a City now call'd *Freſcati*, and *Ferrarius* ſays but twelve Miles from *Rome*. *Signia*, now called *Segni*, lay between *Tuſculum* and *Anagnia*, ſix Miles from each, nine from *Præneſte*, and thirty from *Rome*, as *Baudrand* informs [*n*] us from *Holſtenius*. The ſame Author ſays [*o*], *Ferentinum* was but five Miles from *Anagnia*, and four from *Aletrium*; and *Ferrarius* [*p*] places *Verulæ* between *Anagnia* and *Sora*, nine or ten Miles from each. *Lavici* is reckoned by *Holſtenius* [*q*] but fifteen Miles from *Rome*, and yet the Dioceſe of *Subauguſta* came between them: For it was in the *Via Lavicana*, the direct way that leads from *Rome* to *Lavici*. *Albanum* and *Alba* are by ſome Authors confounded together, but *Holſtenius* [*r*] reckons them diſtinct Cities, and *Ferrarius* ſays [*s*] the one was fourteen, and the other ſixteen Miles from *Rome*. But perhaps the one might only ariſe out of the Ruins of the other, for they were not above two Miles from each other. *Velitræ* was but four Miles from *Alba*, and twenty from *Rome*; *Antium* on the *Tuſcan* Shore fourteen from *Velitræ* and twenty from *Oſtia*, as the ſame *Ferrarius* [*t*] informs us. Between *Antium* and *Velitræ* lay *Tres Tabernæ*, the Place whither the Criſtians came to meet St. *Paul* from *Rome*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* thinks it is the ſame which is now called *Ciſterna*, but *Holſtenius* ſays [*u*], it was at ſome diſtance from it in the *Via Appia*, ſo near *Velitræ*, that *Gregory the Great* united theſe two Dioceſes together. *Ferrarius* ſays [*x*] it was but five Miles from *Velitræ*, and twenty ſix (or as *Baudrand* computes twenty one) from *Rome*, five from *Aricia*, and twenty two from *Appii Forum*, the other Place whither the Brethren came to meet St. *Paul*. Indeed neither *Aricia* nor *Appii Forum* are mention'd as Epiſcopal Sees by any antient Writer: But *Ferrarius* [*y*] ſeems to make them both ſo: For he ſays, *Aricia* was a famous City and a *Roman* Colony, which by the common Rule of the Church had thereby a Title to an Epiſcopal See: Nor is it any Objection againſt it that it was but ſixteen Miles from *Rome*, and four or five from *Alba*, *Tres Tabernæ*, and *Velitræ*; for we have ſeen already that many Cities in this Tract were at no greater diſtance from one another. Of *Appii Forum* he ſpeaks more poſitively, and ſays it was antiently [*z*] an Epiſcopal See, though from what Authority he tells us not: But there is ſome Reaſon to believe it, becauſe it was a City at a good diſtance from any other. For *Tarricina* on the *Eaſt* was near twelve Miles from it, and *Tres Tabernæ* Weſt-

[*l*] Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Aternum. [*m*] Holſten. ibid. [*n*] Lexic. Geogr. voce Signia. [*o*] Ibid. voce Ferentinum. [*p*] Ibid. voce Verulæ. [*q*] Holſten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 194. [*r*] Holſten. ibid. p. 183. [*s*] Ferrar. voce Alba longa. [*t*] Ferrar. voce Velitræ, & Antium. [*u*] Holſten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9. [*x*] Ferrar. voce Tres Tabernæ. [*y*] Ferrar. voce Aricia. [*z*] Ferrar. voce Forum Appii.

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ward above twenty; so that either *Tres Tabernæ* and *Tarracina* must have Dioceses of more than ordinary Extent in these Parts, or else *Apii Forum* must come between them. But I let this pass, because in Matters of doubtful nature, where we are destitute of antient Authorities, nothing can certainly be determined. I go on therefore with those that are more certain. From *Tarracina* to *Fundi* the modern Accounts [a] reckon but ten Miles, though the *Jerusalem Itinerary* [b] calls it thirteen, and *Antonine*'s *Itinerary* sixteen. From *Fundi* to *Formiæ* the same Itineraries reckon twelve and thirteen, which *Ferrarius* from the modern Geographers esteems but ten; cautioning his Reader here [c] against a great Error in *Strabo*, who makes it four hundred *Stadia*, that is fifty Miles from *Tarracina* to *Formiæ*, when indeed it was not half the distance. If we look a little upward from the Sea to the North-eastern part of *Latium*, there we find *Aquinum* and *Cassinum* but five Miles from one another, and *Atina* the same distance from *Cassinum*, and *Sora* twelve Miles from *Atina*, twelve from *Ferentinum*, sixteen from *Cassinum*, and sixty from *Rome*. So that in the Compass of seventy old *Italian* Miles, which are not quite sixty of the modern, there were betwixt twenty and thirty Bishopricks, answerable to the number of Cities in *Latium* in the most flourishing times of the *Roman* Empire.

From *Latium* we must pass into *Campania*, where we first meet with *Minturnæ*, now called *Scaffa del Garigliano*, not far from the Mouth of the River *Liris*, which *Ferrarius* [d] computes nine Miles from *Formiæ*, and as many from *Sinuessa*. A little above these lay *Teanum*, now called *Tiano*, eight Miles from *Suessa*, twelve from *Capua*; and *Calenum* was the same distance from *Capua*, and but six from *Suessa*, and six from *Sinuessa*, as *Ferrarius* [e] reckons. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* takes *Calenum* for *Cagli*, and others for *Cales*; but *Holstenius* [f] shews it to be the same with *Carniola*, which is now a Bishop's Seat, and as *Baudrand* computes, but four Miles from *Suessa*, and as many from the *Tuscan* Shore. Next beyond these lay *Vulturnum*, now called *Castel di Bitorno*, at the mouth of the River *Vulturnus*, eight Miles from *Sinuessa*, and nine from *Linternum*, and ten from *Capua*. Five Miles beyond *Linternum* on the same Shore was *Cumæ*, and three Miles below that *Misenum*, from whence to *Puteoli* was but three Miles likewise, and from *Puteoli* to *Naples* six, according to *Ferrarius*'s Computation. About eighteen Miles beyond *Naples* was *Stabiæ*, and six from that *Surrentum* on the same shore, beyond which was *Amalphia* and *Salernum*, the last of which is reckon'd by *Ferrarius* but twenty four Miles from *Naples*. On the North and East of *Naples* lay *Nola*, which could not be above twelve Miles from it: For *Holstenius* observes [g], that *Octavianum*, the Village where *Octavius Augustus* dy'd under Mount *Vesuvius*, was in the way between them, five Miles from *Naples*, and seven from *Nola*. Between *Nola* and *Capua* lay *Acerræ*, six Miles from *Nola*, and eight from *Naples*, and ten from *Capua*: For from *Nola* to *Capua* was but twenty old *Italian* Miles, as we learn from *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola* [h], who could not be mistaken. *Naples* and *Capua* were but sixteen Miles asunder, and yet *Atella*, now called *S. Arpino*, or *S. Elpidio*, lay between them, which *Ferrarius* [i] says, was eight Miles from each. *Calatia* was but the same distance to the North of *Capua*; *Venafrum* but ten Miles from *Cassinum*; *Abellinum* was the largest Diocese in all *Campania*, sixteen Miles from *Beneventum*, and as much from *Nola*, *Salernum*, and *Frequentum* in the Province of *Samnium*, to which *Baudrand* [k] says, it was afterward united. If now we put all these *Italian* Dioceses hitherto enumerated together, they amount to above one hundred and ten, whereof twenty were in that little part of *Tuscia*, which is now call'd St. *Peter*'s *Patrimony*, twenty in *Umbria*, eleven in *Valeria*, nineteen in *Picenum Suburbicarium*, and forty three in *Latium* and *Campania*. And yet all this Country put together, was not in the longest part of it above two hundred Miles on the *Tuscan* Shore: For from the River *Marta*, on which lay *Tarquina* and *Graviscæ*, to *Rome* is reckon'd fifty modern Miles; from *Rome*, to *Naples* a hundred twenty five; and from *Naples* to *Salernum*, the utmost Diocese in *Campania*, but twenty four, according to the Computations of *Ferrarius*. On the *Adriatick* Shore it was only the Length of *Picenum Suburbicarum* between the Rivers *Æsis* and *Aternus*, which is not above a hundred and twenty Miles. The Breadth of it in the widest part of it, from *Ancona* on the *Adriatick* Sea to *Ostia* on the *Tuscan* Sea, was but a hundred and sixty four Miles, and in the narrower Parts from the Mouth of the River *Aternus* to the Mouth of the *Liris*, not above a hundred and twenty Miles. Which the Curious may divide among a hundred and ten Dioceses, and then examine whether they exceed the Proportions which I have before assign'd them.

SECT. VI. *Of Samnium.*

I will not stand so nicely to examine the rest of the *Italian* Dioceses, but only recount the Number in each Province, and make a few Remarks upon the largest, as I have hitherto done upon the smallest; that the Reader may pursue this Enquiry farther at his own Pleasure, and see that the Greatness or Smallness of a Diocese antiently bred no Division or Disturbance in the Catholick Church. The next Province then in order to be spoken of is *Samnium*, which lay on the

[a] Ferrar. voce Fundi. [b] Ap. Holsten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver, p. 218. [c] Ferrar. voce Formiæ. [d] Ferrar. voce Minturnæ. [e] Ibid. voce Teanum, & Calenum. [f] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 258. [g] Holsten. Annot. in Ortel p. 133. [h] Paulin. ad Cyther. Carm. 13. p. 492. [i] Ferrar. voce Atella. [k] Baudrand, voce Abellinum.

Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea, between *Picenum Suburbicarium* on the Weſt, from which it was divided by the River *Aternus* or *Peſcara*, and *Apulia* on the Eaſt, from which it was ſeparated by the River *Frenta*. In this Province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons but ten Dioceſes. 1 *Beneventum*. 2 *Sæpinum*. 3 *Sulmo*. 4 *Bovianum*, now called *Boiano*. 5 *Theatea*, now *Chieti*. 6 *Ortona*. 7 *Frequentum*, *Fricenti*. 8 *Alipha*. 9 *Samnium*. 10 *Corfinium*, or *Valva*: To which *Holſtenius* adds *Iſtonium* and *Æclanum*, but *Baudrand* thinks *Æclanum* was the ſame with *Frequentum*. However it was, *Holſtenius* [*l*] obſerves, that it had the Name of *Decimum Quintum*, becauſe it was fifteen Miles from *Beneventum*. *Corfinium* and *Sulmo* were nearer to one another, and were afterward united together. *Ortona*, *Theatea*, *Sæpinum*, *Bovianum* and *Iſtonium*, were ſome ten, ſome twelve Miles from one another. So that theſe Dioceſes were neither ſo little as thoſe about *Rome*, nor ſo large as thoſe of the weſtern Provinces in the *Italick* Dioceſe.

SECT. VII. *Of* Apulia *and* Calabria.

NEXT to *Samnium* lay *Apulia*, and beyond that *Calabria* in the utmoſt Corner of *Italy* to the *Adriatick* Sea. Theſe two Regions made but one Province in the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Account, and therefore I joyn them together. In *Apulia*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons twelve Dioceſes. 1 *Ignatia*, now call'd *Ignazzo*. 2 *Barium*, *Barri*. 3 *Tranum*, *Trani*. 4 *Cuperſanum*, *Converſano*. 5 *Canuſium*, *Canoſa*. 6 *Sipontum*, *Siponto*. 7 *Arpi*, now *Sarpi*. 8 *Melphia*, *Melfi*. 9 *Venuſia*, *Venoſa*. 10 *Acherontia*, *Acerenza*. 11 *Vigiliæ*, *Biſeglæ*. 12 *Cannæ*: To which the Diligence of *Holſtenius* has added five more. 13 *Bivinum*, *Bovino*. 14 *Herdona*, *Ardona*. 15 *Rubiſium*, *Ruvo*. 16 *Salapia*, *Salpe*. 17 *Æcæ*, or *Æquana*, ſince call'd *Troja*. In *Calabria*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* found but ſeven Dioceſes, but *Holſtenius* makes them ten. 1 *Brundiſium*, *Brindiſi*. 2 *Aletium*, *Lecci*. 3 *Hydruntum*, *Otranto*. 4 *Callipolis*, *Gallipoli*. 5 *Tarentum*, *Taranto*. 6 *Uria*, *Oira*. 7 *Lypia*, or *Luſpiæ*. 8 *Neritum*, *Nardo*. 9 *Uxentum*, *Ugento*. 10 *Alexanum*, before called *Leuce*, now *Aleſſano*.

SECT. VIII. *Of* Lucania *and* Brutia.

NEXT to theſe toward the lower Sea, lay the Regions of *Lucania* and *Brutia*, which are reckon'd together likewiſe as one Province. In *Lucania*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* could find but five Biſhopricks, but *Holſtenius* augments them to eight. 1 *Potentia*, *Potenza*. 2 *Buxentum*, which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* takes to be *Piſciota*, but *Holſtenius* and others *Polycaſtro*. 3 *Pæſtum*, *Peſto*. 4 *Acropolis*, *Agropoli*. 5 *Blanda*, which ſome take for *Belvedere*, but *Holſtenius* calls it *Porto di Sapri*. 6 *Grumentum*, *Agrimonte*. 7 *Velia*. 8 *Cocilianum*, the Biſhop of which is ſometimes ſtyl'd alſo *Marcilianenſis*, as *Holſtenius* [*m*] obſerves, from *Marcianum*, a Seat or Suburbs belonging to the Dioceſe of *Cocilianum*. In *Brutia*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons up ſixteen Dioceſes. 1 *Rhegium*, now *Rezo*. 2 *Taurianum*, *Seminara*. 3 *Vibo-Valentia*, now call'd *Bivona*. Out of theſe two Dioceſes, *Holſtenius* [*n*] obſerves, that *Roger* Earl of *Calabria* rais'd the new Dioceſe of *Mileto*, *An.* 1087. 4 *Tropæa*. 5 *Nicotera*, *Nicodro*. 6 *Temeſa*, now *S. Marco*. 7 *Thurium*, *Terra Nova*, al. *Buffalora*. 8 *Cerillus*, *Cerilla*. 9 *Conſentia*, *Conſenza*. 10 *Crotona*. 11 *Scyllatium*, *Squillaci*. 12 *Locri*, *Gieraci*. 13 *Muranum*, *Morano*. 14 *Portus Oreſtis*, *Porto Ravaglioſo*. 15 *Carina*, united to *Rhegium* by *Gregory the Great*. 16 *Bova*. To theſe *Holſtenius* adds two more, *Paternum* and *Turres*; the firſt of which Sees, he ſays [*o*], was tranſlated to *Umbriatico*, and the other united to *Taurianum*. So that the new Dioceſe of *Mileto*, which was made out of *Taurianum* and *Vibo*, muſt be at leaſt three old Dioceſes united into one. Whence we may conclude, that though ſome of the Dioceſes in this part of *Italy* are leſs than they were antiently, yet others are larger by being united: And the ſame Obſervation may be made upon *Campania*, where the Dioceſes are now more numerous than in any other part of *Italy*; though ſome of them are now ſo ſmall, as not to extend beyond the Walls of their Cities, yet others are larger than formerly for the Reaſon mentioned, becauſe they were made up of two or three old Dioceſes put together, as has been noted in its proper place.

SECT. IX. *Of the Iſles of* Sicily, Melita *and* Lipara.

TO theſe ſeven Provinces which lay in *Italy*, we muſt add the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, with the leſſer Iſlands that lay about them, which make up the ten Provinces of the *Roman* Dioceſe, or City-Prefecture. In *Sicily*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* counts thirteen Dioceſes. 1 *Syracuſæ*. 2 *Tindarium*, *Tindaro*. 3 *Leontini*, *Lentini*. 4 *Lilybæum*, now called *Marſala*. 5 *Tauromenium*, *Taormina*. 6 *Meſſana*. 7 *Thermæ*. 8 *Catana*. 9 *Trocala*. 10 *Agrigentum*, *Grigenti*. 11 *Panormus*, *Palermo*. 12 *Alæſa*, now *Caronia*. 13 *Camarina*, *Camarana*. To which are added the two Iſlands of *Lipara*, and *Melita* or *Malta*, which had each their Biſhop in the time of *Gregory the Great*. The later *Notitia's* ſpeak of ſeven more in *Sicily*, and *Baudrand* takes notice of others, which he ſays were old Epiſcopal Sees, as *Charinum*, *Drepanum*, *Gela nova*, *Myle*, now called *Melazzo*, and *Trojanopolis* or *Troyna*; but where he found thoſe Names he does not inform us. However, theſe muſt be large Dioceſes; for this was the greateſt Iſland in all the *Mediterranean* Sea: *Baudrand* ſays, *Cluver* was at the Pains to meaſure it, and his Account is

[*l*] Holſten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 18. [*m*] Holſten. Not. in Ital. Cluver. p. 292. [*n*] Holſten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 500. & 306. [*o*] Holſten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 294.

[*p*], that

[p], that it is six hundred Miles in compass. Which being divided between thirteen or eighteen Bishopricks, will easily prove them to be large Dioceses, without standing to examine the distances of particular Places. The Isle of *Malta*, *Ferrarius* [q] says, was twenty Miles long, and eleven broad; but *Baudrand* makes it twenty five one way, and fifteen another: By either of which Accounts it was larger than some four or five *Italian* Dioceses. *Lipara*, the chief of the seven *Vulcanian* or *Æolian* Islands, was not so large; for it was but eighteen Miles in compass: But here was a City and several Appendant Villages, which with the lesser Islands were enough to make a considerable Diocese, larger than many of those about *Rome*.

SECT. X. *Of* Sardinia *and* Corsica.

Sardinia is sometimes reckoned to the *African* Diocese, and sometimes to the *Roman*. In the *Notitia* of the *African* Church publish'd by *Sirmondus*, there are said to be five Dioceses, and *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* speaks but of six. 1 *Caralis*. 2 *Sulchi*. 3 *Tegula*. 4 *Turris Libisonis*, now called *Porto di Torre*. 5 *Forum Trajani*. 6 *Phausania*, now *Terra nova*. For *Sanafer* he makes to be a little uncertain. *Baudrand* [r] says they were once augmented to eighteen, but now they are again reduced to seven. However the Country appears to be large enough for eighteen: For *Ferrarius* [s] reckons it two hundred Miles long and an hundred and seventy broad; *Baudrand* brings it into a little narrower Bounds, making it only an hundred and seventy Miles in length, and eighty in breadth, and four hundred and fifty in Circumference: Which will make five or six large Dioceses, and eighteen much greater than those which lay in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

In *Corsica*, *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* finds four antient Dioceses, *Holstenius* five. 1 *Aleria*. 2 *Urcinium*, al. *Adiacium*. 3 *Nebium*. 4 *Tamita*. 5 *Mariana*. Now this Island by the lowest Computation of *Baudrand* was an hundred and six Miles in length, and fifty in breadth, which will allow forty Miles to every Diocese. So that these may be reckoned the largest Dioceses of all the ten Provinces, which belonged to the Prefecture of *Rome*.

SECT. XI. *Of* Picenum Annonarium, *and* Flaminia.

WE are now to return into *Italy* again, and to take a short View of the seven Provinces, which made up that which is properly called the *Italick* Diocese, in Contradistinction to that of *Rome*. The first of these, which lay nearest to *Rome*, was *Picenum Annonarium*, divided from *Picenum Suburbicarium* by the River *Æsis*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* by mistake makes it a Province of the *Roman* Diocese, but in the old *Notitia* of the Empire it is joyned with *Flaminia*, and both together make but one Province of the *Italick* Diocese. In this *Picenum* there were antiently but nine Dioceses. 1 *Æsis*, now called *Iesi*. 2 *Senogallia*, *Sinigaglia*. 3 *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*. 4 *Pisaurum*, *Pesaro*. 5 *Ariminum*, *Rimini*. 6 *Urbinum*. 7 *Tifernum Metaurense*, so called to distinguish it from the other *Tifernum* upon the *Tiber*, from which it was sixteen Miles distance. It is now call'd St. *Angelo in Vado*, and is only a part of another Diocese called *Urbanea* from its Founder Pope *Urban* VIII. 8 *Forum Sempronij*, *Fossembruno*. 9 *Callium*, *Cagli*. In *Flaminia*, which lay westward of *Picenum* between the *Rubicon* and the *Padus*, or *Po*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* names eleven Dioceses. 1 *Ravenna*. 2 *Sarsina*. 3 *Cæsena*. 4 *Forum Popilij*. 5 *Ficoclæ*, now called *Cervia*. 6 *Forum Livij*, *Forli*. 7 *Faventia*, *Faenza*. 8 *Forum Cornelij*, now *Imola*. 9 *Vicohabentia*, *Vicovenza*. 10 *Hadria*, *Adri*. 11 *Comacula*, *Comacchio*. Of all which Dioceses, I shall stand to make no other Observation but this, That they were larger than those about *Rome*, and less than many others in the western Provinces, which lay at a greater distance from it. *Ferraria* was as yet no Diocese of it self, but first made one by Pope *Vitalian* in the latter end of the VIIth Century, as *Ferrarius* [t] informs us.

SECT. XII. *Of* Æmylia.

THE second of these seven Provinces, was *Æmylia*, divided on the East from *Flaminia* by the River *Idex*, on the North from *Liguria* by the *Po*, on the West from *Alpes Cottiæ* by the River *Trebia*, and on the South from *Tuscia* by the *Apennine*. *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons here but six Dioceses. 1 *Bononia*, *Bologna*. 2 *Mutina*, *Modena*. 3 *Brixellum*, *Bressello*. 4 *Regium Lepidi*, *Reggio*. 5 *Parma*. 6 *Placentia*, *Piacenza*. These were all very large Dioceses. For *Bononia*, the most Eastern in Situation, is reckoned twenty Miles from *Mutina*, and as much from *Forum Cornelij* in *Flaminia*, twenty eight from *Ferraria*, which was in the next Diocese Northward, and on the South it had no nearer Neighbour than *Fesulæ* beyond the *Apennine* within three Miles of *Florence*. *Mutina* was fifteen Miles from *Regium Lepidi*, and *Regium* as much from *Parma*, and *Parma* thirty five from *Placentia* according to *Ferrarius*'s Computation. *Brixellum* on the *Po* was but eight Miles from *Parma*, but on other sides it might have a larger Diocese. For *Ferrarius* says, it was twenty four Miles from *Regium Lepidi*, and thirty from *Cremona*. So that these six Dioceses were larger than twenty of those about *Rome*.

SECT. XIII. *Of* Alpes Cottiæ.

OUT of *Æmylia* we pass over the River *Trebia* into one of the *Alpine* Provinces, called *Alpes Cottiæ*, which was divided also from *Liguria* by the *Po*, from which it extended to the *Tuscan* Sea, including part of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, and the whole Repub-

[p] Baudrand. Lexic. Geogr. voce Sicilia. Melita. [q] Ferrar. voce Sardinia. [r] Baudrand voce Sardinia. [s] Ferrar. voce Sardinia. [t] Ferrar. voce Ferraria.

lick of *Genua*, and part of the Dutchy of *Milan* on this ſide the *Po*. In this Province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* finds ten Dioceſes. 1 *Auguſta Taurinorum*, *Turin*. 2 *Aſta*, *Aſti*. 3 *Dertona*, *Tortona*. 4 *Alba Pompeia*, *Alba*. 5 *Aquæ Statiellæ*, *Acqui*. 6 *Albingaunum*, *Albenga*. 7 *Vigintimilium*, *Vintimiglia*. 8 *Bobium*, *Bobio*. 9 *Genua*. 10 *Savona*. To which *Holſtenius* [*u*] adds *Nicæa*, *Nizza*. Theſe were large Dioceſes, for *Bobium* had no nearer Neighbour than *Placentia*, which *Ferrarius* reckons [*x*] twenty five Miles from it, and *Genua* and *Dertona* thirty five. *Savona* was twenty ſix Miles from *Genua*, according to the moſt accurate Computation of *Holſtenius* [*y*]; *Ferrarius* [*z*] ſays, it lay in the middle way between *Genua* and *Albingaunum*, at thirty Miles diſtance. *Aquæ Statiellæ* was alſo twenty two Miles from *Savona*, as *Baudrand* computes; but not ſo far from *Aſta* and *Alba Pompeia*: For *Alba* was but eight Miles to the North of *Aquæ*, and *Aſta* twelve more beyond that; but Eaſt and Weſt theſe Dioceſes might extend very wide; for *Turin* the neareſt Neighbour Weſtward was twenty Miles from *Aſta* and twenty eight from *Alba*, and *Dertona* as much to the Eaſt, according to *Ferrarius*'s Computation. *Vigintimilium* was twenty Miles from *Nicæa*, and *Albingaunum* forty from *Vigintimilium*, and *Savona* between twenty and thirty from *Albingaunum*. The whole Province was a hundred and fifty Miles in length, and half as much in breadth, which made thoſe eleven Dioceſes equal to fifty of thoſe about *Rome* and *Naples*.

SECT. XIV. *Of* Liguria.

OUT of this Province paſſing over the *Po*, we come into *Liguria*, the Province whereof *Milan* was the Metropolis; though the Reader muſt note, that the laſt-mentioned Province in the *Roman* Hiſtorians is more commonly called *Liguria*, and this *Inſubria*; but we now ſpeak of them as they ſtood divided under the Chriſtian Emperors. This was a large Province, including all that lay between the Fountain of the *Addua* and the *Po*, and the *Alps* and the *Atheſis*, which divided it from *Venetia*. Yet here were but ten Dioceſes to be diſcovered by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*, and the inquiſitive Diligence of *Holſtenius* after him. 1 *Mediolanum*, *Milan*. 2 *Eporedia*, *Jurea*. 3 *Vercellæ*, *Vercelli*. 4 *Novaria*. 5 *Ticinum*, *Pavia*. 6 *Laus Pompeia*, *Lodi*. 7 *Cremona*. 8 *Brixia*, *Breſcia*. 9 *Bergomum*, *Bergamo*. 10 *Comum*, *Como*. Of theſe *Milan* was reckoned the largeſt City in *Italy* next after *Rome*. *Ferrarius* ſays, it is now computed to have three hundred thouſand People in it; but that is much ſhort of its antient Greatneſs: For *Procopius* [*a*] ſays, in *Juſtinian*'s time when it was taken by the *Goths*, there were three hundred thouſand Men put to the Sword. When St. *Ambroſe* was Biſhop there, it had ſeveral Chriſtian Churches, ſome of which are nam'd by him in his Epiſtles, as the *Baſilica Portiana* [*b*] without the Walls, and the *Baſilica Major* or *Nova* within the City, the *Baſilica Fauſtæ* [*c*], and *Baſilica Ambroſiana*: And when it was all become Chriſtian, we muſt ſuppoſe a great many Churches more under one Biſhop; for it never had two, except in the times of the *Arian* Perſecution. Without the Walls it might alſo have a large Dioceſe: For no other City among thoſe forementioned was within leſs than twenty Miles of it; and there were ſome thirty, and ſome forty Miles remov'd from one another, only *Novaria* and *Vercellæ* were but ten Miles aſunder, being nearer Neighbours than any other in this Province. *Cremona* was eighteen Miles from *Placentia*, thirty from *Brixia*, forty from *Ticinum*, and if *Ferrarius* compute right, no leſs from *Mantua*; and yet the Territories of *Cremona* and *Mantua* join'd together, as we may gueſs from that Complaint of *Virgil*, *Mantua væ miſeræ nimium vicina Cremonæ*, That *Mantua* was a little too near to *Cremona*; becauſe when *Auguſtus* ſent his Colony of *Veterans* to ſettle at *Cremona*, and the Territory of *Cremona* proved too little for them, he ordered fifteen Miles to be taken from the Territory of *Mantua*, to make up the Deficiency of the former. Whence it is eaſy to infer, that the Dioceſes of this Province were exceeding large, ſince the Cities were ſo far removed from one another.

SECT. XV. *Of* Rhœtia prima *and* ſecunda.

IN the two next Provinces, *Rhœtia prima* and *ſecunda*, the Dioceſes were yet larger: For in the former, which lay next to *Liguria* in the middle of the *Alpes*, and is now the Country of the *Griſons*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* could find but one Dioceſe, which was *Curia*, now called *Coire*: And in the other but three. 1 *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, *Ausburg*. 2 *Quintanæ*, or *Colonia Auguſta Quintanorum*, now *Kyntzen* in *Bavaria* on the *Danube*. 3 *Ratiſpona*, or *Regium*, and *Caſtra Regina*, now *Regenſpurg*, or *Ratisbone*: To which *Holſtenius* adds, *Auguſta Prætoria*, now called *Aoſta*, which is reckoned to *Piedmont*; and *Brixino*, now *Brixen* in the County of *Tirol*: For, as I obſerved before, all that Part of *Germany* which reaches from the *Alpes* to the *Danube*, was antiently called *Rhœtia*, and reckoned among the Provinces of *Italy*, and the Dioceſes therein were ſo large, that theſe five or ſix were equal for Extent of Ground, though not for Number of People, to thirty or forty of thoſe near *Rome*.

SECT. XVI. *Of* Venetia *and* Hiſtria.

THE laſt of theſe ſeven *Italick* Provinces, was *Venetia* and *Hiſtria*, which were always join'd together as one Province. *Venetia* was divided from *Rhœtia* and *Liguria* by the River *Atheſis*, from *Æmylia* and *Flaminia* by the *Po*, and from

[*u*] Holſten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 4. [*x*] Ferrar. voce Bobium. [*y*] Holſten. ibid. p. 9. [*z*] Ferrar. voce Savona. [*a*] Procop. Gotthic. lib. 2. c. 21. p. 439. [*b*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcel. Sororem. [*c*] Id. Ep. 85. ad Soror.

ANTIQUORUM
GALLIÆ EPISCOPATUUM
GEOGRAPHICA
DESCRIPTIO
Scala Milliarium
BRITANICUS OCEANUS
GALLICUS
OCEANUS
AQUITANICUS
OCEANUS
MARE GALLICUM
MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS
ITALIÆ PARS
PYRENEI MONTES
Lutetia Parisiorum
Rothomagum
Rhemi
Turonum
Bituricæ
Lugdunum
Vienna
Burdigala
Narbona
Massilia
Aquæ Augustæ
Helena als Helna

Noricum Mediterraneum by a Line drawn from the Fountain of the River *Atheſis* to the Riſe of the *Savus*, where *Iſtria* was joined to it, lying between the *Sinus Tergeſtinus* on the Weſt, and *Sinus Flanaticus* on the Eaſt, which is the utmoſt Bounds of the North-Eaſt Part of *Italy*. In *Hiſtria*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons but five Dioceſes. 1 *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*. 2 *Tergeſtum*, *Trieſte*. 3 *Parentium*, *Parenzo*. 4 *Pola*. 5 *Æmonia*, which he takes to be the ſame that is now called *Citta nova*, but *Holſtenius* ſays it is *Lubiana* or *Labach* on the *Save*. In *Venetia* he recounts eighteen Dioceſes. 1 *Aquileia*. 2 *Patavium*, *Padua*. 3 *Torcellum*. 4 *Altinum*, *Altino*. 5 *Acelum*, *Aſolo*. 6 *Tarviſium*, *Treviſo*. 7 *Marianum*. 8 *Verona*. 9 *Gradus*, *Grado*. 10 *Nova*. 11 *Caprulla*, *Cahorla*. 12 *Ceneta*, *Ceneda*. 13 *Tridentum*, *Trent*. 14 *Feltria*, *Feltri*. 15 *Bellunum*, *Belluno*. 16 *Sabiona*, *Siben*. 17 *Opitergium*, *Oderzo*. 18 *Celina*, *Celine*. Some of theſe were very large Dioceſes: *Trent* was above thirty Miles from *Verona*; and *Sabiona* and *Forum Julii* and *Æmonia* and *Tergeſtum Parentium* and *Pola* were no leſs from one another. The reſt were ten or twenty Miles removed from any other neighbouring City; only *Altinum* and *Torcellum*, *Ferrarius* [*d*] ſays, were but five Miles a-part, but he queſtions whether they were both Biſhop's Sees at the ſame time, and thinks rather that *Torcellum* came only in the room of *Altinum*, when that was deſtroyed by *Attila* toward the middle of the fifth Century. However, the greateſt Part of theſe Dioceſes were one way or other of large Extent, as moſt of the Northern Dioceſes in *Italy* were, in compariſon of thoſe which lay round about *Rome*. And now, I think, the Obſervation made in the beginning of this Chapter has been fully verified, that in *Italy* there were antiently ſome of the ſmalleſt, and ſome of the largeſt Dioceſes in the World; and yet the ſame Species of Epiſcopacy preſerved in them all: The Biſhop of *Eugubium*, as St. *Jerom* words it, being *ejuſdem Meriti*, and *ejuſdem Sacerdotii*, of the ſame Merit, and equal as to his Prieſthood with the Biſhop of *Rome*. A larger or ſmaller Dioceſe made no Diviſion in the Unity of the Catholick Church.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Dioceſes in FRANCE, SPAIN, *and the* BRITISH *Iſles.*

SECT. I. *Of the antient Bounds and Diviſions of* Gallia *into ſeventeen Provinces.*

I Have now gone through all Parts of the Chriſtian World, except *France*, *Spain* and *Britain*, which made up three civil Dioceſes, and twenty nine or thirty Provinces of the *Roman* Empire: But I ſhall not need to be ſo nice and particular in enquiring into the Bounds and Extent of Epiſcopal Dioceſes in theſe Countries, becauſe their Number being but ſmall in Proportion to the Largeneſs of the Countries, it will eaſily appear to any Man, that the Dioceſes were large, as they continue to be at this Day, though ſome Alterations have been made in their Bounds ſince the original Settlement of them. *France*, as it now ſtands, is but a Part of old *Gallia*, which included alſo ſome of the *Belgick*, *Helvetick*, and *German* Provinces. It was at firſt divided by *Auguſtus* into four Parts, *Narbonenſis*, *Aquitanica*, *Lugdunenſis*, and *Belgica*. Afterwards about the time of *Adrian*, or *Antoninus*, as *de Marca* thinks, theſe four were made fourteen; *Narbonenſis* was divided into four; *Narbonenſis*, *Viennenſis*, *Alpes Maritimæ*, and *Alpes Graiæ*, or *Penninæ*: *Aquitanica* was made three, two *Aquitains*, and *Novempopulania*; *Lugdunenſis* likewiſe three, *Lugdunenſis prima* and *ſecunda*, and *Maxima Sequanorum*. And *Belgica* was turned into four, *Belgica prima* and *ſecunda*, and *Germania prima* and *ſecunda*. Laſt of all, about the time of the Emperor *Gratian*, three more Provinces were made out of theſe. For *Lugdunenſis tertia*, otherwiſe call'd *Turonia*, was taken out of *Lugdunenſis ſecunda*; and *Lugdunenſis quarta*, or *Senonia*, out of *Lugdunenſis prima*; and the new Province of *Narbonienſis ſecunda*, out of the Province of *Vienna*. And about this time or a little after *Viennenſis ſecunda*, otherwiſe called *Arelatenſis*, was made a Province alſo. Some think alſo, that *Gallia* had once the Name of *Septem Provinciæ*, The Seven Provinces, becauſe it was divided into ſo many: But *de Marca* [*a*] proves this to be a vulgar Error; for it never was divided into Seven Provinces, but ſometimes we meet with the Diſtinction of *Gallia* and the Five Provinces, and *Gallia* and the Seven Provinces, and in the *Notitia* of the Empire, the Word Seven Provinces is once put for Seventeen, which occaſioned the Miſtake. Now the Five Provinces were either nothing but ſo many Parts of the *old Gallia Narbonenſis*, viz. *Narbonenſis prima* and *ſecunda*, *Viennenſis*, *Alpes Maritimæ* and *Alpes Graiæ*; as *Berterius* and *de Marca* and *Queſnellus* account them; or elſe the four firſt of thoſe mentioned with the Province of *Novempopulana* or *Aquitania prima* inſtead of *Alpes Graiæ*; which Mr. *Pagi* [*b*] ſhews to be the more probable Opinion. So that when the Council of *Valence*, *An.* 374, inſcribe their Synodical Epiſtle, *Epiſcopis per Gallias &*

[*d*] Ferrar. voce Altinum. [*a*] Marca de Primatu Lugdun. n. 66, &c. [*b*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 374. n. 18.

Quinque

Quinque Provincias, these five Provinces are to be understood. As also in *Philastrius* [c], where he speaks of the *Priscillianists*, the Remains of the *Manichees*, sculking in *Spain* and the Five Provinces. The like Distinction occurs in the Letter of the Emperor *Maximus* to Pope *Siricius*, and some of *Symmachus*'s Epistles, which *de Marca* mentions. Afterward we meet with the Distinction of *Gallia* and the Seven Provinces, which occurs in the Letters of Pope *Zosimus* and *Boniface*, and is thought to owe its Name to the Emperor *Honorius*, who order'd seven Provinces to meet in the Convention of *Arles*, viz. *Narbonensis prima* and *secunda*, *Viennensis*, *Alpes Maritimæ*, *Aquitania prima* and *secunda*, and *Novempopulania*. These are sometimes distinguish'd from *Gallia* by the Name of *Septem Provinciæ*, which occasioned the Mistake of those who take *Gallia* in the largest Extent and the seven Provinces to be the same; whereas it appears, that there were not only seven, but seventeen or eighteen Provinces in it. The Names of the Bishopricks in each Province, because they occur not in any modern *Notitia*, I will here subjoyn out of *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*, who has collected them out of the Acts of the antient Councils.

SECT. II. *Of the Dioceses in the Province of* Alpes Maritimæ.

THE first of these Provinces was that of the *Maritime Alpes* next to *Italy*, which had seven Dioceses. 1 *Ebrodunum*, *Ambrun*, made the Metropolis of this Province in the Fifth Century, for before it was not so, when it was laid to the Charge of *Armentarius* Bishop of this See, that he was ordain'd without the Consent of the Metropolitan [d], which had been a frivolous Accusation, had he himself then been Metropolitan of the Province. 2 *Dinia*, *Digne*. 3 *Nicæa*, *Nice*. 4 *Cemelene*, *Cimies*, which was afterwards united to *Nice*: For in the fifth Council of *Orleans*, *Magnus* subscribes himself Bishop of both Churches. Some say, it was only six, others thirty Miles from *Nice*. 5 *Sanicium*, *Senez*. 6 *Glandata*, *Glandeve*, which *Baudrand* says is now translated to *Intervallium*, *Entrevaux*. 7 *Ventio*, *Vence*.

SECT. III. Alpes Graiæ, *or* Penninæ.

IN the second Province, called *Alpes Graiæ* or *Penninæ*, were but three Bishopricks. 1 *Tarantasia*, the Metropolis, which See is now translated to *Monasterium*, or *Moutiers en Tarantaise*. 2 *Octodurum*, *Martenach*. 3 *Sedunum*, *Syon en Valez*, the Bishop of which Place is now Prince of the City, as *Baudrand* informs us.

SECT. IV. Viennensis prima *and* secunda.

THE next Province Westward was *Viennensis*, divided into *prima* and *secunda*. In the first were six Dioceses. 1 *Vienna*, the Metropolis. 2 *Geneva*. 3 *Gratianopolis*, *Grenoble*. 4 *Civitas Albensium*, al. *Vivaria & Alba Augusta*, *Viviers*. 5 *Mauriana*, *St. Jean de Maurienne*. 6 *Valentia*, *Valence*. In the second, called also *Provincia Arelatensis*, were ten Dioceses. 1 *Arelate*, *Arles*, the Metropolis. 2 *Massilia*, *Marseilles*. 3 *Avenio*, *Avignon*. 4 *Cabellio*, *Cavaillon*. 5 *Carpentoracte*, *Carpentras*. 6 *Tolonium*, al. *Telonium*, *Toulon*. 7 *Arausio*, *Orange*. 8 *Vasio*, *Vaison*. 9 *Dia*, or *Dea Vocontiorum*, *Die*. 10 *Tricastini*, or *Augusta Tricastinorum*, now called *St. Paul de Trois Chasteaux*, which *Baudrand* reckons three Leagues from *Avignon*, and four from *Vaison*.

SECT. V. Narbonensis prima *and* secunda.

OUT of the Province of *Vienna* Eastward was also taken another Province call'd *Narbonensis prima*, or *Aquensis*, from the Metropolis of it *Aquæ Sextiæ*, *Aix*; beside which there were six other Dioceses in the Province. 2 *Apta Julia*, *Apt*. 3 *Reij*, *Riez*. 4 *Forum Julii*, *Frejuz*. 5 *Vapincum*, *Gap*. 6 *Segestero*, *Cisteron*. 7 *Antipolis*, *Antibe*, since translated to *Grasse* in *Provence*. On the West of *Viennensis secunda*, lay the Province of *Narbonensis prima*, which had ten Dioceses. 1 *Narbo*. 2 *Tolosa*. 3 *Bætiræ*, *Beziers*. 4 *Nemausum*, *Nismes*. 5 *Luteva*, *Lodeue*. 6 *Ucetia*, *Uzes*. 7 *Carcaso*, *Carcassone*. 8 *Agatha*, *Agde*. 9 *Helena*, *Elna*. 10 *Magalona*, an Island of the *Mediterranean*, which See is since translated to *Mons Pessulanus*, or *Montpellier*.

SECT. VI. *Of* Novempopulania.

WESTWARD of *Narbonensis prima*, lay the Province of *Novempopulania* along the *Pyrenæan* Mountains to the *Aquitanick* Ocean, wherein were eleven Dioceses. 1 *Elusa*, *Eause*, the Metropolis, whence the Province was styl'd *Elusana*. The See is since translated and joyn'd to *Augusta Ausciorum*, which was a second See, now call'd *Aux*. 3 *Lactoratium*, *Lectoure*. 4 *Convenæ*, *Cominges*. 5 *Consoranni*, *Conserans*. 6 *Vasatæ*, *Bas*. 7 *Tarba*, *Tarbes*. 8 *Aturum*, al. *Vico-Julia*, *Aire*. 9 *Lascara*, *Lescar*. 10 *Olero*, *Oleron*. 11 *Aquæ*, *Acs*.

SECT. VII. *Of* Aquitania prima *and* secunda.

NORTHWARD of these Provinces from the *Garumna* to the *Ligeris*, lay the two Provinces of *Aquitania prima* and *secunda*, the latter of which bordering upon the Ocean, had six very large Dioceses. 1 *Burdigala*, *Bourdeaux*, the Metropolis. 2 *Aginnum*, *Agen*. 3 *Engolisma*, *Angoulesme*. 4 *Santones*, al. *Mediolanum Santonum*, *Saintes*. 5 *Pictavi*, *Poitiers*, where St. *Hilary* was Bishop. 6 *Petrocorium*, *Perigueux*. In the other Province which lay Eastward from this, were nine as large Dioceses. 1 *Biturigæ*, the Metropolis, now called *Bourges*. 2 *Arverni*, *Clermont*. 3 *Rutena*, *Rhodes*. 4 *Arisita*. 5 *Cadurcum*, *Cahors*. 6 *Lemovica*, *Limoges*. 7 *Gabalum*, al. *Mimate*, now *Mande*. 8 *Vellava*, al. *Anicium*, now *le Puy en Vellay*. 9 *Albiga*, or *Alba Helviorum*, *Alby*, whence the *Albigenses*, who flourish'd in these parts, had their Denomination.

[c] Philastr. Hær. 62. Manichæ. Qui & in Hispania & Quinque Provinciis latere dicuntur.

[d] Concil. Reiens. c. 2.

NORTH

SECT. VIII. *Of* Lugdunenſis prima, ſecunda, tertia, quarta, & Maxima Sequanorum.

NORTH and Eaſt of *Aquitain*, lay *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, divided into five Provinces, whereof the firſt had five Dioceſes. 1 *Lugdunum*, *Lyon*, the Metropolis. 2 *Matiſco*, *Maſcon*. 3 *Cabillonum*, *Chalons* on the *Saone*. 4 *Lingones*, *Langres*. 5 *Auguſtodunum*, *Autun*. The ſecond, called *Lugdunenſis ſecunda*, had eight Dioceſes. 1 *Rothomagum*, *Rouen* in *Normandy*. 2 *Ebroica*, *Eureux*. 3 *Lexovium*, *Liſieux*. 4 *Baioca*, *Baieux*. 5 *Conſtantia*, *Coutance*. 6 *Abrinca*, *Auranches*. 7 *Sagium*, *Siez*. 8 *Oximum*, *Hieſmes*, ſince united to *Sagium*, from whence it is four Leagues diſtance. *Lugdunenſis tertia*, otherwiſe called *Turonenſis*, had ſeven Dioceſes. 1 *Turones*, *Tours*. 2 *Andegavum*, *Angiers*. 3 *Cenomanum*, *Le Mans*. 4 *Redones*, *Renes*. 5 *Namnetes*, *Nantes*. 6 *Venetia*, *Vennes*. 7 *Aletium*, *Alet*, ſince tranſlated to *Maclovium*, *An.* 1140. Five others are added by ſome *French* Writers, *viz. Briocum*, *Dola*, *Trecora*, *Oſſiſma*, *Coriſopitum*: But *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* makes ſome queſtion about their Antiquity, becauſe in the time of *Carolus Calvus Britany* had but four Biſhopricks in the whole. *Lugdunenſis quarta* was that Part of *France* where *Paris* ſtands, the Metropolis whereof was *Senones*, *Sens*. Next to that, 2 *Canutum*, *Chartres*. 3 *Antiſſiodorum*, *Auxerre*. 4 *Trecæ*, *Troyes* in *Champain*. 5 *Aurelia*, *Orleans*. 6 *Pariſii*, *Paris*. 7 *Melda*, *Meaux*. 8 *Nivernum*, *Nevers*. *Lugdunenſis quinta* was otherwiſe called *Maxima Sequanorum*; not from *Maximus* the Tyrant, as *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* and many others think; for it was call'd ſo long before, in the time of *Diocletian*, as *de Marca* [e] ſhews from an antient Inſcription in *Gruter*. The antient Metropolis of it was *Veſontio*, or *Biſuntio*, *Beſanſon*. 2 *Aventicum*, *Avenche*, which See was ſince tranſlated to *Lauſanna*. 3 *Auguſta Rauracorum*, *Augſt*, tranſlated to *Baſil*. 4 *Vindoniſſa*, *Winich*, ſince tranſlated to *Conſtance*. 5 *Bollica*, *Belley*, which *de Marca* ſays, aroſe out of the Ruins of a more antient one, which was *Noiodunum*, *Nion*, formerly call'd *Colonia Equeſtris*.

SECT. IX. *Of* Belgica prima *and* ſecunda.

THE moſt Northern Provinces of *Gallia* were *Belgica prima* and *ſecunda*, and *Germania prima* and *ſecunda*, which was all the Country lying North of the River *Matrona* from near *Paris* and *Meaux* to the *Rhine*. *Belgica prima* had but four Dioceſes. 1 *Auguſta Trevirorum*, *Treves*, or *Triers*, the Metropolis. 2 *Mediomatricum*, *Metz*. 3 *Tullum*, *Toul*. 4 *Verodunum*, *Verdun* in *Lorrain*. In the other *Belgica* there were ten Dioceſes. 1 *Remi*, *Reims*. 2 *Auguſta Sueſſionum*, *Soiſſons*. 3 *Catalaunum*, *Chalons* in *Champain*. 4 *Laudunum*, *Leon*. 5 *Auguſta Veromanduorum*, *Vermand*. Which being deſtroy'd by the *Huns*, the See was tranſlated to *Neomagus*, or *Noviodunum*, now called *Noyon*. 6 *Cameracum*, *Cambray*. 7 *Tornacum*, *Tournay*. 8 *Sylvanectum*, *Senlis*. 9 *Bellovacum*, *Beauvais*. 10 *Ambianum*, *Amiens*. Some add two more, *Teruana*, *Therouenne*, and *Bononia*, *Boulougne*. But *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* thinks theſe were not very antient; for he finds no mention of the former before the time of Pope *Zachary*, *an.* 750. And the latter was made out of the former a great many Centuries after in the time of *Charles V. an.* 1350, when the See of *Taruana* was divided into three, and tranſlated to *Bononia* for that part of the Dioceſe which is in *France*, and to *Audomaropolis*, or St. *Omers*, for that part which is in *Artois*, and to *Ipres* for the third part in *Flanders*.

SECT. X. *Of* Germanica prima & ſecunda.

GERMANICA prima had but four Dioceſes. 1 *Moguntiacum*, *Mayence*, or *Ments*. 2 *Argentoratum*, *Strasburgh*. 3 *Spira Nemetum*, *Spire*. 4 *Wormacia Vangionum*, *Worms*. And *Germanica ſecunda* had but two. 1 *Colonia Agrippina*, *Colen*. 2 *Tungri*, or *Aduatuca Tungrorum*, *Tongres* in *Brabant*: Which See was firſt tranſlated to *Trajectum ad Moſam*, *Maſtricht*, and from thence to *Leodium*, or *Liege*, where it now continues, having the Temporal Juriſdiction joyn'd to the Spiritual, and twenty four Towns or Cities ſubject to its Command. Now I ſuppoſe any one that knows any thing of the ſtate of theſe Countries, will eaſily conclude, that the greateſt part of theſe Dioceſes were large, as they are at this Day: The whole Number being but One hundred twenty two, when the Bounds of *France* extended much farther than they do at preſent, including ſome parts of *Helvetia*, *Germany* and *Belgium*, which are now reckon'd diſtinct Countries of themſelves.

SECT. XI. *The antient Diviſion of the* Spaniſh *Provinces.*

OUT of *France*, paſſing over the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, we come into *Spain*, which with the Province of *Tingitana* in *Africk*, and the Iſlands call'd *Baleares*, made up another great civil Dioceſe of the *Roman* Empire under the *Præfectus-Prætorio Galliarum*. The whole Country of *Spain* then was divided only into five Provinces, *Tarraconenſis*, *Carthaginenſis*, *Bætica*, *Luſitania* and *Gailæſia*, and in theſe Provinces there were never above ſeventy four or ſeventy ſix Epiſcopal Dioceſes, when they were moſt numerous, and they are almoſt as many at this Day.

SECT. XII. *Of* Tarraconenſis.

IN the large Province of *Tarraconenſis*, which lay next to *France*, there were only ſixteen Dioceſes. 1 *Tarracona*, now *Tarragona*, the Metropolis. 2 *Dertoſa*, *Tortoſa*. 3 *Cæſarauguſta*, *Saragoſſa*. 4 *Tyraſſona*, al. *Turiaſſo*, now *Tarazona*. 5 *Calagurris*, *Calahorra*. 6 *Auca*, *Oca*. 7 *Oſca*, *Hueſca*. 8 *Pampelona*. 9 *Ilerda*, *Lerida*. 10 *Barcino*, *Barcelona*. 11 *Egara*, *Tarraſſa*,

[e] Marca de Primat. Lugdun. n. 64.

raſſa, a Place near *Barcelona*, about four or ſix Leagues from it, and now united to it. 12 *Auſona*, al. *Auſa*, *Vich de Auſona*. 13 *Gerunda*, *Girone*. 14 *Emporiæ*, *Empurias*. 15 *Orgellum*, *Urgel*. 16 *Velia*, now *Veleia*.

SECT. XIII. *Of* Carthaginenſis.

NEXT to this, on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, lay the Province called *Carthaginenſis* from the chief City *Carthago*, *Carthagena*, which was the antient Metropolis of the Province, though *Toledo* afterward gain'd the Privilege of being a new Metropolis, and at laſt ſucceeded to the Dignity of the whole Province. Beſide theſe two, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons twenty two more Dioceſes in this Province. 1 *Complutum*, now *Alcala de Henares*. 2 *Oxoma*, *Oſma*. 3 *Pallentia*. 4 *Voleria*, now *Valera la Vieja*. 5 *Saguntum*, al. *Segontia*, *Siguenza*. 6 *Secobia*, *Segovia*. 7 *Arcabrica*, *Arcas*. 8 *Oretum*, *Oreto*. 9 *Valentia*, *Valencia*. 10 *Dianium*, *Denia*. 11 *Setabis*, *Xativa*. 12 *Baſti*, *Baza*. 13 *Menteſa*, *Mentexa*. 14 *Salaria*. 15 *Acci*, now *Guadix*. 16 *Segobriga*, *Segorbe*. 17 *Caſtulo*, *Gazlona*. 18 *Bigaſtrum*. 19 *Illicias*, which ſome make the ſame as *Alicante*, others *Origuela*, or *Elche*. 20 *Ergavica*, a Place of more doubtful Situation, ſome taking it for *Alcaniz* near *Toledo*, others for *Penna eſcritta*, or *Santaver*. 21 *Eliocrota*, now *Lorca*. 22 *Urci*, al. *Virgi*, now *Orce*.

SECT. XIV. *Of* Bœtica.

THE next Province of *Bœtica* had but eleven Dioceſes. 1 *Hiſpalis*, *Sevil*. 2 *Italica*, now *Sevilla la Vieja*. 3 *Ilipa*, *Niebla*. 4 *Aſtygis*, now *Ecija*. 5 *Corduba*, *Cordoua*. 6 *Egabrum*, *Cabra*. 7 *Eliberis*, *Elvira*. 8 *Malaca*, *Malaga*. 9 *Aſinda*, al. *Aſſidonia*, now *Medina Sidonia*. 10 *Tucci*, now *Martos*. 11 *Abdara*, *Adra*.

SECT. XV. *Of* Luſitania.

IN the Province of *Luſitania* there were but nine Dioceſes. 1 *Emerita*, *Merida*, the Metropolis. 2 *Abula*, *Avila*. 3 *Salmantica*, *Salamanca*. 4 *Ebora*, *Evora*. 5 *Cauria*, *Coria*. 6 *Pax Julia*, now *Beja*, which ſome by miſtake confound with *Pax Auguſta*, now called *Badajos*, which is but a modern Biſhoprick. 7 *Oſſonaba*, *Eſtoy*. 8 *Olyſippo*, *Lisbone*. 9 *Egita*, *Eidania*.

SECT. XVI. *Of* Gallecia.

GALLECIA was a large Province, and yet never had above thirteen or fourteen Dioceſes. In the Council of *Lucus Auguſti*, or *Lugo*, under King *Theodimir*, *An.* 569, a Complaint was made that the Dioceſes here were ſo large, that the Biſhops could ſcarce viſit them in a Year. Upon which an Order was made, that ſeveral new Biſhopricks, and one new Metropolis ſhould be erected: Which was accordingly done by the Biſhops then in Council, who made *Lugo* to be the new Metropolis, and raiſed ſeveral other Epiſcopal Sees out of the old ones, as is declared [*] in the Acts of that Council. *Bracara*, now called *Braga*, was the old Metropolis, which after the Diviſion had no more than ſeven Dioceſes ſubject to it. 1 *Dumium*. 2 *Portus Calenſis*, now called *El Puerto*. 3 *Conimbrica*, *Coymbra*. 4 *Viſeum*, *Viſeo*. 5 *Lamecum*, *Lamego*. 6 *Valentia ad Minium*, *Valenzia* al. *Menno*. 7 *Legio*, *Leon*. The other Metropolis, *Lucus Auguſti*, had but five Suffragans. 1 *Iria Flavia*, *El Padron*. 2 *Auria*, *Orenſe*. 3 *Tude*, *Tuy*. 4 *Aſturica*, *Aſtorga*. 5 *Brittonia*, *Bretagna*. Of theſe, *Legio* and *Aſturica* are thought by many learned Men to have been but one Dioceſe in the time of *Cyprian*, becauſe he joins them together in the ſame Epiſtle [†], writing to the Church in both Places: But I think the Argument is hardly cogent, becauſe he joins *Emerita* with them in the ſame Inſcription. There is another Place, which ſome ſay had no Dioceſe but a Monaſtery, that is *Dumium* near *Braga*. But this is a great Miſtake. For though there be an Inſtance or two in ancient Hiſtory [*f*] of Biſhops being ordained in Monaſteries without any Dioceſe at all; yet we no where read that their Monaſtery was their Dioceſe: And in the preſent Caſe it was far otherwiſe. For as a learned Man [*g*] has ſhewed, *Dumium* had another Dioceſe beſide the Monaſtery: In the Acts of the Council of *Lugo* it is ſaid to have *Familia Regia*, the King's Court belonging to it. For *Martin Bracarenſis*, commonly called the Apoſtle of *Gallecia*, having converted *Theodimir* King of the *Suevi* from the *Arian* Hereſy, was created Biſhop in the Monaſtery of *Dumium* (which he had built) not for the Service of the Monaſtery, but the King's Court, till he was tranſlated to *Braccara* or *Braga* the Metropolis of the Province. And farther in the Diſtribution of Dioceſes made by King *Wamba*, the Bounds of this Dioceſe are marked, from *Duma* to *Albia*, and from *Rianteca* to *Adaſa*: Which though they be ſuch obſcure Places, as Geographers take no Notice of, yet they argue the Dioceſe to be larger than the Monaſtery; or at leaſt this Monaſtery, like that of *Sublaqueum* in the Dioceſe of *Tibur* in *Italy*, had ſeveral Villages under its Juriſdiction. And ſo it might have a ſufficient Dioceſe, tho' not ſo large as the reſt of the Province of *Gallecia*, which were ſo vaſtly great as to need the Wiſdom and Conſideration of a Council to contract them.

SECT. XVII. *Of the Iſlands* Majorica, Minorica, *&c.*

TO theſe *Spaniſh* Provinces we muſt join the *Spaniſh* Iſlands, *Majorica*, *Minorica* and *Ebuſus*, which *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* by miſtake places with *Sardinia* as Appendants of the *Roman* Dioceſe. *Majorica* the largeſt of the *Baleares* was an hundred and ten Miles in Circuit,

[*] Concil. Lucenſ. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 874. [†] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. Plebibus conſiſtentibus ad Legionem & Aſturicæ.
[*f*] *See Book* IV. *Chap.* vi. *n.* 3. [*g*] Maurice, *Defence of Dioceſ. Epiſcop. p.* 149.

ANTIQUORUM
HISPANIÆ
EPISCOPATUUM
GEOGRAPHICA
DESCRIPTIO
NOVA
CANTABRICUS OCEANUS
GALLIÆ
PARS
PROVINCIA LUCENSIS
GALLICIA
PROVINCIA TARRACONENSIS
PROVINCIA CARTAGINENSIS
PROVINCIA HISPALIENSIS
LUSITANIA
TARRACONENSIS
TOLETA
CARTAGINENSIS
BÆTICA
PROVINCIA
HISPALIENSIS
ATLANTICUS OCEANUS
MARE GADITANUM
MARE HIBERICUM
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
BALEARICUM MARE
SUCRONENSIS SINUS
BALEARIDES INSULÆ
ILLICITANUS SINUS
URSITANUS SINUS
AFRICA PARS
Fretum Herculeum
Charidenium prom.
Saturni Prom.
Scala Milliarium
Harris Sc.

yet it never had above one Episcopal Diocese, whose chief Seat was *Palma*, now called *Mallorca*, which is the Name that the Inhabitants at present give to the whole Island, by others call'd *Majorca*. *Minorica*, *Minorque*, is sixty Miles in compass, and anciently enjoyed a Bishop of its own, whose See was *Jamna*, now called *Citadella*, the capital City of the Island. *Ebusus*, now call'd *Yvica*, was less than these, yet large enough to make a distinct Diocese, being forty two Miles in compass, having a City of the same Name, with several Villages under its Jurisdiction. So that in all the *Spanish* Provinces the Dioceses were generally very large, and not one among them whose Bounds did not far exceed the Limits of a single Congregation.

SECT. XVIII. *The State of the Spanish Church evidenced from some of her most antient Councils.*

AND that this was the true State of the *Spanish* Church in antient Times, appears from some of her most early Councils. The Council of *Eliberis*, which was held *An.* 305, in the beginning of the *Diocletian* Persecution, has a Canon which plainly supposes the Dioceses to have Country Parishes, when it says [*h*], If any Deacon who has the Care of a People, shall baptize any one without a Bishop or Presbyter, the Bishop shall consummate him by his Benediction. The same is more plainly intimated by a Canon of the first Council of *Toledo*, *An.* 400, which directs the Presbyters of every Church [*i*] throughout each Diocese to send to the Bishop before *Easter* for *Chrism*, to be used in Baptism at *Easter*, and other solemn times when Baptism was to be administred. This supposes the *Spanish* Dioceses to have Country Parishes, where Presbyters and Deacons resided without the Bishop, and it serves to confirm the Account that has been given of the original State and Division of those Churches.

SECT. XIX. *Of Ireland and Scotland.*

OUT of *Spain*, we come at last to the *British* Isles, part of which only was under the *Roman* Government, and called the *Britannick* Diocese; for *Ireland* and the greatest part of *Scotland* never came under that Denomination: Yet in our Passage it will not be amiss to say something of them, as well as *England*, if it were for no other Reason but to set aside and censure some fabulous Reports that are made of them. When *Ireland* was first converted, or by whom, is not very material here to be enquired, since before the time of St. *Patrick*, *An.* 433, there is little mention of Bishops or Dioceses in this Kingdom; and after him the Accounts of them are so uncertain and dark, that *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* does not pretend to give any other Catalogue of them, but what he has from *Cambden* and the *Provinciale Romanum*, both of which are modern Accounts: For they make mention of the Diocese of *Waterford*, which as Dr. *Cave* and other learned Men have observed out of *Eadmerus*, [*k*] was not erected till the Year 1097, when King *Murchertacus* and the Clergy of his Kingdom petitioned *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was then Primate of that part of *Ireland*, to let *Waterford* be made a Bishop's See; to which Petition he consented, and ordained one *Malchus*, whom they had elected, first Bishop of the Place. Nay both these *Catalogues* also take notice of four Archbishopricks in *Ireland*, which Number of Metropolitans was first introduced by Pope *Eugenius*, *An.* 1151, as *Baronius* has observed out of *Roger Hoveden*; and the same thing is noted by *Matthew Paris*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, *Gervasius Chronicon*, and others of our *English* Writers. Yet because we have no *Catalogues* of *Irish* Dioceses older or more authentick than these, it will not be amiss to insert them in this place. That in *Cambden* has the four Archbishopricks and their Suffragans in this Order.

Archiepiscopo Armachano subsunt

1 *Midensis vel Elnamirand.* 2 *Dunensis*, al. *Dundalethglas.* 3 *Colchorensis*, al. *Lugundunensis.* 4 *Connerensis.* 5 *Ardachadensis.* 6 *Rathbotensis.* 7 *Rathlucensis.* 8 *Daln-liguirensis.* 9 *Dearrihensis.*

Sub Archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

1 *Glendelacensis.* 2 *Fernensis.* 3 *Offeriensis*, al. *De Canic.* 4 *Lechlinensis.* 5 *Kildarensis.*

Sub Archiepiscopo Cassiliensi.

1 *Laonienſis de Kendalnam.* 2 *Limricensis.* 3 *De Insula Gathay.* 4 *De Cellumabrath.* 5 *Melicensis*, al. *de Emeleth.* 6 *Rossiensis*, al. *Roscreensis.* 7 *Waterfordiensis*, al. *de Batilfordian.* 8 *Lismorensis.* 9 *Clonensis*, al. *de Cluanania.* 10 *Corcagiensis.* 11 *De Rosalither.* 12 *Ardefertensis.*

Sub Archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

1 *Duatensis*, al. *Killmacduoc.* 2 *De Mageo.* 3 *Enachdunensis.* 4 *De Cellaiaro.* 5 *De Roscomon.* 6 *Clonfertensis.* 7 *Achadensis.* 8 *Ladensis*, al. *Killaleth.* 9 *De Conany.* 10 *De Killmunduach.* 11 *Elphinensis.*

The other Catalogue in the *Provinciale Romanum*, publish'd by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* in the Appendix to his Geography, advances the

[*h*] Concil. Eliber. c. 77. Si quis Diaconus regens Plebem sine Episcopo vel Presbytero aliquos baptisaverit, Episcopus eos per Benedictionem perficere debebit. [*i*] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 20. Placuit, ex hac die nullum alium nisi Episcopum Chrisma conficere, & per Diœcesim destinare, ita ut de singulis Ecclesiis ad Episcopum ante diem Paschæ Diaconi destinentur, qui confectum Chrisma ab Episcopo destinatum, ad diem Paschæ possint ad tempus deferre. [*k*] Eadmer. Hist. lib. 2. p. 36. Vid. Cave Hist. Literar. Vol. 2. p. 373.

Number of Suffragans to fifty three in the following Order.

Sub Archiepiſcopo Armachano.

1 *Connerinenſis.* 2 *Deconnannas.* 3 *Dedamlialiagg.* 4 *Dedundaleglas.* 5 *Deardarchad.* 6 *Dedarrich.* 7 *Ingundunum.* 8 *Deralhboth.* 9 *Dunenſis*, al. *Drumorenſis.* 10 *Elualnirand*, al. *Midenſis.* 11 *Derathlurig.* 12 *Renenſis*, al. *Reuelenſis*, al. *Crocorenſis.* 13 *Cluanenſis*, al. *Cluanerdenſis.* 14 *Rochinoſenſis*, al. *Rathbotenſis.* 15 *Artagadonenſis*, al. *Ardocadenſis.* 16 *Conerenſis.* 17 *Heugamenſis.*

Sub Archiepiſcopo Dublinenſi.

1 *Glendelacenſis.* 2 *Caldetenſis*, al. *Kiſcarenſis.* 3 *Glenſis*, al. *Gluiſonenſis.* 4 *Oſſinenſis.* 5 *Darenſis.* 6 *Gaininch.* 7 *Licelinenſis.*

Sub Archiepiſcopo Caſſellenſi.

1 *Decendaluenſis*, al. *Laonenſis.* 2 *Deroſtreenſis*, al. *Wldifordianus.* 3 *Deartefertenſis.* 4 *Lunech.* 5 *Liſmorenſis.* 6 *Firmaberenſis*, al. *Fymbarrenſis.* 7 *De Inſula.* 8 *Deduanamenſis*, al. *Cluanenſis.* 9 *Laudenſis.* 10 *Carthax.* 11 *Tubricenſis.* 12 *Decellininabrach.* 13 *Deconeagia*, vel *Corcagenſis.* 14 *Artfertelenſis.* 15 *Denulech*, al. *Umbliconſis.* 16 *Deroſailitchir.* 17 *Waterfordenſis.*

Sub Archiepiſcopo Tuamenſi.

1 *Demageonenſis.* 2 *Achadenſis.* 3 *Nelfinenſis.* 4 *Decellaid.* 5 *Deconairi.* 6 *Eacdunenſis.* 7 *Roſcomon.* 8 *Decelmundaiach.* 9 *Cluartifertenſis.* 10 *Deculuanferd.* 11 *Duaccenſis.* 12 *Bladenſis.*

This ſeems to have been the greateſt Number of Biſhops that ever *Ireland* had ſince it was a Chriſtian Nation. For as to the pretence of ſome modern Writers, that there were at one time no leſs than three hundred ſixty five Biſhops ordain'd by St. *Patrick*, it is ſolidly refuted by Dr. *Maurice*, who ſhews [*l*] plainly, that the Story is not to be underſtood of ſo many Biſhops at once, but of that Number in the Reign of four Kings ſucceſſively, and in the compaſs of one hundred Years: Which any one that carefully reads Biſhop *Uſher's Antiquities* [*m*], whence the ground of the Story is fetched, will eaſily diſcern. And it is no hard matter to conceive then, how there might be three hundred and fifty, or as *Nennius* tells the Story, three hundred and ſixty five Biſhops in the compaſs of a whole Century, though there were not above fifty or threeſcore at any one Time living together. Another Error committed by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* in reference to the Biſhops of this Nation, which makes the whole Number of them ſubject to a ſingle Abbot, has been already rectify'd in ſpeaking of the *Aſceticks*, where I have ſhew'd [*n*] he miſtakes *Hibernia* for the little Iſle of *Huy* in the North of *Scotland*, where a Monaſtery was founded by *Columbanus*, the Abbots of which by an unuſual Cuſtom, as *Bede* calls it, had ſome ſort of Superiority over the Province of the *Northern Picts*, and the Provincial Biſhops too; but this has no relation to *Ireland*, nor any other part of *Scotland* than what has been now mention'd.

As to the original State of Dioceſes in *Scotland*, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo*, for want of Light from antient Hiſtory, could give no account of them, and therefore he only ſets down the modern Names. Under the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* eight Dioceſes: 1 *Dunkeld.* 2 *Brechin.* 3 *Aberdeen.* 4 *Roſſe.* 5 *Moravia*, or *Muray.* 6 *Caithneſs.* 7 *Dumblain.* 8 The Iſlands call'd *Orchades.* Under the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* three; *Candida Caſa*, or *Whitern*, *Liſmore*, and the Iſlands, that is, the *Hebrides*, or Weſtern Iſlands, whereof *Jona* was one of the Chief. The principal Town of this Iſland, call'd *Sodora*, was made a Biſhop's See by *Gregory* IV. *An.* 840, whence the Biſhop of all thoſe forty four Iſlands, together with the *Iſle of Man*, which then was but a part of that Dioceſe, had the Name of *Epiſcopus Sodorenſis.* But when the *Iſle of Man* fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, the Weſtern Iſlands withdrew their Obedience from their antient Biſhop, who commonly liv'd in this Iſland, and ſet up another Biſhop of their own, who for a long time retain'd the Title of *Sodorenſis*, but at laſt he relinquiſh'd that Title to the Biſhop of the *Iſle of Man*, and took the Name of *Inſulanus*, *Biſhop of the Iſles*, which he ſtill retains. The *Provinciale Romanum* makes no mention either of this Dioceſe of theſe Iſlands, or that other of the *Orchades*; but ſpeaks of one call'd *Dearegarchel*, belonging to the Pope, and makes *Glaſcow* only a Suffragan to St. *Andrews.* By which it appears that it is not many Ages ſince *Glaſgow* was made an Archbiſhoprick, the Biſhop of St. *Andrews* being then the only Metropolitan among them. But about antient Dioceſes we muſt not be very ſollicitous: For whatever fabulous Writers affirm, it is certain from *Bede*, that no part of this Nation poſſeſs'd by the *Picts*, was converted till the fifth Century, when firſt in the Time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the Southern *Picts* were converted by *Ninias* a *Briton*, who built a Church at *Candida Caſa*, which was the firſt Cathedral in that part of *Scotland*, and which gave Denomination of *Whitern* to the Place, as *Bede* obſerves [*o*], becauſe the Church was built of Stone, which was not a very uſual thing among the *Britons* in thoſe Days. The Northern *Picts* were not converted till above an hundred and fifty Years after this. For their Apoſtle was *Columbanus* the famous Monk, who came out of *Ireland* in the Time of *Juſtin Junior*, *An.* 565, to preach the Goſpel to them,

[*l*] Maurice, *Defence of Dioceſ. Epiſcop.* p. 155. Antiquit. Eccl. Brit. p. 490.
[*m*] Uſher. *Sect.* 14.
[*n*] *See Book* VII. *Chap.* 3.
[*o*] Bede, lib. 3. c. 4.

as

Antiquorum
BRITANNIAE
EPISCOPATUUM
GEOGRAPHICA
Descriptio
Scala Milliarium
OCEANUS
GERMANICUS
HIBERNIA
MARE HIBERNICUM
VALENTIA
Clota Flu
Lindiffarnia L&V
Candida Casa als Viterna
Vallum Hadriam
Hagulstade
MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS
Eboracum
Cestria
Elvia
S. Asaph
Lindocolina als Lindi Colonia
Lichfeldia
Legecestria
Banochor
Holy Head olim Caer Guby
BRITANNIA SECUNDA
Wigornia
FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS
Londinum
Helmham
Dumnok Dunuicus
Thamesis Flu.
Rhofi
Dorouernum
Dorcinea
Venta
Cecestra
Scolfeia
Vecta I&V.
Lan Patern
Herefordia
Carleona
Landaua
Sabrina fl.
BRITANNIA PRIMA
GALLIAE PARS

as *Bede* informs us in the ſame place. So that it would be in vain to ſearch after Epiſcopal Dioceſes, before we have any Certainty that Chriſtianity was planted among them. In the following Ages we have no particular Account of any other Dioceſe, ſave this of *Candida Caſa*, in *Bede*, or any other authentick Writer. For though they ſpeak of Biſhops both among the Southern and the Northern *Picts*, yet they take no notice of the Names of their Sees. Whence ſome have concluded, that the *Scottiſh* Biſhops had no proper Sees, but were ordained at large for the whole Country: And others, that there was but one Biſhop for all the Region. The firſt of which Opinions is incredible, becauſe it is againſt the known Rule of the Catholick Church, which forbad any Biſhop to be ordained at large: And the other is expreſly refuted by *Bede* [p], who ſpeaks of ſeveral Biſhops in the Province of the northern *Picts*; and by the Writer of the Life of *Ninias* in Biſhop *Uſher*'s *Antiquities*, who ſays [q], That *Ninias* having converted the Southern *Picts*, ordain'd them Presbyters, and conſecrated them Biſhops, and divided the whole Region into certain *Parochiæ*, or Dioceſes, and ſo return'd to its own Church again, meaning *Candida Caſa* before-mentioned. Whence it is evident, there were Biſhops both among the Northern and Southern *Picts*, though the Names of their Dioceſes be not mention'd. As for the Dioceſe of *Candida Caſa*, Biſhop *Uſher* truly obſerves, that it was not properly in any part of the *Picts* Dominions, but in that Part or Province of the *Romiſh Britain*, which was call'd *Valentia*, and afterwards *Bernicia* by *Bede*, when it was under the Dominion of the *Saxons*. Biſhop *Uſher* [r] thinks it was alſo ſometimes call'd the Kingdom of *Cambria* or *Cumberland*; and that the Dioceſe of *Caſa Candida* was ſometimes of equal extent with that Kingdom, reaching from *Glaſcow* on the River *Clota* or *Cluyd* to *Stanmore* Croſs in the Borders of *Weſtmerland*: and that in the time of *Kentigern* the See was remov'd to *Glaſcow*. But when the *Iriſh-Scots* had ſeiz'd this Country, and given it the Name of *Galloway*, this, and the neighbouring Regions were all ſubjected to the Biſhop of *Sodora*, whoſe Reſidence was in the *Iſle of Man*, till *Malcolm* the third, King of *Scots*, made *Candida Caſa* a Biſhop's See again, and aſſign'd it the Country of *Galloway* for its Dioceſe, which continues to be ſo to this Day. I cannot give any ſuch particular Account of any other Dioceſe in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for want of certain Records; but this is certain, That from the firſt Converſion of it, firſt by *Ninias*, and then by *Columbanus*, they had ſeveral Biſhops among the *Picts*; part of whoſe Country being made tributary, as well as *Valentia*, to the *Saxon* Kings of *Northumberland*, their Biſhops conſequently became ſubject to the Metropolitan of *York*, from whoſe Hands they ſometimes had their Ordination.

SECT. XX. *Of the Britiſh Church in* England *and* Wales.

THERE remains only one Country more to be examin'd, which is our own Part of the *Britiſh* Nation: A Country that embraced the Chriſtian Faith as early as any of the Weſtern Parts of the World, and therefore may be preſum'd to have receiv'd the ſame Form of Government that we have found in all other Churches. It has been noted before, that the *Britannick* Dioceſe was divided by the *Romans* at firſt into three Provinces, and then into five: But by the Injury of Time, we have no compleat Account of what Biſhopricks were erected in every Province. They who ſpeak of a preciſe Number of *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens* turn'd into ſo many Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſeem rather to deliver their own Fancies, than relate true Hiſtory. That which is certain in the caſe, is this: There were here in the Beginning of the Fourth Century ſuch Epiſcopal Churches as were in all other Nations: For the Biſhops of theſe Churches were ſummon'd to Councils as others were. There were *Britiſh* Biſhops in the Council of *Arles*, *Eborius* [a] *de Civitate Eboracenſi*, *Reſtitutus de Civitate Londinenſi*, *Adelphus de Civitate Colonia Londinenſium*. The laſt of which *Holſtenius* [b] following *Cambden* and *Selden* in his Notes upon *Eutychius*, thinks, ought rather to be read *Colonia Camalodunenſium*; which ſome take to be *Colcheſter*, others *Maldon*, others *Walden* in *Eſſex*. But a late learned Antiquary [c] in his poſthumous Obſervations upon *Antonine*'s *Itinerary* of *Britain* has happily diſcover'd that the true Reading ſhould in all probability be *Colonia Lindi*, which is the old *Roman* Name for *Lincoln*, as he ſhews not only out of *Antonine* and *Ptolemy* who call it *Lindum*, but out of the anonymous Geographer of *Ravenna*, who more expreſly ſtyles it *Lindum Colonia*; which with a little Variation is the Name that is given it alſo by *Bede* [d], who calls it *Lindocolina*, and the Region thereabout *Provincia Lindiſi*, whence I preſume comes the Name of *Lindſey* Coaſt, which is the Name of one part of that Province to this day. But to return to the ancient Biſhops of this Nation: Some Authors ſay, there were *Britiſh* Biſhops in the Council of *Nice*; but that does not ſo evidently appear from antient Hiſtory. It is more certain there were three Biſhops from *Britain* in the Council of *Ariminum*, as *Sulpicius Severus* [e] informs us. And *Athanaſius* alſo [f] takes notice of *Britiſh* Biſhops in the Council of *Sardica*, *An.* 347. And *Hilary* inſcribes his Book *de Synodis* to the Biſhops [g] of the *Britiſh* Provinces, among many others. Yet none of theſe Authors tell us preciſely the Number of the whole College, and therefore we can only conjecture from the

[p] Bede, lib. 3. c. 4. [q] Vit. Niniæ ap. Uſſer. Antiq. p. 350. Ordinavit Presbyteros, Epiſcopos conſecravit, & totam terram per certas Parochias diviſit: Confirmatiſque in fide omnibus, ad Eccleſiam ſuam eſt regreſſus. [r] Uſſer. Antiq. p. 349. [a] Concil. Arelat. 1. An. 314. [b] Holſten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo. p. 108. [c] Dr. Gale Not. in Antonin. Iter. Britan. p. 96. [d] Bede, lib. 2. c. 16. [e] Sulpic. lib. 2. p. 109. [f] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 720. [g] Hilar. de Synodis. Provinciarum Britanniarum Epiſcopis.

Remains

Remains of thoſe *Britiſh* Biſhops which continu'd in *Wales* after the *Saxon* Conqueſts, and were there at the coming of *Auſtin* into *England*. *Bede* [*h*] takes notice of ſeven of thoſe, which came to the Synod of *Worceſter*, or *Auſtin*'s Oak, to confer with *Auſtin* about the Settlement of the Church. And over theſe was alſo a Metropolitan, to whom they profeſs'd Subjection in the Council, which was the Archbiſhop of *Menevia*, or St. *David*'s, or as they term him, the Archbiſhop of *Caerleon* upon *Uske*, becauſe that was the antient Metropolitical See, before it was tranſlated to St. *David*'s. The Names of the other Suffragans, as ſome of the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians [*i*] record them in *Latin*, were then *Herefordenſis*, *Tavenſis*, *Paternenſis*, *Banchorenſis*, *Elvienſis*, *Viccienſis*, *Morgarenſis*, that is, *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *Lan-Patern*, *Bangor*, St. *Aſaph*, *Worceſter*, and *Morgan*. Now if the Number of Biſhops in other Provinces were anſwerable to this, we may conclude, there were more Biſhops before the Invaſion of the *Saxons* than there are at this Day. But when *Auſtin* came into *England*, he found none except the forementiond. However *Gregory the Great* gave him Orders to ſettle twenty ſix Biſhops, twelve Biſhops Suffragans to the Biſhop of *London*, and as many ſubject to the Metropolitan of *York*, and reſerve to himſelf the Primacy [*k*] over the whole Nation. Yet this was rather a Scheme laid for future Ages, when the whole Nation ſhould be converted, than any preſent Settlement or Conſtitution of the Church. For above fifty Years after this, there were not above ſeven Biſhops in all the Heptarchy, or ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms, as appears from the Account which *Bede* gives of the Council of *Herudford*, *An.* 673, where were preſent *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Dorovernia* or *Canterbury* [*l*], *Biſi* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Wilfrid* Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*, *Putta* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Leutherius* Biſhop of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Winfrid* Biſhop of the whole Province of the *Mercians*. In which Council [*m*] a Canon was made, That the Number of Biſhops ſhould be augmented, as the Number of Converts ſhould increaſe. But nothing was done for the preſent, ſave that *Biſi* or *Bifus* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles* being grown old, two others, *Ecca* and *Badwin*, were conſecrated in his room: And from that Time to the Age in which *Bede* liv'd, that Province had two Biſhops, as our Author notes in the ſame place. Theſe were the Biſhops of *Elmham* and *Dunwich*, which were afterward united, and the See remov'd to *Thetford*, and from thence to *Norwich*, whoſe Biſhops ſucceed to the whole Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*. So that in that Age a Kingdom and a Dioceſe were almoſt commenſurate. In the Kingdom of *Northumberland* there were at firſt but two Biſhops, whoſe Sees were *York* and *Lindisfarne*. But not long after, *An.* 678, *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* having expell'd *Wilfrid* Biſhop of *York* from his See, four or five Biſhops were ordain'd in his Room: One in the Province of *Deira*; another in the Province of *Bernicia*; a third at *Hagulſtade* or *Hexam* in *Northumberland*; a fourth in the Province of the *Picts*, which was then ſubject to the *Engliſh*; and a fifth in the Province of *Lindiſſi*, as *Bede* [*n*] calls it, which was lately taken out of the Dioceſe and Kingdom of *Mercia*, and not long after laid to it again. The great Kingdom of *Mercia* (comprehending the Counties of *Gloceſter*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, *Cambridge*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*) was at firſt but the Dioceſe of one Biſhop, whom *Bede* commonly calls the Biſhop of the *Angli-Mediterranei*, or *Mercians*, whoſe See was *Litchfield*, the Royal Seat and Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Mercia*; till about the Year 678, a new See was erected at *Sidnaceſter* in *Lincolnſhire*, and ſome time after another at *Dorcheſter* in *Oxfordſhire*, which were afterwards united and remov'd to *Lincoln*. Out of this large Dioceſe alſo the Sees of *Worceſter* and *Hereford* were taken, as *Ely* was out of that part which fell to *Lincoln*: Not to mention the Dioceſes of *Cheſter*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford* and *Gloceſter*, which had their Riſe out of the ſame at the Reformation. The Dioceſe of *Wincheſter* was alſo very large at firſt, containing all the Kingdoms of the *Weſt Saxons*, till it was divided by King *Ina* between *Wincheſter* and *Sherborn*, *An.* 705. The latter of which was afterward ſubdivided into the Dioceſes of *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, ſome of which being united again, made up the Dioceſes of *Exeter*, *Wells*, *Salisbury* and *Briſtol*, as they now ſtand in the preſent Frame and Conſtitution of the Church. I think it needleſs to carry this Enquiry any farther, ſince what has been already ſuggeſted, ſufficiently ſhews, that the Dioceſes in *England* were anciently much larger than they are now, and that it has ever been the Wiſdom of the Church to multiply and contract them. Though many of them ſtill remain ſo large, that if they be compar'd with ſome of the antient *Italian* Dioceſes, one of them will be found to be equal to ten or twenty of thoſe which lay round about *Rome*.

SECT. XXI. *The whole Account confirmed from ſome antient Canons of the Church.*

I ſhall conclude this Chapter with a few antient Canons, which confirm the Account that has been given of Epiſcopal Dioceſes throughout the World, as ſuppoſing them generally to have Country Regions and Country Pariſhes belonging to them. The Council of *Neocæſarea*, which was held ſome Years before the Council of *Nice*, makes expreſs

[*h*] Bed. Hiſt. Gent. Anglor. lib. 2. c. 2. [*i*] Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. lib. 8. c. 4. Vid. Powel. Not. in Girald. Cambrens. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. 2. p. 170. [*k*] Bed. c. 29. [*l*] Bed. lib. 4. c. 5. [*m*] Concil. Herudford. c. 9. ap. Bed. ibid. In commune tractatum eſt, ut plures Epiſcopi creſcente numero Fidelum augerentur, ſed de hac re ad præſens ſilemus. [*n*] Bed. lib. 4. c. 12.

mention

mention [o] of πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχώριοι, Country Presbyters, who are forbidden to officiate in the City Church, ſave only in the Abſence of the Biſhop or City Presbyters. The Council of *Antioch* has two Canons of the ſame Import. The one deſcribes a Biſhop's Dioceſe [p] to be a City and all the Region that was ſubject to it, wherein he might ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and order all Things according to his own Judgment without conſulting his Metropolitan. The other is a Proviſion concerning the *Chrorepiſcopi* [q], who were ſeated in the Villages and Regions about the City, that they ſhould govern the Churches committed to them, and content themſelves with that Care, ordaining Readers, Subdeacons and Exorciſts; but not Presbyters or Deacons, unleſs commiſſioned to it by the City Biſhop, to whom both they and their Region were ſubject. A like Proviſion is made by the Council of *Nice* [r] in caſe a *Novatian* Biſhop ſhould return to the Unity of the Catholick Church, that then the Catholick Biſhop might provide him the Place of a *Chorepiſcopus* in ſome Part of his Dioceſe, that there might not be two Biſhops in one City. And indeed all the Canons that mention the *Chorepiſcopi*, are full Proof that a Dioceſe was not only a City, but a Country Region, over which thoſe *Chorepiſcopi* preſided, under the Inſpection of the City Biſhop, to whom they were accountable. The Canons of *Sardica* [s], and *Laodicea* [t], do plainly ſuppoſe the ſame thing, when they prohibit Biſhops to be ordained in ſmall Cities or Villages, becauſe a Presbyter or Itinerant Viſiter might be ſufficient to take care of them. So in the *African* Canons, one orders the ſame as the Council of *Toledo*, that every Presbyter [u] throughout the Dioceſe, who has the Care of a Church, ſhall have recourſe to his own Biſhop for Chriſm to be uſed at *Eaſter*. And another [w] ſays, no Biſhop ſhall leave his Principal Church, to go to reſide upon any other Church in the Dioceſe. Which Canons ſpeak plain Nonſenſe, unleſs it be ſuppoſed that there were then other Churches in the Dioceſe beſide the Mother Church.

SECT. XXII. *And from the Biſhop's Obligation to viſit his Dioceſe once a Year, and confirm.*

THE Biſhop's Obligation to viſit his Dioceſe, is a farther Proof of the ſame Thing. For this was a neceſſary Conſequent of having ſeveral Churches at a Diſtance under his Juriſdiction: Such as he could not perſonally attend himſelf, he was obliged to viſit, and ſee that they were provided of a proper Incumbent, and that every thing was performed in due Order. St. *Auſtin* and St. *Baſil* [x], who had pretty large Dioceſes, ſpeak often upon this account of their being imployed in their Viſitations. And the Rule in ſome Places was to viſit ordinarily once a Year, as appears from the Council of *Tarraco* in *Spain*, which lays this Injunction on Biſhops [y], becauſe it was found by Experience, that many Churches in their Dioceſes were left deſtitute and neglected, therefore they were obliged to viſit them once a Year. And if a Dioceſe was ſo large, that a Biſhop could not perform this Duty annually, that was thought a reaſonable Cauſe to divide the Dioceſe, and lay ſome Part of the Burden upon a new Biſhop; which was the Reaſon aſſigned in the Council of *Lugo* for dividing the large Dioceſe of *Gallecia*, as has been obſerved before [z] in ſpeaking of the *Spaniſh* Churches. St. *Jerom* has a Remark upon the Exerciſe of Confirmation, which alſo mightily confirms this Notion of antient Epiſcopal Dioceſes. He ſays [*], it was the Cuſtom of the Churches, when any Perſons were baptized by Presbyters or Deacons in Villages, Caſtles or other remote Places, for the Biſhop to go to them and give them Impoſition of Hands in order to receive the Holy Ghoſt; and that many Places lay at ſo great a diſtance, that the Parties baptized dyed before the Biſhop could come to viſit them. Which is a plain Deſcription of ſuch Dioceſes as we have generally found in every Part of the Catholick Church, ſome few Provinces excepted, where the Number of Cities and Populouſneſs of the Country made Dioceſes more numerous and of leſs Extent than in other Places.

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[o] Concil. Neocæſar. c. 13. [p] Concil. Antioch. c. 9. [q] Ibid. c. 10. [r] Concil. Nic. c. 8. [s] Concil. Sardic. c. 6. [t] Concil. Laodic. c. 56. [u] Concil. Carth. 4. c. 36. [w] Concil. Carthag. 5. c. 5. [x] Baſil. Ep. 264. [y] Concil. Tarracon. c. 8. Reperimus nonnullas Diœceſanas Eccleſias eſſe deſtitutas. Ob quam rem hæc Conſtitutione decrevimus, ut annuis vicibus Epiſcopo Diœceſes viſitentur, &c. [z] *See* Sect. 14. *of this Chapter.* [*] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. c. 4. Non abnuo hanc eſſe Eccleſiarum conſuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati ſunt, Epiſcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impoſiturus excurrat. *And a little after,* Alioquin ſi Epiſcopi tantum imprecatione Spiritus Sanctus defluit, lugendi ſunt qui in Villulis, aut in Caſtellis, aut in remotioribus locis per Presbyteros aut Diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt, quam ab Epiſcopis inviſerentur.

CHAP. VII.

The Notitia, *or Geographical Deſcription of the Biſhopricks of the Antient Church, as firſt made by the Order of* Leo Sapiens, *compared with ſome others.*

FOR the fuller Proof of what has been aſſerted in the laſt Chapters, and to give the Reader a clear View of the State of the antient Church, I ſhall here ſubjoin one of the *Notitia's*, or *Catalogues* of Biſhopricks contained in the five greater Patriarchates, *Conſtantinople*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Alexandria*, according to the Account that was taken firſt by the Order of the Emperor *Leo Sapiens* about the Year 891. For tho' this does not come up to the Antiquity of thoſe other Records, which I have generally made uſe of in this Work; yet being the moſt antient and perfect Account we have in the kind, and agreeing with the ſcattered Remains of Antiquity of this nature, it will be uſeful as a collateral Evidence, to corroborate the Account that has been given of the Diviſion and Extent of Dioceſes in the Primitive Church. And I the rather chuſe to inſert it here, to ſatisfy the Curioſity of many of my Readers, to whoſe View perhaps this *Notitia* may not otherwiſe come, being ſcarce to be met with but in Books of great Rarity or great Price, which fall not into the Hands of every ordinary Reader. The firſt of this Kind was publiſhed by *Leunclavius* in his *Jus Græco-Romanum* [*a*], *An.* 1596, in *Greek* and *Latin*, under the Name of *Leo Sapiens* the reputed Author of it. After which ſome others, but imperfect, were ſet forth by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* [*b*] in his Geography of the antient Church. The Defects of which were ſupplied by *Jacobus Goar*, from a MS in the *French* King's Library, which he publiſhed at the End of *Codinus* [*c*] among the *Byzantin* Hiſtorians, *An.* 1648; and by Biſhop *Beverege* from a MS in the *Bodleian* Library publiſhed in his Notes [*d*] upon the *Pandects*, *An.* 1672. The laſt of which being acknowledged to be the moſt perfect in the Kind, has been ſince reprinted by the learned *Schelſtrate* [*e*], with ſome Notes and Obſervations upon the Defects and Variations of all the former; which, having reviſed and compared them together, I ſhall here preſent to the curious Reader, that he may have them all together in one View.

The Order of Preſidency of the moſt holy Patriarchs. 1 Of *Rome*. 2 *Conſtantinople*. 3 *Alexandria*. 4 *Antioch*. 5 *Ælia* or *Jeruſalem*.

The Order of Preſidency of the Metropolitans, and *Autocephalia*, and Biſhops, ſubject to the Apoſtolical Throne of this divinely preſerved and Imperial City, *viz. Conſtantinople*.

Provinces.	Metropolitans.
1 *Cappadocia.*	1 *Cæſarea.*
2 *Aſia.*	2 *Epheſus.*
3 *Europa.*	3 *Heraclea* in *Thrace.*
4 *Galatia.*	4 *Ancyra.*
5 *Helleſpontus.*	5 *Cyzicum.*
6 *Lydia.*	6 *Sardes.*
7 *Bithynia.*	7 *Nicomedia.*
8 The ſame.	8 *Nice.*
9 The ſame.	9 *Chalcedon.*
10 *Pamphylia.*	10 *Sida.*
11 *Armenia.*	11 *Sebaſtea.*
12 *Elenopontus.*	12 *Amaſea.*
13 *Armenia.*	13 *Melitine.*
14 *Cappadocia.*	14 *Tyana.*
15 *Paphlagonia.*	15 *Gangra.*
16 *Honorias.*	16 *Claudiopolis.*
17 *Pontus Polemoniacus.*	17 *Neocæſarea.*
18 *Galatia.*	18 *Peſſinus* or *Juſtinianople.*
19 *Lycia.*	19 *Myra.*
20 *Caria.*	20 *Stauropolis.*
21 *Phrygia Cappatiana.*	21 *Laodicea.*
22 *Phrygia Salutaris.*	22 *Synada.*
23 *Lycaonia.*	23 *Iconium.*
24 *Piſidia.*	24 *Antioch.*
25 *Pamphylia.*	25 *Perga* or *Sileum.*
26 *Cappadocia.*	26 *Moceſſus.*
27 *Lazica.*	27 *Phaſis.*
28 *Thracia.*	28 *Philipopolis.*
29 *Rhodope.*	29 *Trajanopole.*
30 *Inſulæ Cyclades.*	30 *Rhodes.*
31 *Æmimontus.*	31 *Adrianople.*
32 *Æmimontus.*	32 *Martianople.*
33 *Phyrgia Pacatiana.*	33 *Hierapolis.*

Here ends the Account of Provinces and Metropolitans in the *Notitita* of Biſhop *Beverege* and *Goar*, but in *Leunclavius* theſe other Metropolitans are added without any mention of Provinces at all. 34 *Theſſalonica*. 35 *Corinth*. 36 *Crete*. 37 *Athens*. 38 *Seleucia*. 39 *Patræ*. 40 *Trapezus*. 41 *Calabria*. 42 *Lariſſa*. 43 *Naupactus*. 44 *Philippi*. 45 *Dyrrachium*. 46 *Smyrna*. 47 *Catana*. 48 *Ammorium*. 49 *Camachus*. 50 *Cotyaium*. 51 *Severiana*. 52 *Mitylene*. 53 *Novæ*

[*a*] Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. Tom. 2. p. 88. [*b*] Carol. a S. Paulo Append. ad Geograph. Sacr. [*c*] Codin. de Offic. Conſtant. in Append. p. 337. [*d*] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 36. Concil. Trull. [*e*] Schelſtrat. de Concil. Antioch. Diſſert. 4. Cap. 13. p. 425.

Patræ.

Patræ. 54 *Euchaita.* 55 *Amaſtris.* 56 *Chonæ.* 57 *Hydrus.* 58 *Kelzene.* 59 *Colonia.* 60 *Thebæ.* 61 *Serræ.* 62 *Pompeiopolis.* 63 *Roſſia.* 64 *Alania.* 65 *Ænus.* 66 *Tiberiopolis.* 67 *Achaia.* 68 *Ceraſus.* 69 *Nacolia.* 70 *Germania.* 71 *Madyta.* 72 *Apamea.* 73 *Baſileum.* 74 *Dryſtra.* 75 *Nazianzus.* 76 *Corcyra.* 77 *Abydus.* 78 *Methymna.* 79 *Chriſtianopolis.* 80 *Ruſium.* 81 *Lacedæmonia.* 82 *Naxia.* 83 *Attalia.* To which the Scholiaſt adds three more, *Sebaſtopolis*, *Euripus*, and *Cybiſtis Herculis.*

After the Metropolitans, follow the *Autocephali*, or Independent Biſhops, which the *Notitia* in *Leunclavius* calls Archbiſhops. They were ſuch as had neither Metropolitans above them, nor Suffragans under them, being immediately ſubject to the Patriarch only, as *Goar*'s *Notitia* informs us. In Biſhop *Beverege*'s *Notitia* they are as follows.

Provinces.	Autocephali.
1 *Myſia.*	1 *Odyſſus.*
2 *Scythia.*	2 *Tomi.*
3 *Europa.*	3 *Bizya.*
4 *Paphlagonia.*	4 *Pompeiopolis.*
5 *Aſia.*	5 *Smyrna.*
6 *Iſauria.*	6 *Leontopolis.*
7 *Rhodope.*	7 *Maronæa.*
8 *Bithynia.*	8 *Apamea.*
9 *Rhodope.*	9 *Maximianopolis.*
10 *Galatia.*	10 *Germia.*
11 *Europa.*	11 *Arcadiopolis.*
12 *Thracia.*	12 *Beræa.*
13 *Lesbus.*	13 *Mitylene.*
14 *Helleſpont.*	14 *Parium.*
15 *Caria.*	15 *Melitus.*
16 *Thracia.*	16 *Nicopolis.*
17 *Inſulæ.*	17 *Proconeſus.*
18 *Rhodope.*	18 *Anchialus.*
19 *Europa.*	19 *Selymbria.*
20 *Lesbus.*	20 *Methymne.*
21 *Bithynia.*	21 *Cius.*
22 *Europa.*	22 *Aprus.*
23 *Rhodope.*	23 *Cypſala.*
24 *Zicchia.*	24 *Cherſon.*
25 *Zicchia.*	25 *Boſphori.*
26 *Zicchia.*	26 *Nicopſis.*
27 *Iſauria.*	27 *Cotrada.*
28 *Elenopontus*, al. *Helenopontus.*	28 *Euchetæ.*
29 *Cyclades Inſulæ.*	29 *Carpathus.*
30 *Rhodope.*	30 *Ænus.*
31 *Europa.*	31 *Drizapara*, al. *Meſena.*
32 *Hemimontus.*	32 *Meſembria.*
33 *Armenia.*	33 *Heracliopolis*, al. *Phylactoe.*
34 *Abaſgia.*	34 *Sebaſtopolis.*
35 *Pontus Polemoniacus.*	35 *Trapezus.*
36 *Paphlagonia.*	36 *Amaſtris.*
37 *Lycaonia.*	37 *Miſthia.*
38 *Piſidia.*	38 *Neapolis.*
39 *Mare Ægeum.*	39 *Ægene.*
40 *Phrygia Salutaris.*	40 *Coytaium.*
41 *Pamphylia.*	41 *Selga.*

To theſe, in *Goar*'s *Notitia* are added two more, *Delca* or *Derce*, and *Reni* in *Armenia.* But that in *Leunclavius* has but thirty-nine, whereof ſixteen are different Names, *viz. Nice*, *Meſſana*, *Garella*, *Briſis*, *Carabyzia*, *Lemnus*, *Leucas*, *Cudræ*, *Soteropolis*, *Pedachthoa*, *Eroina*, *Gotthia*, *Sugdaia*, *Phullæ*, *Pharſala* and *Matrach.* And ſeveral of thoſe which in the *Bodleian Notitia* are called *Autocephali*, are in *Leunclavius* reckoned among the Metropolitans, as *Trapezus*, *Smyrna*, *Cotyaium*, *Mitylene*, *Amaſtris*, *Pompeiopolis*, *Ænus* and *Apamea.* Whence it is eaſy to conclude, that Archbiſhops and *Autocephali* were then a ſort of Titular Metropolitans, who had the Privilege of being Independent, though they had no Suffragan Biſhops under them.

Now follow the particular Provinces, with the Number of Biſhopricks contained in each of them.

Province *of* Cappadocia.

1 *Cæſarea*, the Metropolis. 2 *Thermæ Regiæ.* 3 *Nyſſa.* 4 *Methodiopolis Armeniæ.* 5 *Camuliana.* 6 *Ciſciſſus*, or *Ciſſus:* To which are added in *Leunclavius.* 7 *Euaiſſa.* 8 *Serias.* 9 *Arathia.* 10 *Æpolia.*

Province *of* Aſia.

1 *Epheſus*, the Metropolis. 2 *Hypepæ.* 3 *Tralles.* 4 *Magneſia ad Mæandrum.* 5 *Elea.* 6 *Adramyttium.* 7 *Aſſus.* 8 *Gargara.* 9 *Maſtaura.* 10 *Caloe.* 11 *Bryulla.* 12 *Pittamne.* 13 *Myrine.* 14 *Phocia.* 15 *Aurillopolis*, al. *Aureliopolis.* 16 *Niſa*, al. *Nyſſa.* 17 *Maſchacoma.* 18 *Metropolis.* 19 *Baretti.* 20 *Magneſia.* 21 *Aninantes.* 22 *Pergamus.* 23 *Anea.* 24 *Priene.* 25 *Arcadiopolis.* 26 *Novæ Aulæ.* 27 *Templum Jovis.* 28 *Augaza.* 29 *Sion.* 30 *Colophon.* 31 *Levedus*, al. *Lebedus.* 32 *Teus.* 33 *Erythræ.* 34 *Clazomenæ.* 35 *Attadri*, al. *Antandri.* 36 *Theodoſiopolis*, al. *Peperine.* 37 *Cymæ.* 38 *Palæopolis:* To which are added in *Leunclavius*, *Thryæa* and *Chliara*; but *Phocia*, *Magneſia* and *Clazomenæ* are wanting.

Here the Province *of* Thracia *and* Macedonia *is interpos'd in* Leunclavius.

1 *Heraclea*, the Metropolis. 2 *Theodoropolis.* 3 *Rhœdeſtus.* 4 *Panium.* 5 *Hexamilium.* 6 *Calliopolis.* 7 *Periſtaſis.* 8 *Chariopolis.* 9 *Chalcis.* 10 *Daoneum.* 11 *Madyta.* 12 *Pamphilus.* 13 *Medea.* 14 *Lizicus.* 15 *Sergentza.* 16 *Metra.* 17 *Tzurolloe.* 18 *Athyra.*

In the other Notitia's *the* Province *is called the* Province *of* Europa; *but it has but ſix Biſhopricks aſſign'd to it*, viz.

1 *Heraclea.* 2 *Panium.* 3 *Calliopolis.* 4 *Cherroneſus.* 5 *Cylæ.* 6 *Redeſtus.*

Province *of* Galatia.

1 *Ancyra*, the Metropolis. 2 *Tabia*, al. *Attabia*. 3 *Heliopolis*. 4 *Aſpona*. 5 *Berinopolis*. 6 *Mizzus*. 7 *Cina*. 8 *Anaſtaſiopolis*.

Province *of* Helleſpont.

1 *Cyzicum*, the Metropolis. 2 *Germe*. 3 *Pœmanium*. 4 *Oce*. 5 *Baris*. 6 *Adrianotheræ*. 7 *Lampſacus*. 8 *Abydus*. 9 *Dardanus*. 10 *Ilium*. 11 *Troas*. 12 *Pæonia*. 13 *Melitopolis*.

Province *of* Lydia.

1 *Sardes*, the Metropolis. 2 *Philadelphia*. 3 *Tripolis*. 4 *Thyatria*. 5 *Seta*. 6 *Arilliapolis*, al. *Aureliopolis*. 7 *Gordi*. 8 *Troalli*. 9 *Sala*. 10 *Silandus*. 11 *Mœonia*. 12 *Fanum Apollinis*. 13 *Hyrcanis*. 14 *Muſtina*. 15 *Arcuſtus*, al. *Acaraſus*. 16 *Apollonias*. 17 *Attalia*. 18 *Baga*. 19 *Balandus*. 20 *Meſotymolus*. 21 *Hierocæſarea*. 22 *Dale*. 23 *Stratonicea*. 24 *Ceraſia*. 25 *Sattala*. 26 *Gabbala*. 27 *Hermocapelia*.

Province *of* Bithynia.

1 *Nicomedia*. 2 *Pruſa*, or *Theopolis*. 3 *Prænetus*. 4 *Helenopolis*. 5 *Baſilinopolis*. 6 *Daſchylium*. 7 *Apollonias*. 8 *Adriana*. 9 *Cæſarea*. 10 *Gallus*, or *Lophi*. 11 *Daphnuſia*. 12 *Eriſte*.

The ſame Province.

1 *Nice*. 2 *Modrina*, al. *Mela*, or *Melian*. 3 *Linoe*. 4 *Taius*. 5 *Gerduſervæ*. 6 *Numericæ*. 7 *Maximianæ*. It is added in *Leunclavius*, that *Chalcedon* in the ſame Province had no Sees under it, as being only an *Autocephalus*, or Honorary Metropolis.

Province *of* Pamphylia.

1 *Scida*. 2 *Aſpendus*. 3 *Ettena*. 4 *Orymna*. 5 *Caſſa*. 6 *Semnea*. 7 *Corallia*. 8 *Coraciſſus*. 9 *Syethra*, al. *Synedra*. 10 *Mylone*, or *Juſtinianople*. 11 *Anamanda*. 12 *Daliſandus*, al. *Duldaſus*. 13 *Isbi*. 14 *Lybra*. 15 *Colybraſſus*. 16 *Manæa*.

Province *of* Armenia.

1 *Sebaſtea*. 2 *Sebaſtopolis*. 3 *Nicopolis*. 4 *Satala*. 5 *Colonia*. 6 *Beriſſa*.

Province *of* Helenopontus.

1 *Amaſea*. 2 *Amiſſus*. 3 *Sinope*. 4 *Ibora*, al. *Pimoliſſa*. 5 *Andropa*. 6 *Zalichus*, al. *Leontopolis*. 7 *Zela*.

Province *of* Armenia ſecunda.

1 *Melitene*. 2 *Arca*. 3 *Cucuſus*. 4 *Arabiſſus*. 5 *Ariaratha*. 6 *Ceomanæ*, al. *Comana*.

Province *of* Cappadocia ſecunda.

1 *Tyana*, or *Chriſtopolis*. 2 *Cybiſtra*. 3 *Fauſtinopolis*. 4 *Saſima*.

Province *of* Paphlagonia.

1 *Gangra*. 2 *Junopolis*, al. *Innopolis*. 3 *Dadybra*. 4 *Soræ*.

Here follows next the Province *of* Theſſalia *in* Leunclavius, *which is omitted in others.*

1 *Theſſalonica*. 2 *Citria*. 3 *Berrhœa*. 4 *Drugubitia*. 5 *Servia*. 6 *Caſandria*. 7 *Campania*, al. *Caſtrium*. 8 *Petra*. 9 *Herculia*, al. *Ardameria*. 10 *Hieriſſus*. 11 *Litæ ac Rentenæ*. 12 *Bardariotæ*.

Province *of* Honorias.

1 *Claudiopolis*. 2 *Heraclea Ponti*. 3 *Pruſias*. 4 *Tius*. 5 *Cratea*. 6 *Hadrianopolis*.

Province *of* Pontus Polemoniacus.

1 *Neocæſarea*. 2 *Trapezus*. 3 *Ceroſantes*. 4 *Polemoneum*. 5 *Comona*: To theſe are added in *Leunclavius*, 6 *Halyæum*. 7 *Rhizæum*. 8 *Coccus*. 9 *Eunicus*. And the Scholiaſt adds three more, *Aradaſe*, *Myrtyropolis* and *Hypſela*.

Province *of* Galatia ſecunda.

1 *Piſinus*. 2 *Mericium*. 3 *Eudoxias*. 4 *Pitaniſſus*. 5 *Trochnada*. 6 *Germocolonia*. 7 *Spalea*, al. *Juſtinianopolis*. 8 *Orciſtus*.

Province *of* Lycia.

1 *Myra*. 2 *Maſtæra*. 3 *Telmeſſus*. 4 *Limyra*. 5 *Araxe*. 6 *Aprilla*. 7 *Tatla*. 8 *Arnea*. 9 *Sidyma*. 10 *Zenopolis*. 11 *Olympus*. 12 *Otla*. 13 *Corydala*. 14 *Cannus*. 15 *Xanthus*. 16 *Acraſſus*. 17 *Marciana*. 18 *Bobus*, al. *Sophianopolis*. 19 *Chomas*. 20 *Onunda*. 21 *Phellus*. 22 *Candana*. 23 *Phaſelis*. 24 *Antiphellus*. 25 *Acaliſſus*. 26 *Rhodiopolis*. 27 *Acanda*. 28 *Lebiſſus*. 29 *Eudocias*. 30 *Paliotæ*. 31 *Combi*. 32 *Patara*. 33 *Barbura*. 34 *Neſſus*. 35 *Cianea*. 36 *Melata*.

Province *of* Caria.

1 *Stauropolis*. 2 *Cibyra*. 3 *Siza*. 4 *Heraclea Salbaci*. 5 *Apollonias*. 6 *Heraclea*. 7 *Lacyma* (which *Leunclavius* makes but one, *Heraclea Lacymorum*). 8 *Tabi*. 9 *Larba*. 10 *Antiochia Mæandri*. 11 *Tarpaſſæ*. 12 *Harpaſſæ*. 13 *Neapolis*. 14 *Orthyſias*. 15 *Anotetarta*. 16 *Alabandi*. 17 *Stratonicea*. 18 *Alinda*. 19 *Mylaſſæ*. 20 *Mezus*, al. *Amezon*. 21 *Jaſſus*. 22 *Barbilius*. 23 *Halicarnaſſus*. 24 *Hylarima*. 25 *Cnidus*. 26 *Metaba*. 27 *Mindus*. 28 *Hieron*. 29 *Cindrama*. 30 *Cerama*. 31 *Promiſſus*.

Province *of* Phrygia Cappatiana, *al.* Pacatiana.

1 *Laodicea.* 2 *Tiberiopolis.* 3 *Azana.* 4 *Anoyrosuna.* 5 *Pelta.* 6 *Appia.* 7 *Icria.* 8 *Iluza.* 9 *Acada.* 10 *Tranopolis.* 11 *Sebasta.* 12 *Eumenia.* 13 *Timenus Therarum.* 14 *Agatha Coma.* 15 *Alina.* 16 *Tripolis.* 17 *Attanassus.* 18 *Trapezopolis.* 19 *Siblia.* Note, In *Leunclavius* there are twenty one Cities, whereof many go by different Names in this Province; as *Acmonea*, *Chærotopa*, *Forium Pœmæni*, *Cidissus. Lunde*, *Helaza*, *Synæum*, *Thampsiopolis*, *Justinianopolis*, *Dioclea*, and *Aristea.*

Province *of* Phrygia Salutaris.

1 *Synada.* 2 *Dorylæum.* 3 *Nacolea.* 4 *Medæum.* 5 *Hipsus.* 6 *Promissus.* 7 *Merus.* 8 *Sibindus.* 9 *Phytia.* 10 *Hierapolis.* 11 *Eucarpia.* 12 *Lysias.* 13 *Augustopolis.* 14 *Bryzus.* 15 *Otrus.* 16 *Lycaon.* 17 *Stectorium.* 18 *Cinnaborium.* 19 *Cone.* 20 *Scordapia.* 21 *Nicopolis.* 22 *Ærocla.* Here *Leunclavius* has but twenty Cities, and some of those under other Names, but *Goar*'s *Notitia* adds two more, *Alopex* and *Cadenna.*

Province *of* Lycaonia.

1 *Iconium.* 2 *Lystra.* 3 *Vasada:* 4 *Ambada*, al. *Amblada.* 5 *Vomanoda.* 6 *Laranda.* 7 *Bereta.* 8 *Derbe.* 9 *Hyda.* 10 *Savatra.* 11 *Canus.* 12 *Berinopolis.* 13 *Galbana*, al. *Eudocias.* 14 *Iliastra.* 15 *Perta. Leunclavius* has the same Number, but some Names different from these.

Province *of* Pisidia.

1 *Antiochia.* 2 *Sagalassus.* 3 *Sozopolis.* 4 *Apamea.* 5 *Cibus.* 6 *Tyræus.* 7 *Baris.* 8 *Adrianopolis.* 9 *Portus Limenorum.* 10 *Laodicea Combusta.* 11 *Seleucia Ferrea.* 12 *Dada*, al. *Adala.* 13 *Zarzela.* 14 *Timbrias*, al. *Timomarias.* 15 *Timandus.* 16 *Conane.* 17 *Malus.* 18 *Sitriandus.* 19 *Tityassus.* 20 *Metropolis.* 21 *Pappa.* 22 *Parallæ.* 23 *Mindevus*, al. *Bindæus.*

Province *of* Pamphylia Secunda.

1 *Perga*, al. *Sileum.* 2 *Attalia.* 3 *Magydus*, al. *Mandus.* 4 *Telimisus.* 5 *Isindus.* 6 *Eudocias.* 7 *Maximianopolis.* 8 *Lagina.* 9 *Palæopolis.* 10 *Cremnus.* 11 *Corydala.* 12 *Peltinissus.* 13 *Dicytanæra.* 14 *Ariassus.* 15 *Pugla.* 16 *Adriana.* 17 *Sandida.* 18 *Barba.* 19 *Perbæna.* 20 *Cous.*

Note, The Fourteen following Provinces are in *Leunclavius*, but no other *Notitia.*

Province *of* Peloponnesus.

1 *Corinthus.* 2 *Damala.* 3 *Argos.* 4 *Monembasia.* 5 *Cephalenia.* 6 *Zacynthus.* 7 *Zemena.* 8 *Maina.*

Province *of* Hellas.

1 *Athens.* 2 *Euripus.* 3 *Diaulia.* 4 *Coronea.* 5 *Andrus.* 6 *Oreus.* 7 *Scyrus.* 8 *Charystus.* 9 *Porthmus.* 10 *Aulon.* 11 *Syra.*

Province *of* Crete.

1 *Gortyna.* 2 *Gnossus.* 3 *Arcadia.* 4 *Cherronesus.* 5 *Aulopotamus.* 6 *Agrius.* 7 *Lampe.* 8 *Cydonia.* 9 *Hiera.* 10 *Petra.* 11 *Sitea.* 12 *Cissamus.*

Province *of* Peloponnesus.

1 *Patra.* 2 *Lacedæmonia.* 3 *Methone.* 4 *Corone.* 5 *Helus.* 6 *Bolœna.*

Province *of* Hellas Secunda.

1 *Larissa.* 2 *Demetrias.* 3 *Pharsalus.* 4 *Domocus.* 5 *Zetonium.* 6 *Ezerus.* 7 *Lædoricium.* 8 *Trica.* 9 *Echinus.* 10 *Colydrus.* 11 *Stagæ.*

Province *of* Ætolia.

1 *Naupactus.* 2 *Bunditza.* 3 *Aquila.* 4 *Achelous.* 5 *Rhegæ.* 6 *Joannina.* 7 *Photica.* 8 *Hadrianopolis.* 9 *Buthrotus.* 10 *Chimæra.*

Province *of* Macedonia.

1 *Philippi.* 2 *Theoria.* 3 *Polystylum.* 4 *Belicea.* 5 *Christopolis.* 6 *Smolæna.* 7 *Cæsaropolis.* 8 *Alectryopolis.*

Province *of* Epirus.

1 *Dyrrachium.* 2 *Stephaniaca.* 3 *Chunobia.* 4 *Coria.* 5 *Elissus.* 6 *Dioclea.* 7 *Scodra.* 8 *Drivastus.* 9 *Polatha.* 10 *Glabinitza*, al. *Acroceraunia.* 11 *Aulonæa.* 12 *Licinida.* 13 *Antibaris.* 14 *Tzerinicum.* 15 *Polycheropolis.* 16 *Graditzium.*

In Asia *under* Smyrna *the Metropolis.*

1 *Phocæa.* 2 *Magnesia.* 3 *Anelium.* 4 *Clazomenæ.* 5 *Sosandrus.* 6 *Archangelus.* 7 *Petra.*

In Armenia *under* Camachus.

1 *Kelzene.* 2 *Arabraca.* 3 *Barzanissa.* 4 *Melus.* 5 *Melus alter.* 6 *Romanopolis.* 7 *Tutileum.*

In Phrygia *under* Cotyalum.

1 *Spora.* 2 *Cone.* 3 *Gaiocomis.*

In Lesbus *under* Mitylene.

1 *Erissus.* 2 *Strongyla.* 3 *Tenedus.* 4 *Berbine.* 5 *Perperine.* 6 *Marmaritza.*

In Hellas *under* Novæ Patræ.

1 *Gazala.* 2 *Cutzagron.* 3 *Sibictus.* 4 *Bariana.*

Under Keltzene.

1 *Tomus.* 2 *Chatzoun.* 3 *Lycopotamia.* 4 *Cortzene.* 5 *Maſtrabatz.* 6 *Chuit.* 7 *Toparchus.* 8 *Ambra.* 9 *Tutara.* 10 *Marmentitzur.* 11 *Matzierte.* 12 *S. Nicholai.* 13 *Eva Deiparæ.* 14 *Artzeſius.* 15 *Artzica.* 16 *Amucium.* 17 *Percin.* 18 *S. Georgij.* 19 *Oſtan.* 20 *S. Eliſſæi.* 21 *Sedrac Deiparæ.* Theſe fourteen Metropolitical Sees with their Suffragans, are in *Leunclavius* only: After which the other *Notitia's* now proceed again.

Province *of* Cappadocia.

1 *Moceſſus.* 2 *Nazianzus.* 3 *Colonia.* 4 *Parnaſſus.* 5 *Doara.* To which *Leunclavius* adds *Metiana.*

Province *of* Lazica.

1 *Phaſis.* 2 *Rhodopolis.* 3 *Petra.* 4 *Eccleſia Abiſſenorum.* 5 *Eccleſia Ziganeorum.* But in *Leunclavius* there are reckon'd ſixteen in this Province. 1 *Trapezus*, the Metropolis. 2 *Cheriana.* 3 *Chamuzur.* 4 *Chachæum.* 5 *Paiper.* 6 *Ceramea.* 7 *Tochatzitzi.* 8 *Bizana.* 9 *Sacabus.* 10 *Phaciana.* 11 *Tochantiez.* 12 *Toulnutus.* 13 *Lerium.* 14 *Toſermatzus.* 15 *Andacta.* 16 *Zarima.*

Province *of* Thrace.

1 *Philippopolis.* 2 *Diocletianopolis.* 3 *Dioſpolis.* But *Leunclavius* reckons eleven. 1 *Philippopolis.* 2 *Agathonicæa.* 3 *Liotitza.* 4 *Scutarium.* 5 *Leuca.* 6 *Bleptus.* 7 *Dramitza.* 8 *Joannitza.* 9 *Conſtantia.* 10 *Belicea.* 11 *Bucuba.*

Province *of the* Iſlands Cyclades.

1 *Rhodus*, the Metropolis. 2 *Samus.* 3 *Chius.* 4 *Cous.* 5 *Naxia.* 6 *Thera.* 7 *Parus.* 8 *Lethrus.* 9 *Andrus.* 10 *Tenus.* 11 *Melus.* 12 *Piſſina:* To which *Leunclavius* adds, *Icaria*, *Lerna*, *Oſtypalia*, *Trachæa* and *Naſura.*

Province *of* Æmimontus.

1 *Adrianopolis.* 2 *Meſembria.* 3 *Sozopolis.* 4 *Plutinopolis.* 5 *Zoida:* To which *Leunclavius* adds, 6 *Agathopolis.* 7 *Debeltus.* 8 *Trabyzia.* 9 *Carabus.* 10 *Bucellus.* 11 *Probatus.* 12 *Scopelus.* 13 *Briſis.* 14 *Bulgarophugus.*

The ſame Province.

1 *Marcianopolis.* 2 *Rhodoſtolus.* 3 *Tramariſcus.* 4 *Nobi.* 5 *Zecedopa.* 6 *Sarcara.*

The ſame Province; *which is otherwiſe called* Rhodope *in* Leunclavius.

1 *Trajanopolis.* 2 *Perus.* 3 *Anaſtaſiopolis*: To which *Leunclavius* adds, 4 *Didymotichus.* 5 *Macra.* 6 *Miſinopolis.* 7 *Pora.* 8 *Xantha.* 9 *Peritheorium.* 10 *Theodorium.*

Province *of* Phrygia Capatiana.

1 *Hierapolis.* 2 *Metellopolis.* 3 *Dionyſopolis:* 4 *Anaſtaſiopolis.* 5 *Antæda.* 6 *Moſyna*, with eight others which are inſerted by Miſtake from the Province of *Æmimontus.* But *Leunclavius* adds, *Autuda*, *Phobi*, *Ancyra*, *Synaus*, *Tiberiopolis*, *Cana* and *Zana.*

Province *of* Galatia Secunda.

1 *Amorium.* 2 *Philomelium.* 3 *Docimeum.* 4 *Claneus.* 5 *Polybotus.* 6 *Piſſia.* *Note*, This Province is called *Phrygia* in *Leunclavius*; but the Cities are the ſame.

Here it is remarked in all the *Notitia's*, That the following Metropolitans and their Suffragans were taken from the *Roman* Dioceſe, and added to *Conſtantinople*, viz. 1 *Theſſalonica.* 2 *Syracuſe.* 3 *Corinth.* 4 *Rhegium.* 5 *Nicopolis.* 6 *Athens.* 7 *Patræ.* 8 *Novæ Patræ.* As alſo the Metropolitan of *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*, or as *Leunclavius* calls it, *Pamphylia*, with twenty three Biſhops under him. Which conclude the *Notitia* in *Leunclavius*: For it only contains the Account of the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople. Carolus a Sancto Paulo* alſo wholly omits the *Roman* Patriarchate, becauſe his Mannſcript here, he ſays, was ſo corrupt that there was no Senſe to be made of it: But this Defect is ſupply'd by *Goar* and Biſhop *Beverege*, in whoſe *Notitia's* the following Account is given.

The Province *under the moſt glorious Eparch of* Rome, *or* Italy.

Province *of* Rome *called* Urbicaria.

1 *Brittium.* 2 *Macæria.* 3 *Luna.* 4 *Neapolis.* 5 *Garanta.* 6 *Vintimilium.* 7 *Genues.* 8 *Sipontus.* 9 *Ponturoma.* 10 *Inſulæ Centumcellæ.* 11 *Caſtrum Euoriæ.* 12 *Caſtrum Amalphes.* 13 *Caſtrum Getteon.* 14 *Caſtrum Tiberias.* 15 *Caſtrum Nepes.* 16 *Inſula Comaniciæ.* 17 *Caſtrum Mulium.* 18 *Caſtrum Campſas.* 19 *Caſtrum Soreum.* 20 *Caſtrum Suſas.* 21 *Caſtrum Ilbas.* 22 *Caſtrum Anagnia.*

Province *of* Campania.

1 *Neapolis.* 2 *Brettania.* 3 *Pannonia.* 4 *Calabria.* 5 *Venetia.* 6 *Meſſina.* 7 *Vicovarina.* 8 *Taurata.* 9 *Apulia.* 10 *Caſtrum Opiterbetos.* 11 *Caſtros Samnios.* 12 *Caſtrum Suſias.* 13 *Caſtrum*

ſtrum Regium. 14 *Caſtrum Taurata.* 15 *Caſtrum Sygnias.* 16 *Caſtrum Gradum.* 17 *Caſtrum Patriarchias.* 18 *Caſtrum Scylaceum.* 19 *Caſtrum Martyrium.* 20 *Caſtrum Ormuvera.* 21 *Caſtrum Ortonos.* 22 *Caſtrum Oppiterbitum.*

Iſle *of* Sicily.

1 *Syracuſe.* 2 *Catana.* 3 *Tærebenium*, al. *Tauromenium.* 4 *Seſena*, al. *Meſſana.* 5 *Cephaludium.* 6 *Thermum.* 7 *Panormus.* 8 *Lilybæum.* 9 *Trocalis.* 10 *Acragantus*, al. *Agrigentum.* 11 *Tindarium.* 12 *Carine*, al. *Camarina.* 13 *Leontina.* 14 *Abeuſis*, al. *Aleſa.* 15 *Gaudus.* 16 *Melita.* 17 *Liparis.* 18 *Burcauſus.* 19 *Didymi.* 20 *Urica.* 21 *Onarea.* 22 *Baſiludin.*

Province *of* Calabria.

1 *Rhegium.* 2 *Locris.* 3 *Scylacias.* 4 *Cotronum*, al. *Croton.* 5 *Conſtantia.* 6 *Tropæum.* 7 *Tauriana.* 8 *Bibonum*, al. *Cibonum.*

Provincia Annonaria.

1 *Ravenna.* 2 *Phanus.* 3 *Olcuſa*, al. *Aſculum.* 4 *Polus*, al. *Fulginum.* 5 *Pecinus*, al. *Picenum.* 6 *Piſaurum.* 7 *Tergetra.* 8 *Auguſtopolis.* 9 *Talbitau.* 10 *Caſtrum Ferentinum.* 11 *Caſtrum Solernos.* 12 *Tulericum.* 13 *Caſtrum Zanga.* 14 *Caſtrum Nobo.* 15 *Caſtrum Eurinica.* 16 *Caſtrum Semania.* 17 *Vicomanto.* 18 *Caſtrum Vereles.* 19 *Caſtrum Tamia.* 20 *Caſtrum Varellelia.* 21 *Caſtrum Samugia.* 22 *Caſtrum Sora.* 23 *Caſtrum Suagallia.* 24 *Caſtrum Ciſines.*

Province *of* Æmia. *leg.* Æmilia.

1 *Caſtrum Foropompus.* 2 *Caſtrum Brizilium.* 3 *Caſtrum Brinti.*

Under the moſt glorious Eparch of Africa.

Province *of* Bizacia.

1 *Carthago Proconſularis.* 2 *Sybiba.* 3 *Campſia.* 4 *Sileos.* 5 *Junce.* 6 *Talepte.* 7 *Caſcala.* 8 *Caſtellæ.* 9 *Pezana.* 10 *Mamida.* 11 *Madaſuba.* 12 *Colule.* 13 *Capſe.* 14 *Adramytto.*

Province *of* Numidia.

1 *Calama.* 2 *Tebete.* 3 *Hippo Regius.* 4 *Nuzidias.* 5 *Caſtamagæ.* 6 *Bade.* 7 *Meleum.* 8 *Leradus.* 9 *Caſtrum Bedere*, al. *Caſtra Vetera.* 10 *Scele.* 11 *Egerineſium.* 12 *Titeſſin*, al. *Tididita.* 13 *Bage.* 14 *Conſtantina.* 15 *Sitiphi.*

Province *of* Mauritania Prima.

1 *Rhinocururum.*

Province *of* Mauritania Secunda.

1 *Septum.* 2 *Septum ad partem Teneſſi.* 3 *Spanias.* 4 *Meſopot. ad partem Spaniæ.* 5 *Maiurica*, al. *Majorica Inſula.* 6 *Menyca*, al. *Minorica Inſula.* 7 *Inſula Sardon, vel Sardinia.* 8 *Cærallus Metropolis.* 9 *Tures.* 10 *Sanaphas.* 11 *Sines.* 12 *Sulces.* 13 *Phæſiana.* 14 *Chryſopolis.* 15 *Ariſtiane.* 16 *Limne.* 17 *Caſtrum Tutar.* Note, *Goar's Notitia* reads moſt of theſe Names differently, and makes but two of theſe three laſt, *Chriſtianæ Lacus* and *Tucca.* Here *Carolus a S. Paulo* begins again.

In the Dioceſe of Egypt.

Province *of* Auguſtamnica Prima.

1 *Peluſium*, the Metropolis, 2 *Sethroetes.* 3 *Tanes.* 4 *Thmues.* 5 *Rhinocurura.* 6 *Oſtracine.* 7 *Pentaſchanon.* 8 *Caſium.* 9 *Aphtheum.* 10 *Hipheſtus.* 11 *Panephuſus.* 12 *Geros.* 13 *Itageros.* 14 *Theneſus.*

Province *of* Auguſtamnica Secunda.

1 *Leonto Metropolis.* 2 *Athrabes.* 3 *Helius.* 4 *Bubaſtus.* 5 *Carbethus.* 6 *Arabius.*

Province *of* Ægyptus Prima.

1 *Alexandria ſub duce & Auguſtali.* 2 *Hermopolis.* 3 *Milleos.* 4 *Coſtus.* 5 *Vicus Pſaneos.* 6 *Vicus Cotrideos.* 7 *Sais.* 8 *Leontopolis.* 9 *Naucratia.* 10 *Andronicius.* 11 *Zenonopolis.* 12 *Paphna.* 13 *Onuphis.* 14 *Tava.* 15 *Cleopatris.* 16 *Mareotes.* 17 *Manelaitæ.* 18 *Schedia.* 19 *Ternuthes.* 20 *Sondra.*

Province *of* Ægyptus Secunda.

1 *Cabaſa.* 2 *Phragon.* 3 *Pachnemon.* 4 *Dioſpolis.* 5 *Sebennytus.* 6 *Cæno.* 7 *Buſiris.* 8 *Elearchia.* 9 *Regeon Paralus.* 10 *Vicus Parianæ.* 11 *Vicus Rhicomerium.* 12 *Xois:* To which *Goar's Notitia* adds *Cyma*, and makes *Regeon* and *Paralus* two diſtinct Places.

Province *of* Arcadia.

1 *Oxyrynchus.* 2 *Heracleus.* 3 *Cæno.* 4 *Nilopolis.* 5 *Arſinoetes.* 6 *Memphilitus*, al. *Memphis.* *Goar* adds, *Cliſma*, *Theodoſiopolis*, *Aphroditon* and *Latopolis.*

Province *of* Thebais Prima.

1 *Antinous.* 2 *Hermopolis.* 3 *Theodoſiopolis.* 4 *Polyco.* 5 *Hypſele.* 6 *Apollonias.* 7 *Anteios.* 8 *Panos.* *Goar* adds *Caſus.*

Province *of* Thebais Secunda.

1 *Ptolemais.* 2 *Conto*, al. *Juſtinianopolis.* 3 *Diocletianopolis.* 4 *Dioſpolis.* 5 *Tentyra.* 6 *Maximianopolis.* 7 *Thebais.* 8 *Lato.* 9 *Jambon.* 10 *Hermonthon.* 11 *Apollonos.* 12 *Vicus Anaſſæ Magnæ.*

Magnæ. 13 *Thebais Magna.* 14 *Ibis.* 15 *Mathon.* 16 *Trimunthon.* 17 *Erbon*, al. *Hermon.*

Province *of* Libya.

1 *Dranicon.* 2 *Paratonicon.* 3 *Tranzala.* 4 *Ammoniaca.* 5 *Antipyrgus.* 6 *Antiphron.* 7 *Ædonias.* 8 *Marmarice.*

Province *of* Libya Pentapolis.

1 *Sozusa.* 2 *Cyrine.* 3 *Ptolemais.* 4 *Teuchera.* 5 *Adriane.* 6 *Beronica.*

Province *of* Tripoli.

1 *Tosibon.* 2 *Leptis.* 3 *Hyou.*

In the Oriental *Diocese.*

Province *of* Cilicia.

1 *Tarsus.* 2 *Pompeiopolis.* 3 *Sebaste.* 4 *Coricus.* 5 *Adana.* 6 *Augustopolis.* 7 *Mallos.* 8 *Zephurium.*

Province *of* Cilicia Secunda.

1 *Anazarbus.* 2 *Mopsuestia.* 3 *Ageia.* 4 *Epiphania.* 5 *Eirenopolis.* 6 *Flavias.* 7 *Alexandria.* 8 *Cabissus.* 9 *Castabala.* 10 *Rhossus.*

Province *of* Isauria.

1 *Seleucia.* 2 *Cilendre.* 3 *Anemorius.* 4 *Titiopolis.* 5 *Lamus.* 6 *Antiochia.* 7 *Heliu-Sebaste.* al. *Julio-Sebaste.* 8 *Cestra.* 9 *Selinuntes.* 10 *Jostape.* 11 *Diocæsarea.* 12 *Olya.* 13 *Hierapolis.* 14 *Dalisandus.* 15 *Claudiopolis.* 16 *Eirenopolis.* 17 *Germanicopolis.* 18 *Neopolis.* 19 *Zenonopolis.* 20 *Sbidæ.* 21 *Philadelphia.* 22 *Adrassus.* 23 *Meloe.* 24 *Domitiopolis.* 25 *Climata Nauzadeæ.* 26 *Cassorum.* 27 *Benæorum.* 28 *Golgosi.* 29 *Costardis.*

Province *of* Syria Prima.

1 *Antiochia ad Daphnen.* 2 *Paltus.* 3 *Seleucia.* 4 *Berrhœa.* 5 *Chalcis.*

Province *of* Syria Secunda.

1 *Apamea.* 2 *Arethusa.* 3 *Epiphania.* 4 *Larissa.* 5 *Mariamne.* 6 *Seleucobelus.* 7 *Raphanæa.*

Province *of* Euphratisia *or* Hagiopolis.

1 *Hieropolis.* 2 *Cyrus*, al. *Hagiopolis.* 3 *Samosata.* 4 *Doliche.* 5 *Germanicia.* 6 *Zeugma.* 7 *Perrhe.* 8 *Europus.* 9 *Nicopolis.* 10 *Schenarchia.* 11 *Cæsaria.* 12 *Sergiopolis.* 13 *Orimon.* 14 *Santon.*

Province *of* Theodorias.

1 *Laodicea.* 2 *Balanea.* 3 *Gabala.* *Goar* adds *Paltus*

Province *of* Osdroene.

1 *Edessa.* 2 *Carræ.* 3 *Constantia.* 4 *Theodosiopolis.* 5 *Batnæ.* 6 *Callinicus*, al. *Leontopolis.* 7 *Nova Valentia.* 8 *Birthon.* 9 *Monithilla.* 10 *Therimachon.* 11 *Monimga.* 12 *Macarta* 13 *Marcopolis.* 14 *Anastasia.* 15 *Hemerias.* 16 *Circisia.*

Province *of* Mesopotamia Superior, *or* Armenia Quarta.

1 *Amida.* 2 *Martyropolis.* 3 *Darus.* 4 *Castrum Ricephas.* 5 *Castrum Turandios.* 6 *Castrum Mardes.* 7 *Castrum Lornes.* 8 *Castrum Riphton.* 9 *Castrum Isphrios.* 10 *Castrum Tzauras.* 11 *Castrum Audasson.* 12 *Castrum Amarnes.* 13 *Castrum Tzinobias.* 14 *Castrum Banabelorum.* 15 *Castrum Intzietorum.* 16 *Castrum Chaddorum.* 17 *Castrum Æsudios.* 18 *Castrum Masphronas.* 19 *Castrum Basilicum.* 20 *Castrum Speion & Odelorum.* 21 *Castrum Bijubaithas.* 22 *Castrum Manassarorum.* 23 *Castrum Phirtachabras.* 24 *Castrum Siteon Chiphas.* 25 *Castrum Calonos.* 26 *Castrum Bibasarorum.* 27 *Castrum Tzauras.* 28 *Castrum Birthas.* 29 *Castrum Attachas.* 30 *Castrum Aphuborum.* 31 *Castrum Florianarum.* 32 *Castrum Arimachorum.* 33 *Castrum Baluos.* 34 *Castrum Daphnudin.* 35 *Castrum Samocharto-rum.*

The other Armenia.

1 *Dademon.* 2 *Arsamusaton.* 3 *Polichne.* 4 *Chosana.* 5 *Chosomacha.* 6 *Citharizæ.* 7 *Castrum Marticertum.* 8 *Castrum Baiulæos.* 9 *Castrum Polios.* 10 *Castrum Ardon.* 11 *Clima Sophines.* 12 *Regio Jalimbana*, where *Basilius* was born, who wrote the present Account. 13 *Clima Anzetines.* 14 *Clima Digesines.* 15 *Clima Garines.* 16 *Clima Orziacines.* 17 *Clima Bilabitenes.* 18 *Clima Astianices.* 19 *Clima Mamuzurarum.*

Province *of* Phœnicia Maritima.

1 *Tyrus.* 2 *Sidon.* 3 *Ptolemais.* 4 *Berytus.* 5 *Biblus.* 6 *Tripolis.* 7 *Arcæ.* 8 *Orthosias.* 9 *Botris.* 10 *Vicus Gegarta.* 11 *Arados.* 12 *Antarados.* 13 *Paneas.* 14 *Gonatij Saltus.* 15 *Vicus Politianus.* 16 *Vicus Trieris.*

Province *of* Phœnicia Libani.

1 *Emissa.* 2 *Laodicea.* 3 *Heliopolis.* 4 *Abilla.* 5 *Damascus.* 6 *Clima Jabrudorum.* 7 *Evarius*, al. *Justinianopolis.* 8 *Talmyra*, in *Goar* it is *Palmyra.* 9 *Clima Maglydorum.* 10 *Saltum Gonæticum.* 11 *Salamias.* 12 *Clima Orientale.*

Province *of* Paleſtina [*] Prima.

1 *Ælia*, or *Jeruſalem*. 2 *Cæſaria*. 3 *Dora*. 4 *Antipatris*. 5 *Dioſpolis*, al. *Georgiopolis*. 6 *Jamnia*. 7 *Nicopolis*. 8 *Onus*. 9 *Sozuſa*. 10 *Joppa*. 11 *Aſcalon*. 12 *Gaza*. 13 *Raphia*. 14 *Anthedon*. 15 *Diocletianopolis*. 16 *Eleutheropolis*. 17 *Neapolis*. 18 *Sebaſte*. 19 *Regio Apathus*. 20 *Regio Jericho*. 21 *Regio Libiæ*. 22 *Regio Gadara*. 23 *Azotus Maritima*. 24 *Azotus Hippinis*. 25 *Acomazon*. 26 *Bittymos*. 27 *Tricomias*. 28 *Toxus*. 29 *Saltum Conſtantiniani*. 30 *Saltum Geraiticum*, al. *Barſamon*.

Province *of* Paleſtina Secunda.

1 *Scythopolis*. 2 *Gadara*. 3 *Pellæ*. 4 *Abila*. 5 *Capetomas*. 6 *Diocæſarea*. 7 *Maximianopolis*. 8 *Gabæ*. 9 *Tiberias*. 10 *Hippos*. 11 *Helenopolis*. 12 *Clima Gælanes*. 13 *Tetracomia*. 14 *Comenais*.

Province *of* Paleſtina Tertia.

1 *Petra*. 2 *Auguſtopolis*. 3 *Arindela*. 4 *Charagmuda*. 5 *Areopolis*. 6 *Mapſis*. 7 *Eluſa*. 8 *Zoara*. 9 *Biroſabon*. 10 *Elas*. 11 *Pentacomia*. 12 *Mamopſora*. 13 *Metrocomia*. 14 *Saltum Hieraticum*. *Goar* divides two of theſe into four, reading them thus, *Salton*, *Mamo*, *Pſora*, *Hieraticon*.

Province *of* Arabia.

1 *Boſtra*. 2 *Adraſus*. 3 *Dia*. 4 *Medaba*. 5 *Geraſſa*. 6 *Neva*. 7 *Philadelphia*. 8 *Esbus*. 9 *Neapolis*. 10 *Philippolis*. 11 *Phenutus*. 12 *Conſtantina*. 13 *Dionyſias*. 14 *Pentacomia*. 15 *Tricomia*. 16 *Canothas*. 17 *Saltum*. 18 *Bataneos*. 19 *Exacomia*. 20 *Enacomia*. 21 *Vicus Gonias*. 22 *Vicus Cherus*. 23 *Vicus Stanes*. 24 *Vicus Caberæ*. 25 *Vicus Coreathæ*. 26 *Vicus Bilbanus*. 27 *Vicus Caprorum*. 28 *Vicus Pyrgoaretarum*. 29 *Vicus Setnes*. 30 *Vicus Ariacharum*. 31 *Neotes*. 32 *Clima Orientalium & Occidentalium*. 33 *Vicus Ariathæ Saxoſæ*. 34 *Vicus Bebdamus*.

Province *of* Armenia Magna.

Concerning this the Author only remarks, that it is an *Autocephalus*, or independent Country, not ſubject to any Apoſtolical Throne, but honoured in reſpect to St. *Gregory* of *Armenia*, having two hundred Cities and Caſtles.

Province *of* Cyprus.

The Author makes the ſame Obſervation upon this Country, that it is an Independent alſo, in Honour of St. *Barnabas* the Apoſtle who was found here, having the Goſpel of St. *Mark* laid upon his Breaſt. The Cities in this Province are,

1 *Conſtantia* the Metropolis. 2 *Citium*. 3 *Amathus*. 4 *Curium*. 5 *Paphus*. 6 *Arſenæ*. 7 *Soli*. 8 *Lapithus*, the Birth-place of *Georgius Cyprius*, who wrote the Book out of which theſe were taken. 9 *Cyrenia*. 10 *Tamaſus*. 11 *Cythri*. 12 *Trimithus*. 13 *Carpaſin*.

There is added at the End of *Goar*'s *Notitia*: "This Account was taken *An.* 6391, in the Reign "of the Emperor *Leo Sapiens*, and under the Pa"triarch *Photius*:" that is, *An.* 891.

In this Deſcription of the Church, the Reader may obſerve, that the Author being a *Greek*, is much more accurate in his Account of the *Greek* and *Eaſtern* Churches, than of the *Weſtern* and *Latin*: For here is no Account of *France*, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Illyricum*; and ſuch confus'd and imperfect Accounts of the Provinces of *Italy* and *Africk*, as ſhew plainly, that the Author was not rightly acquainted with the ſtate of the Church in thoſe Countries; at leaſt not in *Italy*; For in all *Italy* and *Sicily* here are not mention'd above an hundred Dioceſes, and yet it is clear from the Accounts that have been given before out of the Subſcriptions of antient Councils, that there were nearer three hundred Dioceſes in thoſe Regions. Above one hundred and fifty *Italian* Biſhops of diſtinct Sees are found ſubſcrib'd in one Age in the *Roman* Councils held under *Hilary*, *Felix* and *Symmachus*, and there were almoſt as many more not mentioned in thoſe Councils, but to be found in other Councils and antient Records. And though when theſe *Notitia's* were made, ſeveral of the antient Dioceſes might be united together, yet it appears from the Subſcriptions of the *Roman* Councils under *Eugenius* II. and *Leo* IV. in the ninth Century, that there were above double the Number to what the *Notitia's* mention. So that it muſt be own'd, that they give but an imperfect Account of the *Latin* or *Weſtern* Church. But the Account of the *Greek* and *Eaſtern* Churches is more compleat, and agrees very well with the Subſcriptions collected out of the antient Councils. And ſo they one confirm another, and both together fully make out the Account that has been given both of the Number and Extent of Dioceſes in the antient Church.

[*] Note, *This Province and the next are wanting both in* Carolus a Sancto Paulo *and* Goar.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Diviſion of Dioceſes into Pariſhes, and the firſt Original of them.

SECT. I. *Of the antient Names of Pariſh-Churches.*

THERE remains but one thing more to be enquir'd into on this Head, which is the Diviſion of Dioceſes into ſuch leſſer Precincts as we now call Pariſhes, and Pariſh Churches. Concerning which I ſhall here need to ſay the leſs, becauſe ſo much has already been ſaid incidentally in ſpeaking of the Extent of antient Dioceſes, which we have generally found too large to be confin'd to a ſingle Congregation. All that I ſhall add upon this Subject therefore in this Place, is only to make a few Remarks upon the antient Names of Pariſhes (becauſe ſome of them are a little ambiguous) and ſhew when, and upon what account, and by what degrees Dioceſes were divided into Pariſhes, to bring them to the preſent State and Form of the Church. As to the antient Names, I have had occaſion to ſhew before, that the Words παροικία, & διοίκησις for the three firſt Ages were of the ſame Importance, denoting not what we now call a Pariſh Church, but a City with its adjacent Towns or Country Region. But in the fourth and fifth Ages we find both Names promiſcuouſly given as well to Country Pariſhes, as Epiſcopal, or City Churches. For now theſe leſſer Diviſions of Dioceſes began to be call'd *Parochiæ*, as may be ſeen in the Council of *Chalcedon* [a], which order'd, that in every Church ſuch Country Pariſhes as belong'd of old time to any Biſhop, ſhould continue in his Poſſeſſion without any Moleſtation. And in the Council of *Vaiſon*, *an.* 442, a Decree was made [b] that Country Pariſhes ſhould have Presbyters to preach in them, as well as the City Churches. And ſo the Word *Parochia* is often us'd by St. *Jerom* [c], *Sulpicius Severus* [d], *Theodoret* [e], *Innocentius* [f] and other Writers of thoſe Ages. Though ſtill the Name *Parochia* continu'd to ſignify properly an Epiſcopal Dioceſe, from which it was transfer'd to denote thoſe leſſer *Parochiæ*, becauſe they were a ſort of Imitation of the former. Which is the Account that *Socrates* [g] ſeems to give of them, when ſpeaking of the Villages of the Region of *Mareotes* that were ſubject to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, he ſays, they were as ſo many παροικίαι, or leſſer Dioceſes under his City. And upon the ſame Reaſon the Name *Diœceſis* was ſometimes given to a Pariſh Church alſo, though it moſt properly belongs to an Epiſcopal Dioceſe. Thus *Sidonius Apollinarius* [h] ſpeaks of his own viſiting his Dioceſes, meaning only the Pariſh Churches under his Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. And ſo in the Collation of *Carthage* it is ſaid [i] of one Place that there was perfect Unity not only in the City, but in all the Dioceſes, that is, the Country Pariſhes or Villages belonging to it. *Baluzius* has obſerv'd the ſame [k] in *Ruricius Lemovicenſis* [l], and *Gregory* of *Tours* [m], and ſome other Writers. The reaſon of this Appellation being, as I ſaid before, for that theſe Churches whereupon ſingle Presbyters were fix'd, were a ſort of leſſer Dioceſes, as the Author of the Pontifical [n] under the Name of *Damaſus* terms them; and ſome Canons give them [o] the Name of *Eccleſiæ Diœceſanæ*, Dioceſan Churches; and others Country or Village-Churches, whence the Presbyters reſiding on them were term'd ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, Country-Presbyters, by the Council of *Neocæſarea* [p], in oppoſition to the City-Presbyters in the Cathedral or Mother-Church. Pariſh-Churches were alſo peculiarly call'd *Tituli*, as has been noted before [q], in contradiſtinction to the Biſhop's Church; being ſuch Churches as had particular Presbyters and Deacons aſſign'd to them, who upon that account are ſaid to have a Title. And ſome learned Perſons [r] are of Opinion, that Cardinal Presbyters and Deacons, at firſt were no more but Presbyters and Deacons ſo deputed and affix'd to the Service of particular Pariſh Churches, and that as well at *Rome* as other Places.

SECT. II. *The Original of Pariſh Churches owing to Neceſſity, and founded upon the Apoſtolical Rules of Chriſtian Communion.*

As to the Original of Pariſh-Churches, there is no doubt but it was Neceſſity, and the Conveniences of celebrating Chriſtian Offices, and holding Chriſtian Communion with greater Eaſe, that firſt gave occaſion to them. For when the Multitude of Believers increas'd ſo in large and populous Cities, that one Church could not contain them, there was a Neceſſity of dividing the Aſſembly, and erecting other Churches, where all the Solemnities of the Chriſtian Worſhip and the uſual Offices of Divine Service might be perform'd, as well as in the

[a] Conc. Chalced. can. 16. Τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγρικὰς παροικίας, ἢ ἐγχωρίους μήμην ἀπραγμονεύτως τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτὰς ἐπισκόποις. [b] Conc. Vaiſionen. 1. c. 2. Placuit ut non ſolum in Civitatibus, ſed etiam in omnibus Parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus Presbyteris poteſtatem. [c] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. 2. [d] Sulpic. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 4. [e] Theodor. Ep. 113. [f] Innocent. Ep. ad Decentium. c. 5. [g] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 27. ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴ πόλιν ὡς παροικίαι. [h] Sidon. lib. 9. Ep. ib. p. 611. Peregratis forte Diœceſibus cum domum veni, &c. [i] Collat. Carthag. Die 1. c. 176. Unitas illic perfecta eſt non ſolum in ipſa Civitate, verum etiam in omnibus Diœceſibus. [k] Baluz. Not. ad Gratian. p. 510. [l] Ruricius Lemovic. lib. 2. Ep. 6. [m] Greg. Turon. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 13. lib. 6. c. 38. [n] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Viginti quinque Titulos in Urbe Roma conſtituit, quaſi Diœceſes, propter Baptiſmum & pœnitentiam multorum. [o] Concil. Tarracon. can. 8. [p] Concil. Neocæſar. can. 13. [q] *Book.* 8. *Chap.* 1. *Sect.* 10. [r] Vid. Joh. Fronto. Epiſt. de Canonicis Cardinalibus. Par. 1661.

Mother-

Mother-Church, to anſwer the Apoſtolical Ordinance of holding Chriſtian Communion one with another; which was according to what we read *Acts* ii. 42. That Men ſhould continue ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtle's Doctrine, and Fellowſhip, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers. The Author of the Pontifical under the Name of *Damaſus*, in the Life of *Marcellus*, ſeems to ſay, That ſeveral of the *Roman Tituli*, or Pariſh Churches, were erected [*s*] for the Conveniency of baptizing great Multitudes that were converted from Paganiſm, and for burying the Martyrs. But if there was any Neceſſity upon that Account, there was doubtleſs a greater Neceſſity upon another. For in thoſe Days the whole Body of the Chriſtian Church was us'd to communicate weekly at the Lord's Table; and it being impoſſible that one Church ſhould ſuffice in large Cities for this purpoſe, there was an abſolute Neceſſity of building more, that Chriſtians might live in Communion one with another. And ſo Pariſh Churches muſt be as antient as the Neceſſities of the Church, and he that knows how to date the one, may eaſily date the Original of the other for any particular City or Dioceſe in the Univerſe.

SECT. III.
Some of them probably as antient as the Times of the Apoſtles.

BUT as Cities and their Appendant Dioceſes differed very much in their Size and Extent, ſo it is reaſonable to believe, that ſome of them were obliged to build Pariſh-Churches much ſooner than others. And in ſuch Places as *Jeruſalem* and *Rome*, there is great Probability from ſeveral Paſſages in the *Acts* and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, that there were more Churches than one from the Days of the Apoſtles. However, it is undeniably evident from *Optatus*, as I have ſhewed before, that *Rome* had above forty Churches in it before the End of the third Century, or in the Beginning of the *Diocletian* Perſecution. As for the leſſer Cities, it will be no wonder to find ſome of them which had but one Church whilſt the Perſecution laſted; ſuch as that City in *Phrygia*, which *Lactantius* ſpeaks of, where he ſays, The Church and all the People were burnt [*t*] together by one of the barbarous Prefects in the laſt Perſecution. *Valeſius* thinks, *Euſebius* ſpeaks of the ſame City, who ſays [*u*], it was all Chriſtian at that time, both Magiſtrates and People, and therefore an Army was ſent againſt them, which burnt them all together, Men, Women and Children, as they were making their Supplications to Chriſt their God. From which it may be concluded, that there were ſome Cities which were but what *Euſebius* calls this, πολίχνια, ſo very ſmall as to need no other Church beſide the Biſhop's Cathedral, even when all the Members of them were become univerſally Chriſtian. And this may ſeem an Argument to ſome, that there were antiently many Epiſcopal Dioceſes that never had any Pariſh-Churches.

SECT. IV.
Some leſſer Cities had Country Pariſhes even in Times of Perſecution.

BUT here it muſt be remembred, what has been abundantly proved before, That generally the antient Cities had their Suburbs or Country Region belonging to them; and ſome that were very ſmall Cities, as *Cyprus* in *Comagene*, where *Theodoret* was Biſhop, had upon this account very large Territories under their Juriſdiction. And we find a great many Inſtances of ſuch Country Regions having Country Pariſhes, and Country Preſbyters and Deacons reſiding on them, even in the hotteſt times of Perſecution; as appears from the Canons of the Council of *Eliberis* [*x*], and thoſe of *Neocæſarea* [*y*], the former of which was held while the *Diocletian* Perſecution laſted, and the latter immediately after it was over, and yet both of them ſpeak of Country Preſbyters and Deacons, to whom the Care of Chriſtian Aſſemblies was committed. *Epiphanius* alſo [*z*] ſpeaks of Village Presbyters belonging to the City *Caſchara* in *Meſopotamia* in the middle of the third Century; and *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, about the ſame time frequently mentions ſuch in the Regions of *Arſinoe*, *Alexandria* and other Cities of *Ægypt* and *Libya*, in ſeveral Fragments of his Epiſtles, recorded in *Euſebius*, which have already been alledg'd, and need not here be repeated. From theſe and many other ſuch Inſtances it is evident, that as ſoon as the Chriſtian Religion began to ſpread it ſelf from the Cities into the Country Regions in any conſiderable manner, Village Churches were erected, and Country Presbyters fix'd on them; the Neceſſities and Convenience of the Church requiring it ſo to be, for the greater Benefit and Edification of the whole Community. Thus Pariſh-Churches had their Original both in City and Country, not all at one Time, nor by any general Decree, but as the Exigencies of every Dioceſe requir'd, the Biſhop of which was always the propereſt Judge, how many Aſſiſtants he needed to help him to diſcharge the ſeveral Offices belonging to him as chief Super-intendent of the City and Territory under his Juriſdiction. In *France*, the Council of *Vaiſon* ſpeaks of Country Pariſhes in the beginning of the fifth Century, as I have noted before in the firſt Section of this Chapter. But in *England* we have not ſo early an Account of them, becauſe the Records we have remaining of the antient *Britiſh* Church, make no mention of Pariſhes: And after the *Saxon* Converſions were begun, it was ſome time before our Dioceſes were divided into Pariſhes, and longer before they had appropriated Revenues ſettled upon them. Some think *Honorius*

[*s*] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. [*t*] Lactant. Inſtit. lib. 5. c. 11. Aliqui ad occidendum præcipites extiterunt, ſicut unus in Phrygia, qui univerſum populum cum ipſo pariter Conventiculo concremavit. [*u*] Euſeb. lib. 8. c. 11. [*x*] Conc. Eliber. cap. 77. [*y*] Conc. Neocæſar. c. 15. [*z*] Epiph. Hær. 66.

the fifth Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* divided ſo much of the Nation as was converted, into Pariſhes about the Year 640. So Biſhop *Godwyn* and *Dugdale*. But others think, this Diviſion is rather to be underſtood of Dioceſes than Pariſhes: For *Parochia* in *Bede* commonly denotes a Biſhop's Dioceſe, according to the antient Style and Language of the Church; as is evident from that Canon of the Council of *Herudford* mention'd in *Bede* [*a*], which was held above thirty Years after this ſuppos'd Diviſion of *Honorius*, in the Time of Archbiſhop *Theodore*, *An.* 673; where it is decreed, That no Biſhop ſhall invade another's *Parochia*, or Dioceſe, but be content with the Government of the People committed to him. Biſhop *Andrews* [*b*] indeed brings this very Canon for a Proof of Pariſhes being now ſettled all over the Nation: But I conceive the other Senſe of the Word *Parochia* to be more proper to that Place. Though I will not deny but that toward the latter End of this Archbiſhop's Time, who liv'd to the Year 690, the Diviſion of Pariſhes might be made. For *Bede* obſerves [*c*] that Religion and the Affairs of the Church made a greater Progreſs in his time than ever they had done before. And Mr. *Wheelock* [*d*] in his Obſervations upon the Place cites an antient Manuſcript, which ſpeaks of the Diviſion of Pariſhes as made under him. Now Chriſtianity had ſpread it ſelf into the Country, and Churches were built, and Presbyters fixed upon them, and Firſt-fruits, and other Revenues were ſettled by King *Ina* [*e*] among the *Weſt-Saxons*, and by *Withred* King of *Kent* in the Council of *Beconceld*, *An.* 694; and Patrons, when they founded Churches, endowed them with Lands for proper Maintenance: All which ſeem to imply, that the Original of Country Pariſhes was about the latter End of the ſeventh Century in this Nation, and in the next Age they were fully ſettled.

SECT. V.

The City Pariſhes not always aſſigned to particular Presbyters; but ſerved in common by the Clergy of the Biſhop's Church. This otherwiſe in Country Pariſhes.

BUT to return to the former Times: It is farther to be noted concerning the antient manner of ſerving the City Pariſh Churches, that they were not uſually committed to any particular Presbyters, as thoſe in the Country Regions were, but were ſerved in common by the Clergy of the Biſhop's Church. Learned Men conclude this from a Paſſage in *Epiphanius*, who ſeems to note it as a particular Cuſtom at *Alexandria*, that all the Churches there had their own particular Presbyters aſſigned them, who dwelt near their own Churches, every one in their own Streets or Diviſions [*f*], which the *Alexandrians* in their own Language called *Laura*. *Petavius* indeed [*g*] thinks, *Epiphanius* was miſtaken, and that it was not the peculiar Cuſtom of *Alexandria*, but common to all great Cities, to have Presbyters fixed upon all their Churches. But *Valeſius* [*h*] and other learned Men defend *Epiphanius* againſt his Cenſure, and ſhews this to have been ſo ſingular a Cuſtom at *Alexandria*, that perhaps no other City in the World in that Age, no not *Rome* it ſelf, which had above forty Churches, had any one Church appropriated to any particular Presbyter, but they were all ſerved in common by the Clergy of the Biſhop's Church. *Valeſius* obſerves, that it was ſo at *Rome* to the time of *Innocent* I, who ſpeaks of his ſending the Bread of the conſecrated Euchariſt to the Preſbyters miniſtring in the Pariſh Churches on the Lord's-day, that they might not on that Day think themſelves [*i*] ſeparated from his Communion. So that they ſeem to have been the Clergy of the great Church, ſent forth by Turns only, to miniſter in the ſeveral *Tituli* on the Lord's-day; and then their having a Title, or the Care of a Church, muſt mean no more but their being deputed in common to the Service of the *Tituli*, or Pariſh Churches, in Contradiſtinction to the Cathedral Church. Something of this Cuſtom continu'd at *Conſtantinople* to the time of *Juſtinian*. For in one of Novels [*k*] he takes Notice of three Churches, St. *Mary*'s, *Theodore*'s, and *Irene*'s, which had no appropriated Clergy belonging to them, but were ſerved by the Miniſters of the great Church, who officiated in them according to their Courſes. It is obſerved alſo by ſome, that a peculiar Cuſtom prevailed at *Rome*, to have two Presbyters officiate in every Church, whereas in other Places there was but one. Dr. *Maurice* [*l*] infers this from a Paſſage in the *Comments* of *Hilary* the *Roman* Deacon, who commonly goes under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, who ſays, that though there were but ſeven Deacons in all *Rome*, yet there was ſuch a Number of Presbyters as to have two to officiate in every Church [*m*], becauſe the Inhabitants communicated twice a Week, and there were Sick Perſons to be baptized almoſt every Day. But whether this Cuſtom was ſo peculiar to *Rome*, as to belong to no other Church, is what I had rather the Reader ſhould believe upon that learned Man's Judg-

[*a*] Bede lib. 4. c. 5. Conc. Herudford. c. 2. Ut nullus Epiſcoporum Parochiam alterius invadat, ſed contentus ſit gubernatione creditæ ſibi Plebis. [*b*] Andrews de Decimis inter Opuſcula, p. 152. [*c*] Bede, lib. 5. c. 8. [*d*] Wheelock in Loc. [*e*] Inæ Leges Eccleſ. c. 4. Primitiæ ſeminum ad Feſtum S. Martini redduntor, &c. ap. Spelman. p. 183. Conc. Beconceld. c. 1. ibid. p. 191. [*f*] Epiph. Hær. 69. Arian. c. 1. [*g*] Petav. Annot. in Loc. [*h*] Valeſ. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 1. c. 13. Maurice's *Vindic. of the Primitive Church*, p. 65. [*i*] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. Quarum Presbyteri, quia die ipſo propter plebem ſibi creditam nobiſcum convenire non poſſunt, idcirco Fermentum à nobis confectum per Acolythos accipiunt, ut ſe à noſtra communione maxime illa die non judicent ſeparatos. [*k*] Juſtin. Novel. 3. c. 1. [*l*] Maurice *of Dioceſ. Epiſcop.* p. 47. [*m*] Ambroſ. Com. in 1 Tim. 3. Nunc autem ſeptem Diaconos eſſe oportet, & aliquantos Presbyteros, ut bini ſint per Eccleſias, & unus in Civitate Epiſcopus. —— Omni enim Hebdomada offerendum eſt, etſi non quotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in Hebdomada, etſi non deſint qui prope quotidie baptizentur ægri.

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ment, than my own Aſſertion. As to Country Churches the caſe is very plain, that Presbyters were more early fixed and appropriated peculiarly to them, there being not the ſame Convenience of ſerving them in common by the Presbyters of the City Church. Therefore we may obſerve, that the Council of *Neocæſarea* [n] makes a Diſtinction between the ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, the Country Presbyters, and thoſe of the City, forbidding the former to officiate in the City Church, except in the Abſence of the Biſhop and City Presbyters: Which plainly implies, that Country Pariſhes were then ſerv'd by fixed Presbyters of their own, who had nothing to do with the Service of the City Church. And the ſame appears from the Account which *Athanaſius* gives of the Presbyters of the Villages of *Mareotis* under *Alexandria*, and many other Paſſages of the antient Writers.

SECT. VI.

Settled Revenues not immediately fix'd upon Pariſhes at their firſt Diviſion, but paid into the Common Stock.

BUT we are to obſerve, that the being ſettled in a Pariſh Cure, whether in City or Country, did not immediately intitle a Man to the Revenue ariſing from that Cure, whether in Tythes or Oblations, or any other kind. For antiently all Church Revenues were delivered into the common Stock of the Biſhop's Church; whence by the Direction and Approbation of the Biſhop, who was the chief Adminiſtrator of the Revenues of his Dioceſe, a monthly or an annual Diviſion was made among the Clergy under his Juriſdiction, as has been ſhewed before in giving an Account of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues [o] and their Diſtribution. Where among other things it has been obſerved out of *Theodorus Lector* [p], that at *Conſtantinople* no Pariſh Church had any appropriated Revenues till the time of *Gennadius* in the middle of the fifth Century, *An.* 460, when *Marcian*'s *OEconomus* firſt ordered the Clergy of every Church to receive the Offerings of their own Church, whereas before the great Church received them all. In the *Weſtern* Church, particularly in *Spain*, in the middle of the ſixth Century, it appears from the firſt Council of *Bracara* that the Biſhop and City Clergy had ſtill all their Revenues in a common Fund, which was divided into four Parts, one for the Biſhop [q], another for the Clergy, a third for the Fabrick and Lights of the Church, and a fourth for the Relief of the Poor, to be diſpenſed by the Hands of the Arch-presbyter or Arch-deacon, with the Biſhop's Approbation. But the Country Clergy, as to their Revenues, were now or ſhortly after upon a different Foot: For in the ſecond Council of *Barcara*, which was held but nine Years after the firſt, *An.* 572, we find a Canon [r] forbidding Biſhops to have any Share in the Oblations of the Parochial Churches, and aſſigning that third Part to maintain the Fabrick and Lights of the Church; only allowing them to receive two *Solidi* by way of Honorary Acknowledgment, (*Honor Cathedræ*, the Canon terms it) in their Parochial Viſitations. So that at leaſt from this time we may date the Appropriation of Revenues in *Spain* to the Country Parochial Churches. In the ſame Council there is another Canon which corrects an Abuſe, that plainly implies ſuch an appropriate Settlement upon Country Churches. For ſome Patrons [s], it ſeems, would build Churches on their own Lands, not for Piety, but for Lucre's ſake, that they might go halves with the Clergy in whatever was collected of the Oblations of the People. To remedy which Inconvenience the Council orders, that no Biſhop ſhould conſecrate any Church for the future, that was built upon ſuch an abominable Contract and Tributary Condition. This is a farther Evidence, that the Revenues of Country Churches were then appropriated to them, elſe ſuch Abuſes as theſe could not have had any Foundation. But in *Germany* and *France* the Revenues of the Parochial Churches ſeem to have continued in the Hands of the Biſhop, at leaſt he had his Dividend of a fourth Part, for ſome Ages longer. For there are Rules in the Capitulars of *Baluzius* and *Goldaſtus*'s Editions, which order [t] Tithes and Oblations to be divided into four Parts, according to antient Canon, and one fourth to be given to the Biſhop. And ſome learned Perſons [u] who have narrowly examined our *Engliſh* Conſtitution, ſeem to be of Opinion, that the Biſhops had their Portion of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues with the Parochial Clergy for ſome conſiderable time after the firſt Deſignation and Settlement of Pariſh Churches. For they ſuppoſe that originally the Biſhop's Cathedral was the only Church in a Dioceſe, from whence Itinerant or Occaſional Preachers were ſent to convert the Country People, who for ſome time reſorted to the Cathedral for ſolemn Divine Worſhip. Afterwards by degrees ſome other Churches were built among them, firſt private Oratories or Chappels, without any Pariſh-bounds, for the Conveniency of ſuch as

[n] Conc. Neocæſar. c. 13. [o] *Book* V. *Chap.* vi. *n.* 1.

[p] Theodor. Lector. lib. 1. p. 553. [q] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 25. Placuit ut de rebus eccleſiaſticis tres æquæ fiant portiones, id eſt, una Epiſcopi, alia Clericorum, tertia in reparatione vel in luminariis Eccleſiæ. De quarta parte ſive Archipresbyter ſive Archidiaconus illam adminiſtrans, Epiſcopo faciat rationem.

[r] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 2. Placuit ut nullus Epiſcoporum per ſuas Diœceſes ambulans, præter Honorem Cathedræ ſuæ, id eſt, ſolidos duos, aliquid aliud per Eccleſias tollat. Neque tertiam partem ex quacunque Oblatione populi in Eccleſiis Parochialibus requirat, ſed illa tertia pars pro Luminaribus Eccleſiæ vel Recuperatione ſervetur, & per ſingulos annos Epiſcopo inde ratio fiat. [s] Ibid. Can. 6. Si quis Baſilicam non pro devotione fidei, ſed pro quæſtu cupiditatis ædificat, ut quicquid ibi de Oblatione Populi colligitur, medium cum Clericis dividat, eo quod Baſilicam in terra ſua quæſtus cauſa condiderit, quod in aliquibus locis uſque modo dicitur fieri. Hoc ergo de cetero obſervari debet, ut nullus Epiſcoporum tam abominabili voto conſentiat, &c. [t] Capitular. lib. 7. c. 375. Quatuor partes ex omnibus (Decimis & Oblationibus) fiant. ——— Quarta Epiſcopo referenda. Vid. Goldaſt. Conſtitut. Imper. tom. 3. cap. 23. p. 158. [u] *See Dr.* Kennet's *Caſe of Impropriations*, p. 9, &c. *Mr.* Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*, chap. 2. p. 85.

being at too great diſtance from the Cathedral, might more eaſily reſort to them. Then Pariſh Churches with certain Limits were erected, ſome by the Liberality of the People themſelves in more populous and wealthy Places, others by the Biſhops, and others by the *Saxon* Kings; but chiefly the Lords of Manor, the *Thanes*, as they then called them, were the great Inſtruments in this Work of founding Pariſh Churches. Whence it was that Pariſh Bounds were conformed to the Limits and Extent of a Manor, as I have ſhewed that the Bounds of an antient Dioceſe were to the Territory of a City: And hence the Lord of a Manor had his original Right of Patronage and Preſentation. Yet this did not deſtroy the Biſhop's Right to a Share in the Revenue of his whole Dioceſe. But Time made an Alteration in this Matter: For our Biſhops ſeem voluntarily to have relinquiſhed their Title to Parochial Revenues, as the *Spaniſh* Biſhops had done before them; though whether they made any Canon about it, as the other did, I am not able to inform the Reader. But Dr. *Kennet* has obſerved [*x*] out of *Dugdale* [*y*], that notwithſtanding the Alteration that was made in this Matter, the Biſhops of the *Iſle of Man* continued to have their *Tertiana*, or third Part of all Church Revenues in that Iſland. Which, I ſuppoſe, was becauſe they were not liable to any Alterations made here, as not being then of the *Engliſh* Juriſdiction. Thus I have given a ſhort Account of the Original and antient State of Parochial Churches, but it is beyond my Deſign to carry this Enquiry any farther. They who would know by what Steps and Encroachments Pariſh Churches loſt their Revenues again, firſt by the Confuſion of Pariſh Bounds, and a Liberty granted to Men to pay their Tithes and Oblations where they pleas'd, and then by Appropriations to Monaſteries, and Impropriations granted to Laymen, may find theſe Things handled at large in Dr. *Kennet*'s Elaborate Diſcourſe of Impropriations and Augmentation of Vicarages, to which I refer the Inquiſitive Reader.

The CONCLUSION.

Wherein is propoſed an Eaſie and Honourable Method for eſtabliſhing a Primitive Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, (conformable to the Model of the ſmaller Sort of antient Dioceſes) in all the Proteſtant *Churches.*

ALL I have farther to add upon this Subject, is only to make one ſeaſonable and uſeful Reflexion upon what has been diſcourſed in this laſt Book, with relation to the long-wiſhed-for Union of all the Churches of the Reformation in the ſame Form of Epiſcopal Government, agreeable to the Model and Practice of the Primitive Church. One great Objection againſt the preſent Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, and that which to many may look the moſt Plauſible, is drawn from the vaſt Extent and Greatneſs of moſt of the *Northern* Dioceſes of the World, which makes it ſo extreamly difficult for one Man to diſcharge all the Offices of the Epiſcopal Function. To take off the main Force of which Objection, I have been at ſome Pains to ſhew, that for the Preſervation of Epiſcopacy, there is no Neceſſity that all Dioceſes ſhould be of the ſame Extent, ſince there was ſo great difference in the Bounds and Limits of the antient Dioceſes, but not the leaſt difference about the Forms or Species of Epiſcopal Government for all that, in any part of the Primitive Church. And therefore if ever it ſhall pleaſe God to diſpoſe the Hearts of our Brethren, in the Churches of the Reformation, to receive again the Primitive Form of Epiſcopacy (which is much to be wiſhed, and there ſeems in ſome of them to be a good Inclination and Tendency toward it) there needs be no Difficulty from this Objection to hinder ſo uſeful and peaceable a Deſign; becauſe every Church is at Liberty to contract her own Dioceſes, and limit them with ſuch Bounds, as ſhe judges moſt expedient for the Edification and Benefit of the whole Community; there being no certain Geometrical Rule preſcribed us about this, either in the Writings of the Apoſtles, or in the Laws and Practice of the Primitive Church, any farther than that every City, or Place of civil Juriſdiction, ſhould be the Seat of an Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtracy, a Biſhop with his Preſbytery, to order the Spiritual Concerns of Men, as the other does the Temporal. That this was the General Rule obſerved in the Primitive Church, I think I have made it appear beyond all Diſpute, and that upon this Ground there was ſo great a difference in the Extent of Dioceſes ſometimes in the ſame Countries, as in *Paleſtine*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Italy* eſpecially, becauſe the Cities differed ſo much in the Extent of their Territories, and the Bounds and Limits of their Juriſdiction. Now it is not very material in it ſelf, whether of theſe Models be follow'd, ſince they are both Primitive and allowed in antient Practice. The *Church of* England has uſually followed the larger Model, and had very great

[*x*] *Caſe of Impropriations*, p. 28. [*y*] Dugdal. Monaſtic. Angl. tom. 1. p. 718.

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and extenſive Dioceſes: For at firſt ſhe had but ſeven Biſhopricks in the whole Nation, and thoſe commenſurate in a manner to the ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms. Since that time ſhe has thought it a Point of Wiſdom to contract her Dioceſes, and multiply them into above twenty: And if ſhe ſhould think fit to add forty or an hundred more, ſhe would not be without Precedent in the Practice of the Primitive Church. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was very well apprized of this, and therefore he adviſed King *Henry* VIII. to erect ſeveral new Biſhopricks, as a great Means among other Things for reforming the Church. In purſuance of which Advice the King himſelf drew up a Liſt of near twenty new Biſhopricks which he intended to make, and a Bill was paſſed in Parliament, *An.* 1539, to empower the King to do this by his Letters Patents. The whole Tranſaction and the Names of the intended Sees may be read at large in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the Reformation, *Vol.* I. *p.* 262. The Thing indeed miſcarry'd afterward, and by ſome Accident was never effected; but notwithſtanding it ſhews us the Senſe of the leading Men in the Reformation. What therefore has been, and ſtill is allowable in this Church, is allowable in others; that is, to multiply Dioceſes as Neceſſity requires, and divide the great Care and Burden of the Epiſcopal Function into more Hands, for the greater Benefit and Advantage of the Church. Whenever therefore any of the Foreign Churches of the Proteſtant Communion ſhall think fit to re-aſſume again the antient Epiſcopal Form of Government among them, they may both with Honour and Eaſe frame to themſelves ſuch a Model of ſmall Dioceſes, as will not much exceed the Extent of one of their Claſſes, nor much alter its Form, and yet be agreeable to the Model of the leſſer ſort of Dioceſes in the Primitive Church. A temporary Moderator, or Superintendent of a ſmall Diſtrict, ſuch as our Rural Deaneries, will eaſily be made a Biſhop, by giving him a ſolemn Ordination to the perpetual Office of governing the Churches of ſuch a Diſtrict, as chief Paſtor, under whom all other inferior Paſtors of the ſame Diſtrict muſt act in Subordination to him, deriving their Authority from his Impoſition of Hands, and doing nothing without his Conſent and Approbation. As this will ſecure the juſt Authority and Veneration of Epiſcopal Superintendency, whilſt, according to the Rule of *Ignatius*, nothing is done without the Biſhop in the Church; ſo will it be agreeable to the Model of the antient Church, which had many ſmall Dioceſes as well as large ones, particularly in *Italy*, where many Epiſcopal Sees were not above five or ſix Miles from one another, and their Dioceſes not above ten or twelve Miles in Extent, ſuch as *Narnia* and *Interamnia*, *Fidenæ*, *Fulginum*, *Hiſpellum*, *Forum Flaminii*, and many others, that have been particularly ſpoken of in the foregoing Book. There are now a great many ſuch Dioceſes in *Italy* in the Realm of *Naples*, where the whole Number is an hundred forty ſeven. Twenty of which are Archbiſhopricks; and ſome of them ſo ſmall as not to have any Dioceſe beyond the Walls of the City, as is particularly noted by Dr. *Maurice* [*] and others, of *Campana* and *Veſta*, out of *Ughellus*'s *Italia Sacra*, whence it is obſerved alſo, that *Cava* in the ſame Kingdom had but five hundred Communicants belonging to it. And there are ſome Dioceſes at preſent in the Southern Parts of *France*, which I am told do not very much exceed that Proportion. The Biſhoprick of the *Iſle of Man* has now but ſeventeen Pariſhes, and in *Bede*'s time [†] the whole Iſland had but the meaſure of three or four hundred Families, according to what was then the *Engliſh* way of Computation, though the Iſle of *Angleſey* had thrice that Number. So that tho' Dioceſes in the Proteſtant Churches ſhould be thus contracted, yet no other Church, where Epiſcopacy is already ſettled, can have any juſt Reaſon to complain of ſuch an Epiſcopacy as this, ſo long as it appears to be agreeable to the Original State, and exactly conformable to antient Practice. Nor can any Churches then have ground for Diſpute with one another about external Polity and Government, though the Dioceſes of one Church happen to be larger or ſmaller than thoſe of another; ſo long as they have each their Precedents in the antient Church, they may treat one another with the ſame Catholick Charity as the antient Churches did, among whom we never find the leaſt Footſtep of a Diſpute upon this foundation. Nor is there now any Diſpute between the two Siſter Churches of *England* and *Ireland* upon this Head, though the one has enlarged, and the other has contracted her Dioceſes ſince the Reformation. For in *Ireland* there are not now above half the Number of Dioceſes that there were before, and conſequently they muſt needs be larger by uniting them together. In *England* there are more in Number than formerly, ſome new ones being created out of the old ones, and at preſent the whole Number augmented to three times as many as they were for ſome Ages after the firſt Converſion. Beſide that we have another way of contracting Dioceſes in Effect here in *England* appointed by Law, which Law was never yet repealed, which is by devolving part of the Biſhop's Care upon the *Chorepiſcopi*, or Suffragan Biſhops, as the Law calls them. A Method commonly practiſed in the antient Church in ſuch large Dioceſes as thoſe of St. *Baſil* and *Theodoret*, one of which had no leſs than fifty *Chorepiſcopi* under him, if *Nazianzen* rightly informs us; and it is a Practice that was continued here all the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and even to the End of King *James*; and is what may be revived again, whenever any Biſhop thinks his Dioceſe too large, or his Burden too great to be

[*] Maurice Dioceſan. Epiſc. p. 132. [†] Bede, lib. 2. c. 9.

ſuſtained

ſuſtained by himſelf alone. From hence I conclude, that the multiplying Biſhops, and contracting Dioceſes in the Proteſtant Churches, can give no juſt Offence to any other Epiſcopal Churches, ſince it was ever practiſed in the antient Church, and is now practiſed in ſome of the Churches of the Reformation, where ſtill the Dioceſes remain ſo great, as to be capable of being divided each into ten, without altering the Species of Epiſcopacy, or infringing any Rule of the Catholick Church. If this Conſideration may contribute any thing toward the Settlement of a Primitive Epiſcopacy in ſuch Churches of the Reformation as are ſtill without it, (which may be done by ordaining a Supreme Paſtor in every great Town, where there is a Civil Magiſtracy, with leſſer Towns and Villages in its Dependence, which was the antient Notion of a City, when Epiſcopacy was firſt ſettled by the Apoſtles) I ſhall then think my Pains and Labour, which have not been ſmall, in diſcovering the Extent and Meaſure of ſo many antient Dioceſes, to be ſtill ſo much the more uſeful, not only as opening a Way to a clear Underſtanding of the State of the antient Church, but as promoting the Unity and firmer Settlement of the preſent Church, whoſe general Intereſt, and not that of any particular Church or Party interfering with it, I have propoſed to my ſelf in this whole Work to proſecute and ſerve. The God of Peace and Truth proſper the Endeavours of all thoſe who have no other Deſign.

APPENDIX.

HAVING given no particular Catalogue of the antient Dioceſes in the ſix *African* Provinces, in the foregoing Book, as of all other Provinces in the World; leſt it ſhould be thought an Omiſſion, I have here ſubjoined an Account of them, as collected by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* and *Holſtenius*, out of the antient Councils, and the Collation of *Carthage*, and the *Notitia* of *Africk*, publiſhed by *Sirmondus* among his *Miſcellanies*, and the Works of St. *Auſtin*, and *Victor Vitenſis*, who ſpeaks of a hundred and ſixty four Biſhops in the firſt of theſe Provinces, called *Zeugitana*, or the Proconſular *Africk*; tho' *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* could find the Names only of a hundred and two Dioceſes, and ſome of theſe named twice or thrice over. For *Bolita* and *Vallis* and *Vol*, are but three Names for the ſame City. So *Abdera*, and *Abbirita* and *Abbir Germaniciorum* are the ſame. As alſo *Sicca* and *Zigga*. *Duaſſedemſai* and *Duæſenepſalitinæ*, two corrupt Names for the City *Selemſal*, as *Holſtenius* obſerves in his Remarks upon them.

In Provincia Zeugitana, *otherwiſe called* Africa Proconſularis.

1 *Carthago*. 2 *Sicilibra*. 3 *Maxula*. 4 *Vallis*. 5 *Uthina*. 6 *Tuburbo*. 7 *Abdera*. 8 *Aſſurus*. 9 *Tucabor*, al. *Tucca Terebinthina*. 10 *Altibura*. 11 *Vazua*. 12 *Ammedera*. 13 *Sicca Venerea*. 14 *Thinniſſa*. 15 *Tuburbo minus*. 16 *Membreſa*. 17 *Melzita*. 18 *Utica*. 19 *Theudalis*. 20 *Hippozaritus*, al. *Hippo Diarritorum*. 21 *Membro*. 22 *Lapda*. 23 *Bulla Regii*. 24 *Tennona*, al. *Tunnona*. 25 *Beneventum*. 26 *Simithu*. 27 *Thele*. 28 *Carpis*. 29 *Utimmira*. 30 *Miſua*. 31 *Duaſſedemſai*. 32 *Migripa*. 33 *Puppiana*. 34 *Puppita*. 35 *Urcita*. forſan, *Uci*. 36 *Giſipa*. 37 *Uzita*, *Uci*. 38 *Bonuſta*. 39 *Cicſita*. 40 *Neapolis*. 41 *Culcita*. 42 *Curubis*. 43 *Cœfala*. 44 *Bulla*. 45 *Clypea*. 46 *Meglapolis*. 47 *Timida Regia*. 48 *Zigga*. 49 *Semina*. 50 *Pariſium*. forſan, *Pertuſa*. 51 *Rucuma*. 52 *Talbora*. 53 *Tagarata*. 54 *Cellæ*. 55 *Uzippare*. 56 *Abbir. Germanicia*. 57 *Auſana*, al. *Auſapha*. 58 *Tabuca*. 59 *Maraggarita*, al. *Naraggarita*. 60 *Muzua*. 61 *Abitina*. 62 *Tituli*. 63 *Eudala*. 64 *Caſula*. 65 *Talana*. 66 *Vina*, al. *Viva*. 67 *Volita*, al. *Bolita*. 68 *Tunes*. 69 *Mattiana*. 70 *Hilta*. 71 *Zarna*. 72 *Cubdis*. 73 *Municipitogia*. 74 *Elibia*. 75 *Pia*. 76 *Tadua*. 77 *Uzala*. 78 *Tizzica*. 79 *Abora*. 80 *Libertina*. 81 *Scilita*. 82 *Abſaſalla*. 83 *Aradita*. 84 *Veri*. 85 *Ciumtuburbo*, which *Holſtenius* takes to be a corrupt Reading for *Civ. M. Tuburbo*. 86 *Ofita*. 87 *Municipium Canapium*. 88 *Nummula*. 89 *Tauracina*. 90 *Ucala*. 91 *Sinuara*. 92 *Succuba*. 93 *Horta* vel *Horrea*. 94 *Triſipellis*. 95 *Guitrambacaria*. 96 *Villa magna*. 97 *Tigimma*. 98 *Bolita*. 99 *Aga*. 100 *Cæcirita*. 101 *Tatia Montanenſis*. 102 *Mullita*. 103 *Duæ Senepſalitinæ*, al. *Selemſilita*. 104 *Eguge*. *Holſtenius* adds *Furni*, *Simingita*, *Aptunga*, and *Simidita*.

In Numidia.

1 *Cirta*, al. *Conſtantina*, the Civil Metropolis of this Province. 2 *Culla*. 3 *Ruſicade*. 4 *Vaga*, al. *Bagaia*. 5 *Lares*. 6 *Mileum rectius*, *Milevum*. 7 *Idicra*. 8 *Cuiculum*. 9 *Nobas Parſa*. 10 *Diana*. 11 *Gemellæ*. 12 *Cullicitanis*. *Holſtenius* reckons it the ſame with *Culcita*. 13 *Zama Regia*, the Royal Seat of King *Juba*. 14 *Lambiri*. 15 *Sinitu*. 16 *Aquæ Tibilitanæ*. 17 *Hippo Regius*. 18 *Tuburſica*. 19 *Calama*. 20 *Gaſauphala*, al. *Gazophyla*. 21 *Tigillaba*. 22 *Rotaria*. 23 *Tipaſa*. 24 *Tagaſte*. 25 *Thagura*, al. *Tagora*. 26 *Altaba*. 27 *Vegeſela*. 28 *Maſcula*. 29 *Macomades*. 30 *Tamugada*. 31 *Lambæſa*. 32 *Tabuda*. 33 *Bercera*. 34 *Municipium*, al. *Municipium Tullenſe*. 35 *Burca*. 36 *Vada*. 37 *Centenaria*. 38 *Niba*. 39 *Amphora*. 40 *Buconia*. 41 *Sugita*, al. *Siguita*. 42 *Putea*. 43 *Auſucurro*. 44 *Fuſſala*. 45 *Noba Barbara*. 46 *Idaſſa*. 47 *Monte*. 48 *Lamſorte*. 49 *Tididita*. 50 *Caſæ Medianæ*. 51 *Cethaquenſuſca*,

ſuſca, al. *Cathaquenſa*. 52 *Centuzia*. 53 *Noba Germania*. 54 *Suſicaſia*. 55 *Noba Cæſaris*. 56 *Vazarita*, al. *Bazarita*. 57 *Reſſana*. 58 *Auguriu̇m*. 59 *Octabum*. 60 *Gilba*. 61 *Mathara*. 62 *Midila*. 63 *Punentiana*. 64 *Metæ*. 65 *Cæſarea*. 66 *Nobaſina*. 67 *Cœlia*. 68 *Zattara*. 69 *Taraſſa*. 70 *Caſtellum Titulianum*. 71 *Girus Marcelli*. 72 *Sillita*, al. *Sillilita*. 73 *Hizirzada*. 74 *Ruſticiana*. 75 *Madaurus*. 76 *Buffada*. 77 *Siſtroniana*. 78 *Regium*. 79 *Tegla*. 80 *Caſæ Nigræ*. 81 *Tubunia*. 82 *Tigiſi*. 83 *Zabi*. 84 *Narangara*. 85 *Muſti*. 86 *Centurio*. 87 *Aquæ Novæ*. 88 *Tebeſte*. 89 *Babra*. 90 *Moxorita*. 91 *Tamogazia*. 92 *Reſpecta*. 93 *Legiæ*. 94 *Mazaca*. 95 *Ligura*. 96 *Turres Concordiæ*. 97 *Beleſaſe*. 98 *Gaudiabe*. 99 *Garbis*. 100 *Marculita*. 101 *Suaba*. 102 *Germania*. 103 *Vadeſita*. 104 *Naratcata*. 105 *Lamiggiza*. 106 *Lamiggiga*. 107 *Vagarmilita*, al. *Magarmelita*, & *Aquæ*. 108 *Turres Ammeniarum*. 109 *Mulia*. 110 *Oſpitum*. 111 *Vagada*, al. *Vaga*, *Vaiana* & *Bagaia*. 112 *Lamaſua*. 113 *Tacarata*. 114 *Ullita*, al. *Vallita*. 115 *Seleucia*, al. *Solentiana*. 116 *Vada*. 117 *Maximiana*. 118 *Zaradta*. 119 *Girus Taraſi*. 120 *Vicus Pacis*. 121 *Tabraca*. 122 *Tucca*. 123 *Quidia*. 124 *Caſtellum*. 125 *Milevi*. 126 *Gira*. 127 *Feſſeita*. 128 *Damatcore*. 129 *Mada*. 130 *Caſæ Calancæ*. 131 *Arſicarita*. 132 *Veſili*, rectius, *Vegeſela*. 133 *Villa Regia*. 134 *Legæ*. 135 *Lamfua*. 136 *Vagrava*. 137 *Gilba*. 138 *Sile*. 139 *Gauriana*. 140 *Forme*. 141 *Forme altera*. 142 *Fatum*. *Holſtenius* adds nine more, *Vicus Nigras*, *Druſiliana*, *Zuma* or *Summa*, *Conſtantia*, *Limata*, *Mutugenna*, *Zerta*, *Sululitta*, *Centuria*; but then he thinks, ſome others are twice repeated, as *Mileum & Milevis*, *Zabi & Zama*, *Vaga & Vagada*, *Veſeli & Vegeſela*, *Tamagazia & Tamaguda*, *Culſita & Cullifitanis*, *Germania & Nova Germania*: And *Quidia* belongs to *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*.

In Byzacena.

1 *Adrumetum*, the Civil Metropolis. 2 *Horrea Cælia*. 3 *Tagaſa*. 4 *Turreblandis*. 5 *Medianum*. 6 *Safes*. 7 *Afufenia*. 8 *Cillita*. 9 *Vicus Ateriæ*. 10 *Mibiarceſis*. 11 *Segermis*. 12 *Miriciana*. 13 *Gatiana*, al. *Garriana & Gratiana*. 14 *Suffetula*. 15 *Dicca*. 16 *Tices*. 17 *Ancuſa*. 18 *Maſciana*. 19 *Vadentiniana*, al. *Valentiniana*. 20 *Nara*. 21 *Seberiana*. 22 *Tubulbaca*. 23 *Midita*. 24 *Tambaia*. 25 *Jubeclidia*. 26 *Neptita*. 27 *Bubelia*. 28 *Cellæ*. 29 *Decoriana*. 30 *Putea*. 31 *Theuzita*. 32 *Mactaris*, al. *Matiris*. 33 *Thagamuta*. 34 *Autentum*. 35 *Abaradira*. 36 *Bana*. 37 *Octabium*. 38 *Octabum*. 39 *Aquiaba*. 40 *Hermiana*. 41 *Paradamium*, al. *Feradi minor*. 42 *Turris*. 43 *Taraza*. 44 *Crepedula*. 45 *Trofiniana*. 46 *Leptis minor*. 47 *Feradimaia*, al. *Feradi major*. 48 *Temuniana* vel *Temoniara*. 49 *Unizibira*. 50 *Tamalluma*. 51 *Muzuca*. 52 *Maſſimana*. 53 *Serbatiana*. 54 *Marazana*. 55 *Pederodiana*. 56 *Tuzurita*. 57 *Matarita*. 58 *Uſula*. 59 *Irpiniana*, al. *Hierpiniana*. 60 *Aquæ Albenſes*. 61 *Menepheſſa*. 62 *Capſe*. 63 *Acola*, al. *Aquila*. 64 *Tasbalte*. 65 *Municipia & Gerniſiæ*. 66 *Tizia*. 67 *Ruſpe*. 68 *Vararita*. 69 *Febianum*. 70 *Cebaradeſa*. 71 *Foratiana*. 72 *Boana*. 73 *Mimiana*. 74 *Telepte*. 75 *Præſidium*. 76 *Natio*. 77 *Maraguia*. 78 *Tetcitana*. 79 *Macriana*. 80 *Gurgaita*. 81 *Cululi*. 82 *Arſurita*, al. *Saſurita*. 83 *Tagarbala*. 84 *Aquæ Regiæ*. 85 *Quæſtoriana*. 86 *Carcabia*. 87 *Victoriana*. 88 *Materiana*. 89 *Hirina*. 90 *Gummi*. 91 *Morotheorita*. 92 *Ticualta*. 93 *Auzegera*. 94 *Gawarita*. 95 *Helia*. 96 *Talapte*. 97 *Limica*. 98 *Junca*. 99 *Thenæ*. 100 *Jubaltiana*. 101 *Tamaza*. 102 *Unuricopolis*. 103 *Aggir*, al. *Aggarita*. 104 *Bizacium*. 105 *Tapſus*. 106 *Madaſſumma*. 107 *Tyſurus*. 108 *Septimunicia*. 109 *Amurdaſa*. 110 *Abidus*, al. *Aviduvicus*. 111 *Benefenſis*. 112 *Dura*. 113 *Rufiana*. 114 *Forontoniana*. 115 *Egnatia*. 116 *Frontoniana*. 117 *Tegariata*. 118 *Aggarita*. 119 *Garriana*. 120 *Caſtrum*. 121 *Vite*, where *Victor Vitenſis* was Biſhop, who wrote the Hiſtory of the *Vandalick* Perſecution. 122 *Circina*. 123 *Præcauſa*. 124 *Cufruta*. 125 *Filace*. 126 *Oppenua*. 127 *Sublecte*. 128 *Cenculiana*. 129 *Suluiana*. 130 *Vaſſinaſſa*. 131 *Aquæ*. *Holſtenius* adds to theſe eight more, *Taphrura*, *Tiella*, or *Zella*, *Cabarſuſſis*, *Tyſurus*, *Tyſdros*, *Caſulæ Cariunæ*, *Dionyſiana*, *Aquæ*. But then he reckons ſome Names unneceſſarily repeated, as *Miriciana* and *Maracia*, which are but two Names for the ſame City; ſo *Boana* and *Bana*; and *Gurgaita* the ſame with *Gurges* in *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*.

In Mauritania Sitifenſis.

1 *Sitifi*. 2 *Tamalluma*. 3 *Acufida*. 4 *Ficus*. 5 *Lemfocta*. 6 *Perdices*. 7 *Tubuſuptus*. 8 *Tucca*. 9 *Leſuita*. 10 *Flumen Piſcis*. 11 *Privatum*. 12 *Gegita*. 13 *Satafa*. 14 *Cellæ*. 15 *Gadamuſa*. 16 *Zabi*. 17 *Aſſapha*. 18 *Vamella*. 19 *Suriſta*. 20 *Saldæ*. 21 *Horrea*. 22 *Aquæ Albæ*. 23 *Igilgili*, al. *Eguilguili*. 24 *Zarai*. 25 *Parthenium*. 26 *Marovana*. 27 *Cidamus*. 28 *Macri*. 29 *Tamagriſta*. 30 *Aræ*. 31 *Mozota*, al. *Mopta*. 32 *Hippa*. 33 *Tamaſcania*. 34 *Veſcetra*. 35 *Aſſuoremita*. 36 *Serteita*. 37 *Melicbuza*. 38 *Covium*. 39 *Oliva*. 40 *Equizotum*. 41 *Caſtellum*. 42 *Eminentiana*. 43 *Nobalicia*. 44 *Lemeleſi*, al. *Lemellenſe Caſtellum*. 45 *Socia*. 46 *Sallata*. *Holſtenius* adds three more, *Zabunia*, or *Mediane Zabuniorum*, *Vamaccora*, or *Bamaccora*, and *Macriana*; but rejects *Satafa*, as belonging rather to *Cæſarienſis*, where it is alſo repeated.

In Mauritania Cæſarienſis & Tingitana.

1 *Cæſarea*. 2 *Ala Miliarenſis*. 3 *Bilta*. 4 *Bacanaria*. 5 *Caputcillanum*, al. *Caputcellæ*. 6 *Ciſſæ*. 7 *Caſtellum Medianum*. 8 *Gurgites*. 9 *Columnæ*. 10 *Icoſium*. 11 *Florianum*. 12 *Minna*. 13 *Obba*. 14 *Maturbum*. 15 *Reperitanum*. 16 *Ruſubicari*. 17 *Saffara*, al. *Suffaſar*. 18 *Ruſtonium*. 19 *Tigis*. 20 *Aquæ*. 21 *Tabora*. 22 *Mamilla*. 23 *Sumula*, al. *Subbula*. 24 *Ubaba*. 25 *Tadama*. 26 *Zuchabari*. 27 *Tipaſa*. 28 *Ida*. 29 *Timiſi*. 30 *Taſacora*. 31 *Vagal*. 32 *Cartenna*. 33 *Gratianopolis*. 34 *Maſucaba*. 35 *Pamaria*. 36 *Lapidia*. 37 *Bulturia*. 38 *Malli-*

38 *Malliana.* 39 *Caſtellum Tetraportienſe.* 40 *Bapara.* 41 *Tamazuca.* 42 *Quidium.* 43 *Serta.* 44 *Ita.* 45 *Girumons.* 46 *Panatoria.* 47 *Suraoda.* 48 *Fidoloma.* 49 *Novæ.* 50 *Uſunada.* 51 *Flumenzerita.* 52 *Amaura.* 53 *Seſtum.* 54 *Taranamuſa.* 55 *Nasbinca.* 56 *Villanoba.* 57 *Vardimiſſa.* 58 *Catula.* 59 *Regium.* 60 *Vaudinum.* 61 *Capra.* 62 *Ruſucurrum.* 63 *Sfaſteria.* 64 *Timida.* 65 *Tabla.* 66 *Ruſgonia.* 67 *Leoſita.* 68 *Oppidum Novum.* 69 *Aquiſira.* 70 *Tigava.* 71 *Ruſadir.* 72 *Caſtellum.* 73 *Mutecita.* 74 *Albula.* 75 *Bita.* 76 *Mauriana.* 77 *Baliana.* 78 *Arſenaria.* 79 *Oborita.* 80 *Labdia.* 81 *Teniſſa.* 82 *Catabita.* 83 *Herpis.* 84 *Voncaria.* 85 *Gypſaria.* 86 *Tamadempſis.* 87 *Vagæ.* 88 *Tabadcara.* 89 *Catra* vel *Caſtra.* 90 *Elephantaria.* 91 *Garra.* 92 *Murconium.* 93 *Ida.* 94 *Thubunæ.* 95 *Oppinum.* 96 *Tuſcamia.* 97 *Gunagita.* 98 *Maxita.* 99 *Satafa.* 100 *Viſſalſa.* 101 *Adſinuada.* 102 *Caſtellum Ripenſe.* 103 *Numidia.* 104 *Tamuda.* 105 *Caltadria.* 106 *Subur.* 107 *Ambia.* 108 *Muruſtaga.* 109 *Fallaba.* 110 *Bida.* 111 *Manaccenſeri.* 112 *Tifilta*, al. *Tifilita.* 113 *Caſtellum minus.* 114 *Tigamibena.* 115 *Junca.* 116 *Corniculana.* 117 *Nobica.* 118 *Frontæ.* 119 *Caſtellum Jabaritanum.* 120 *Sereddeli.* 121 *Agna.* 122 *Macania.* 123 *Sitæ.* 124 *Altaba.* 125 *Benepota.* 126 *Caſtra Seberiana.* 127 *Sicceſi.* 128 *Flenucletu.* 129 *Metagonium.* 130 *Voncariana.* 131 *Maiuca.* 132 *Nabala.* 133 *Maura.* 134 *Tingaria.* But *Holſtenius* obſerves ſeven of theſe to be ſupernumerary; for *Zuchabar* and *Zubur* are but two Names for the ſame City. So *Ruſtonium* and *Ruſgonia* differ only in the manner of Pronunciation. *Timida* belongs to the Proconſular *Africk*; and *Labdia* is the ſame as *Lapda* in the ſaid Province. *Herpis* is put for *Irpiniana* in *Byzacena*; *Metagonium* for *Mutugenna* in *Numidia*; and *Macania* for *Macriana* in *Byzacena*.

In Tripolis.

1 *Leptis magna.* 2 *Sabrata.* 3 *Girba.* 4 *Oca.* 5 *Tacape.*

Beſides theſe Sees, which are thus aſſigned to their reſpective Provinces, *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* exhibits an Alphabetical Liſt of ſeveral others which he could not certainly fix in any Province. But *Holſtenius* in his critical Remarks upon them obſerves, that a great many of theſe are only Corruptions of the forementioned Names: And therefore I ſhall here give them with his Corrections, and ſome Additions that he has made to them from his own Obſervations.

A

1 Auruſalaina.
2 Advocata.
3 Aſenemſala, *which* Holſtenius *takes to be the ſame with* Senemſala *in* Africa Proconſularis.
4 Auſugabra.
5 Acemerina.
6 Ambura; *the ſame with* Amphora *in* Numidia.
7 Abbeza.
8 Azuga; *a Miſtake for* Vaga.
9 Anguia.
10 Abiſſa.
11 Apiſſana.
12 Aſſaba.
13 Aptuca, *a City in* Africa Proconſularis.
14 Amaccura, *leg.* Ab Accura.
15 Aquitana.
16 Auſuagiga.
17 Abbir, *the ſame with* Abbarita *in* Africa.
18 Aniuſa, *added by* Holſtenius.
19 Arena, *Idem.*

B

20 Bellulita.
21 Bazita.
22 Botriana.
23 Bamacora; *the ſame with* Vamacora *in* Mauritania Sitifenſis.
24 Burugia.
25 Bauzara.
26 Bofeta, *the ſame with* Buffad *in* Numidia.
27 Bazaridida ca.
28 Boſuta.
29 Bencenna.
30 Bartinifia.
31 Betagbara.
32 Bucara; *the ſame with* Boncara *in* Mauritania.
33 Buſlacena.
34 Bagai, *the ſame with* Vagada, *or* Vaiana *in* Numidia.
35 Badi. Holſtenius *adds three more.*
36 Bladia.
37 Burita.
38 Buronita.

C

39 Caſtrum Galbæ.
40 Cedias.
41 Chullabi.
42 Cibaliana.
43 Caſæ Silvanæ.
44 Cemerinianu.
45 Clia. *A Corruption of* Elia *or* Helia *in* Byzacena.
46 Cathaugura.
47 Cena.
48 Caviopitavora.
49 Cincarita.
50 Catagna; *the ſame with* Cataquenſa *in* Numidia.
51 Celerina.
52 Ceneſta; *the ſame with* Teveſta *in* Numidia.
53 Caſæ Baſtalenſes.
54 Caſæ Favenſes.
55 Cilibia.
56 Cebarſuſſa. *To theſe* Holſtenius *adds*
57 Cancopita.
58 Ceramuſſa.
59 Cæſariana.

D

60 Dydarita.
61 Druſiliana; *a City of* Numidia *twelve Miles from* Lares.
62 Druſita.
63 Drua.
64 Duſa.
65 Diaba; *the ſame with* Zaha *in* Mauritania Sitifenſis.

E

66 Evera; *the ſame with* Vera, *or* Veri *in* Africa Proconſularis.
67 Ediſtiana.
68 Enſis; *the ſame with* Oea *in* Tripoli.

F

69 Feradi major; *the ſame with* Feradimaia *in* Byzacena.
70 Furvi; *the ſame with* Furni *in* Africa Proconſularis.
71 Fiſſana; *perhaps* Fuſſala *in* Numidia.
72 a Furnis; *the ſame with* Furni.
73 Feliciana, *added by* Holſtenius.

G

74 Gitti. Municipium Antonino.
75 Gazabeta.
76 Gazabiana. *To which* Holſtenius *adds*
77 Gineſita.
78 Givirta *or* Girbis.
79 Guira; *if it be not the ſame with* Gira *in* Numidia, *mentioned before.*

80 Haba.

H

80 Haba.
81 Hoſpitia; *the ſame with* Oſpitum *in* Numidia.
82 Horrea Avicinenſis.
83 Haram Celtena; *the ſame as* Horrea Celia *in* Byzacena.

I

84 Iziriana.
85 Jucundiana.
86 Idura. Holſtenius *adds two more.*
87 Jacubaza.
88 Infita.

L

89 Limata.
90 Larita.
91 Lambia; *the ſame with* Lambeſa *in* Numidia.
92 Lucimagna.
93 Lelalita.
94 Liberalia.
95 Lacus Dulcis.
96 Luperciana, *mentioned in the Council under* Cyprian, *which Biſhop* Fell *thinks is the ſame with* Lupertina *in the Collation of* Carthage.

M

97 Magarmela; *the ſame with* Vagarmela *in* Numidia.
98 Medefeſſita; *the ſame as* Menefeſſa *in* Byzacena.
99 Meſarfelta.
100 Merferobita.
101 Munavilita.
102 Muſertita.
103 Mopta; *a City of* Mauritania Sitifenſis. Holſtenius *adds to theſe two more.*
104 Munaciana, *and*
105 Marcelliana, *and* Bazita, *whereof one* Lucidus *is named Biſhop in the Collation of* Carthage.

N

106 Niciba.
107 Nignenſis majores; *the ſame as* Nigrenſes, *or* Vicus Nigras *in* Numidia.
108 Nurcona; *the ſame with* Murconum *in* Mauritania Cæſarienſis.
109 Naſaita.
110 Nova Petra.
111 Nebbita.
112 Nizugubita.
113 Novaſumma; *the ſame with* Nobaſina *in* Numidia.

O

114 Onza.
115 Oria.

P

116 Putzia.
117 Pauzera.
118 Piſta. *To which* Holſtenius *adds* 3 *others.*
119 Piſita.
120 Piſidia, *a City of* Tripolis.
121 Petruſa, *a City in* Antonine's Itinerary *near* Carthage.

R

122 Refala; *the ſame as* Cephala *in* Africa Proconſularis.

S

123 Sinuara, *named before in* Africa Proconſular.
124 Serteita, *named before in* Cæſarea Sitifenſis.
125 Selemſila, *named above in* Africa.
126 Summa, Zuma *in* Numidia.
127 Sena.
128 Saya.
129 Simungita, Simingita, *or* Simina *in* Africa.
130 Sinnipſa.
131 Suboabbirita; *the ſame as* Zuchabari *in* Mauritania.
132 Simidica, *a City of* Africa Proconſular.
133 Siguita, *the ſame as* Sugita *in* Numidia.
134 Signi.
135 Sibida. Holſtenius *adds two more.*
136 Saturnica.
137 Salicina.

T

138 Tibuzabete.
139 Turuda.
140 Tunugaba.
141 Tignica.
142 Tabiacaira; *the ſame as* Tabadcara *in* Mauritania Cæſarienſis.
143 Taprura, Taphrura *near the Iſle of* Cercina *in* Byzacena.
144 Turris Alba.
145 Tala.
146 Tuburſus, Tuburſica *in* Numidia.
147 Tzella; *the ſame as* Zella *in* Byzacena.
148 Tibazabula.
149 Tabazaga.
150 Truvaſcanina.
151 Tuzumma; *the ſame as* Zumma *in* Numidia.
152 Tunuſuda.
153 Teſaniana.
154 Tuſdrus, *the ſame as* Tyſdros *in* Byzacena.
155 Tuzurita, *a City of* Mauritania Cæſarienſis.
156 Tiſedita.
157 Thybæ. Holſtenius *adds eight more.*
158 Tibari.
159 Talabrica.
160 Tubia.
11 Timitica.
162 Tiſilita.
163 Thasbalte.
164 Turuda.
165 Turuzi.

U

166 Vamaius, Uci majus *in* Africa Proconſular.
167 Vinariona.
168 Urugita.
169 Vartana.
170 Viſa.
171 Vaturba.
172 Verrono.
173 Venſana.
174 Voſeta, *al.* Viſica, *a City of* Mauritania.
175 Vinda.
176 Vuazia.
177 Utumma.
178 Victoriana, *named before in* Byzacena.
179 Vicus Cæſaris. Holſtenius *adds five more.*
180 Vallita, *al.* Ullita.
181 Vina; *the ſame as* Vica, *or* Vina Vicus *in* Africa.
182 Undeſia.
183 Uzittara.
184 Utinuna, *al.* Ucimina, *in* Africa.

Z

185 Zura.
186 Zella, *named before in* Byzacena.
187 Zelta. Holſtenius *thinks it ſhould be* Zerta *in* Numidia.
188 Zica.
189 Zabunia; *the ſame as* Medianæ Zabuniorum, *a Place near* Sitifi *in* Mauritania.

Holſtenius adds one more, called *Zenita* or *Zemta* in the Collation of *Carthage*, from whence the greateſt Part of the fore-mentioned Names are taken. But the Reader muſt not imagine, that ſo many Biſhopricks, as have been ſpecified in all the ſix *African* Provinces, and among theſe of uncertain Poſition, were all extant at one and the ſame time. For there never was quite five hundred at one time in *Africk*, as has been ſhewed before out of St. *Auſtin* and the *Notitia* publiſhed by *Sirmondus*, and yet here are above ſix hundred and eighty recounted by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* and *Holſtenius*, after ſixty are rejected, which are named twice over. So that from firſt to laſt there was a Change of almoſt two hundred Dioceſes in *Africk*, or at leaſt a Change in their Names: Which I note, leſt any ſhould think there were more Dioceſes than St. *Auſtin* mentions.

ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

ORIGINAL SOURCE

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Vol. I. 1908

To His Most Sacred Majesty,

GEORGE,

By the Grace of God King of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Humbly beg leave to lay at Your Majesty's Feet a Part of a larger Work, which was at first designed to promote those Great and Worthy Ends, which Your Majesty in Your Princely Wisdom, by your Royal Declarations, has lately thought fit to recommend to Your Universities and Clergy: That is, The Promotion of Christian Piety and Knowledge, and such Useful Learning, as may instill good Principles into the Minds of younger Students; upon which the Prosperity of Church and State will in this, and all succeeding Ages, so much depend. The Practice of the Primitive Ages of the Church, when reduced into one View, seems to be one of the most

proper

proper Means to effect theſe Honourable DESIGNS; And with that Conſideration I have hitherto proceeded in this Laborious Work, not without the Countenance and Approbation of many Worthy Men, and now hope to finiſh it under Your MAJESTY's Favour and Protection: Humbly beſeeching Almighty GOD to bleſs Your MAJESTY's Great Deſigns for the Good of this CHURCH and NATION, and the PROTESTANT INTEREST Abroad: Which is, and ever ſhall be, the hearty Prayer of

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt Loyal and

Obedient Subject,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

BOOK X.

Of the Inſtitution of the CATECHUMENS, and the Firſt Uſe of the CREEDS of the CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſeveral Names of CATECHUMENS, *and the Solemnity that was uſed in admitting them to that State in the* CHURCH. *Alſo of* CATECHISING, *and the Time of their Continuance in that Exerciſe.*

SECT. I. *The Reaſon of the Names,* Κατηχούμενοι, *Novitioli, Tyrones, &c.*

HAVING hitherto diſcourſed of the ſeveral Orders of Men which made up the Great Body of the Chriſtian Church, and of Churches themſelves, or Places of Worſhip, and of the ſeveral Diſtricts into which the Body diffuſive was divided, I come now to conſider the Service of the Church, or its Publick Offices and Exerciſes, by which Men were diſciplined and trained up to the Kingdom of Heaven. And to ſpeak of theſe in their moſt natural Order, it will be neceſſary to begin with the Inſtitution of the Catechumens, who were the loweſt Order of Men that had any Title to the common Name of Chriſtians, and their Inſtruction was the firſt Part of the Church's Service. Some Things relating to theſe, have been already touched upon in ſpeaking of the Difference between them and the πιστοὶ, or perfect Chriſtians, in the firſt Book [a]. The Office of the Catechiſt has alſo been conſidered, in ſpeaking of the inferior Orders [b] of the Clergy: And the Places of Inſtruction, or Catechetick Schools, have been treated of in the Account [c] that has been given of the antient Churches. So that omitting theſe Things, I ſhall only ſpeak in this Place of ſuch Rites and Cuſtoms as were obſerved in the Practice of the Church in training up the Catechumens, and preparing them for Baptiſm; premiſing ſomething concerning the ſeveral Names that were given them. They were called Catechumens from the *Greek* Words κατηχέω and κατήχησις, which ſignify in general the Inſtruction that is given in the firſt Elements or Rudiments of any Art or Science; but in a more reſtrained Eccleſiaſtical Senſe, the Inſtruction of Men in the firſt Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. Hence they had alſo the Names of *Novitioli*, and *Tyrones Dei*, new Soldiers of God, as we find in *Tertullian* [d] and St. *Auſtin* [e], becauſe they were juſt entring upon that State, which made them Soldiers of God and Candidates of eternal Life. They are ſometimes alſo called *Audientes*, Hearers, from their Inſtruction: Though that Name more commonly denotes one particular ſort of them, ſuch as were allowed to hear Sermons only, but not to partake in any of the Prayers of the Church; of which more hereafter in the following Chapter.

SECT. II *Impoſition of Hands uſed in the firſt Admiſſion of Catechumens.*

I have already obſerv'd in another place [f], That the Catechumens, by vertue of their Admiſſion into that State, had ſome Title to the common Name of Chriſtians alſo; being a Degree higher than either Heathens or Hereticks, though not yet conſummated by the Waters of Baptiſm. And upon this account, they were admitted to this State not without ſome Ceremony and Solemnity of Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. Which

[a] *Book* I. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 5. [b] *Book* III. *Chap.* x. [c] *Book* VIII. *Chap.* vii. *n.* 12. [d] Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. vi. [e] Auguſt. de Fide ad Catechumen. lib. 2. cap. 1. [f] *Book* I. *chap.* iii. *n.* 3.

appears

appears evidently from what [g] *Sulpicius Severus* says of St. *Martin*, That passing thro' a Town, where they were all Gentiles, and preaching Christ unto them, and working some Miracles, the whole Multitude profess'd to believe in Christ, and desired him to make them Christians: Upon which, he immediately, as he was in the Field, laid his Hands upon them, and made them Catechumens; saying to those that were about him, That it was not unreasonable to make Catechumens in the open Field, where Martyrs were used to be consecrated unto God. Where we may observe, that to make Christians, and to make Catechumens, is the same thing; and that this was done by Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Which Observation will help us to the right understanding of some obscure Canons and difficult Passages in antient Writers, which many learned Men have mistaken. In the first Council of *Arles* [h] there is a Canon, which orders Imposition of Hands to be given to such Gentiles as in time of Sickness express an Inclination to receive the Christian Faith. And in the Council of *Eliberis* [i] there is another Canon to the same purpose, which says, That if any Gentiles, who have led a tolerable moral Life, desire Imposition of Hands, they should have it allowed them, and be made Christians. Now the question is, What is here meant by Imposition of Hands, and being made Christians? *Mendoza* [k] and *Vossius* [l] take it for Imposition of Hands in Baptism; and *Albaspiny* [m] for Imposition of Hands in Confirmation. But the true Sense is no more than this Imposition of Hands used in making Catechumens, which in some sort gave Gentile Converts an immediate Title to be call'd Christians. And so I find *Valesius* [n], and *Basnage* [o], and *Cotelerius* [p], understand it. And this must be the meaning of that Passage in *Eusebius* [q], where speaking of *Constantine*'s Prayers in the Church of *Helenopolis* a little before his Death, he says, It was the same Church where he had first been admitted to Imposition of Hands and Prayer; that is, had been made a Catechumen with those Ceremonies: For no other Imposition of Hands can here be meant, since it is now agreed on all hands, that *Constantine* was not baptized till he had left *Helenopolis*, and was come to *Nicomedia*, a little before his Death. By this also we may understand the meaning of those Canons of the first general Council of *Constantinople* [r], and the Council of *Trullo* [s], where speaking of the Reception of such Hereticks as the *Eunomians*, and *Montanists*, and *Sabellians*, who had not been truly baptized, they say, They should be received only as Heathens, *viz.* The first Day be made Christians, the second Day Catechumens, the third Day be exorcised, then instructed for a considerable time in the Church, and at last baptized. Here being made Christians, evidently signifies no more than their being admitted to the lowest degree of Catechumens by Imposition of Hands and Prayer; after which came many intermediate Ceremonies of exorcising, catechising, *&c.* before they were made compleat Christians by Baptism. So that, as *Theodosius* observes [t] in one of his Laws, there were two sorts of Men that went by the Name of Christians, one called *Christiani ac Fideles*, Christians and Believers, and the other *Christiani & Catechumeni tantum*, Christians and Catechumens only: The former whereof were made so by Baptism, and the other by Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Which was a Ceremony used in most of the Offices of Religion, in Baptism, Confirmation, Ordination, Reconciling of Penitents, Consecration of Virgins, curing the Sick, and as we have now seen, particularly in the first Admission of new Converts to the State of Catechumens.

SECT. III. *And Consignation with the Sign of the Cross.*

HERE also, as in most other Offices of the Church, they used the Sign of the Cross. St. *Austin* joins all these Ceremonies together, when he says, That Catechumens [u] were in some sort sanctify'd by the Sign of Christ and Imposition of Hands and Prayer; meaning, that these Ceremonies were used as Indications of their forsaking the Gentile State, and becoming Retainers to the Christian Church. The same Rite is mentioned also by St. *Austin* in his Confessions [x] as used upon himself during his being a Catechumen; but whether he means there his first Admission, or his continuance in that State, is not certain. But in the Life of *Porphyrius* Bishop of *Gaza*, written by his Disciple *Marcus*, 'tis more plainly expressed: For that Author speaking of some new Converts, says, they fell down at the Bishop's Feet, and desired the Sign of Christ. Upon which, he signed them with the Sign [y] of the Cross, and made them Catechumens; commanding them to attend the Church. And so in a short time after, having first instructed them in the Catechism, he baptized them.

[g] Sulpic. Vit. Martin. Dialog. II. cap. v. p. 294. Cuncti catervatim ad genua B. Viri ruere cœperunt, fideliter postulantes, ut eos faceret Christianos. Nec cunctatus, in medio ut erat campo, cunctos, imposita universis manu, Catechumenos fecit; cum quidem ad nos conversus diceret, Non irrationabiliter in Campo Catechumenos fieri, ubi solerent Martyres consecrari. [h] Conc. Arelat. I. cap. vi. De his qui in Infirmitate credere volunt, placuit debere eis manum imponi. [i] Conc. Eliber. c. 39. Gentiles si in Infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi, si fuerit eorum exaliqua parte vita honesta, placuit eis manum imponi & fieri Christianos. [k] Mendoza Not. in Conc. Eliber. c. 39. [l] Voss. de Baptismo, Disp. 12. Thes. 5. p. 164. [m] Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Eliber. c. 39. [n] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 61. [o] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. an. 44. p. 482. [p] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apostol. lib. 7. c. 39. [q] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 61. Ἔνθα δὴ ᾧ πρῶτον τὸ διὰ χειροθεσίας ἐδέχθη. ᾗ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιεῖται αὐτοῦ χειροτονίας, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καθηγιασμένος, εἶτα τῇ τρίτῃ ἐξορκίζομεν αὐτοῦ· ᾗ τότε αὐτοῦ βαπτίζομεν. [r] Con. Constant. 1. c. 7. Ὡσέλληνας δεχόμεθα, ᾗ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιεῖμεν αὐτοὺ χειροτονίας, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καθηγιασμένους, εἶτα τῇ τρίτῃ ἐξορκίζομεν αὐτοὺ· ᾗ τότε αὐτοὺ βαπτίζομεν. [s] Conc. Trull. c. 95. Vide etiam Anonymi Epist. ad Martyrium Antiochenum, ap. Beveregii Pandect. T. 2. p. 100. [t] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 7. de Apostat. Leg. 2. [u] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. c. 26. Catechumenos secundùm quendam modum suum per Signum Christi & Orationem, manûs Impositione puto sanctificari. [x] Aug. Confess. lib. 1. c. 11. [y] Marcus Vit. Porphyr. Prociderunt ad ejus pedes petentes Christi Signaculum. Beatus vero cum eos signasset, & fecisset Catechumenos, dimisit illos in pace, præcipitos eis ut vacarent Sanctæ Ecclesiæ. Et paulo post, cum eos Catechesi instituisset, baptizavit.

THE

SECT. IV. *At what Age Perſons were admitted to be Catechumens.*

THE circumſtance of Time here mention'd, may lead us in the next place to enquire, At what Age Perſons were admitted Catechumens? And how long they continued in that State before they were baptiz'd? The firſt Queſtion concerns only Heathen Converts: For, as for the Children of believing Parents, it is certain, that as they were baptized in Infancy, ſo they were admitted Catechumens as ſoon as they were capable of Learning. But the Queſtion is more difficult about Heathens. Yet I find in one of the Reſolutions of *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that Children before they were ſeven Years old, might be Catechumens. For he puts the Queſtion thus; Suppoſe a Child of ſeven Years old, [*s*] or a Man that is a Catechumen, be preſent at the Oblation, and eat of the Euchariſt; What ſhall be done in this caſe? And the Anſwer is, Let him be baptiz'd. By which it is plain, he ſpeaks of Heathen Children, and not of Chriſtians, who received not only Baptiſm, but the Euchariſt in their Infancy, by the Rule and Cuſtom of the Church then prevailing, as will be ſhew'd in their proper Place.

SECT. V. *How long they continued in this State.*

AS to the other Point, How long they were to continue Catechumens: There was no certain General Rule fix'd about that: But the Practice vary'd according to the difference of Times and Places, or the readineſs and proficiency of the Catechumens themſelves. In the Apoſtolical Age and the firſt Plantation of the Church, we never read of any long Interval between Mens firſt Converſion and their Baptiſm. The Hiſtory of *Cornelius*, and the *Ethiopian* Eunuch, and *Lydia*, and the Jaylor of *Philippi*, in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, to mention no more, are ſufficient Evidence that in thoſe Days Catechiſing and Baptiſm immediately accompanied one another. And there were good Reaſons for it: The Infant-State of the Church, and the Zeal of the Converts both requir'd it. But in After-ages the Church found it neceſſary to lengthen this Term of Probation, leſt an over-haſty Admiſſion of Perſons to Baptiſm ſhould either fill the Church with vicious Men, or make greater numbers of Renegado's and Apoſtates in time of Perſecution. For this reaſon the Council of *Eliberis* [*t*] appointed two Years Tryal for new Converts, that if in that time they appeared to be Men of a good Converſation, they might then be allowed the Favour of Baptiſm. *Juſtinian* in one of his Novels, [*u*] appointed the ſame Term for *Samaritans*, becauſe it was found by Experience, that they were wont frequently to relapſe to their old Religion again. The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions [*x*] lengthen the Term to three Years, but with this Limitation, that if Men were very diligent and zealous, they might be admitted ſooner; becauſe it was not Length of Time, but Men's Converſation and Behaviour, that was to be regarded in this caſe. The Council of *Agde*, *Anno* 506, reduced the time for *Jewiſh* Converts [*y*] to eight Months, giving the ſame Reaſon, why they made the time of Probation ſo long, becauſe they are often found to be perfidious and returned to their own Vomit again. In other Places the time is thought by ſome to be limited to the forty Days of *Lent*; for ſo ſome learned Men conjecture from a Paſſage or two in St. *Jerom* and *Cyril*'s Catechetick Diſcourſes. St. *Jerom* [*z*] ſays, it was cuſtomary in his Time to ſpend forty Days in teaching Catechumens the Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity. And St. *Cyril* ſeems to imply as much, when he asks the Catechumens, Why they ſhould not think it reaſonable [*a*] to ſpend forty Days upon their Souls, who had ſpent ſo many Years upon their own Vanities and the World? The time of *Lent* is not expreſly mentioned in either Place, but it ſeems to be intended, becauſe in thoſe Ages *Eaſter* was the general time of Baptizing over all the World. But I underſtand this only of the ſtrict and concluding Part of this Exerciſe. In ſome caſes the Term of catechizing was reduced to a yet much ſhorter compaſs, as in caſe of extreme Sickneſs, or the general Converſion of whole Nations. *Socrates* obſerves, that in the Converſion of the *Burgundians*, the *French* Biſhop that converted them, only took ſeven Days time to catechize them, [*b*] and on the eighth Day baptized them. So in caſe of deſperate Sickneſs, the Catechumens were immediately baptiz'd with Clinick Baptiſm; as appears from the foremention'd Council of *Agde*, which though it preſcribes eight Months time for the Catechizing of *Jews*, yet in caſe of extreme Danger, [*c*] if their Life was deſpaired of, it allows them to be baptized at any time within the Term preſcribed. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [*d*], in one of his Canonical Epiſtles, gives the ſame Orders concerning Catechumens who had lapſed, and were for their Crimes expelled the Church, that notwithſtanding this, they ſhould be baptized at the Hour of Death. St. *Baſil* takes Notice, that *Arintheus* the *Roman* Conſul [*e*] being converted by his Wife, and in danger of Death, was immediately baptized. And there are infinite numbers of ſuch Examples to be met with in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, to verify the general Obſervation which

[*s*] Timoth. Alex. Reſp. Canon. Q. 1. [*t*] Conc. Eliber. c. 42. Eos qui ad fidem primam Credulitatis accedunt, ſi bonæ fuerint Converſationis, intra biennium placuit ad Baptiſmi gratiam admitti. [*u*] Juſtin. Novel. 144. Per duos primum annos in Fide inſtituantur, & pro viribus Scripturas ediſcant, tuncque demum Sacro Redemptionis offerantur Baptiſmati. [*x*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 32. ὁ μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι, τρία ἔτη κατηχείσθω, &c. [*y*] Conc. Agathen. c. 25. Judæi, quorum perfidia frequenter ad vomitum redit, ſi ad Legem Catholicam venire voluerint, octo menſes inter Catechumenos Eccleſiæ limen introeant, &c. [*z*] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 4. Conſuetudo apud nos ejuſmodi eſt, ut iis qui baptizandi ſunt per Quadraginta dies publice tradamus ſanctam & adorandam Trinitatem. [*a*] Cyril. Catech. 1. n. 5. p. 18. [*b*] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 30. [*c*] Conc. Agathen. c. 25. Quod ſi caſu aliquo periculum infirmitatis intra præſcriptum tempus incurrerint, & deſperati fuerint, baptizentur. [*d*] Cyril. Ep. Canon. ad Epiſc. Libyæ & Pentapol. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Tom. 2. p. 178. [*e*] Baſil. Ep. 5.

Epiphanius [*f*] makes upon the Practice of the Church, that ſuch Catechumens as were at the point to die, were always, in hopes of the Reſurrection, admitted to Baptiſm before their Death.

SECT. VI. *The Subſtance of the ancient Catechiſms, and Method of Inſtruction.*

BUT excepting theſe Caſes, a longer Time was generally thought neceſſary to diſcipline and train Men up gradually for Baptiſm; partly for the Reaſon already mentioned, that ſome juſt Experiment might be made of their Converſation during that time; and partly to inſtruct them by degrees, firſt in the more common Principles of Religion, to wean them from their former Errors, and then in the more recondite and myſterious Articles of the Chriſtian Faith: Upon which account they uſually began their Diſcourſes with the Doctrine of Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins, and the neceſſity of good Works, and the Nature and Uſe of Baptiſm, by which the Catechumens were taught, how they were to renounce the Devil and his Works, and enter into a new Covenant with God. Then followed the Explication of the ſeveral Articles of the Creed, to which ſome added the Nature and Immortality of the Soul, and an Account of the Canonical Books of Scripture; which is the Subſtance and Method of St. *Cyril*'s eighteen famous Diſcourſes to the Catechumens. The Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* (*g*) preſcribes theſe ſeveral Heads of Inſtruction, Let the Catechumens be taught before Baptiſm the Knowledge of the Father unbegotten, the Knowledge of his only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit; let him learn the Order of the World's Creation, and Series of Divine Providence, and the different ſorts of Legiſlation; let him be taught, why the World, and Man, the Citizen of the World, were made; let him be inſtructed about his own Nature, to underſtand for what End he himſelf was made; let him be informed how God puniſhed the Wicked with Water and Fire, and crowned his Saints with Glory in every Generation, *viz. Seth*, *Enos*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and his Poſterity, *Melchiſedech*, *Job*, *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Caleb*, and *Phineas* the Prieſt, and the Saints of every Age; let him alſo be taught, how the Providence of God never forſook Mankind, but called them at ſundry times from Error and Vanity to the Knowledge of the Truth, reducing them from Slavery and Impiety to Liberty and Godlineſs, from Iniquity to Righteouſneſs, and from everlaſting Death to eternal Life. After theſe, he muſt learn the Doctrine of Chriſt's Incarnation, his Paſſion, his Reſurrection and Aſſumption; and what it is to renounce the Devil, and enter into Covenant with Chriſt. Theſe were the chief heads of the ancient Catechiſms before Baptiſm: In which it is obſervable, there is no mention made of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, or Confirmation, becauſe theſe were not allowed to Catechumens till after Baptiſm: And the Inſtruction upon the former Points, was not given all at once, but by certain degrees, as the Diſcipline of the Church then required, which divided the Catechumens into ſeveral diſtinct Orders or Claſſes, and exerciſed them gradually, according to the Difference of their Stations: Of which I ſhall give a more particular Account in the following Chapter.

SECT. VII. *The Catechumens allowed to read the Scriptures.*

HERE I ſhall only remark farther, That they allowed 'em to read ſome Portions of the Scriptures; for the Moral and Hiſtorical Books were thought moſt proper at firſt for their Inſtruction; and the chief Uſe of thoſe which are now called Apocryphal Books, was then to inſtill Moral Precepts into the Catechumens. Upon this account *Athanaſius* [*h*] ſays, Though they were not Canonical Books, as the reſt of the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; yet they were ſuch as were appointed to be read by thoſe who were new Proſelytes, and deſirous to be inſtructed in the Ways of Godlineſs: Such were *The Wiſdom of Solomon*, *The Wiſdom of Sirach*, *Eſther*, *Judith*, *Tobit*; to which he alſo adds, the Book called, *The Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, and *The Shepherd*, that is, *Hermas Paſtor*. The Author [*i*] of the *Synopſis of the Holy Scripture* alſo, under the Name of *Athanaſius*, has much the ſame Obſervation, That beſides the Canonical Books there were other Books of the *Old Teſtament*, which were not in the Canon, but only read to or by the Catechumens. But this was not allowed in all Churches: For it ſeems to have been otherwiſe in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, at the time when *Cyril* [*k*] wrote his Catechetical Diſcourſes. For he forbids his Catechumens to read all Apocryphal Books whatſoever, and charges them to read thoſe Books only which were ſecurely read in the Church, *viz.* thoſe Books which the Apoſtles and ancient Biſhops (who were wiſer than the Catechumens) had handed down to them. Then he ſpecifies particularly the Canonical Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, all the ſame as are now in our Bibles, except the *Revelations*, becauſe I preſume it was not then read in the Church: And at laſt concludes with this Charge to the Catechumens, That they ſhould not read any other Books privately by themſelves, which were not read publickly in the Church. From

[*f*] Epiphan. Hær. 28. Cerinthian. n. 6. [*g*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 39. [*h*] Athan. Ep. Heortaſtic. Tom. 2. p. 39. Ἔστιν δὲ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν· ἃ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλως παλαίων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις, καὶ βουλομένοις καθηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· σοφία Σολομῶνος, &c. καὶ διδαχὴ καλουμένη, ἥ τε Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ ποιμήν. [*i*] Athan. Synopſ. Scriptur. Tom. 2. p. 55. ἐκτὸς τῶν κανονιζομένων ἕτερα βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, ἃ κανονιζόμενα μέν, ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχουμένοις. [*k*] Cyril. Catech. 4. n. 22. p. 66. Περὶ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινὸν, &c. Ibid. p. 67. ὅσα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ σὺ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε.

whence

whence I conclude, that as the Books which we now call Apocryphal were not much read in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, ſo neither were they allowed to be read by the Catechumens, tho' they were read both publickly and privately in many other Churches. I know ſome learned Perſons are of a different Opinion, and think that *Cyril* by Apocryphal Books, means not thoſe which we now call Apocryphal, *viz. Wiſdom*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, &c. but other pernicious and heretical Books, which were abſolutely reprobated and forbidden to all Chriſtians. But if that had been his Meaning, he would not have ſaid, that the Canonical Books were the only Books that were read in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, but would have diſtinguiſh'd, as other Writers in other Churches do, between Canonical, Eccleſiaſtical, and Apocryphal Books, and have intimated, that the Eccleſiaſtical Books were ſuch as were allow'd to be read in the Church, as well as the Canonical, for Moral Inſtruction, though not to confirm Articles of Faith. Whereas he ſays nothing of this, but the expreſs contrary, That none but the Canonical Books were read publickly in the Church; nor were any other to be read privately by the Catechumens. Which, at leaſt, muſt mean thus much, that in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, there was a different Cuſtom from ſome other Churches; and that though in ſome Churches the Catechumens were allow'd to read both the Canonical Books and the Apocryphal, or as others call them, the Eccleſiaſtical; yet in the Church of *Jeruſalem* they were allow'd to read only the Canonical Scriptures, and no other. However it is obſervable, that no Church anciently deny'd any Order of Chriſtians the Uſe of the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, ſince even the Catechumens themſelves, who were but an imperfect ſort of Chriſtians, were exhorted and commanded to read the Canonical Books in all Churches, and the Apocryphal Books in ſome Churches for Moral Inſtruction. Nay, if we may believe *Bede*, they were obliged to get ſome of the holy Scriptures by heart, as a part of their Exerciſe and Diſcipline, before they were baptiz'd. For he commends it as a laudable Cuſtom in the Ancient Church [*l*], that ſuch as were to be Catechiz'd and Baptiz'd, were taught the beginnings of the four Goſpels, and the Intent and Order of them, at the time when the Ceremony of opening their Ears was ſolemnly uſed; that they might know and remember, what and how many thoſe Books were, from whence they were to be inſtructed in the true Faith. So far were they from locking up the Scriptures from any Order of Men in an unknown Tongue, that they thought them uſeful and inſtructive to the meaneſt Capacities; according to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Thy Word giveth Light and Underſtanding to the Simple*. And therefore they allowed them to be Vulgarly read, not only by the more perfect and complete Chriſtians, but even by the very Catechumens; among whom, as St. *Auſtin* and others have obſerv'd, thoſe were commonly the moſt tractable and the beſt Proficients, who were the moſt converſant in the holy Scriptures. For which Reaſon they made it one Part of the Catechumens Care, to exerciſe themſelves in the Knowledge of them, and did not then fear that Men ſhould turn Hereticks by being acquainted with the Word of Truth.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſeveral Claſſes or Degrees of Catechumens, and the gradual Exerciſes and Diſcipline of every Order.

SECT. I. *Four Orders or Degrees of Catechumens among the Ancients.*

THAT there were different Orders or Degrees of Catechumens in all ſuch Churches, as kept to the Term of Catechizing for two or three Years together, is acknowledged on all hands by learned Men: But what was the preciſe Number of theſe Orders, is not ſo certainly agreed. The *Greek* Expoſitors of the ancient Canons uſually make but two ſorts, the ἀτελέσεροι and the τελειώτεροι, the Imperfect and the Perfect; the Beginners and the Proficients, who were the immediate Candidates of Baptiſm. So *Balzamon* [*a*] and *Zonaras* [*b*], *Alexius Ariſtenus* [*c*] and *Blaſtares*. And in this Opinion they are followed by many Modern Writers. Dr. *Cave* [*d*] makes no other Diſtinction but this, of the Perfect and Imperfect; and ſays of the Imperfect, that they were as yet accounted Heathens; which, for the Reaſons given in the foregoing Chapter, I cannot ſubſcribe to: For I have ſhew'd, that from the time that they receiv'd Impoſition of Hands to make them Catechumens, they were always both called and accounted Chriſtians, though but in an imperfect State, till they were completed by Baptiſm. Biſhop *Beveridge* [*e*] makes but two ſorts of Catechumens likewiſe, the ἀκροώμενοι, and the εὐχόμενοι, or γονυκλίνοντες, that is, The Hearers, who only ſtay'd to hear the Sermon and the Scriptures read, and the Kneelers or Subſtra-

[*l*] Bed. de Tabernac. Lib. 2. c. 13. Tom. 4. p. 887. Pulcher in ipſa Eccleſia mos antiquitus inolevit, ut his qui catechizandi, & Chriſtianis ſunt Sacramentis initiandi, quatuor Evangeliorum principia recitentur, ac de Figuris & Ordine eorum in apertione aurium ſuarum ſolenniter erudirentur: quo ſciant exinde ac meminerint, qui & quot ſint Libri, quorum verbis maxime in fide veritatis debeant erudiri. [*a*] Balzam. Not in Conc. Neocæſar. c. 5. [*b*] Zonaras, ibid. [*c*] Alex. Ariſten. in Conc. Ancyr. c. 14. [*d*] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Lib. 1. c. 8. p. 211. [*e*] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Nicen. c. 14.

tors, who ſtay'd to receive the Miniſters Prayers and Benediction alſo. *Suicerus* [f] and *Baſnage* [g] go much the ſame way, dividing them into two Claſſes, the *Audientes* and *Competentes*. *Maldonate* [h] adds to theſe a third Claſs, which he calls *Catechumeni Pœnitentes*, ſuch Catechumens as were under the Diſcipline and Cenſures of the Church. Cardinal *Bona* [i] augments the Number to four Kinds, *viz.* The *Audientes*, *Genuflectentes*, *Competentes*, and *Electi*. And indeed it appears, that there were four Kinds of them; yet not exactly the ſame as *Bona* mentions. For the *Competentes* and *Electi* were but one and the ſame Order. But there was another Order antecedent to all theſe, which none of theſe Writers mention, which we may call the ἐξωθούμενοι, that is, ſuch Catechumens as were inſtructed privately, and without doors, before they were allow'd to enter the Church.

SECT. II. *Firſt the ἐξωθούμενοι, or Catechumens inſtructed privately without the Church.*

THAT there was ſuch an Order or Degree of Catechumens as this, is evidently deduced from one of the Canons of the Council of *Neocæſarea*, which ſpeaks of ſeveral ſorts of Catechumens, and this among the reſt, in theſe Words; If any Catechumen, who [k] enters the Church, and ſtands amongſt any Order of Catechumens there, be found guilty of Sin; if he be a Kneeler, let him become an Hearer, provided he ſin no more: But if he ſin while he is an Hearer, let him be caſt out of the Church. Here it ſeems pretty evident, that there was an Order of Catechumens not allowed to enter the Church, to which ſuch of the ſuperior Orders as had offended, were to be degraded by way of Puniſhment, which the Canon calls Expulſion from the Church. Which does not mean, utterly caſting them off as Heathens again, but only reducing them to that State in which they were before, when they firſt received Impoſition of Hands to make them Catechumens; which was a State of private Inſtruction, before they were allowed to enter the Church. *Maldonate* calls theſe, The Order of Penitents among the Catechumens; and *Balzamon* and *Zonaras*, on this Canon, ſtyle 'em Mourners; which expreſſes ſomething of this Order, but not the whole: For there were Catechumens privately inſtructed out of the Church, who were not properly Mourners or Penitents, as Perſons caſt out of the Church by any Cenſure, but they were ſuch as never had yet been in the Church, but were kept at a Diſtance for ſome Time from that Privilege, to make 'em the more eager and deſirous of it. And till we can find a better Name for theſe, I call them from this Canon, the ἐξωθούμενοι, which is a general Name, that will comprehend both this loweſt Order of Catechumens privately inſtructed out of the Church, and alſo ſuch Delinquents of the ſuperior Orders as were reduced back again to it by way of Puniſhment for their Faults.

SECT. III. *Secondly, The ἀκροώμενοι,* Audientes *or Hearers.*

THE next Degree above theſe, were the Hearers, which the *Greeks* call ἀκροώμενοι, and the *Latins Audientes*. Who were ſo called from their being admitted to hear Sermons and the Scriptures read in the Church, but they were not allowed to ſtay any of the Prayers, no, not ſo much as thoſe that were made over the reſt of the Catechumens, or Energumens, or Penitents; but before thoſe began, immediately after Sermon, at the Word of Command then ſolemnly uſed, *Ne quis Audientium*, Let none of the Hearers be preſent, they were to depart the Church. As appears from the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [l], who orders the Deacon to diſmiſs the Hearers and Unbelievers with that ſolemn Form of Words, before the *Liturgy* or Prayers of the Church began. Upon which account the Council of *Nice* [m] calls them, ἀκροωμένους μόνον, Hearers only, to diſtinguiſh them from ſuch Catechumens as might not only hear Sermons, but alſo attend ſome particular Prayers of the Church, that were eſpecially offered up for them, whilſt they were kneeling upon their Knees, and waiting for Impoſition of Hands, and the Miniſter's Benediction.

SECT. IV. *Thirdly, The γονυκλίνοντες, or* Genuflectentes, *The Kneelers.*

HENCE aroſe a third ſort of Catechumens, which the *Greeks* call γονυκλίνοντες, and the *Latins*, *Genuflectentes* and *Proſtrati*, that is, Kneelers or Proſtrators. Theſe ſometimes have the Name of Catechumens more ſpecially appropriated to them, as in the forementioned Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which runs in theſe Terms, "It is decreed by the great "and holy Synod concerning the Catechumens "that have lapſed, that they for three Years "ſhall be Hearers only; and after that, pray "with the Catechumens again." Hence that Part of the *Liturgy* which reſpected them, was particularly called Κατηχουμένων Εὐχή, The Prayer of the Catechumens, which came immediately after the Biſhop's Sermon, together with the Prayers of the Energumens and Penitents, as we learn from the Council of *Laodicea* [n], which orders the Method of them: And the Forms of theſe Prayers are recited both in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [o] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [p], which I do not here inſert, becauſe they will have a more proper Place in the *Liturgy* of the Church. Together with theſe Prayers they always received Impoſition of Hands, kneeling upon their Knees: Whence the Council of *Neocæſarea* [q] and others diſtinguiſh them by the Name of

[f] Suicer. Theſaur. T. 2. p. 72. [g] Baſnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 484. [h] Maldonat. de Baptiſm. c. 1. p. 79. [i] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 4. [k] Conc. Neocæſ. c. 5. κατηχούμενος, ἐὰν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων τάξει σταθῇ ἕτερος ὑμπρόσθεν, ἐὰν μὲ γόνυ κλίνον, ἀκροάσθω, μηκέτι ἀμπρόσθεν· ἐὰν δ' ἀκροώμενος ἔτι ἁμάρτανε, ἀκροάσθω. [l] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 5. [m] Conc. Nicen. Can. 14. [n] Conc. Laod. c. 19. [o] Lib. 8. c. 6. [p] Chryſoſt. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. [q] Conc. Neocæſar. c. 5.

γονυκλίνοντες,

γονυκλίνοντες, The Kneelers; the Prayer is called *Oratio Impositionis Manûs*, The Prayer of Imposition of Hands, which was frequently repeated both in the publick and private Exercises of the Catechumens.

SECT. V. *Fourthly, The* Competentes *and* Electi; *the immediate Candidates of Baptism.*

ABOVE these was a fourth Order, which the *Greeks* call Βαπτιζόμενοι and φωτιζόμενοι; and the *Latins*, *Competentes* and *Electi*. All which Words are used among the Ancients to denote the immediate Candidates of Baptism, or such as gave in their Names to the Bishop, signifying their Desire to be baptized the next approaching Festival. Their petitioning for this Favour, gave them the Name of *Competentes*. And from the Bishop's Examination and Approbation or Choice of them, they were styled *Electi*. St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* in his *Catechetick Discourses* [r] always terms them φωτιζόμενοι, which though it frequently signifies Persons already baptiz'd, or illuminated by the Sacrament of Baptism; yet in his Style, it denotes Persons yet to be baptized, or such as had only the Illumination of Catechetical Instruction antecedent to Baptism. And so the Name Βαπτιζόμενοι, in the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* [s] is taken, not for Persons actually baptized, but for those Catechumens who were desirous to be baptized. Whence in the same Author, the Prayer that is said over the Catechumens in the Church, is call'd Βαπτιζομένων and φωτιζομένων εὐχή, The Prayer for those that were about to be illuminated and baptized. Which also shews, that the *Substrati* and *Competentes* were different Orders or Degres of the Catechumens, (contrary to what Mr. *Basnage* and some others have asserted) since different Prayers, at different Times in the Church, were offer'd up for them.

SECT. VI. *How this last Order were particularly Disciplined and prepared for Baptism.*

THESE *Competentes*, as I said, were so called from their petitioning for the Sacrament of Baptism, as we learn from St. *Austin*, who often gives this Reason [t] for it, telling us, That upon the approach of the *Easter*-Festival, it was usual for the Catechumens to give in their Names in order to be baptized, whence they were called *Competentes*, Petitioners or Candidates for Baptism. When their Names were given in, and their Petition accepted, then both they and their Sponsors were registred in the Books of the Church; as is noted by the Author under the Name of *Dionysius* [u] the *Areopagite*, who brings in the Bishop commanding the Priests to register both the Catechumen and his Sponsor or Susceptor together. And in the Council of *Constantinople*, under *Mennas*, [x] there is mention made of an Officer in the Church particularly appointed to this Business, one whose appropriated Office it was to register the Names of those who offered and presented themselves to Baptism. These Registers were called their Diptychs; but as they had several sorts of Diptychs, some for the Dead and some for the Living, these were particularly called Δίπτυχα ζώντων, the Diptychs or Books of the Living, as is observed by *Pachymeres* [y] in his Comment upon the foresaid Place of *Dionysius*.

SECT. VII. *Partly by frequent Examinations, in which such as approved themselves had the Name of* Electi.

WHEN their Names were thus registred, then followed a Scrutiny or Examination of their Proficiency under the preceding Stages of the catechetical Exercises. And this was often repeated before Baptism, according to the Direction given in this case by the Fourth Council [z] of *Carthage*. They that were approved upon such Examination, were sometimes called *Electi*, the Chosen, as we find in the Decrees of Pope *Leo Magnus*, who speaks of them under this Appellation [a], because they were now accepted and chosen as Persons qualified for Baptism at the next approaching Festivals of *Easter* or *Whitsuntide*, which were the usual times of Baptizing. Cardinal *Bona* makes these *Electi* a distinct Order from the *Competentes*: But there seems to be no ground for such a Distinction, because their Exercises were all the same henceforward till they arrived at Baptism.

SECT. VIII. *Partly by Exorcism, accompanied with Imposition of Hands, and the Sign of the Cross, and Insufflation.*

FOR as they were all examined, so they were all exorcised alike for twenty Days before Baptism. This Custom is often mentioned by the ancient Writers, both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church. St. *Austin* more than once speaks of it as the common Practice of the *African* Church; joyning Examination [b], Catechizing and Exorcism together, and telling us that the Fire of Exorcism, as his Phrase is, always preceded Baptism. We learn the same from *Cyprian* and the Council of *Carthage*, held under him about the Validity of Heretical Baptism: For there it is often said, That Hereticks [c] and Schismaticks were first to be Exorcized with Im-

[r] Cyril. Catech. 1, 2, &c. [s] Constit. Apost. Lib. 8. c. 8. [t] Aug. de Fide & Oper. c. 6. Cum Fontis illius Sacramenta peteremus, atque ab hoc Competentes etiam vocaremur, &c. Id. de Cura pro mortuis, c. 12. Pascha appropinquante dedit nomen inter alios Competentes. [u] Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. c. 2. n. 4. p. 216. Ἱεράρχης ὑπαγορεύει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἀνάδοχον. [x] Conc. Constant. sub Menna. Act. 5. Tom. 5. p. 224. ὁ τῆς προσηγορείας τῶν εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα προσιόντων ἐξηγούμενον τελαγμένον. [y] Pachymer. in Dionys. p. 234. [z] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 84. Crebra Examinatione Baptismum percipiant. [a] Leo Ep. 4. ad Episc. Siculos, c. 5. In baptizandis in Ecclesia Electis, hæc duo tempora, de quibus locuti sumus, esse legitima, &c. [b] Aug. in Psal. 65. Post ignem Exorcismi venitur ad Baptismum. Id de Fide & Oper. c. 6. Suis nominibus datis, Abstinentia, Jejuniis, Exorcismisque purgantur. —— Ipsis diebus quibus Catechizantur, Exorcizantur, Scrutantur. [c] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cyprian. p. 232. Censeo omnes Hæreticos & Schismaticos, qui ad Catholicam Ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi Exorcizati & Baptizati prius fuerint. Ib. p. 237. Primo per manus Impositionem in Exorcismo, secundo per Baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire.

position

position of Hands, and then baptized, before they could be admitted as true Members of the Catholick Church. And we learn from thence also, that the Practice was so universal that the Hereticks themselves did not omit it, though it was esteemed of no Effect by the Catholicks when done by them, but looked upon only as a Mock-Practice, where one Demoniack [d] Exorcized another, as *Cæcilius à Bilta* phrases it in the same Council. *Ferrandus Diaconus* [e] also speaks of this Exorcism, which immediately followed the Scrutiny or Examination of the *Competentes*. And the like Testimonies may be seen in *Petrus Chrysologus* [f] and the second Council of *Bracara* [g] for the Practice of the *Italick* and *Spanish* Churches. In the last of which, it is particularly specified that these Exorcisms shall continue for twenty Days before Baptism. *Gennadius* of *Marseilles* [h] testifies not only for the *French* Church, but the Universal Church throughout the whole World, that Exorcisms and Exsufflations were uniformly used both to Infants and Adult Persons, before they were admitted to the Sacrament of Regeneration and Fountain of Life. And for the *Greek* Church in particular (though the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, for a peculiar Reason, makes no mention of this Ceremony, because he represents the Business of an Exorcist not as a standing and ordinary Office in the Church, but as an extraordinary and miraculous Gift of God [i], as it was in the Age of the Apostles;) yet *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* are undeniable Evidences of the Practice: For *Nazianzen*, in his Oration upon Baptism, [k] thus bespeaks his Catechumen: Despise not thou the Medicinal Office of Exorcism, neither grow weary of the length or continuance of it; for it is a proper Tryal of a Man's Sincerity in coming to the Grace of Baptism. *Cyril* in like manner [l] bids his Catechumen to receive Exorcism with diligence in the time of catechizing. For whether it was Insufflation or Exorcism, it was to be esteemed salutary to the Soul; for as mixed Metals could not be purged without Fire, so neither could the Soul be purged without Exorcisms, which were Divine, and gathered out of the Holy Scriptures. He adds a little after, That the Exorcists did thus, by the Power of the Holy Spirit, cast a Terror upon the Evil Spirit, and make him fly from the Soul, and leave it in a salutary State and Hope of Eternal Life. Where we may observe two Things that give great Light in this Matter: 1. Why it is so often called by the Ancients the *Fire of Exorcism*; because it purges the Soul, and as it were fires the Evil Spirit from it. 2. That these Exorcisms were nothing but Prayers, collected and composed out of the Words of the Holy Scriptures, to beseech God to break the Dominion and Power of *Satan* in new Converts, and to deliver them from his Slavery by expelling the Spirit of Error and Wickedness from them. Therefore *Cyril* [m] in another place calls them λόγοι δυχῆς, the Words of Prayer, by which a Devil or a Demoniack, who could not be held in Chains of Iron by many, was often held by one, through the Power of the Holy Ghost working in him; and the bare Insufflation of an Exorcist, was a Fire of sufficient Force to expel the invisible Spirits. So that the whole Business of Exorcism, and the Power of it, is to be resolved into Prayer, some Forms of which are now extant in the *Euchologium* [n] or Rituals of the *Greek* Church, published by *Goar*, and the Rituals of the ancient *Gallican* Church, published by [o] *Mabillon*. From whence also it appears, that the Insufflation, and Imposition of Hands, and the Sign ☩ of the Cross, (which was used at the same Time, as we find in the Writings of St. *Austin* [p] and St. *Ambrose* [q],) were only looked upon as decent Ceremonies or Concomitants of Prayer; to whose Energy, and not to the bare Ceremonies, the whole Efficacy and Benefit of this part of the Catechumens Discipline is to be attributed. For tho' the Ceremonies be sometimes only mentioned, yet Prayer is always to be understood, and to be taken for the Substance of the Action, whilst the other were only the Circumstances of it.

SECT. IX. *Partly by the Exercises of Fasting and Abstinence, and Confession, and Repentance.*

DURING this same Term of twenty Days the Catechumens were also exercised with Abstinence and Fasting, as a suitable Preparation for their ensuing Baptism. The 4th Council of *Carthage* has a Canon which joyns all these things together: Let such as give in their Names to be baptized [r], be exercised a long time with Abstinence from Wine and Flesh, and with Imposition of Hands, and frequent Examination, and so let them receive their Baptism. In like manner St. *Austin* [s] puts Abstinence, Fastings, and Ex-

[d] Ibid. p. 230. Apud Hæreticos omnia per mendacium aguntur, ubi exorcizat Dæmoniacus, &c. [e] Ferrand. Ep. ad Fulgent. de Catechizando Æthiope, inter Fulgentii Opera, p 606. Celebrato solenniter Scrutinio, per Exorcismum contra Diabolum vindicatur. [f] Pet. Chrysolog. Serm. 52. Hinc est quod veniens ex Gentibus Impositione manûs & Exorcismis ante à Dæmone purgatur. Vid. Serm. 105. [g] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 1. Ante viginti dies Baptismi ad purgationem Exorcismi concurrant Catechumeni, &c. [h] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. c. 31. Illud etiam quod circa Baptizandos in universo mundo sancta Ecclesia uniformiter agit, non otioso contemplamur intuitu: Cum sive parvuli sive juvenes ad Regenerationis veniunt Sacramentum, non prius fontem vitæ adeant, quàm Exorcismis & Exsufflationibus Clericorum Spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur. [i] Constit. Apost. Lib. 8. c. 26. [k] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 657. μὴ διαπίσῃς ἐξορκισμῶ θεραπείαν, μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ταύτης ἀπαγορεύσῃς. Βάσανός ἐστι καὶ αὕτη τῆς περὶ τὸ χάρισμα γνησιότητος. [l] Cyril. Præfat. ad Catech. n. 5. p. 7. τὰς ἐξορκισμὰς δέχου μετὰ σπουδῆς. κἂν ἐμφυσηθῇς κἂν ἐξορκισθῇς, σωτηρία σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα νόμισον εἶναι, &c. Vid. Catech. 1. n. 5. p. 18. [m] Cyril. Catech. 16. n. 9. p. 234. [n] Euchолog. p. 335. [o] Mabillon. Musæum Italic. tom. 1. p. 323. [p] Aug. Confes. Lib. 1. c. 11. [q] Ambros. De iis qui initiantur, c. 4. [r] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 84. Baptizandi nomen suum dent, & diu sub abstinentia Vini & Carnium, ac manûs Impositione, crebra Examinatione Baptismum percipiant. [s] Aug. de Fide & Oper. c. 6. Sine dubio non admitterentur, si per ipsos dies quibus eandem gratiam percepturi, suis Nominibus datis, Abstinentia, Jejuniis, Exorcismisque purgantur, cum suis legitimis & veris Uxoribus se concubituros profiterentur, atque hujus rei, quamvis alio tempore licitæ, paucis ipsis solennibus diebus nullam Continentiam servaturos.

orcism

orciſm together, and particularly mentiones Abſtinence from the Marriage-Bed, during this time of Preparation for Baptiſm. So *Socrates* tells us [t], when the *Burgundians* deſired Baptiſm of a *French* Biſhop, he firſt made them faſt Seven Days. And when a certain *Jewiſh* Impoſtor, who had been baptized by the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, came at laſt to *Paul* the *Novatian* Biſhop, to deſire the like Favour of him, the ſame Author [u] obſerves, that *Paul* would not admit him, till he had firſt exerciſed him with Faſting many Days, and taught him the Rudiments of the Chriſtian Faith. Theſe Faſtings are alſo mentioned by *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, where they ſpeak of Mens Preparation for Baptiſm. As many, ſays *Juſtin Martyr* [x], as believe the Things to be true which we teach, and promiſe to conform their Lives to the Laws of our Religion, they firſt of all learn to ask Pardon of their by-paſt Sins of God by Prayers and Faſtings, we joyning our Prayers and Faſtings with theirs. So *Tertullian* [y], They that are about to receive Baptiſm, muſt firſt uſe frequent Prayers and Faſtings, and Geniculations and Watchings, and make Confeſſion of all their former Sins, in Imitation of *John*'s Baptiſm, taking it for a Favour, that they are not obliged to make publick Confeſſion of their flagitious Crimes and Offences. Whence we may conclude, that theſe Confeſſions were ſometimes publick, and ſometimes private, as directed by the Wiſdom of the Church. They who would ſee more of this matter, may conſult St. *Cyril's Catechetick Diſcourſes* [z], and *Gregory Nazianzen*'s *Oration* [a] *about Baptiſm*, who to Confeſſion, and Prayers, and Faſting, add *Humicubations*, and Groans and Tears, and forgiving of Enemies, as proper Indications of a penitent Mind, before Men came to receive the Seal of Forgiveneſs at God's Hand by the Miniſtry of his Church.

SECT. X. *Partly by Learning the Words of the Creed and the Lords Prayer.*

AT this time alſo the *Competentes* were taught the Words of the *Creed*, which they were obliged to get by Heart, in order to repeat it before the Biſhop at their laſt Examination before Baptiſm. This part of Catechiſing was often performed by the Biſhop himſelf, as we may learn from thoſe Words of St. *Ambroſe* [b], where he thus diſtinguiſhes the *Competentes* from the other Catechumens: When the Catechumens were diſmiſſed, I recited the *Creed* to the *Competentes* in the Baptiſteries of the Church. This was done in ſome Churches twenty Days before Baptiſm; for ſo the Second Council of *Bracara* ordered [c] for the *Spaniſh* Churches. But the Council of *Agde* in *France* [d] ſpeaks only of eight Days before *Eaſter*, appointing *Palm-Sunday* to be the Day when the *Creed* ſhould be publickly taught the *Competentes* in all their Churches. But perhaps we are to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Publick and Private Teaching of the *Creed*; and ſo one might be done privately twenty Days before by the Catechiſts in the Baptiſteries or Catechetick Schools, and the other publickly eight Days before, by the Miniſters of the Church. However this was, there was a certain Day appointed for theſe Catechumens to give an Account of their *Creed*, and that was the *Paraſceue*, or Day before our Saviour's *Paſſion*, which the Council of *Laodicea* [e] calls the fifth Day of the Great and Solemn Week, when ſuch as were to be baptized, having learnt their *Creed*, were to repeat it before the Biſhop or Presbyters in the Church. And this was the only Day for ſeveral Ages, that ever the *Creed* was publickly repeated in the *Greek* Churches, as *Theodorus Lector* [f] informs us, who ſays, It was uſed to be recited only once a Year, and that was on the *Paraſceue*, or Day of Preparation to our Saviour's Paſſion, now called *Holy-Thurſday*; at which time the Biſhop was always wont to catechize the *Competentes* in the Church. When they had learn'd the *Creed*, they were alſo taught the *Lord's-Prayer*, which was not allowed ordinarily to the Catechumens till immediately before their Baptiſm. For this Prayer was uſually called, Εὐχὴ πιστῶν, The Prayer of the Faithful, as being peculiarly uſed only by Perſons baptized, who were made Sons of God by Regeneration, and had a Title as ſuch, to addreſs God under the Denomination of their Father which is in Heaven: Which Catechumens, at leaſt thoſe of the firſt Orders, could not ſo properly do: But when they arrived at this laſt Degree of *Competentes*, and ſtood as immediate Candidates of Baptiſm, then this Form was part of their Inſtruction, and not before. As we learn from *Ferrandus Diaconus*, who ſpeaks firſt of their repeating the *Creed*, and then learning [g] the *Lord's-Prayer*. And the ſame is evident from *Chryſoſtom*, *Auſtin* and *Theodoret*, of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in Chapter V. n. 9. where I treat of the ancient Diſcipline in concealing the Sacred Myſteries from the Catechumens.

SECT. XI. *And the Form of Renouncing the De-*

TOGETHER with the *Creed*, they were alſo taught how to make their proper Reſponſes in

[t] Socrat. Lib. 7. p. 30. [u] Socrat. Lib. 7. c. 17. [x] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 93. [y] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 20. Ingreſſuros Baptiſmum, Orationibus crebris, Jejuniis & Geniculationibus & Pervigiliis orare oportet, & cum Confeſſione omnium retro delictorum, ut exponant etiam Baptiſmum Johannis. Tingebantur, inquit, confitentes delicta ſua. Nobis gratulandum eſt, ſi non publice confitemur iniquitates aut turpitudines noſtras. Vid. Tertul. de Pœnitent. c. 6. [z] Cyril Catech. 1. n. 5. & 6. p. 18. & 19. [a] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. [b] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellinam ſororem, p. 158. Dimiſſis Catechumenis, ſymbolum aliquibus Competentibus tradebam in Baptiſteriis Baſilicæ. [c] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 1. Ante viginti dies Baptiſmi, Catechumeni ſymbolum, quod eſt, Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ſpecialiter doceantur. [d] Conc. Agathen. c. 9. Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Eccleſiis una die, id eſt, ante Octo dies Dominicæ Reſurrectionis, publice in Eccleſia Competentibus prædicari. [e] Conc. Laodic. c. 46. ὅτι δεῖ τὰς φωτιζομένας τὴν πίστιν ἐκμαθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ τὸ ἑβδομάδι ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. [f] Theodor. Lector. Lib. 2. p. 563. [g] Ferrand. Ep. ad Fulgent. de Catechizando Æthicpe. Ipſa inſuper ſancti ſymboli verba memoriter in conſpectu Fidelis Populi clara voce pronuncians, piam Regulam Dominicæ Orationis accepit.

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vil, and Covenanting with Christ, and other Responses to be used in Baptism.

Baptism; particularly the Form of Renouncing the Devil and his Works, and Pomps, his Worship, his Angels, his Inventions, and all Things belonging to him; and the contrary Form of Covenanting with Christ, and engaging themselves in his Service: For though these Acts in their highest Solemnity did properly appertain to the Substance of Baptism itself; yet it was necessary to instruct the Catechumens beforehand, how they were to behave themselves in these Matters, that they might not through Ignorance be at a loss when they came to Baptism. And therefore the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* [*b*] orders it to be one special Part of the Catechumens Instruction, just before their Baptism, that they should learn what related to the Renunciation of the Devil, and Covenanting with Christ. And these Engagements they actually entred into, not only at their Baptism, but before it, as a just Preparation for it: For, says that Author, they ought first to abstain from the Contraries, and then come to the Holy Mysteries, having purged their Hearts beforehand of all Spot and Wrinkle and Habits of Sin. And the same thing is intimated by *Tertullian* and *Ferrandus* the Deacon of *Carthage*; for *Ferrandus* says expresly [*i*], That the Catechumens, at the same time that they were Exorcized, made their actual Renunciation of the Devil, and then were taught the Creed. And *Tertullian* means the same thing, when he says, that this Renunciation was made twice; first in the Church, [*k*] under the Hands of the Bishop, and then again when they came to the Water to be baptized. And hence it became one Part of the ancient Office of Deaconnesses, to instruct the more ignorant and rustick sort of Women, how they were to make their Responses at the time of Baptism to such Interrogatories as the Minister should then put to them, as I have had occasion to shew from a Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage* [*l*], in discoursing of the Office of Deaconnesses in another [*m*] Place.

SECT. XII. *What meant by the* Competentes *going veiled some time before Baptism.*

BESIDE these Parts of useful Discipline and Instruction, there were some other Ceremonies of less Note used toward the Catechumens, which I must not wholly pass over. Among these was the Ceremony of the *Competentes* going veiled, or with their Faces covered, for some Days before Baptism: Which Custom is taken notice of by *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* [*n*], together with the Reason of it; Your Face, says he to the Catechumens, was covered, that your Mind might be more at Liberty, and that the wandring of your Eyes might not distract your Soul. For when the Eyes are covered, the Ears are not diverted by any Impediments from hearing and receiving Saving Truths. St. *Austin* and *Junilius* give a more Mystical Reason for it: For they suppose the Catechumens were veiled in Publick, as bearing the Image of *Adam*'s Slavery after his Expulsion out of Paradise; and that these Veils being taken away after Baptism [*o*] were an Indication of the Liberty of the Spiritual Life, which they obtained by the Sacrament of Regeneration. However it be, the Evidences are plain, that there was such a Ceremony used to the Catechumens: But, as *Valesius* [*p*] rightly observes, it did not respect them all, but only that Order of them that were peculiarly called the *Competentes*.

SECT. XIII. *Of the Ceremony called* Ephphata, *or opening of the Ears of the Catechumens.*

ANOTHER Ceremony of this Nature, was the Custom of touching the Ears of the Catechumens, and saying unto them *Ephphata*, be opened: Which *Petrus Chrysologus* [*q*] joyns with Imposition of Hands and Exorcisms; making it to have something of mystical Signification in it, to denote the opening of the Understanding to receive the Instructions of Faith. And St. *Ambrose* [*r*], or an Author under his Name, describes the same Custom, deriving the Original of it from our Saviour's Example, in saying *Ephphata*, be opened, when he cured the Deaf and the Blind. But this Custom seemed not to have gained any great Credit in the Practice of the Church; for besides these two Authors, there is scarce any other that so much as mentions it; and whether it was used to the first or last Order of the Catechumens, is not very easy to determine.

SECT. XIV. *Of putting Clay upon their Eyes. What meant by it.*

THE like may be said of another Ceremony, which is mentioned in St. *Ambrose*, which was the Custom of anointing the Eyes with Clay, in Imitation of our Saviour's Prac-

[*b*] Constit. Apost. Lib. 7. c. 39. & 40. μανθανέτω τὰ περὶ τ̃ ἀποταγ̃ης τ̃ ̃ διαβόλ̃, κ̀ τὰ περὶ τ̃ συνταγ̃ης τ̃ ̃ Χριστ̃ ̃, &c. [*i*] Ferrand. Ep. ad Fulgent. inter Opera Fulgentii, p. 606. Per Exorcismum contra Diabolum vindicatur: cui se renunciare constanter, sicut hic consuetudo poscebat, auditurus symbolum, profitetur. [*k*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed & aliquanto prius in Ecclesia sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. [*l*] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 12. Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad Ministerium baptizandarum Mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad Officium, ut possint apto & sano sermone docere imperitas & rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter Baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, & qualiter accepto Baptismate vivant. [*m*] Book II. Chap. xxii. n. 9. [*n*] Cyril. Præfat. ad Catech. n. 5. p. 7. ἐσκέπασαί σε τὸ πρόσωπον, ἵνα γοληθ̃ λοιπὸν ἡ διάνοια. [*o*] Aug. Ser. 4. in Dominic. Octav. Paschæ, 155. de Tempore. Hodie Octavæ dicuntur Infantium: Revelanda sunt Capita eorum, quod est indicium Libertatis. Habet enim Libertatem ista spiritalis Nativitas. Junil. de Partibus Divinæ Legis, Lib. 2. c. 16. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 1. p. 15. Typum gerunt Adæ Paradiso excluſi —— propter quod & per publicum capitibus tectis incedunt. [*p*] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Constant. Lib. 4. c. 62. [*q*] Chrysolog. Serm. 52. p. 286. Hinc est quod veniens ex Gentibus Impositione manûs & Exorcismis ante à Dæmone purgatur; & Apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere possit auditum. [*r*] Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, c. 1. Quod vobis significavimus, cum Apertionis celebrantes Mysterium, diceremus, Effeta, quod est, aperire —— Hoc Mysterium celebravit Christus in Evangelio, cum mutum curaret & surdum. Id. de Sacramentis, Lib. 1. c. 1. Mysteria celebrata sunt Apertionis, quando tibi aures tetigit sacerdos & nares.

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tice, when he cured the blind Man by making Clay of his Spittle, and anointing his Eyes with it, *John* ix. 6. The Design of this Ceremony, as that Author explains it, [s] was to teach the Catechumens to confess their Sins, and to review their Consciences, and repent of their Errors, that is, to acknowledge what state and condition they were in by their first Birth. St. *Austin* seems also [t] to refer to this Practice in his Discourse upon the blind Man cured by our Saviour, where he says, the Catechumens were anointed before Baptism, as the blind Man was by Christ, who was thereby perhaps made a Catechumen.

SECT. XV. *Whether the Catechumens held a lighted Taper in their Hands in the Time of Exorcism.*

Vicecomes [u] and Mr. *Basnage* [x], mention another Custom, which was peculiar in their Opinion to the *African* Church, *viz.* the use of a lighted Taper put into the Hands of the Catechumens in time of Exorcism, to signify (as Mr. *Basnage* explains it) the Illustration of the Holy Ghost; or, as *Vicecomes* would have it, the power of Exorcism in expelling Satan. But their Observation, I think, is grounded upon a mere Mistake, interpreting some Words of St. *Cyprian* and St. *Austin* in a literal Sense, which are only Figurative and Metaphorical. *Cyprian* speaking of the Power of Christians over unclean Spirits, says [y] among many other things, that they could oblige them by their powerful Stripes to forsake the Persons they had possessed; that they could put them to the Rack, and make them confess, and cry out, and groan; that they could scourge them with their Whips, and burn them with their Fire. Where it is plain enough to any unprejudiced Reader, that the Fire of Exorcism here spoken of, is of the same kind with the Whips, and Stripes, and Rack; that is, the spiritual and invisible Power of the Holy Ghost, as *Cyprian* himself immediately explains them, when he says, all this was done, but not seen; the Stroke was invisible, and the Effect of it only appeared to Men. So that it was not a material Fire, or a lighted Taper in the Hands of the Catechumens, that *Cyprian* speaks of, as *Vicecomes* fancies, but the invisible Fire or Power of the Holy Ghost. And it is the same Fire that St. *Austin* means, whose Authority only is urged by Mr. *Basnage* to found this Custom on. He speaks of a Fire indeed in the Sacraments [z], and in catechizing, and in exorcizing. For whence otherwise should it be, says he, that the unclean Spirits so often cry out, I burn, if there be not a Fire that burns them? From the Fire of Exorcism we pass to Baptism, as from Fire to Water, and from Water to a place of Rest. There is nothing in all this that can signify a lighted Taper in the Hands of the Catechumens, which certainly has no Power to burn an unclean Spirit: But the Fire of Exorcism is the invisible Fire of the Holy Ghost, that is, the Energy and powerful Operation of God's Spirit, which casts out Devils with a Word, and makes Satan fall like Lightning from Heaven. Though I deny not but that this Custom might come into the Church in After-ages: For *Albinus Flaccus*, a Ritualist of the VIIIth Century, speaks of a Custom like to it [a], as used at least the Night before the Catechumens were to be baptized. For describing the Ceremonies of the *Vigil* of the great Sabbath before *Easter*, he says, a Wax Taper was used to be carried before the Catechumens, which signified the Illumination wherewith Christ enlightened that Night, by the Grace of his Resurrection, and the Catechumens coming to Baptism. And this was it that deceived *Vicecomes*, who would have all modern Customs appear with a Face of Antiquity, and therefore wrested the Words of St. *Cyprian* and St. *Austin* to patronize a novel Ceremony, which in their Days was not so much as thought of.

SECT. XVI. *What meant by the Sacrament of the Catechumens.*

THERE is another Mistake which runs through the Writings of many modern Authors, concerning what the Ancients call the Sacrament of the Catechumens. They suppose, that though the Catechumens were not allowed to participate of the *Eucharist*, yet they had something like it, which they call *Eulogiæ*, or *Panis Benedictus*, consecrated Bread, taken out of the same Oblations, out of which antiently the *Eucharist* itself was taken. *Baronius* [b] was the first that maintained this Opinion, and after him *Bellarmin* [c], and *Vicecomes* [d], *Albaspiny* [e], *Petavius* [f], Bishop *Beveridge* [g], *Estius*, *Maldonat*, and many others, follow him in the same Assertion. But the Opinion is wholly grounded upon a mistaken Passage in St. *Austin*, who speaks indeed of something that according to the Language of his Age was then called the Sacrament of the Catechumens; but he does not say, that it was consecrated Bread, or part of the same *Eulogiæ* out of which

[s] Ambrof de Sacram. lib. 3. c. 2. Ergo quando dedisti nomen tuum, tulit lutum & linivit super oculos tuos. Quod significat ut peccatum tuum fatereris, ut Conscientiam tuam recognoscerres, ut pœnitentiam ageres delictorum, hoc est, sortem humanæ generationis agnoscerres. [t] Aug. Tract. 44. in Johan. Tom. 9. p. 133. Catechumenus inunctus est nondum lotus. [u] Vicecomes de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. c. 32. [x] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 488. [y] Cypr. ad Donatum, p. 4. Facultas datur, immundos & erraticos Spiritus ad confessionem minis increpantibus cogere; ut recedant duris verberibus urgere; conflictantes, ejulantes, gementes, incremento pœnæ propagantis extendere; flagris cædere, igne torrere. Res illic geritur, nec videtur; occulta plaga, & pœna manifesta. [z] Aug. Enarrat. in Psal. lxv. p. 277. In Sacramentis & in Catechizando & in Exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. Nam unde immundi Spiritus plerumque clamant, Ardeo, si ille ignis non est? Post ignem autem Exorcismi venitur ad Baptismum, &c. [a] Albin. al. Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. c. 19. Cereus præcedit Catechumenos nostros; Lumen ipsius Christum significat, quo præsens nox illuminetur, gratia scilicet Resurrectionis, & Catechumeni ad Baptismum venturi. [b] Baron. an. 313. n. 55. [c] Bellarm. de Sacram. lib. 2. c. 25. [d] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 259. [e] Albaspin. Observat. lib. 2. c. 26 [f] Petav. Animadvers. in Epiphan. Exposit. Fidei. p. 366. [g] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 2. Conc. Antioch. Estius in Sentent. lib. 4. Dist. 10. Sect. 5.

the *Euchariſt* was taken. His Words are theſe; [*b*] That which the Catechumens receive, though it be not the Body of Chriſt, is yet an holy thing, and more holy than the common Meat which ſuſtains us, becauſe it is a Sacrament. He gives it the name of Sacrament according to the cuſtom of that Age, which was to call every thing a Sacrament, that had any thing of Myſtery, or of ſpiritual ſignification in it. But that this Sacrament was not the conſecrated Bread, but only a little taſte of Salt, we may learn from the ſame St. *Auſtin*, who ſpeaking of himſelf as a Catechumen, ſays, At that time [*i*] he was often ſigned with the Croſs of Chriſt, and ſeaſoned with his Salt. And that it was this and no more, appears farther from a Canon of the third Council of *Carthage*, at which St. *Auſtin* was preſent, which orders [*k*], that no other Sacrament ſhould be given to the Catechumens on the moſt ſolemn Days of the *Paſchal Feſtival*, except their uſual Salt; giving this Reaſon for it, that for as much as the *Faithful* did not change their Sacraments on thoſe Days, neither ought the Catechumens to change theirs. From whence it is eaſy to be inferred, that the Sacrament of the Catechumens means no more than this Ceremony of giving them a little taſte of the Salt, like Milk and Hony that was given after Baptiſm, as Cardinal *Bona* [*l*], and Mr. *Aubertine* [*m*], and *Baſnage* [*n*], have rightly concluded: The Deſign of the thing being not to give them any thing in imitation of the *Euchariſt*, or introductory to that, which they always kept hid as a Secret from them; but that by this Symbol they might learn to purge and cleanſe their Souls from Sin; Salt being the Emblem of Purity and Incorruption.

SECT. XVII. *How the Catechumens were puniſhed, if they fell into groſs Sins.*

I have but two things more to obſerve concerning the Diſcipline uſed towards the Catechumens. The one relates to thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Puniſhments, which were uſually inflicted on them, in caſe they were found to have lapſed into any groſs and ſcandalous Offences. Theſe being not yet admitted into full Communion with the Church, could not be puniſhed as other Offenders, by being ſubjected to thoſe ſeveral Rules of Penance as other Offenders were; nor did the Church think fit to be ſo ſevere upon them, as upon other Penitents that lapſed after Baptiſm: But their Puniſhment was commonly no more but a Degradation of them from one degree of Catechumenſhip to another, or at moſt a Prorogation of their Baptiſm to the hour of Death. This appears plainly from the fifth Canon of the Council of *Neocæſarea*, which ſpeaks thus of the ſeveral degrees of Catechumens and their Puniſhment: If any Catechumen, who comes to Church, and ſtands in any Order of Catechumens there, be found guilty of Sin; if he be a Kneeler or Proſtrator, let him become an Hearer, if he ſins no more: But if he ſin while he is an Hearer, let him be caſt out of the Church. After the ſame manner it was decreed by the great Council [*o*] of *Nice*, that if any of the Catechumens (by whom they more eſpecially mean the Kneelers) were found guilty of Sin, they ſhould be degraded to the Claſſis of the Hearers for three Years, and after that be admitted to pray with the Catechumens again. In the Council of *Eliberis* there are ſeveral Canons to this purpoſe. For whereas the ordinary time of continuing Catechumens was but two Years, as appointed by that [*p*] Council; yet in caſe of lapſing, they were obliged to continue Catechumens ſometimes three Years, ſometimes five, and ſometimes to the hour of Death before they were baptized, according to the Nature and Quality of their Offences. If a Catechumen took upon him the Office of an heathen Flamen, and did not ſacrifice [*q*], but only exhibit the uſual Games, he was to be puniſhed with the Prorogation of his Baptiſm for three Years from the time of his lapſing. If a Woman who was a Catechumen, divorced herſelf from her Husband [*r*], her puniſhment was five Years Prorogation. But if ſhe committed Adultery, and after Conception uſed any Arts to deſtroy her Infant in the Womb, then her Baptiſm was to be deferred to the hour [*s*] of Death. And this was the higheſt Puniſhment that ever was inflicted upon Catechumens. For though in this Council many times Communion, even at the hour of Death, be denied to Believers that had lapſed after Baptiſm; yet we meet with no Inſtance or Command, in this or any other Place, prohibiting Catechumens to be baptized at their laſt Hour. The ſixty-ſeventh Canon of this Council [*t*] orders them for ſome Crimes to be caſt out of Communion; which is the ſame as the Council of *Neocæſarea* calls caſting out of the Church, or reducing them back to the loweſt rank of private Catechumens, who were not allowed to enter the Church: But when

[*b*] Aug. de Peccator. meritis. lib. 2. c. 26. Quod accipiunt Catechumeni, quamvis non ſit Corpus Chriſti, ſanctum eſt tamen, & ſanctius quam cibi quibus alimur, quoniam Sacramentum eſt. [*i*] Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 1. c. 11. Audieram ego adhuc puer de vita æterna nobis promiſſa per humilitatem Filii tui Domini Dei noſtri, & ſignabar jam ſigno Crucis, & condiebar ejus Sale. [*k*] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 5. Placuit ut per ſolemniſſimos Paſchales dies Sacramentum Catechumenis non detur, niſi ſolitum Sal: quia ſi Fideles per illos dies Sacramenta non mutant, non Catechumenis oportet mutari. [*l*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 3. [*m*] Albertinus de Euchariſt. lib. 2. p. 650, & 711. [*n*] Baſnag. Exercit. Critic. in Baron. p. 487. [*o*] Conc. Nicen. c. 14. περὶ τῶν καθηχουμένων οἳ ὕστερον ἔπεσον ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε τρεῖς ἔτων αὐτοὺς ἀκροωμένους μόνον, καὶ ταῦτα εὐχῆς μὴ μετὰ καθηχουμένων. [*p*] Conc. Eliber. c. 42. [*q*] Conc. Eliber. c. 4. Item Flamines, ſi fuerint Catechumeni, & ſe à Sacrificiis abſtinuerunt, poſt triennii tempora placuit ad Baptiſmum admitti debere. [*r*] Conc. Eliber. c. 10, & 11. Intra quinquennii autem tempora, Catechumena ſi graviter fuerit infirmata, dandum ei Baptiſmum placuit non denegari. Vid. can. 73. de Delatoribus [*s*] Ibid. can. 68. Catechumena, ſi per adulterium conceperit, & conceptum necaverit, placuit eam in fine baptizari. Vid. can. 73, ibid. [*t*] Conc. Eliber. can. 67. Prohibendum ne qua Fidelis vel Catechumena aut Comicos aut viros Cinerarios (al. Scenicos) habeat; quæcunque hoc fecerit, à Communione arceatur.

this was done, if ever after [u] they ſhewed the true Signs of Repentance, and a Deſire to be baptized, they were admitted to this Privilege at the hour of Death, if not before: And this Council gives a Reaſon for this Moderation toward them in compariſon of others, becauſe their Sins were committed whilſt they were unregenerate in the Old Man, and therefore were more eaſily pardoned than Crimes committed by Believers after Baptiſm. This was the Diſtinction univerſally obſerved between the Puniſhments of the Catechumens, and thoſe that had arrived to greater Perfections in the Church.

SECT. XVIII. *How they were treated by the Church, if they died without Baptiſm.*

BUT in caſe the Catechumens died without Baptiſm by Neglect or their own Default, then they were puniſhed as other Malefactors, who unqualified themſelves for the Solemnities of a Chriſtian Burial. They were put into the ſame rank as thoſe who laid violent hands on themſelves, or were publickly executed for their Crimes. The firſt Council of *Bracara* joins all theſe [x] together, as Perſons unworthy to be interred with the uſual Solemnities of ſinging of *Pſalms*, or to be commemorated amongſt the *Faithful* in the Oblations and Prayers of the Church. For in ancient times, Prayers, and Oblations, and Thankſgivings were ſolemnly made in the Communion-ſervice for all that died in the Faith of Chriſt and in full Communion with the Church: But ſuch as neglected their Baptiſm were none of this number; and therefore they were buried in ſilence, and no mention was ever after made of them among others in the Prayers of the Church. *Chryſoſtom* [y] ſays expreſly, This was the peculiar Privilege of thoſe that died in the Faith, but Catechumens were excluded from this Benefit and all other Helps, except that of Alms and Oblations for them.

SECT. XIX. *What Opinion the Ancients had of the Neceſſity of Baptiſm.*

THIS Diſcipline plainly reſpected thoſe who put a Contempt upon the holy Ordinance of Baptiſm, and neglected to receive it, when the time of their Catechumenſhip perhaps was expired, and they were under an Obligation by the Laws of the Church to have received it. But in caſe there was no Contempt, but only an unforeſeen and unavoidable neceſſity hindered their Baptiſm, whilſt they were diligently preparing for it: in that caſe they were treated a little more favourably by the Ancients, who did not generally think the mere want of Baptiſm in ſuch circumſtances to be ſuch a piacular Crime, as to exclude Men abſolutely from the Benefit of Church-communion, or the hopes of eternal Salvation. Some few of them indeed are pretty ſevere upon Infants dying without Baptiſm, and ſome others ſeem alſo in general terms to deny eternal Life to adult Perſons dying without it: But yet when they interpret themſelves, and ſpeak more diſtinctly, they make ſome allowance, and except ſeveral caſes, in which the want of Baptiſm may be ſupply'd by other means, when the want of it proceeded not from Contempt, but from ſome great Neceſſity and Diſability to receive it. They generally ground the Neceſſity of Baptiſm upon thoſe two Sayings of our Saviour, *He that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; and, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*: But then in their Expoſition of theſe Texts, they limit the Senſe to the ordinary method of Salvation, and ſuch caſes wherein Baptiſm may be had. And as for extraordinary caſes, wherein Baptiſm could not be had, though Men were deſirous of it, they made ſeveral Exceptions in behalf of other things, which in ſuch circumſtances were thought ſufficient to ſupply the want of it.

SECT. XX. *The Want of Baptiſm ſupplied by Martyrdom.*

THE chief of theſe excepted Caſes was *Martyrdom*, which commonly goes by the Name of *Second Baptiſm*, or *Baptiſm in Mens own Blood*, in the Writings of the Ancients, becauſe of the Power and Efficacy it was thought to have to ſave Men by the inviſible Baptiſm of the Spirit, without the external Element of Water. *Tertullian* [z] upon this account not only dignifies it with the title of *Second Baptiſm*, but ſays, It was that which Men deſired to ſuffer, as that which procured the Grace of God and Pardon [a] of all Sins by the Compenſation of their own Blood: For by this Act all Sins were pardoned. This was that *Second Baptiſm* [b] *in Mens own Blood*, with which our Lord himſelf was baptized, after he had been baptized in Water. This Baptiſm was of force both to compenſate for want of Baptiſm, and to reſtore it when Men had loſt it. *Cyprian* treads in the ſteps of his Maſter *Tertullian*: For ſpeaking of the Catechumens who were apprehended and ſlain for the Name of Chriſt, before they could be baptized in the Church, he ſays, Theſe were not deprived [c] of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, ſeeing they were

[u] Conc. Eliber. c. 45. Qui aliquando fuerit Catechumenus, & per infinita tempora nunquam ad Eccleſiam acceſſerit, ſi eum de Clero quiſquam cognoverit eſſe (al. voluiſſe eſſe) Chriſtianum, aut teſtes aliqui extiterint fideles, placuit, ei Baptiſmum non negari, eò quod in veterem hominem deliquiſſe videatur. [x] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 35. Catechumenis ſine redemptione Baptiſmi defunctis, ſimili modo, non oblationis ſanctæ commemoratio, neque pſallendi impendatur officium. [y] Chryſoſt. Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. οἱ δὲ κατηχούμενοι διὰ τοῦτο ἀξιοῦνται τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, &c. [z] Tertul. de Patient. c. 13. Quum vero producitur ad experimentum felicitatis, ad occaſionem ſecundæ intinctionis, &c. [a] Tertul. Apol. c. 50. Quis non ubi requiſivit accedit? ubi acceſſit, pati exoptat? ut totam Dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam de eo compenſatione ſanguinis ſui expediat? omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur. [b] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 16. Eſt quidem nobis etiam ſecundum lavacrum, unum & ipſum, ſanguinis ſcilicet: De quo Dominus, Habeo, inquit, Baptiſmo tingui, quum jam tinctus fuiſſet.—— Hic eſt baptiſmus, qui lavacrum & non acceptum repræſentat, & perditum reddit. [c] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 208. Deinde nec privari baptiſmi ſacramento, utpote qui baptizentur glorioſiſſimo & maximo ſanguinis baptiſmo, de quo & Dominus dicebat, habere ſe aliud baptiſma baptizari, &c.

baptized in the moſt glorious and celebrated Baptiſm of their own Blood; to which our Lord had reference, when he ſaid, *I have another Baptiſm to be baptized with.* And, ſays he, that they who are thus baptized in Blood, are alſo ſanctified and conſummated by their Paſſion, and made Partakers of the Grace which God hath promiſed, is farther declared by our Saviour in his Goſpel, in that he ſaid to the Thief, who believed and confeſſed him upon the Croſs, *To day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe. Cyprian* has many other noble *Encomiums* and Flights upon this *Second Baptiſm*, and he excepts no ſort of Men from the benefit of it, but only one, that is, Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, becauſe they wanted the Grace of Charity, and died out of the Communion of the Church without Repentance; in which caſe he thought Martyrdom itſelf not ſufficient [*d*] to expiate their Crimes; though it was available to purge away any others. *Origen* was wont to ſpeak of this kind of Baptiſm, under the name of Baptiſm by Fire, as that which often tranſlated even Catechumens to Heaven, though they wanted Baptiſm by Water. For ſo *Euſebius* repreſents both *Origen*'s Senſe and his own, when ſpeaking of the Martyrs that ſuffer'd out of the School of *Origen*, he ſays, Two of them were only Catechuments; *Heraclides* among the Men, and *Herais* among the Women [*e*] were in this Claſs only, when they died, but they received Baptiſm by Fire, as *Origen* was uſed to phraſe it. And that this Baptiſm did purge away Sins, as well as Baptiſm by Water, *Origen* himſelf declares: for he argues thus, That Martyrdom [*f*] is rightly called Baptiſm, becauſe it procures Remiſſion of Sins, as Baptiſm by Water and the Spirit doth; and that by vertue of Chriſt's Promiſe, who aſcertains Pardon of Sins to all that ſuffer Martyrdom, ſaying, *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs before my Father which is in heaven.* And that this was then the general Doctrine of the Chriſtians in that Age, appears farther from this, that it was ſo common and well-known, that the Heathens themſelves were not ignorant of it. For in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Felicitas* and *Perpetua*, who ſuffer'd about the time of *Origen* and *Tertullian*, one *Saturus* a Catechumen [*g*] is ſpoken of as being thrown to a Leopard, who by the firſt Bite of the wild Beaſt was ſo waſh'd all over in Blood, that the People, as he return'd, gave him the Teſtimony of the ſecond Baptiſm, crying out, *Salvum lotum, ſalvum lotum*: Baptized and ſaved, baptized and ſaved. This they ſaid only by way of ridicule of the Chriſtian Doctrine of Martyrdom's being eſteemed a ſecond Baptiſm, and a means of Salvation: But the Author of the *Acts* rightly obſerves, that he was ſaved indeed, who was ſo baptized.

NOR was this only the Doctrine of the more ancient Writers, who liv'd in the times of Perſecution and Martyrdom, but of thoſe that followed after, and who are commonly imagined more rigid Defenders of the Neceſſity of Baptiſm. For even St. *Auſtin* and all his Cotemporaries, who were engaged againſt *Pelagius*, made the ſame allowance in the caſe of Martyrdom. St. *Auſtin* declares himſelf [*h*] wholly of *Cyprian*'s Opinion, that Martyrdom does many times ſupply the room of Baptiſm; and he thinks *Cyprian* argued well from the inſtance of the Thief upon the Croſs, to whom it was ſaid, though he was not baptized, *To day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe.* St. *Auſtin* often argues from the ſame [*i*] Example of the Thief in other places, telling us, that by the ineffable Power and Juſtice of God, Baptiſm was imputed to the Thief upon his Faith, and it was accounted to him as if he had received it, becauſe he had a good Mind and Will toward it, though he could not actually receive it in his Body by reaſon of his Crucifixion. Therefore he reckons him [*k*] among thoſe who are ſanctified by the inviſible Grace without the viſible Sacrament, as he thinks many were both under the *Old* and *New Teſtament*: From whence yet it does not follow, that the viſible Sacrament may be contemned by any; for the Contemner of it cannot by any means be ſanctified by the inviſible Grace thereof. In his Book *De Civitate Dei*, he ſpeaks more generally [*l*] of all thoſe that ſuffer Martyrdom, that though they have not been waſhed in the Laver of Regeneration, yet their dying for the Confeſſion of Chriſt avails as much to-

[*d*] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 150. Quale delictum eſt, quod nec baptiſmo ſanguinis poteſt ablui? Quale crimen eſt, quod Martyrio non poteſt expiari? Vid. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 113. It. Ep. 55. ad Antonian. p. 108. Ep. 57, & 60. ad Cornel. Ep. 73. ad Stephan. p. 207. [*e*] Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib. 6. c. 4. Ἡρᾳὶς ἔτι κατηχουμένη, τὸ βάπτισμα, ὡς αὐτὸς φησὶν αὐτὸς, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα, τὸν βίον ἐξελήλυθεν. [*f*] Orig. Tract. 12. in Matth. p. 85. Si baptiſmus indulgentiam peccatorum promittit, ſicut accepimus de baptiſmo aquæ & Spiritûs: Remiſſionem autem accepit peccatorum & qui martyrii ſuſcipit baptiſmum: ſine dubio ipſum martyrium rationabiliter baptiſmus appellatur. Quoniam autem remiſſio fit peccatorum omni martyrium ſuſtinenti, manifeſtum eſt ex eo quod ait, Omnis qui confeſſus fuerit in me coram hominibus, & ego confitebor in illo coram Patre meo qui eſt in cœlis.

[*g*] Acta Perpetuæ & Felicit. ad calcem Lactantii de Mort. Perſecutor. p. 34. Statim in fine ſpectaculi Leopardo ejecto, de uno morſu tanto perfuſus eſt ſanguine, ut populus revertenti illi ſecundi baptiſmatis teſtimonium reclamaverit: Salvum lotum: Salvum lotum. Plane utique ſalvus erat, qui hoc modo laverat.

[*h*] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 22. Baptiſmi ſine vicem aliquando implere paſſionem, de Latrone, illo cui non baptizato dictum eſt, Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo, non leve documentum B. Cyprianus aſſumit. [*i*] Aug. Octogint. Quæſt. lib. Q. 62. Tom. 4. Ineffabili poteſtate dominantis Dei atque juſtitia deputatum eſt etiam baptiſmum credenti Latroni & pro accepto habitum in animo libero, quod in corpore crucifixo accipi non poterat.

[*k*] Aug. Quæſt. in Levit. Q. 84. Tom. 4. Hoc & de Latrone illo, cui ſecum crucifixo Dominus ait, Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo. Neque enim ſine ſanctificatione inviſibili tanta felicitate donatus eſt. Proinde colligitur inviſibilem ſanctificationem quibuſdam affuiſſe atque profuiſſe ſine viſibilibus ſacramentis.----- Nec tamen ideo ſacramentum viſibile contemnendum eſt; nam contemptor ejus ſanctificari nullo modo poteſt. [*l*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 13. c. 7. Quicunque etiam non percepto regenerationis lavacro, pro Chriſti confeſſione moriuntur, tantum eis valet ad dimittenda peccata, quantum ſi abluerentur ſacro fonte baptiſmatis. It. Ep. 108. ad Seleucian. Ipſa paſſio pro baptiſmo deputata eſt. It. de Orig. Animæ, lib. 1. c. 9.

ward the Remiſſion of Sins, as if they had been waſhed in the holy Fountain of Baptiſm. For which he alledges thoſe Sayings of our Saviour, *He that loſes his life for my ſake, ſhall find it:* And, *He that confeſſes me before men, him will I confeſs before my Father which is in heaven.* This Paſſage is repeated and approved by *Proſper* in his *Collection of Sentences* [m] *out of St.* Auſtin's *Works:* To which he adds an Epigram of his own, expreſſing his Senſe to this purpoſe: They are not [n] deprived of the holy Baptiſm of Chriſt, who inſtead of a Font are waſhed in their own Blood: For whatever Benefit accrues to any by the myſtical Rite of the ſacred Laver, is all fulfilled by the glory of Martyrdom. *Fulgentius* is as ſevere as any Man, yet he allows Martyrdom [o] to compenſate for the want of Baptiſm. Though he pronounces peremptorily of all others, that die without the Sacrament of Faith and Repentance, which is Baptiſm, that they ſhall not inherit eternal Life; yet he excepts thoſe that are baptized in their own Blood for the Name of Chriſt. And *Gennadius*, after he has ſaid, that none but Perſons [p] baptized are in the way of Salvation; and that no Catechumen, though he die in good Works, can have eternal Life, yet he excepts the caſe of Martyrdom, becauſe in that all the Myſteries of Baptiſm are fulfilled. A Martyr, as the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [q] expreſſes it, may rejoice in the Lord, and leave this Life without Sorrow, though he be but a Catechumen; becauſe his Paſſion for Chriſt is a more genuine Baptiſm: He really and experimentally dies with his Lord, whilſt others only do it in figure. It were eaſie to add many other ſuch Teſtimonies out of St. *Chryſoſtom* [r] and St. *Jerom* [s], St. *Baſil* [t], *Gregory Nazianzen* [u], *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [x] and St. *Ambroſe* [y]: But enough has been already ſaid to ſhew this to be the general Senſe of the Ancients, That Catechumens were not to be deſpair'd of, though they dy'd without Baptiſm, if they were baptized in their own Blood.

SECT. XXI.

And by Faith and Repentance in ſuch Catechumens as were pioufly preparing for Baptiſm.

NOR was it only the caſe of Martyrs they ſpeak ſo favourably of, but of all other Catechumens, who whilſt they were preparing for Baptiſm by the Exerciſes of Faith and Repentance, and a pious Life, were ſuddenly cut off, before they could have Opportunity to put their Deſires in execution. St. *Ambroſe* joins theſe two caſes together, and makes them in a manner parallel. For in his Funeral Oration upon the younger *Valentinian*, who was thus ſnatch'd away before he could attain to his deſired Baptiſm, he thus makes Apology for him: If any one [z] is concern'd that the holy Rites of Baptiſm were not ſolemnly adminiſtred to him, he may as well ſay, that the Martyrs are not crown'd, if they happen to die whilſt they are only Catechumens: but if the Martyrs are waſhed in their own Blood, then this Man alſo was waſhed by the Piety and Deſire of Baptiſm. St. *Auſtin* was entirely of the ſame Opinion, That not only Martyrdom [a] but Faith and Repentance joined with a Deſire of Baptiſm, was ſufficient to ſave a Man in the Article of Neceſſity, when there was otherwiſe no opportunity to receive it. Conſidering, ſays he, over and over again the caſe of the Thief upon the Croſs, I find that not only ſuffering for the Name of Chriſt may ſupply that which was wanting of Baptiſm, but alſo Faith and true Converſion of Heart, if want of time in extreme Neceſſity would not ſuffer the Sacrament of Baptiſm to be adminiſtred. For that Thief was not crucified for the Name of Chriſt, but for the merit of his own Crimes; nor did he ſuffer becauſe he was a Believer, but he became a Believer whilſt he was a-ſuffering. Therefore his Caſe declares how far that Saying of the Apoſtle avails, without the viſible Sacrament of Baptiſm, *With the heart man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto Salvation*: But then only this inviſible Operation is performed, when the Miniſtry of Baptiſm is excluded purely by the Article of Neceſſity, and not any contempt of Religion. Therefore when theſe Writers ſpeak in general terms of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm, they muſt be allowed to interpret themſelves with theſe two Limitations and Reſtrictions. As when St. *Ambroſe* [b] ſays, No Man aſcends into the Kingdom of Heaven, but by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, he muſt be underſtood to except Martyrs,

[m] Proſper. Sentent. 149. [n] Id. Epigram. 88.

Fraudati non ſunt ſacro baptiſmate Chriſti,
Fons quibus ipſa ſui ſanguinis unda fuit
Et quicquid ſacri fert myſtica forma lavacri.
Id totum implevit gloria martyrii.

[o] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 30. Firmiſſime tene & nullatenus dubites, exceptis illis qui pro nomine Chriſti ſuo ſanguine baptizantur, nullum hominem accepturum vitam æternam, qui non hic à malis ſuis fuerit per pœnitentiam, fidemque converſus, & per ſacramentum fidei & pœnitentiæ, id eſt, per baptiſmum liberatus. Vid. Fulgent. de Baptiſmo Æthiopis, c. 8. [p] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogmat. c. 74. Baptizatis tantum iter eſſe ſalutis credimus; nullum Catechumenum, quamvis in bonis operibus defunctum, vitam æternam habere credimus accepto martyrio, ubi tota baptiſmi ſacramenta complentur. [q] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 5. c. 6. [r] Chryſ. Hom. 11. in Epheſ. p. 1107. [s] Hieron. Com. in Rom. 6. Tom. 9. p. 277. [t] Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 15. Tom. 2. p. 323. [u] Nazianzen. Orat. 39. in S. Lumina. Tom. 1. p. 634. [x] Cyril. Catech. 3. n. 7. [y] Ambroſ. de Virginib. lib. 3. p. 118. [z] Ambroſ. de Obitu Valentin. p. 12. Si quia ſolenniter non ſunt celebrata myſteria, hoc movet: Ergo nec Martyres, ſi Catechumeni fuerint, coronantur. Quod ſi ſuo abluuntur ſanguine, & hunc ſua pietas abluit & voluntas. [a] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 22. Etiam atque etiam conſiderans, invenio non tantum paſſionem pro nomine Chriſti id quod ex baptiſmo deerat, poſſe ſupplere, ſed etiam fidem converſionemque cordis, ſi forte ad celebrandum myſterium baptiſmi in anguſtiis temporum ſuccurri non poteſt. Neque enim Latro ille pro nomine Chriſti crucifixus eſt, ſed pro meritis facinorum ſuorum; nec quia credidit paſſus eſt, ſed dum patitur credidit. Quantum igitur valeat etiam ſine viſibili ſacramento baptiſmi quod ait Apoſtolus, Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore autem confeſſio fit ad ſalutem, in illo Latrone declaratum eſt: Sed tunc impletur inviſibiliter, cum miniſterium baptiſmi non contemptus religionis, ſed articulus neceſſitatis excludit. [b] Ambroſ. de Abrah. Patriarch. lib. 2. c. 10. Nemo aſcendit in regnum cœlorum, niſi per ſacramentum baptiſmatis.

and

and ſuch Catechumens as were deſirous of Baptiſm, but could not have it by reaſon of ſome preſſing Neceſſity intervening to hinder it: Such as was the caſe of *Valentinian*, who was ſlain ſuddenly before he had Opportunity to receive it. The like Interpretation muſt be put upon all ſuch Paſſages in St. *Auſtin* [c], *Chryſoſtom* [d], *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [e], or any others, who ſpeak in general terms of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm for Catechumens or adult Perſons.

SECT XXII.
The Caſe of Hereticks returning to the Unity of the Church. How far Charity in that caſe was thought to ſupply the want of Baptiſm.

Cyprian alſo had a very charitable Opinion concerning all ſuch Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, as forſook their Errors and returned to the Unity of the Catholick Church. For though, according to his Principles [who denied the Validity of their Baptiſm] none of theſe could be really and truly baptized, unleſs they were re-baptized upon their return to the Church; yet if any ſuch dy'd in the Unity of the Church without being re-baptized, he did not think their Condition deplorable, [though in his Opinion they died without Baptiſm] but charitably hoped they might find Mercy and Favour with the Lord. For he thus anſwers the Objection that was made againſt his own Opinion about Re-baptization: Some Man [f] will ſay, What then becomes of all thoſe, who in times paſt came over from Hereſy to the Church, and were admitted without Baptiſm? The Lord, ſays he, is able of his Mercy to grant them Indulgence, and not exclude them from the Gifts of his Church, who are ſimply admitted into the Church, and die in the Communion of it. *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* delivers himſelf much after the ſame manner in anſwer to the ſame Objection: What ſhall become [g] of thoſe, who returning from Hereticks, are admitted without the Baptiſm of the Church? If they depart out of the World, ſays he, in that condition, we reckon them in the number of ſuch Catechumens among us as die before they are baptized. So that in his Opinion two ſorts of Perſons might be ſaved without Baptiſm, that is, Catechumens in the Church, and ſuch Hereticks as returned to the Peace and Unity of the Church, though according to his Sentiments they were not baptized. St. *Auſtin* often mentions and approves this Opinion [h] of *Cyprian*; nay, and urges it in favour of the Church againſt the *Donatiſts*: For ſuppoſing the Catholicks did err in admitting Hereticks without Baptiſm, yet they were in the number of thoſe, whom *Cyprian* preſumed capable of Pardon for the ſake of Unity and Charity, which covers a multitude of Sins. St. *Baſil* alſo, as *Voſſius* [i] has rightly obſerved, ſeems to have been of *Cyprian*'s Opinion, that God in his Mercy was able to ſave ſuch Schiſmaticks as returned to the Peace and Unity of the Church, even without Baptiſm. For though he thought their Baptiſm null and void, as *Cyprian* did, yet he adviſes Men to comply with the Cuſtom of receiving [k] ſuch to Communion in thoſe Churches which received their Baptiſm, rather than break the Peace and Unity of the Church upon it. Which Advice he would hardly have given, had he not thought ſuch Men in ſuch circumſtances capable of Salvation by God's Mercy without Baptiſm.

SECT. XXIII.
The Caſe of Perſons communicating with the Church without Baptiſm. How far that was thought to ſupply the want of Baptiſm.

I find one Caſe more in which ſome of the Ancients made an Allowance for the want of Baptiſm; and that was when the Church, preſuming a Perſon to have been truly baptized (he himſelf *bona fide* preſuming ſo too) admitted him to communicate conſtantly at the Altar for many Years, though it appeared at laſt that either he had not been baptized at all, or at leaſt with a very doubtful and ſuſpicious Baptiſm: Yet in this caſe conſtant communicating with the Church, was thought to ſupply this defect or want of Baptiſm. A ſingle Act of communicating indeed in a Child or a Catechumen, happening only by ſome Surpriſe or Miſtake, was not deemed ſufficient to compenſate for Baptiſm: for in that caſe the Canons provided, that whenever any ſuch thing happened, the Party ſhould be immediately baptized. Thus in the canonical Determinations of *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the Queſtion being put, What ſhould be done in caſe a Youth of ſeven Years old, or a Man that was only a Catechumen, being preſent at the Oblation, had communicated through Ignorance or Miſtake? The Anſwer [l] is, Let him be baptized. And ſo the Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions brings in the Apoſtles making this Decree [m], That if any unbaptized Perſon ſhould through Ignorance partake of the Euchariſt, they ſhould immediately inſtruct and baptize him, that he might not go away a Deſpiſer. But in caſe a Man, upon Preſumption of his being truly baptized, when he was not ſo, had been allowed to communicate with the Church for many Years, his communicating at the Altar was thought to ſuperſede the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, and ſuch an one was allowed

[c] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 21. [d] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 5. It. Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1224. Hom. 3. in 1 Cor. p. 347. [e] Cyril. Catech. 3. n. 7. [f] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 208. Sed dicet aliquis: Quid ergo fiet de his qui in præteritum de hæreſi ad eccleſiam venientes ſine baptiſmo admiſſi ſunt? Potens eſt Dominus miſericordiâ ſuâ indulgentiam dare, & eos, qui ad eccleſiam ſimpliciter admiſſi, in eccleſia dormierunt, ab eccleſiæ ſuæ muneribus non ſeparare. [g] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cyprian. p. 226. Quid ergo, inquiunt, fiet de his qui ab hæreticis venientes, ſine eccleſiæ baptiſmo admiſſi ſunt? Si de ſæculo exceſſerunt, in eorum numero, qui apud nos catechizati quidem, ſed priuſquam baptizarentur obierunt, habentur. [h] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 2. c. 13. Cum arbitraretur eos qui extra eccleſiæ communionem baptizarentur, baptiſmum non habere, credidit eos tamen in eccleſiam ſimpliciter admiſſos, propter ipſius unitatis vinculum poſſe ad veniam pervenire. It. lib. 5. c. 2. Bene quidem præſumpſit, quod charitas unitatis poſſit co-operire multitudinem peccatorum. ------- Nos autem ſi ad eccleſiam ſine baptiſmo admittimus, in eo numero ſumus quibus Cyprianus propter unitatis cuſtodiam ignoſci poſſe præſumpſit. Vid. Aug. de Bapt. lib. 5. c. 28. It. cont. Creſcon. lib. 2. c. 33, & 35 [i] Voſſ. de Baptiſmo, Diſput. 11. p. 156. [k] Baſil. Can. Epiſt. c. 1. [l] Timoth Reſponſ. Canon. Q 1. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Tom. 2. [m] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. c. 25.

to continue in the Church without rebaptizing. There is a famous Inſtance in *Euſebius* of ſuch a Caſe, that happened at *Alexandria* in the time of *Dionyſius*, which *Euſebius* relates out of an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* to *Xyſtus* Biſhop of *Rome*, where he asks the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Advice upon it. A certain Perſon, who for many Years had aſſembled and communicated [*n*] with the Church, both in his own time, and in the time of his Predeceſſor *Heraclas*, happening to be preſent at the Baptiſm of ſome who were lately baptized, upon hearing the Interrogatories and Anſwers that are uſually made in that Solemnity, came to me weeping and lamenting himſelf, and falling down at my Feet, confeſſed with a moſt ſolemn Proteſtation, that the Baptiſm which he had received among Hereticks was not like this, nor had any thing common with it: For it was full of Blaſphemy and Impiety: And therefore he ſaid his Soul was full of trouble, and he had no Confidence to lift up his Eyes unto God, being initiated with ſuch impious Words and Ceremonies. He prayed therefore that I would give him our ſincere Baptiſm, and admit him to the Adoption and Grace of the Church. Which thing I durſt not do, but told him, his communicating for ſo long time at the Altar was ſufficient to this purpoſe. For I durſt not rebaptize one, who had ſo often heard the ſolemn Thankſgiving, and joyned with the reſt in ſaying *Amen* to it; who had ſtood at the Lord's Table, and ſtretched forth his Hand to receive the holy Food; who had taken it, and been ſo long uſed to participate of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. But I bid him be of good Courage, and with a firm Belief and good Conſcience continue to partake of the holy Myſteries. This was a nice Reſolution of a rare and ſingular caſe, and we ſcarce meet with ſuch another Inſtance in antient Hiſtory: But I have mentioned this and all the preceeding Caſes, to ſhew, that the Ancients had not generally that rigid Opinion of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm (barring the Neglect and Contempt of the Sacred Inſtitution) which ſome would father upon them; ſince they thought the bare want of it might be diſpenſed with and ſupplied ſo many ſeveral ways; either, 1. by Martyrdom; or, 2. by Faith and true Converſion; or, 3. by an immenſe Charity, and Love of Unity and Peace; or, 4. by a conſtant partaking of the *Euchariſt* in the Boſom of the Church.

SECT. XXIV. *The Caſe of Infants dying unbaptized. The Opinion of the Ancients concerning it.*

BUT it is to be obſerved, that theſe Allowances were chiefly made to adult Perſons, who could exhibit Faith and Repentance, the eſſential parts of Religion, to make ſome Compenſation for the want of the external Ceremony of Baptiſm: But as to Infants, the caſe was thought more difficult, becauſe there was no perſonal Faith or Repentance could be pleaded in their behalf; ſo that they were deſtitute both of the *outward viſible Sign, and the inward Spiritual Grace* of Baptiſm. Upon this account, they who ſpoke the moſt favourably of them, would only venture to aſſign them a middle ſtate, neither in Heaven nor Hell. As *Gregory Nazianzen* [*o*], who ſays, that ſuch Children as die unbaptized without their own Fault, ſhall neither be glorified nor puniſh'd by the righteous Judge, as having done no Wickedneſs, though they die unbaptized, and as rather ſuffering Loſs than being the Authors of it. *Severus* Biſhop of *Antioch* follows *Nazianzen* in this Opinion: For firſt he ſays [*p*] that if Children die unbaptized, without partaking of the Laver of Regeneration, they are certainly excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven: But then he adds, that for as much as they have committed no Sin, they ſhall not undergo any Puniſhment or Torment, but be conſigned to a ſort of middle ſtate, which he deſcribes as a ſtate betwixt the Glory of the Saints and the Puniſhment of the Damned. But this Opinion of a middle ſtate never found any Acceptance among the *Latins*: For they make but two Places to receive Men after the day of Judgment, Heaven and Hell; and concluded, that ſince Children, for want of waſhing away original Sin, could not be admitted into Heaven, they muſt of neceſſity be in Hell, there being no third Place between them. St. *Auſtin* frequently inſiſts upon this againſt the *Pelagians*, who diſtinguiſh between the Kingdom of God and eternal Life, aſſerting, that Children dying unbaptized might be admitted to eternal Life and Salvation, though not to the Kingdom of God: Whom he oppoſes after this manner in his Books about the Merits and Remiſſion of Sin: Though, he ſays, the Condemnation [*q*] of thoſe ſhall be greater, who to original Sin add actual Sins of their own; and every Man's Condemnation ſo much the greater, by how much greater Sins he commits; yet original Sin alone does not only ſeparate from the Kingdom of God, whither Children dying without the Grace of Chriſt cannot enter, as the *Pelagians* themſelves confeſs; but alſo it excludes them from eternal Life and Salvation, which can be no other than the Kingdom of God, into which our Communion with Chriſt alone can introduce us. A little after [*r*] he ſays plainly, that Children dying without Baptiſm are under Condemnation, tho' theirs be the mildeſt of any other. But he is very much deceived, and deceives others, who teaches that they are in no Condemnation at all,

[*n*] Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Xyſtum, ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 9. [*o*] Naz. Orat. 40. Tom. 1. p. 653. [*p*] Sever. Catena in Joh. 3. p. 83. [*q*] Aug. de Peccat. Meritis, lib. 1. c. 12. Quamvis condemnatio gravior ſi eorum, qui originali delicto etiam propria conjunxerunt, & tanto ſingulis gravior, quanto gravius quiſque peccavit: tamen etiam illud ſolum quod originaliter tractum eſt, non tantum à regno Dei ſeparat, quo Parvulos ſine accepta gratia Chriſti intrare non poſſe, ipſi etiam confitentur; verùm & à ſalute ac vita æterna facit alienos, quæ nulla alia eſſe poteſt præter regnum Dei, quo ſola Chriſti ſocietas introducit. [*r*] Ibid. c. 16. Poteſt proinde recte dici, Parvulos ſine baptiſmo de corpore exeuntes in damnatione omnium mitiſſima futuros. Multum autem & fallit & fallitur, qui eos in damnatione prædicat non futuros, dicente Apoſtolo, Judicium ex uno delicto in condemnationem. Et paulo poſt, Per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem.

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whilſt the Apoſtle declares, that *Judgment was by one offence to Condemnation:* And again, that *by the offence of one, Judgment came upon all men to Condemnation.* He tells us [*s*], upon this account the *Punick* Chriſtians were uſed to call Baptiſm by the name of Salvation, and the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, Life. And therefore, ſince no one could hope for Salvation and eternal Life without Baptiſm and the Body and Blood of the Lord, it was in vain to promiſe Children Salvation without them. In the ſame Book [*t*] he declares peremptorily againſt the Doctrine of a middle State for Infants or any other. There is no middle place for any, ſays he, he muſt be with the Devil, who is not with Chriſt. For our Lord himſelf intending to take away this Opinion of a middle State, which ſome erroneouſly endeavour to aſſign to Children dying unbaptized, as if by vertue of their Innocence they might be in eternal Life, though not with Chriſt in his Kingdom, ſo long as they wanted Baptiſm, pronounced this definitive Sentence to ſtop the Mouths of theſe Men, ſaying, *He that is not with me, is againſt me.* He argues againſt this middle State in many other places [*u*] againſt the *Pelagians*, and urges the neceſſity of Baptiſm to take away original Sin in Children, and bring them by Regeneration to eternal Life: Therefore, he ſays, Men ran with their Children to be baptized, becauſe they verily believed they could not otherwiſe be made alive in Chriſt. *Fulgentius* [*x*] is rather more peremptory and ſevere than St. *Auſtin:* He ſays, It is to be believed without all doubt, that not only Men, who are come to the uſe of Reaſon, but Infants, whether they die in their Mother's Womb, or after they are born, without Baptiſm in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, are puniſhed with everlaſting Puniſhment in eternal Fire; becauſe though they have no actual Sin of their own, yet they carry along with them the Condemnation of original Sin from their firſt Conception and Birth. The Author under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr* [*y*] alſo ſpeaking of Infants, ſays, there is this difference between thoſe that die baptized, and thoſe that die unbaptized, that the one obtain the Benefits that come by Baptiſm, which the other do not obtain. And the Author of the *Hypognoſticks* [*z*], under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, who is ſuppoſed by learned Men to be either *Marius Mercator*, or *Sixtus* Biſhop of *Rome*, diſputing againſt the *Pelagians*, treads exactly in the Steps of St. *Auſtin*; for he ſays, there is no middle State between Heaven and Hell; a third Place for unbaptized Infants is no where mentioned in Scripture. This was only an Invention forged in the Shop of the *Pelagians*, to find out a place where Infants might have Reſt and Glory without the Grace of Chriſt. Theſe are pretty ſevere Expreſſions, and yet conſidering the ſtate of the Controverſy between the *Catholicks* and *Pelagians*, there ſeems to have been pretty good Reaſon for them. For *Pelagius* ſaid, there was no original Sin, nor any need of Baptiſm to waſh away the Guilt of it, but Children might obtain Salvation and eternal Life, diſtinct from the Kingdom of God, without it. In oppoſition to this, the *Catholicks* maintained the Neceſſity of Baptiſm for Infants, as well as adult Perſons, to purge away original Sin, and procure eternal Life for them. But they have not ſo plainly told us, whether there be any excepted Caſes as to what concerns Infants, as they have concerning adult Perſons; whether a bare want of Baptiſm in the Child, when there was no Contempt or Neglect of Baptiſm in the Parent, by an unavoidable Neceſſity and ſudden Death intervening, debars the Child from the Kingdom of Heaven? Among all the Ancients, only *Fulgentius* has declared abſolutely againſt the Salvation of Infants dying before the Birth in the Mother's Womb. But others ſeem to ſpeak more favourably, except where the Parents were guilty of a Contempt or Neglect of Baptiſm, in not bringing their Children to be baptized when they had Time and Opportunity to do it, in which caſe the Child might fail of Salvation for the Parents Fault, and there be no Impeachment of God's Juſtice or Mercy in the Puniſhment. This ſeems to have been the Judgment of that excellent Author, who wrote the Book *De Vocatione Gentium*, which goes under the Name of *Proſper* or St. *Ambroſe*. For he gives this Reaſon, why the Doctrine about the Neceſſity of Baptiſm for the Salvation of Infants was ſo earneſtly preſſed upon Men, that Parents might not be remiſs or negligent in bringing their Children to Baptiſm; which they certainly would be, if they were once

[*s*] Aug. de Peccator. Merit. lib. 1. c. 24. Optime Punici Chriſtiani baptiſmum ipſum nihil aliud quam Salutem, & Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti, nihil aliud quam Vitam vocant. —— Si ergo nec Salus, nec Vita æterna ſine Baptiſmo, & Corpore & Sanguine Domini cuiquam ſperanda eſt, fruſtra ſine his promittitur Parvulis. [*t*] Ibid. c. 28. Nec eſt ullus ulli medius locus, ut poſſit eſſe, niſi cum Diabolo, qui non eſt cum Chriſto. Hinc & ipſe Dominus volens auferre de cordibus male credentium iſtam neſcio quam Medietatem, quam conantur quidam parvulis non baptizatis tribuere, ut quaſi merito Innocentiæ ſint in Vita æterna, ſed quia non ſunt baptizati, non ſint cum Chriſto in regno ejus, definitivam protulit ad hæc ora obſtruenda ſententiam, ubi ait, qui mecum non eſt, adverſum me eſt. [*u*] Aug. de Anima. lib. 1. c. 9. lib. 2. c. 12. lib. 3. c. 13. It. Epiſt. 28. ad Hieron. [*x*] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 27. Firmiſſime tene & nullatenus dubites, non ſolum homines jam ratione utentes, verum etiam parvulos, qui ſive in uteris matrum vivere incipiunt & ibi moriuntur, ſive cum de matribus nati, ſine Sacramento ſancti Baptiſmatis, quod datur in nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, de hoc ſæculo tranſeunt, ignis æterni ſempiterno ſupplicio puniendos: Quia etſi propriæ actionis peccatum nullum habuerunt, originalis tamen peccati damnationem carnali conceptione & nativitate traxerunt. Vid. Fulgent. de Baptiſmo Æthiopis, c. 8. [*y*] Juſtin. Quæſt. & Reſponſ. ad Orthodox. Q. 56. [*z*] Aug. Hypognoſt. lib. 5. c. 5. Primum locum fides Catholicorum divina authoritate regnum credidit eſſe cœlorum, unde, ut dixi, non baptizatus excipitur; ſecundum Gehennam, ubi omnis Apoſtata, vel à Chriſti fide alienus, æterna ſupplicia experietur. Tertium penitùs ignoramus, imo nec eſſe in Scripturis ſanctis invenimus. Finge, Pelagiane, locum ex officina perverſi dogmatis tui, ubi aliena à Chriſti gratia vitam requiei & gloriæ poſſidere parvuli poſſint.

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poſſeſſed with an Opinion that there was no Neceſſity of Baptiſm to Salvation. We ought not to believe, ſays he [a], in general Terms, that they who obtain not the Sacrament of Regeneration, can appertain to the Society of the Bleſſed. For every one muſt be ſenſible, how eaſily Sloth and Negligence would creep into the Hearts of the Faithful, if in the Buſineſs of baptizing Infants nothing was to be feared from the Parents Careleſneſs, or the Mortality of their Children. This Author preſſes the Neceſſity of baptizing Infants, as all good Chriſtians do, upon Suppoſition of ſome Benefit which the Parents Care may bring to the Child; and contrary-wiſe, an irreparable Damage and Loſs which the Child may ſuſtain by the Parents Default and Negligence. And this is ſufficient to quicken the Care and Watchfulneſs of Parents, though it be allowed, that in Caſes of extreme Neceſſity Children may be ſaved without Baptiſm. Nor is it improbable, that the Ancients intended no more, though their Expreſſions run in ſevere and general Terms without ſtanding preciſely to make Exceptions. For it cannot be denied but that Infants may be Martyrs as well as Adult Perſons; ſuch were the Children which *Herod* ſlew at *Bethlehem*: Parents may likewiſe deſire Baptiſm for their Children, Vowing Faith and Repentance in their Name, when ſome extreme Neceſſity only, and not any culpable Neglect hinders the obtaining of it. And in ſuch Caſes, if Adult Perſons may be ſaved without Baptiſm [as all the Ancients agree] there ſeems to be a Parity of Reaſon to extend the ſame Charity and Indulgence to little Children. *Hincmar*, Archbiſhop of *Rheimes*, a Man of great Reputation and Learning in his Time, and one well verſed in the Writings of the Ancients, gives this Solution of the whole Matter upon a remarkable Caſe that happened in his Time. A certain Biſhop of the ſame Country, *Hincmar* Biſhop of *Laon*, had for ſome unjuſt Cauſe hindered the Baptiſm of Infants in his Dioceſe, when their Parents or Godfathers deſired they might be baptized; by which means many Children died without Baptiſm. Now the Queſtion was concerning the future State of theſe Infants, whether the Parents deſire and preſenting them to Baptiſm was ſufficient for the Salvation of their Children? This without any Scruple [b] *Hincmar* reſolves in the Affirmative, that as Children who are ſubject to original Sin, which is the Sin of other Men, are ſaved by the Faith of others, that is, their Godfathers anſwering for them in Baptiſm; ſo thoſe Infants, who by the Command of that perverſe Biſhop were denied Baptiſm, might be ſaved by the Faith and faithful Deſire of their Parents or Godfathers, who had required both in Heart and Words that their Children might be baptized; and this by the Gift of him, whoſe Spirit, that is the Author of Regeneration, bloweth where it liſteth. If we thus interpret the Senſe of the Ancients with *Hincmar*, then all thoſe Paſſages which condemn Infants dying without Baptiſm, muſt be underſtood not of the bare want of Baptiſm, when it could not be had, but of the Parents Contempt or Neglect in not deſiring or procuring Baptiſm for their Children, when it was in their Power to do it. I have been the longer in explaining and confirming the Truth of theſe Points concerning the Neceſſity of Baptiſm both for Infants and Adult Perſons, becauſe the Ancients are miſtaken by ſome, and accuſed by others as too ſevere in urging the Neceſſity of Baptiſm; when yet it appears their Sentiments about it were exact enough as to what concerned the caſe of Catechumens, and alſo capable of a favourable Interpretation in the caſe of Infants, if we do not over-rigidly force their general Expreſſions beyond the true Deſign and Intention of the Authors.

I Should here have put an End to this Diſcourſe concerning the Inſtitution and Diſcipline of the Catechumens, but only that there are two things that may ſeem to require a little more diſtinct Handling than has been allowed them above: 1. Concerning the original Nature, and Uſe of the antient *Creeds* of the Church, which were chiefly drawn up for the Inſtruction and Service of the Catechumens, and therefore are moſt proper to be conſidered in this Place. 2. Concerning that part of their Diſcipline which conſiſted in concealing from them for ſome time the diſtinct and full Knowledge of ſome of the higher Doctrines and myſterious Rites of the Church. The Conſideration of which things ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapters.

CHAP. III.

Of the Original, Nature, and Names of the antient Creeds of the Church.

SECT. I. *Why the Creed is called* Symbolum.

IN ſpeaking of the Creed, it will be proper to ſay ſomething, in the firſt place, of its ſeveral antient Names, and the Reaſons of them, becauſe ſome of them are a little obſcure, and liable to be miſtaken. The moſt uſual Name of the Creed

[a] Proſper. de Vocat. Gentium. lib. 2. c. 8. Neque credi fas eſt, eos qui regenerationis non adepti ſunt Sacramentum, ad ullum Beatorum pertinere conſortium,—— Non latet quantum cordibus Fidelium deſidiæ gigneretur, ſi in baptizandis Parvulis nihil de cujuſquam negligentia, nihil de ipſorum eſſet Mortalitate metuendum. [b] Hincmar. Opuſc. 55. Capit. c. 48. Sicut Parvulis naturali, id eſt, alieno peccato, obnoxiis, aliorum, id eſt, Patronorum fides pro eis reſpondentium in baptiſmate ſit ad Salutem: Ita Parvulis, quibus baptiſmum denegari juſſiſti, Parentum vel Patronorum corde credentium, & pro Parvulis ſuis fideli verbo baptiſma expetentium, ſed non impetrantium, Fides & fidelis Poſtulatio prodeſſe potuerunt, Dono ejus cujus Spiritus, quo Regeneratio fit, ubi vult ſpirat.

was *Symbolum*; but why it was called ſo, is not agreed among learned Men. *Baronius* [a] aſſigns three Reaſons of the Name: 1. He ſuppoſes every Apoſtle caſt in his *Symbola*, his Article or Part, to the Compoſition of it; and therefore it might be called their *Symbol* or *Collation*. But, if the Foundation of this Suppoſition be uncertain, (as we ſhall ſee hereafter that it is) this could not be the Reaſon of the Name. 2. He thinks it might be ſo called, becauſe it was like the *Teſſera Militaris* among the *Roman* Soldiers, a ſort of Mark or Badge, by which true Chriſtians might be diſtinguiſhed from Infidels or Hereticks. 3. Becauſe it was a *Collation* or *Epitome* of the Chriſtian Doctrine. *Suicerus* [b] adds to theſe a fourth reaſon of the Name. It might be ſo called, he thinks, not from the military Badge, but the military Oath or Contract, which Soldiers made with the Emperor, when they entered into his Service. For the Creed is a token of the Contract which we make with God at our Baptiſm. For this he alledges the Teſtimony of St. *Ambroſe* [c], who calls the Creed the *Oath* or *Bond* of our *Warfare*: And *Petrus Chryſologus* [d], who ſays, an Agreement or Covenant is called *Symbolum* both in humane and divine Contracts. This laſt Signification is not improbable; but the ſecond is more generally received and approved by Modern [e] Authors, and has alſo the Countenance of ſome antient Writers. For *Maximus Taurinenſis* [f] ſuppoſes it to be called the *Symbol*, becauſe it is a Sign or Mark by which Believers are diſtinguiſhed from Unbelievers and Renegado's. And *Ruffinus* [g] allows this Signification, when he ſays, it was therefore called the Sign or Mark, becauſe at that time (when according to his Opinion, it was made by the Apoſtles) many of the circumciſed *Jews*, as is related both by St. *Paul*, and in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, did feign themſelves to be the Apoſtles of Chriſt; and to ſerve their own Lucre or their Belly, went forth to preach; naming indeed the Name of Chriſt, but not preaching him according to the true Lines of Tradition. Therefore the Apoſtles laid down this Mark or Teſt, whereby to diſcern him who preached Chriſt truly, according to the Apoſtolical Rules. It is farther reported to be a cuſtomary thing in Civil Wars, that becauſe their Arms, Language, Methods and Manner of Fighting are the ſame, therefore every General, to prevent Fraud, ſhould give his Soldiers a diſtinct Symbol, which in *Latin* is called a Sign or Token; that if one met another, of whom he had reaſon to doubt, by asking him the Symbol, he might diſcover whether he was Friend or Foe. But this does not ſatisfy a late learned [h] Writer, who thinks, "That this Name was not derived "from Military Cuſtom, but rather to be fetched "from the *Sacra*, or *religious Services of the Hea-* "*thens*, where thoſe who were initiated in their "Myſteries, and admitted to the Knowledge of "their peculiar Services, which were hidden and "concealed from the greateſt part of the Idolatrous "Multitude, had certain Signs or Marks, called "*Symbola*, delivered unto them, by which they "mutually knew each other, and upon the de-"claring of them, were without Scruple admit-"ted in any Temple to the ſecret Worſhip and "Rites of that God, whoſe Symbols they had "received." The uſe of theſe Symbols among the Heathens is abundantly proved by that learned Author, both from Heathen and Chriſtian Writers: But then he alledges no Authority to prove that the Chriſtians called their *Creed* by the Name of *Symbol*, in Imitation of that Heathen Practice: And it is ſome Prejudice againſt it, that no ſuch thing is ſaid or hinted by any antient Writer. Neither is it very likely, that the Chriſtians would have ſo nice a Regard to the abominable and filthy Myſteries of the Heathen, as to chuſe that Signification of the Name *Symbol* for their *Creed*, when with much more Decency it might be fetched from the innocent and ordinary Cuſtoms uſed in Military Affairs, or Civil Contracts, from which it is with greater Probability derived, both by Antient and Modern Writers.

SECT. II. *Why called* Canon, *and* Regula Fidei.

ANOTHER uſual Name of the *Creed* was Κανὼν, the Rule, ſo called becauſe it was the known Standard or Rule of Faith, by which *Orthodoxy* and *Hereſy* were examined and judged. As when the Council of *Antioch* [i] ſays of *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, that he was an Apoſtate from the Rule, it is plain, the meaning is, he had deviated in his Doctrine from the Creed, the Rule of Faith. Agreeably to this, it is commonly ſtyled among the *Greeks*, [k] ὅρος and ἔκθεσις πίστεως, the Determination or Expoſition of the Faith; and ſometimes ſimply πίστις, the Faith [l]. Which anſwers to the *Latin* Name, *Regula fidei*, the Rule of Faith, the common Appellation of it in

[a] Baron. an. 44. n. 15. [b] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce σύμβολον. [c] Ambroſ. de Veland. Virgin. lib. 3. Symbolum cordis ſignaculum, & noſtræ militiæ Sacramentum. [d] Chryſolog. Hom. 62. Placitum vel Pactum, quod lucri ſpes venientis continet, vel futuri, Symbolum nuncupari, contractu etiam docemur humano, &c. [e] Forbes Inſtruct. Hiſtor. Theolog. lib. 1. c. 1. n. 2. [f] Maxim. Taurin. Homil. in Symbol. p. 239. Signaculum Symboli inter Fideles Perfidoſque diſcernit. [g] Ruffin. Expoſ. Symboli ad calcem Cypriani, p. 17. Indicium autem vel ſignum idcirco dicitur, quia illo tempore, ſicut & Paulus Apoſtolus dicit, & in Actis Apoſtolorum refertur, multi ex circumciſis Judæis ſimulabant ſe eſſe Apoſtolos Chriſti, & lucri alicujus vel ventris gratia ad Prædicandum proficiſcebantur; nominantes quidem Chriſtum, ſed non integris traditionum lineis nunciantes. Idcirco ergo iſtud indicium poſuere, per quod agnoſceretur is, qui Chriſtum vere ſecundum Apoſtolicas Regulas prædicaret. Denique & in bellis civilibus hoc obſervari ferunt: quoniam & armorum habitus par, & ſonus vocis idem, & mos unus eſt, atque eadem inſtituta bellandi, ne qua doli ſubreptio fiat, Symbola diſcreta unuſquiſque Dux ſuis militibus tradit; quæ latine vel Signa vel Indicia nominantur: ut ſi forte occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus Symbolum, prodat ſi ſit hoſtis, an ſocius. [h] *Critical Hiſtory of the* Creed, *p.* 11. [i] Epiſt. Conc. Antioch ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 30. ἔκθεσις τῆς κανόνος. [k] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 39, & 40. lib. 5. c. 4. [l] Theodoret. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 7.

Irenæns [m], *Tertullian* [n], *Novatian* [o], and St. *Jerom* [p], where they ſpeak of Hereticks, and their Deviations from the common Articles of the Chriſtian Faith contained in the Creeds of the Church.

SECT. III. *Why called* Mathema.

ANOTHER ordinary Appellation of the Creed in the antient *Greek* Writers, is μάθημα, the Leſſon, ſo called from the Obligation the Catechumens were under to learn it. This may eaſily be miſtaken by an unwary Reader for a Leſſon in the Bible, unleſs where ſome Note of Diſtinction is added to it. Therefore, when we read in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, under *Mennas*, that after the reading of the Goſpel, in time of the Communion-Service, the Holy Leſſon [q] was read according to Cuſtom, we are not to underſtand it of any other Leſſon out of the Bible, but of the Creed, which was then made part of the Communion-Service. And ſo *Socrates* [r] ſometimes uſes the Word: And *Valeſius* [s] has obſerved, that in two Manuſcripts of that Author, where the *Nicene Creed* is recited, the Title of *Mathema* is ſet before it. But *Leontius Byzantinus* [t] ſpeaks more explicitely, and calls it by way of Diſtinction, *The Decree or Leſſon of Faith*, ſpeaking of the Creed which the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* were about to make.

SECT. IV. *Why called* γράμμα *and* γραφή.

Valeſius [u] has alſo obſerved out of *Socrates*, that it is ſometimes ſtyled ſimply and abſolutely γραφὴ and γράμμα. Which Words, though they are uſually taken to ſignify the holy Scripture, yet here they muſt have another Meaning: For the Creed, properly ſpeaking, is not an inſpired Writing, unleſs in that Senſe as it may be ſaid to be collected out of the inſpired Writings: But here thoſe Words ſignify only in a common Senſe, Letters or Learning; and ſo are uſed, as the foregoing Word, *Mathema*, with a peculiar reference to the learning of the Catechumens. Some alſo alledge *Cyprian* for another Name, as if he called the Creed peculiarly the Sacrament of Faith [x]. But I am not ſatisfied that *Cyprian*'s Meaning is ſo to be reſtrained. For he is rather ſpeaking in general againſt prophaning the Myſteries of Religion, which include the Sacraments, or any other religious Rites, as well as the Creed; applying that Text of Scripture to his Purpoſe, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs, neither caſt ye your Pearls before Swine, leſt they tread them under their Feet, and turn again and rent you.* Or, if it be limitted to any particular Myſtery, it ſhould rather ſignify Baptiſm than the *Creed*: For Baptiſm is ſometimes called the *Sacrament of Faith* by St. *Auſtin* [y], and the *Sacrament of Faith and Repentance* by *Fulgentius* [z] and others, as I ſhall more particularly ſhew, when I come to treat of Baptiſm. For which reaſon I do not take this to be any particular Name given to the *Creed* by any antient Writer: But the *Creed* is the Faith itſelf (the *Credulitas*, as ſome middle-aged Writers [a] call it) and the Sacrament of Faith is Baptiſm.

SECT. V. *Whether that which is commonly called* The Apoſtles Creed, *was compoſed by the Apoſtles in the preſent Form of Words.*

THE next Enquiry is into the Original and Nature of the antient *Creeds*: Which will admit of three Queſtions. 1. Whether that which is commonly called *The Apoſtles Creed*, was compoſed by the Apoſtles in the ſame Form of Words as now it is uſed in the Church? 2. Whether the Apoſtles made or uſed any *Creeds* at all for the Inſtitution of Catechumens, or the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm? 3. If they did; what Articles were contained in them? The firſt Queſtion is now generally reſolved in the Negative by learned Men, though many both of the Ancients and Moderns have been of a different Opinion. Some have thought that the twelve Apoſtles in a full Meeting compoſed the *Creed* in the very ſame Form of Words as now it is uſed in the Church; and others have gone ſo far as to pretend to tell what Article was compoſed by every particular Apoſtle. Dr. *Comber* is ſo poſitive in the Matter, as to ſay, We have no better *Medium* to prove the Books [b] were written by thoſe Authors whoſe Names they bear, than the unanimous Teſtimony of Antiquity; and by that we can abundantly prove the Apoſtles were the Authors of this *Creed*. For this he cites *Clemens Romanus*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Ruffinus*, *Ambroſe*, *Auſtin*, *Jerom*, Pope *Leo*, *Maximus Taurinenſis*, *Caſſian* and *Iſidore*. But none of theſe Writers, except *Ruffinus*, ſpeak home to this purpoſe; but only ſay, the *Creeds* in general are of Apoſtolical Inſtitution: Which, for the Subſtance, no one denies; for they ſpeak of ſeveral Forms, and yet aſcribe them all to the Apoſtles: Which is an Argument they did not mean this particular Form any more than others. For the *Nicene Creed* is often called the *Apoſtles Creed*; and yet no one believes that that *Creed*

[m] Iren. lib. 1. c. 19. [n] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 13. Regula eſt autem Fidei, qua creditur unum omnino Deum eſſe, &c. It. de Veland. Virgin. c. 1. Regula autem Fidei una omnino eſt, ſola immobilis & irreformabilis, credendi ſcilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, &c. [o] Novatian. de Trinit. c. 1. & 9. Regula Veritatis. [p] Hieron. Ep. 54. ad Marcellam, cont. Errores Montani. Primum in Fidei Regula diſcrepamus, &c. [q] Conc. C. P. ſub Menna. Act. 5. Tom. 5. p. 181. τὸ ἁγίᾳ μαθήματι καὶ τὸ σύνηθες λεγόμενον. [r] Socrat. Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 25. τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ μαθήματι. Uſſer. de Symbolis, p. 20. *ſhews the ſame out of* Juſtinian, Maxentius, *and* Photius. [s] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8. [t] Leont. de Sectis. Act. 6. p. 515. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὥστε θεσι πίστεως καὶ μάθημα ποιῆσαι. [u] Valeſ. Not. in Theodor. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 8. [x] Cypr. Teſtim. ad Quirin. lib. 3. c. 50. Sacramentum Fidei non eſſe prophanandum. ——Ne dederitis ſanctum canibus, &c. [y] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Sicut ſecundum quendam modum Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti Corpus Chriſti eſt, Sacramentum ſanguinis Chriſti ſanguis Chriſti eſt, ita Sacramentum Fidei Fides eſt. [z] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum. c. 30. Per Sacramentum Fidei & Pœnitentiæ, id eſt, per Baptiſmum liberatus. [a] Vid. Herardi Turonenſis Capitul. 140. ap. Wharton. Auctarium Hiſtoriæ Dogmaticæ Uſſerii. p. 368. Gloria Patri, ac ſanctus, atque Credulitas, & Kyrie Eleeſon à cunctis reverenter canantur. It. Edictum Reccaredi Regis ad calcem Concilii Toletani tertii. [b] Comber's *Companion to the Temple*, p. 132.

was compoſed *totidem verbis* by the Apoſtles. *Ruffinus* indeed ſeems to ſay, there was an antient Tradition, that the Apoſtles being about to depart from *Jeruſalem* [*c*], firſt ſettled a Rule for their future preaching; leſt after they were ſeparated from one another, they ſhould expound different Doctrines to thoſe whom they invited to the Chriſtian Faith. Wherefore, being all aſſembled together, and filled with the Holy Ghoſt, they compoſed this ſhort Rule of their preaching, each one contributing his Sentence, and left it as a Rule to be given to all Believers. And for this reaſon, he thinks, it might be called the Symbol, becauſe the Word in *Greek* ſignifies both a Teſt, and a Collation of Opinions together. The Author [*d*] under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, is a little more particular in the Story: For he pretends to tell us what Article was put in by each particular Apoſtle: *Peter* ſaid, *I believe in God, the Father Almighty.* John, *Maker of Heaven and Earth.* James, *And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son, our Lord.* Andrew added, *Who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary. Philip ſaid, *Suffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was Crucified, dead and buried.* Thomas, *He deſcended into Hell; the third Day he roſe again from the Dead.* Bartholomew, *He aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty.* Matthew, *From thence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.* James, the Son of Alphæus, added, *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the holy Catholick Church.* Simon Zelotes, *The Communion of Saints, the Forgiveneſs of Sins.* Jude, the Brother of James, *The Reſurrection of the Body.* Matthias, *Life Everlaſting.*

But now there is an inſuperable Difficulty lies againſt this Tradition, which is this, that there are two or three Articles here mentioned, which are known not to have been in this Creed for three or four Ages at leaſt. For *Ruffinus* himſelf tells us, the Deſcent into Hell was neither in the *Roman* [*e*] Creed, which is that we call, *the Apoſtles Creed*, nor yet in any Creed of the *Eaſtern* Churches; only the Senſe of it might be ſaid to be couched in the other Expreſſion, *he was buried.* Biſhop *Uſher* and Biſhop *Pearſon* have demonſtrated the Truth of this Obſervation by a particular Induction from all the antient Creeds, and ſhewed this Article to be wanting in them all for four hundred Years, except the Creed of *Aquileia*, which *Ruffinus* expounds, and the Creed of the Council of *Ariminum*, mentioned [*f*] in *Socrates.* Others have made the ſame Obſervation upon the Article concerning *the Communion of Saints*, which is not to be found either in the Creed of *Aquileia*, or any antient *Greek* or *Latin* Creed for above the ſpace of four hundred Years. Nor is the Article of *the Life Everlaſting* expreſly mentioned in many Creeds, but only incluſively contained in *the Reſurrection of the Body*; which is the concluding Article in many antient Creeds. Theſe are plain Demonſtrations, without any other Argument, that the Creed, as it ſtands in the preſent Form, could not be compoſed, in the manner as is pretended, by the Apoſtles. The Silence of *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, about any ſuch Compoſition, is a collateral Evidence againſt it. The Silence of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, for above three whole Centuries, is a farther Confirmation. The Variety of Creeds in ſo many different Forms, uſed by the Ancients, yet extant in their Writings, ſome with Omiſſions, others with Additions, and all in a different Phraſe, are no leſs evident Proofs, that one univerſal Form had not been pitched upon and preſcribed to the whole Church by the Apoſtles. For then it is ſcarce to be imagined, that any Church ſhould have received any other Form in the leaſt Tittle varying from it. Theſe Reaſons do now generally ſatisfy learned Men, that no ſuch preciſe Form was compoſed, according to that pretended Tradition, by all the Apoſtles. The Reader may find Diſſertations in *Voſſius* [*g*], Biſhop *Uſher* [*h*], *Hammond L'Eſtrange* [*i*], *Baſnagius* [*k*], *Suicerus* [*l*], and the learned Author of the late *Critical* [*m*] *Hiſtory of the* Creed, to this purpoſe. And it is much to be wondered at, that any knowing Perſon, againſt ſuch convincing Evidence, ſhould labour to maintain the contrary, upon no better Grounds than only this, that the Ancients agree in calling the *Creed* Apoſtolical. For they do not always intend this particular Form, but call all other Forms Apoſtolical, the *Nicene Creed*, the *Conſtantinopolitan Creed*, the *Eaſtern Creeds*, the *Weſtern Creeds*, and all others which agree with this in Subſtance, tho' not in Method or Expreſſion, and are all equally Apoſtolical, as being all derived from the Apoſtles preaching, and for Subſtance compoſed by them, and ſome of them perhaps left in the Churches where they preached, as the firſt Rudiments of this *Creed* ſeem to have been in the *Roman* Church. So far all the antient *Catholick Creeds* may be ſaid to be Apoſtolical, as being in Subſtance the ſame with the *Creeds* uſed in Baptiſm by the Apoſtles.

[*c*] Ruffin. Expoſ. Symboli, ad calcem Cypriani, p 17. Diſceſſuri itaque ab invicem, normam prius futuræ ſibi prædicationis in commune conſtituunt: Ne forte alius ab alio abducti, diverſum aliquid his qui ad fidem Chriſti invitabantur, exponerent. Omnes ergo in uno poſiti, & Spiritu ſancto repleti, breve iſtud futuræ ſibi, ut diximus, prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod ſentiebat unuſquiſque, componunt; atque hanc credentibus dandam eſſe Regulam ſtatuunt. Symbolum autem hoc multis & juſtiſſimis cauſſis appellare voluerunt. Symbolum enim græce & Indicium dici poteſt, & Collatio, hoc eſt, quod plures in unum conferunt. [*d*] Aug. de Tempore. Ser. 115. al. 42. in Append. Tom. 10. p 675. [*e*] Ruffin. Expoſ. Symboli, p. 22. Sciendum ſane eſt, quod in Eccleſiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, Deſcendit ad Inferna, ſed neque in Orientis Eccleſiis habetur hic Sermo: Vis tamen verbi eadem videtur eſſe in eo quod Sepultus dicitur. [*f*] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 37. [*g*] Voſſ. de tribus Symbolis. [*h*] Uſſer. de Symbolo Romano. [*i*] L'Eſtrange's *Alliance of Divin Offic.* Chap. 3. p. 80. [*k*] Baſnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 471. [*l*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce *σύμβολον*. Tom. 2. p. 1092. [*m*] *Critical Hiſt. of the* Creed, Chap. 1. p. 27. *See alſo* Biſhop Bull's Judicium Eccleſiæ Cathol. &c. cap. 5. n. 3. *Where he refers to* Voſſius *as having abundantly proved this Theſis.*

SECT. VI. *That probably the Apoſtles uſed ſeveral Creeds differing in Form, not in Subſtance.*

BY all then that has hitherto been ſaid, I intend not to inſinuate, that the Apoſtles uſed no Creeds at all, but rather that they uſed many, differing in Form, but not in Subſtance from one another. All that I contend for, is only this, that none of the preſent Forms are exactly the ſame in Expreſſion with thoſe of the Apoſtles, which is demonſtrated from the variety of Creeds uſed in ſeveral Churches, and from the Addition of ſome Words to that Creed which pretends moſt to be Apoſtolical. But though the Apoſtles compoſed no one Creed to be of perpetual and univerſal Uſe for the whole Church, yet it is not to be doubted but that they uſed ſome Forms in admitting Catechumens to Baptiſm. There are many Expreſſions in Scripture that favour this, particularly *Philip*'s Queſtions to the *Eunuch* before he baptized him, and St. *Peter*'s Interrogatories, or the Anſwer of a good Conſcience towards God, which was uſed in Baptiſm: And the conſtant Practice of the Church, in Imitation of the Apoſtles, admitting none to Baptiſm but by anſwer to ſuch Interrogatories, is a ſufficient Demonſtration of the Apoſtolical Practice. But then as the Church uſed a Liberty of Expreſſion in her ſeveral Creeds, ſo it is not improbable the Apoſtles did the ſame without tying themſelves to any one Form, who had leſs need to do it, being all guided by Inſpiration. And hence it came to paſs, that there being no one certain Form of a Creed preſcribed univerſally to all Churches, every Church had liberty to frame their own Creeds, as they did their own Liturgies, without being ty'd preciſely to any one Form of Words, ſo long as they kept to the Analogy of Faith and Doctrine at firſt delivered by the Apoſtles: Which ſeems to be the true Reaſon of ſo many antient Forms, differing in Words, not in Subſtance.

SECT. VII. *What Articles were contained in the Apoſtolical Creeds.*

BUT now the grand Queſtion ſtill remains, concerning the Nature, Subſtance and Extent of the Apoſtolical Creeds, that is, what Articles were contained in them. Some there are who would confine theſe to very narrow Bounds, making them at firſt to be no more than what is contained expreſly in the Form of Baptiſm, *I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.* So *Epiſcopius* [n] and his Followers, who would perſuade the World, that for the three firſt Ages, the Doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was no neceſſary Article of the Chriſtian Faith. But the learned Biſhop *Bull* [o], and Dr. *Grabe* [p], have judiciouſly refuted theſe pretences, the one by ſhewing from all the antient Creeds that this Doctrine was a neceſſary Article before the *Nicene* Council; and the other by evincing from Scripture, that the Lineaments of the *Apoſtles Creed*, uſed in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, were at the firſt much larger than what *Epiſcopius* pretended; and that in the Apoſtles Age, either by their Authority or Permiſſion, the Creed conſiſted of all the preſent Articles, except only thoſe two, *of the Deſcent into Hell, and the Communion of Saints*, which are owned to be of later Admiſſion. Mr. *Baſnage* [q] indeed has a peculiar Opinion, that the Creed was compoſed, and the chief Articles inſerted only in the ſecond Century, in opppoſition to ſeveral Hereſies, which then began to infeſt the Church. The *Gnoſticks* brought in the Doctrine of a two-fold Deity, the one Good, the other Evil: Againſt this peſtilent Hereſy, the Church put that Article into her Creed, *I believe in God*, or *in one God*. *Menander*, the Diſciple of *Simon Magus*, aſſerted, that the World was not created by God, but by Angels: This occaſioned the Church to inſert thoſe Words, *Maker of Heaven and Earth*. *Carpocrates* taught, that *Jeſus* was a mere Man, and begotten of both Sexes, as other Men. In Oppoſition to whom, it was inſerted, that *Chriſt was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*. The *Baſilidians* did not believe *Jeſus* was crucified by the *Jews*, but only *Simon* of *Cyrene*: To refute whom, they put in thoſe Words, *he was dead and buried*. *Carpocrates* rejected the Reſurrection of the Fleſh: And upon that, *I believe the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*, was added to the Creed. Thus, if we will hearken to this learned Perſon, there was no Creed at all made by the Apoſtles, but it was compoſed intirely by the Church, and gradually augmented, only as the Riſe of *Sects* and *Hereſies* required ſome Oppoſition to be made to them. The learned Author of the late *Critical Hiſtory of the Creed* goes the ſame way, only with this difference, that he ſuppoſes (what Mr. *Baſnage* does not) that ſome Articles were inſerted by the Apoſtles themſelves, and others ſuper-added by the Church, as the Occaſion of *Hereſies* required. But, when he ſpeaks of the particular Articles, he falls in with Mr. *Baſnage*'s Notion about the chiefeſt: For he ſuppoſes the firſt Article, *I believe in one God*, not to be made againſt the *Polytheiſm* of the *Gentiles* by the Apoſtles, but only by the Church, upon the riſe of the *Hereſies* of the *Valentinians*, *Cerdonians*, *Marcionites*, and others in After-ages. Which in effect is to ſay, *the Creed was made, and not made by the Apoſtles:* For, if the principal Articles were not compoſed by them, I ſee not what elſe can entitle them to have been the Authors of it. And therefore I much more readily ſubſcribe to the Opinion of the learned Dr. *Grabe*, which he maintains againſt this learned Perſon, that the Article of *one God the Father, Maker of Heaven and Earth*, was originally inſerted into the Creed by the Apoſtles, againſt the capital Error of the *Gentiles*, who made one God to have Power over Heaven, another over the Earth, another over the Sea, *&c.* and divided the divine Honour among them. For ſo the Vulgar among the Heathen practiſed

[n] Epiſcop. Inſtitut. lib. 4. Sect. 2. cap. 34. [o] Bull. Judic. Eccleſ. Cathol. &c. cap. 6. [p] Grabe Annotata ad cap. 5, 6, & 7. ejuſd. p. 61. [q] Baſnag. Exercit in Baron. p. 476.

their

their Idolatry; however the Philoſophers among them might be a little more refined in their Theology, and have more agreeable Notions of the Unity of the Supreme God. Therefore it is reaſonable to believe this firſt Article was inſerted to make Men renounce in their Baptiſm this erroneous Opinion of the *Gentiles*.

The Opinion of *Epiſcopius*, that nothing more was originally in the Creed about our Saviour, but only the bare Title of the *Son*, is ſolidly refuted by Dr. *Grabe*, who proves from Scripture, that he had always this Title with the Addition of his being the *Son of God*: And that thoſe other Articles, *he was crucified, dead, and buried; that he roſe again, and aſcended into Heaven, and ſat at the Right Hand of God, and from thence ſhould come to judge the Quick and Dead*, were all original Articles of the Creed; being ſuch Doctrines as the Apoſtles chiefly taught their Catechumens, and ſuch as the *Jews* and *Gentiles* either denied or ridiculed: And therefore it was proper to make all new Converts, at their Entrance on Chriſtianity, make a particular Profeſſion of ſuch Articles, in Oppoſition to their former Errors, whether they came over from the *Jews* or *Gentiles*. Upon this account he alſo rejects the Opinion of the Author of the *Critical Hiſtory*, who ſuppoſes the Article of the *Aſcenſion of Chriſt into Heaven* to have been added to the Creed only in the ſecond Century, and that in oppoſition to *Apelles*, one of *Marcion*'s Diſciples, who denied the Aſcenſion of *Chriſt*'s Fleſh into Heaven. But, if it had been deſigned againſt him, it would no doubt have been more particularly expreſſed, *that his Fleſh aſcended into Heaven*; as Dr. *Grabe* obſerves it is in *Irenæus*; and not barely *that Chriſt aſcended into Heaven*. For the ſame Reaſon he concludes, that the following Articles, *of his Seſſion at God's Right Hand, and his coming to judge the Quick and the Dead*, could not be inſerted into the Creed in oppoſition to the *Marcionites* and *Gnoſticks*, as the forementioned Author ſuppoſes: For then they would have been more preciſely worded againſt their reigning Tenets, which were, *that Chriſt's Fleſh was void of Senſe in Heaven, and that Chriſt was not the Son of that God who is the Judge of the World:* Wherefore it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe thoſe Articles were originally inſerted by the Apoſtles, to correct the Ignorance and Errors of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

As to thoſe two Articles, *he was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin* Mary, Dr. *Grabe* makes ſome queſtion whether they were as antient as the former, becauſe they do not appear in the common Catechetical Diſcourſes of the Apoſtles; but he thinks, before St. *John*'s Death they were inſerted, againſt the Hereſies of *Carpocrates*, *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who denied both Articles, and aſſerted, that Chriſt *was born of* Joſeph *and* Mary, after the common way of Mankind.

The Article of the *Holy Ghoſt* was always a Part of the *Apoſtles Creed*, by the Confeſſion of *Epiſcopius* himſelf. And therefore the Opinion of thoſe who maintain, that nothing more was required of Catechumens before Baptiſm, but only the Profeſſion of their Faith in Jeſus Chriſt as the Son of God, is wholly to be rejected.

The Article of *Remiſſion of Sins* was alſo originally in the *Apoſtolical Creeds*, becauſe it always appears to have been one principal Point of their Catechetical Inſtitutions. And therefore the Opinion of the learned Author of the *Critical Hiſtory*, that it was only in ſome Creeds, but not in all, till the Riſe of the *Novatian Hereſy*, is alſo to be rejected; becauſe it appears from *Cyprian*, that it was in the Creed which the *Novatians* themſelves made uſe of in Baptiſm.

The Articles of the *Reſurrection of the Dead, and Life Everlaſting*, are alſo concluded to have been in the *Apoſtles Creed*, if not from the very firſt, yet at leaſt when St. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, becauſe he there mentions the *Reſurrection of the Dead, and eternal Judgment, among the Fundamental Doctrines of the Chriſtian Faith*, Heb. vi. 2.

The Article of *the Church*, Dr. *Grabe* thinks was not originally in the Creed, but added in the latter end of the firſt Century, or beginning of the ſecond, upon occaſion of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks ſeparating from the Church. At leaſt it appears from *Tertullian*'s Book *de Baptiſmo*, that the Profeſſion of it was required in his time, of Catechumens at their Baptiſm. For he ſays, [r] after they had teſtify'd their Faith in the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, they alſo added the *Church*, becauſe where thoſe three were, there was the *Church*, and it was the Body of the three.

The Article of the *Communion of Saints*, he readily acknowledges, was never in any Creed before the fourth Century. And that concerning the *Deſcent into Hell* was not originally in the Creed, but added upon occaſion of Hereticks in After-ages. But the preciſe time of its Addition is not exactly agreed upon, between the Author of the *Critical Hiſtory* and Dr. *Grabe*. The former (who is allowed to have explained the genuine Senſe of this Article with as great Exactneſs as the moſt conſummate Divine) ſuppoſes it to have been added againſt the *Arians* and *Apollinarians*; (who denied the Soul or Spirit of *Chriſt*) becauſe the Fathers argued thus againſt them: Chriſt deſcended into Hell either in his Divinity, or his Soul, or his Body: But it is abſurd to aſcribe the Deſcent into Hell either to his Divinity, or his Body; and therefore it muſt be his Soul that deſcended; which proves the reality of his Soul. But Dr. *Grabe* thinks this Article was of earlier Date, becauſe it is to be found in ſome of the *Arian* Creeds themſelves, and others, more antient than the *Apollinarians:* And that if it had been inſerted againſt the *Apollinarian* Doctrine, it would not have been barely ſaid, *he deſcended into Hell*; but rather, he deſcended by his

[r] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. Cum ſub tribus & Teſtatio fidei & Sponſio ſalutis pignorentur, neceſſariò adjicitur Eccleſiæ mentio; quoniam ubi tres, id eſt, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Eccleſia, quæ trium Corpus eſt.

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Soul into Hell; which had been directly againſt that Hereſy. Therefore he rather ſuppoſes it to have been added to the Creed in Oppoſition to the *Valentinians* and *Marcionites*, who, according to the Account given by *Irenæus* [*s*] and *Tertullian* [*t*], pretended, that the Souls of all that died of their Sects went immediately to Heaven; when yet Chriſt himſelf went into the State and Place of ſeparate Souls for three Days before his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion.

Upon the whole matter, Dr. *Grabe* concludes, that all the Articles of the Creed, except theſe three, *the Communion of Saints*, *the Church*, and the *Deſcent of Chriſt into Hell*, were ſolemnly profeſſed by the firſt Chriſtians in their Confeſſions of Faith in the Apoſtles Days, by their Authority, or at leaſt their Approbation: For which Reaſon the Creed, as to thoſe Parts of it, may properly be called Apoſtolical. And it could hardly be, that all Churches in the World ſhould ſo unanimouſly agree in the common Confeſſion of ſo many Articles of it, unleſs it had proceeded from ſome ſuch Authority as they all acknowledged. But the Reaſon why the Confeſſions of particular Churches differed in Words and Phraſes, he thinks, was from hence, that the Creed which the Apoſtles delivered, was not written with Paper and Ink, but in the fleſhly Tables of the Heart, as St. *Jerom* [*u*] words it. Whence every Church was at liberty to expreſs their Senſe in their own Terms. But he will not undertake to vindicate the common Tradition of *Ruffinus*, that it was made by joint Conſent of all the Apoſtles, when they were about to ſeparate from one another; and much leſs, that every one of the twelve Apoſtles caſt in his Symbol to compleat the number of twelve Articles, as the other Story is told by the Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, which he thinks is not in the leaſt to be regarded. I have been a little more particular in repreſenting the Senſe of this great Man upon this Point, both becauſe his Account of the original of the ſeveral Articles of the Creed ſeems to be moſt exact, and becauſe the Diſcourſe where he delivers his Opinion may not yet be fallen into the Hands of every ordinary Reader.

CHAP. IV.

A Collection of ſeveral antient Forms of the Creed out of the Primitive Records of the Church.

SECT. I. *The Fragments of the Creed in* Irenæus.

I SHALL now in the next place preſent the Reader with ſeveral of the antient Forms of the Creed, as we find them preſerved in the moſt antient Writers, and the moſt authentick primitive Records of the Church. The Uſe of theſe will be, not only to illuſtrate and confirm what has been ſaid in the laſt Chapter, but alſo to declare what was the antient Faith of the Church, and ſhew the Vanity of Modern Hereticks, eſpecially the *Arians*, who pretend that the Doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was no neceſſary Article of Faith before the Council of *Nice*. Biſhop *Uſher*, in his curious Tract *de Symbolo Romano*, has already collected a great many of theſe antient Forms; but becauſe this Piece is written in *Latin*, and become very ſcarce, and ſome things more may be added to it, I will here oblige the *Engliſh* Reader with a new Account of them, beginning with the Fragments of the Creed which we have in *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Tertullian*, and other private Writers, which Biſhop *Uſher* gives no account of. Some fancy the Creed may be found in the Writings of *Ignatius*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Polycarp*, and *Juſtin Martyr*: But Biſhop *Pearſon* [*a*] has rightly obſerved, that theſe Writers, however they may incidentally mention ſome Articles of Faith, do not formally deliver any Rule of Faith uſed in their own times. The firſt that ſpeaks of this is *Irenæus*, who calls it the unalterable Canon [*b*] or Rule of Truth, which every Man received at his Baptiſm. And he immediately declares what it was in theſe Words: The Church, tho' it be diſperſed over all the World [*c*] from one end of the Earth to the other, received from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples, The Belief in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth and Sea, and all things in them: And in one Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, who was Incarnate for our Salvation: And in the Holy Ghoſt, who preached by the Prophets the Diſpenſations of [God], and the Advent, and Nativity of a Virgin, and Paſſion, and Reſurrection from the dead, and Bodily Aſcenſion of the Fleſh of his beloved Son Chriſt Jeſus our Lord into Heaven, and his Coming again from Heaven in the Glory of the Father, to recapitulate all things, and raiſe the Fleſh of all Mankind; that according to the Will of the inviſible Father, every Knee ſhould bow of things in Heaven, and things in the Earth, and things under the Earth, to Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, and that every Tongue ſhould confeſs to him, and that he may exerciſe juſt Judgment upon all, and ſend Spiritual Wickedneſſes, and the Tranſgreſſing and Apoſtate Angels, with all ungodly, unrighteous, lawleſs and blaſpheming Men into everlaſting Fire; but grant Life to all righteous and holy Men,

[*s*] Irenæ. lib. 5. c. 31. [*t*] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 55. [*u*] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 9. [*a*] Pearſon's *Expoſition of the Creed*, *Article* 5. Initio. [*b*] Iren. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 44. [*c*] Ibid. cap. 2. p. 45.

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that keep his Commandments, and perſevere in his Love, ſome from the Beginning, others after Repentance, on whom He confers Immortality, and inveſts them with Eternal Glory. This Faith, he ſays, was the ſame in all the World; Men profeſſed it with one Heart and one Soul: For, though there were different Dialects in the World, yet the Power of the Faith was one [*d*] and the ſame. The Churches in *Germany* had no other Faith or Tradition than thoſe in *Iberia* or *Spain*, or thoſe among the *Celtæ*, that is, *France*, or in the *Eaſt*, or in *Ægypt*, or in *Libya*, or in the middle Parts of the World; by which he means *Jeruſalem* and the adjacent Churches, which were reckoned to be in the midſt of the Earth. But, as one and the ſame Sun enlighteneth all the World; ſo the preaching of this Truth ſhined all over, and enlightened all Men that were willing to come to the Knowledge of the Truth. Nor did the moſt Eloquent Ruler of the Church ſay any more than this: [For no one was above his Maſter] nor the Weakeſt diminiſh any Thing of this Tradition. For the Faith being one and the ſame, he that ſaid moſt of it could not inlarge it, nor he that ſaid leaſt take any thing from it.

The Reader will eaſily perceive, that *Iræneus* by this one Faith did not mean the expreſs Form of Words now uſed in the Apoſtles Creed: For his Words differ much in Expreſſion from that, though in Senſe and Subſtance it be the ſame Faith, and that which was then preached and taught over all the Churches.

SECT. II. *The Creed of* Origen.

THERE is another ſuch Form of Apoſtolical Doctrine collected by *Origen* in his Books of *Chriſtian Principles* [*e*], where he thus delivers the Rule of Faith: The Things which are manifeſtly handed down by the Apoſtolical Preaching, are theſe; Firſt, that there is one God, who created and made all Things, and cauſed the whole Univerſe to exiſt out of Nothing; the God of all the Juſt that ever were from the firſt Creation and Foundation of all; the God of *Adam*, *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Enoch*, *Noe*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, the Twelve Patriarchs, *Moſes* and the Prophets: And that this God in the laſt Days, as he had promiſed before by his Prophets, ſent our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, firſt to call *Iſrael*, and then the *Gentiles*, after the Infidelity of his People *Iſrael*. This juſt and good God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, gave both the Law and the Prophets, and the Goſpels, being the God of the Apoſtles, and of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. The next Article is, That Jeſus Chriſt, who came into the World, was begotten of the Father before every Creature, who miniſtring to his Father in the Creation of all things, [*for by Him all Things were made*] in the laſt Times made himſelf of no Reputation and became Man: He who was God, was made Fleſh, and when he was Man, he continued the ſame God that he was before. He aſſumed a Body in all Things like ours, ſave only that it was born of a Virgin by the Holy Ghoſt. And becauſe this Jeſus Chriſt was born and ſuffered Death common to all, in Truth, and not only in Appearance, he was truly dead; For he roſe again truly from the Dead, and after his Reſurrection converſed with his Diſciples, and was taken up into Heaven. They alſo delivered unto us, that the Holy Ghoſt was joyned in the ſame Honour and Dignity with the Father and the Son.

Thus far *Origen* ſpeaks of the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Faith as handed down by the Church from the preaching of the Apoſtles. And there goes another Book under his Name, written by way of Dialogue againſt the *Marcionites*, where he more ſuccinctly delivers the Catholick Faith in oppoſition to the falſe Principles of thoſe Hereticks: "I believe there is one God, [*f*] the Crea- "tor and Maker of all Things; and One that is "from Him, God the Word, who is Conſub- "ſtantial with Him and Co-eternal, who in the "laſt Times took Human Nature upon him of "the [Virgin] *Mary*, and was crucified, and rai- "ſed again from the Dead. I believe alſo the "Holy Ghoſt, who exiſts to all Eternity." 'Tis true, learned Men are not certainly agreed who was the true Author of thoſe Dialogues: *Wetſtenius*, who firſt publiſhed them in *Greek*, aſcribes them to *Origen*; but *Huetius* makes one *Maximus* the Author, who lived, as he conjectures, in the Time of *Conſtantine*. But whoever was the Author, they contain a Form of a very Orthodox Creed, for which reaſon I have given it a Place in this Collection.

SECT. III. *The Fragments of the Creed in* Tertullian.

NEXT after *Origen* we find ſome Parts of the ancient Creed in *Tertullian*, who ſpeaks of it as the Rule of Faith common to all

[*d*] Iren. lib. 1. cap. 3. [*e*] Origen. περὶ ἀρχῶν. in Præfat. Tom. 1. p. 665. Species vero eorum, quæ per Prædicationem Apoſtolicam manifeſte traduntur, iſtæ ſunt. Primò quod unus Deus eſt, qui omnia creavit atque compoſuit, quique ex nullis fecit eſſe univerſa; Deus à prima Creatura & conditione mundi omnium Juſtorum. Deus Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, 12 Patriarcharum, Moyſi & Prophetarum. Et quod hic Deus in noviſſimis diebus, ſicut per Prophetas ſuos ante promiſerat, miſit Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, primo quidem vocaturum Iſrael, ſecundo etiam Gentes poſt perfidiam populi Iſrael. Hic Deus Juſtus & Bonus, Pater Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, Legem & Prophetas & Evangelia dedit, qui & Apoſtolorum Deus eſt, & Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti. Tum deinde quia Jeſus Chriſtus ipſe, qui venit, ante omnem Creaturam natus ex Patre eſt. Qui cum in omnium conditione Patri miniſtraſſet (per ipſum enim omnia facta ſunt) noviſſimis temporibus ſeipſum exinaniens homo factus eſt: Incarnatus eſt cum Deus eſſet, & homo manſit quod Deus erat. Corpus aſſumpſit noſtro corpori ſimile, eo ſolo differens quod natum ex Virgine de Spiritu Sancto eſt. Et quoniam hic Jeſus Chriſtus natus, & paſſus eſt in veritate & non per imaginem communem hanc mortem, vere mortuus eſt; Vere enim à mortuis reſurrexit, & poſt Reſurrectionem converſatus cum Diſcipulis ſuis, aſſumptus eſt. Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri & Filio ſociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum, *&c.* [*f*] Origen. Cont. Marc. Dial. 1. p. 815. Tom. 2. Edit. Latin. Baſil, 1571.

Chriſtians.

Chriſtians. There is, ſays he, one Rule [g] of Faith only, which admits of no Change or Alteration, that which teaches us to believe in One God Almighty, the Maker of the World, and in Jeſus Chriſt his Son, who was born of the Virgin *Mary*, crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, the Third Day aroſe again from the Dead, received into Heaven, and ſitteth now at the Right Hand of God, who ſhall come again to judge both the Quick and the Dead, by the Reſurrection of the Fleſh.

In his Book of *Preſcriptions* [h] *againſt Hereticks*, he has another Form not much unlike this. The Rule of Faith is that whereby we believe One God only, and no other beſide, the Maker of the World, who produced all Things out of Nothing by his Word which He ſent forth before all Things. This Word was called his Son, who at ſundry Times appeared to the Patriarchs, and always ſpake by the Prophets, and at laſt deſcended into the Virgin *Mary* by the Power and Spirit of God the Father, and was made Fleſh in her Womb, and born of her a Man Jeſus Chriſt; who preached a new Law, and a new Promiſe of the Kingdom of Heaven; who wrought Miracles, and was crucified, and the third Day aroſe again, and was taken into Heaven, and ſitteth at the Right Hand of the Father: Whence he ſent the Power of the Holy Ghoſt in his ſtead, to guide them that believe: Who ſhall come again with Glory, to take the Saints into the Poſſeſſion and Fruition of Eternal Life and the Heavenly Promiſes, and to condemn the Profane to everlaſting Fire, having firſt raiſed both the one and the other by the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. This Rule, he ſays, was inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf [i], and there were no Diſputes in the Church about it, but ſuch as Hereſies brought in, or ſuch as Hereticks made. To know Nothing beyond this, was to know all Things.

In his Book againſt *Praxeas* he repeats the ſame Creed with a little Variation of Expreſſion: We believe in one God [k], yet under this Diſpenſation, which we call the Oeconomy, That that One God hath a Son, which is his Word, who proceeded from Him, by whom all Things were made, and without whom Nothing was made. We believe that He was ſent by the Father to be born of a Virgin, both Man and God, the Son of Man, and the Son of God, and that He was called Jeſus Chriſt. That He ſuffered, and was dead and buried according to the Scriptures; that He was raiſed again by the Father, and taken up again into Heaven, where He ſits at the Right Hand of the Father, and ſhall come again to judge the Quick and Dead. From whence alſo He ſent from his Father, according to his Promiſe, the Holy Ghoſt the Comforter, who ſanctifies the Faith of thoſe that believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. This Faith, he ſays, was the Rule of Believing from the Beginning of the Goſpel, and the Antiquity of it was ſufficiently demonſtrated from the Novelty of Hereſies, which were but of Yeſterday's ſtanding in compariſon of it.

Now it is eaſy to obſerve, That *Tertullian* here ſpeaks not of any certain Form of Words, but of the Subſtance of the Faith: For ſome Articles, as the Deſcent into Hell, and the Communion of Saints, are not here expreſly mentioned, though they may be implied: But the Articles of the Trinity, the Incarnation, *&c.* are both expreſſed and carefully explained in ſuch a manner, as ſhews the Neceſſity of an explicite Faith in thoſe Points, and how the Doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was a prime Article of the Creed from the very Foundation of the Church.

SECT. IV. *The Fragments of the Creed in* Cyprian.

NEXT after *Tertullian* we have ſome Remains of the Uſe of the Creed in *Cyprian*: He ſays, Both the *Catholicks* and *Novatians* agreed in the ſame Form of Interrogatories, which they always propoſed to Catechumens at their Baptiſm; ſome of which were theſe Queſtions in particular, Whether they believed in God [l] the Father, and in Chriſt his Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt? And, whether they believed the

[g] Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. cap. 1. Regula quidem Fidei una omnino eſt, ſola immobilis & irreformabilis, credendi ſcilicet in unicum Deum Omnipotentem, Mundi Conditorem, & Filium ejus Jeſum Chriſtum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum ſub Pontio Pilato, tertia die reſuſcitatum à mortuis, receptum in cœlis, ſedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, per carnis etiam Reſurrectionem. [h] Id. de Præſcript. adverſ. Hæreticos. cap. 13. Regula eſt autem Fidei, illa ſcilicet qua creditur, Unum omnino Deum eſſe, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui univerſa de nihilo produxerit, per Verbum ſuum primo omnium emiſſum. Id verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie viſum Patriarchis, in Prophetis ſemper auditum, poſtremo delatum ex Spiritu Dei Patris & Virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, & ex ea natum hominem, & eſſe Jeſum Chriſtum: Exinde prædicaſſe novam Legem, & novam promiſſionem regni cœlorum, virtutes feciſſe: Fixum cruci: Tertia die reſurrexiſſe: In cœlos ereptum ſedere ad dexteram Patris: Miſiſſe vicariam vim Spiritûs Sancti, qui credentes agat: Venturum cum claritate ad ſumendos Sanctos in vitæ æternæ & promiſſorum cœleſtium fructum, & ad prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo, utriuſque partis reſuſcitatione cum carnis reſurrectione. [i] Ibid. cap. 14. Hæc Regula à Chriſto inſtituta, nullas habet apud nos Queſtiones, niſi quas Hæreſes inferunt, & quæ Hæreticos faciunt. ——Nihil ultra ſcire, omnia ſcire eſt. [k] Tertul. adverſ. Prax. cap. 2. Unicum quidem Deum credimus, ſub hac tamen Diſpenſatione, quam οἰκονομίαν dicimus, ut unici Dei ſit & Filius Sermo ipſius, qui ex ipſo proceſſerit, per quem omnia facta ſunt, & ſine quo factum eſt nihil. Hunc miſſum à Patre in Virginem, & ex ea natum Hominem & Deum, filium hominis & Filium Dei, & cognominatum Jeſum Chriſtum. Hunc paſſum, hunc mortuum, & ſepultum ſecundum Scripturas, reſuſcitatum à Patre, & in cœlos reſumptum, ſedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos. Qui exinde miſerit ſecundum promiſſionem ſuam à Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, ſanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc Regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurriſſe, &c. Confer. Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6, & 11. [l] Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 76. ad Magnum, p. 183. Quod ſi aliquis illud opponat, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica Eccleſia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo & nos baptizare; eundem nôſſe Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Chriſtum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc uſurpare eum poteſtatem baptizandi poſſe, quod videatur in Interrogatione baptiſmi à nobis non diſcrepare: Sciat quiſquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non eſſe unam nobis & Schiſmaticis Symboli legem, neque eandem Interrogationem: Nam, cum dicunt, Credis remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam per Sanctam Eccleſiam, mentiuntur in Interrogatione, quando non habeant Eccleſiam.

Remiſſion of Sins and Life Eternal was to be obtained by the Holy Church? For though, as he obſerves, the *Novatians* did but falſify and prevaricate as it were in theſe Queſtions; there being no true Church among them to grant Remiſſion of Sins; yet however, they obſerved the ſame Form of Words as the Church did in her Creed, and put the ſame Queſtions to all that came to them for Baptiſm. *Cyprian* repeats this in another Epiſtle, which is written in the Name of the Council of *Carthage* [*m*] to the Biſhops of *Numidia*, where mention is made of the ſame Interrogatories, as generally uſed in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. From whence it appears, That not only the Articles of the Trinity, but thoſe other which relate to the Church, and Remiſſion of Sins, and Eternal Life, were Parts of the Creed uſed in *Cyprian*'s Time in all the *African* Churches. And except the Deſcent into Hell, and the Communion of Saints (which are of later Date in the Creed than the Times of *Cyprian* or *Tertullian*) all the other Articles are taken notice of by theſe two Primitive Writers.

SECT V. *The Creed of* Gregory Thaumaturgus.

NOT long after *Cyprian* lived *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*, commonly called *Thaumaturgus*. Among his Works, publiſhed by *Gerhard Voſſius* of *Tongres*, we have a Creed which he compoſed for the Uſe of his own Church, or rather, as *Gregory Nyſſen* reports in his Life, a Creed which he received in the Entrance on his Miniſtry by a Viſion from Heaven. The Form is in theſe [*n*] Words: "There is One God, the "Father of the Living Word, the ſubſiſting "Wiſdom and Power, the Eternal Expreſs Image "of God, who is a Perfect Begetter of a Per"fect, a Father of an only-begotten Son. And "One Lord, One of One, God of God, the "Character and Image of the Godhead, the "Word of Power, the Wiſdom that compre"hends the whole Syſtem of the World, the "Power that made every Creature. The true "Son of the true Father, Inviſible of Inviſible, "Incorruptible of Incorruptible, Immortal of "Immortal, Eternal of Eternal. And one Holy "Ghoſt, who has his Exiſtence from God, who "was manifeſted to Men by the Son, the per"fect Image of the perfect Son, the Living "Cauſe of all Living, the Fountain of Holineſs, "Eſſential Sanctity, who is the Author of Holi"neſs in all others. In whom God the Father "is manifeſted, who is above All and in All, "and God the Son, whoſe Power runs through "all Things. A perfect Trinity, whoſe Glory, "Eternity and Dominion is no way divided or "ſeparated from each other. In this Trinity "therefore there is nothing created or ſervile, "nothing adventitious or extraneous, that did "not exiſt before, but afterward came into it. "The Father was never without the Son, nor "the Son without the Spirit, but the Trinity "abides the ſame, Unchangeable and Invariable "for ever."

This Creed is not a complete Summary of the Faith, but only ſo far as relates to the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, of which it is one of the moſt convincing Teſtimonies that is to be met with in any of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers; it being particularly deſigned againſt the two oppoſite Hereſies of the *Samoſatenians* and *Sabellians*, the one of which denied the Divinity of our Saviour, and the other his Perſonal Subſiſtence. Some Modern *Arians*, following *Sandius*, have objected againſt it, as not Genuine: But the learned Biſhop *Bull* has abundantly vindicated the Credit of it [*o*] from the undeniable Evidences of *Gregory Nyſſen* and St. *Baſil*, to whoſe excellent Diſſertation I refer the Reader.

SECT. VI. *The Creed of* Lucian *the Martyr.*

IN the ſame Age with *Gregory Thaumaturgus* lived *Lucian* the Martyr, who ſuffered in the laſt Perſecution under *Diocletian*. He was Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, where he wrote a Confeſſion of Faith in Oppoſition to the *Sabellians*. The Form is recorded both by *Athanaſius* [*p*], and *Socrates*, [*q*], and *Hilary*, who comments upon it, and vindicates it from the Objections which ſome made againſt it, becauſe it was produced by the *Arians* in the Council of *Antioch* under *Conſtantius*, *An.* 341, as if it had favoured their Opinion; which *Hilary* ſhews it did not, though there were ſome Expreſſions in it againſt the *Sabellians*, that might be wreſted to an Heretical Senſe [as any Catholick Words may be] contrary to the Mind of the Author. The Form, as delivered by St. *Hilary*, runs thus: "We be"lieve [*r*] according to the Tradition of the "Goſpels

[*m*] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Epiſc. Numid. p. 190. Sed & ipſa Interrogatio quæ fit in baptiſmo, teſtis eſt veritatis. Nam, cum dicimus, Credis in vitam æternam, & Remiſſionem peccatorum per Sanctam Eccleſiam? Intelligimus remiſſionem peccatorum non niſi in Eccleſia dari, &c. [*n*] Gregor. Neocæſar. Oper. p. 1. & ap. Greg. Nyſſ. Tom. 3. p. 546. Εἷς Θεὸς, πατὴρ λόγε ζῶντος, σοφίας ὑφεστώσης, καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίε, τέλειος τελείε γεννήτωρ, πατὴρ υἱᾶ μονογενῆς· Εἷς κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνε, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεᾶ, &c. [*o*] Bull. Defenſ. Fid. Nic. Sect. 2. cap. 12. n. 2. [*p*] Athan. de Synod. Arimin. & Seleuc. Tom. 1. p. 892. [*q*] Socrat. Lib. 2. c. 10.

[*r*] Hilar. de Synodis, p. 107. Conſequenter Evangelicæ & Apoſtolicæ traditioni credimus in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, cunctorum quæ ſunt ædificatorem & factorem & proviſorem, ex quo omnia: Et in unum Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum, Filium ipſius unigenitum, Deum per quem omnia, qui generatus eſt ex Patre, Deum ex Deo, Totum ex Toto, Unum ex Uno, Perfectum de Perfecto, Regem de Rege, Dominum de Domino, Verbum, Sapientiam, Vitam, Lumen verum, Viam veram, Reſurrectionem, Paſtorem, Januam, inconvertibilem & immutabilem, Divinitatis Eſſentiæque & Virtutis & Gloriæ incommutabilem Imaginem, primum editum totius creaturæ, qui ſemper fuit in principio apud Deum Verbum Deus, juxta quod dictum eſt in Evangelio: Et Deus erat Verbum, per quem omnia facta ſunt, & in quo omnia conſtant, qui in noviſſimis diebus deſcendit de ſummis, & natus eſt ex Virgine ſecundum Scripturas, & agnus factus eſt mediator Dei & hominum, prædeſtinatus fidei noſtræ & dux vitæ; dixit quippe, Non enim deſcendi de cœlo, ut facerem voluntatem meam, ſed voluntatem ejus qui me miſit. Qui paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit pro nobis tertia die, & aſcendit in cœlos, & ſedet in dextera Patris, & iterum venturus eſt cum gloria judicare vivos & mortuos.

Et in Sanctum Spiritum, qui in Paracleſin & Sanctificationem & Conſummationem credentibus datus eſt, juxta quod & Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus ordinavit diſcipulis, dicens, Pergite & docete univerſas

" Goſpels and Apoſtles, in One God the Fa-
" ther Almighty, Creator, and Maker, and
" Governour of all Things, of whom are all
" Things: And in One Lord Jeſus Chriſt his
" only-begotten Son, who is God, by whom are
" all Things, who was begotten of the Father,
" God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One,
" Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of
" Lord, the Word, the Wiſdom, the Life, the
" true Light, the true Way, the Reſurrection,
" the Shepherd, the Gate, the Incommutable
" Unchangeable Image of the Divine Eſſence,
" Power and Glory, the Firſt-born of every
" Creature, who was always from the Beginning
" God the Word with God, according to what
" is ſaid in the Goſpel, *And the Word was*
" *God*; by whom all Things were made, and in
" whom all Things ſubſiſt, who in the laſt Days
" deſcended from on High, and was born of a
" Virgin according to the Scriptures, and being
" the Lamb of God, He was made the Mediator
" between God and Men, being fore-ordained
" to be the Author of our Faith and Life: For
" he ſaid, *I came not from Heaven to do my own*
" *Will, but the Will of Him that ſent me.* Who
" ſuffered and roſe again for us the third Day,
" and aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the
" Right Hand of the Father, and He ſhall come
" again with Glory to judge the Quick and the
" Dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghoſt,
" which is given to Believers for their Conſola-
" tion, and Sanctification, and Conſummation,
" according to what our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ap-
" pointed his Diſciples, ſaying, *Go, teach all Na-*
" *tions, baptizing them in the Name of the Father,*
" *and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Whence
" the Properties of the Father are manifeſt, de-
" noting Him to be truly a Father; and the Pro-
" perties of the Son, denoting Him to be truly a
" Son; and the Properties of the Holy Spirit,
" denoting him to be truly the Holy Ghoſt:
" Theſe Names not being ſimply put and to no
" purpoſe, but to expreſs the particular Sub-
" ſiſtence, or Hypoſtatick Subſtance, as the *Greeks*
" term it, of each Perſon named, ſo as to de-
" note them to be three in Hypoſtaſis, and one
" by Conſonance."

This Creed was anciently ſuſpected by ſome as an *Arian* Creed, becauſe of the term three Hypoſtaſes, or three Subſtances, in *Hilary*'s Tranſlation. But *Hilary* ſufficiently clears it from this Suſpicion, by ſhewing, that theſe Terms were only uſed to oppoſe the *Sabellians*, who made the three Perſons no more than three Names: and that all other Expreſſions in it are very full and ſignificant againſt the *Arian* Hereſy. And therefore neither does he cenſure the Council of *Antioch* as *Arians*, who only repeated and adopted this Creed from *Lucian*, but he calls them a Synod of ninety five holy Biſhops, who intended thereby to eſtabliſh the Catholick Faith againſt the *Sabellians* chiefly, though not without a ſufficient Guard againſt the *Anomœans* or *Arians*. His Words are theſe [*s*]: The holy Synod intending to deſtroy the Impiety of thoſe Hereticks, who eluded the true Faith of a Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, by the Equivocation of three Names only, that by a triple Appellation, without any real Subſiſtence belonging to each Name, they might under the falſe Shadow of three Names introduce ſuch an Unity, as that the Father alone, though but One and the ſame, ſhould have the Name of the Holy Spirit, and of the Son alſo: Therefore the Synod uſed the Term, Three Subſtances or Hypoſtaſes; meaning by Subſtances, ſubſiſting Perſons, and not intending to introduce ſuch a Diviſion of Subſtance in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as implies a Diſſimilitude and Diverſity of Eſſence: [which was the Hereſy of the *Arians*, who made the Father only God, and the other Two Perſons only Creatures, ſo dividing the Subſtance by a Diverſity of Nature or Eſſence: Which this Council did not:] And therefore *Hilary* ſays, They were not to be blamed, though they ſpake of the Divine Perſons as of Three Subſtances or Hypoſtaſes, and One by Conſent, becauſe they meant no more than real ſubſiſting Perſons, in Oppoſition to the *Sabellians*. Yet notwithſtanding this juſt Defence and Apology made by St. *Hilary* for this Council, it is condemned by *Baronius*, *Binnius*, *Hermantius*, and many other Modern Writers, as an *Arian* Council. But the learned *Schelſtrate* has written an accurate Diſſertation in favour of this Council, wherein he anſwers [*t*] all the Objections made by *Baronius* and his Followers, either againſt this Council or the Creed of *Lucian* the Martyr; which is alſo done by our learned Biſhop *Bull* [*u*], to whoſe Diſſertations I refer the curious Reader.

SECT. VII. *The Creed of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.*

ABOUT the time of *Lucian* the Martyr, in the latter End of the third Century, *Cotelerius* ſuppoſes the Author or Compiler of the Book called *The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* to have lived; which I think more probable, than either the Opinion of thoſe, who thruſt

univerſas gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti. Manifeſta utique Patris, vere Patris, certaque Filii, vere Filii, notaque Spiritûs Sancti, vere Spiritûs Sancti; hiſque nominibus non Simpliciter, neque otiosè propoſitis, ſed ſignificantibus diligenter propriam uniuſcujuſque nominatorum Subſtantiam & Ordinem & Gloriam, ut ſint quidem per ſubſtantiam tria, per Conſonantiam vero unum. τῇ ὑποστάσει τεία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν. *So the Greek in* Socrates *and* Athanaſius. [*s*] Hilar. de Synodis, p. 108. Volens igitur congregata ſanctorum Synodus impietatem eam perimere, quæ veritatem Patris, Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti nominum numero eluderet, ut non ſubſiſtente cauſa uniuſcujuſque nominis triplex nuncupatio obtineret ſub falſitate nominum unionem, ut Pater ſolus atque unus idem atque ipſe haberet & Spiritûs Sancti nomen & Filii: Idcirco tres Subſtantias eſſe dixerunt, ſubſiſtentium Perſonas per ſubſtantias edocentes, non ſubſtantiam Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti diverſitate diſſimilis Eſſentiæ ſeparantes. Quod autem dictum eſt, ut ſint quidem per Subſtantiam tria, per Conſonantiam vero unum, non habet calumniam, &c. [*t*] Schelſtrat. Sacrum Concilium Antiochenum reſtitutum. Diſſert. 3. c. 2. p. 109. [*u*] Bull. Defenſ. Fid. Nic. Sect. 2. c. 13. n. 6.

him down to the fifth Century, or the Opinion of Mr. *Whiſton*, who will needs have this Book not only to be the genuine Work of *Clemens Romanus*, but the Work of a divine and inſpired Writer. For this reaſon I ſpeak of him in this Place next after *Lucian*, as one that has left us the Form of an ancient Creed, then moſt probably uſed in ſome of the *Eaſtern* or *Greek* Churches. For he brings in the Catechumen making his Profeſſion in theſe Words: "I believe [x], and am baptized in one Unbegotten, "the only true God Almighty, the Father of "Chriſt, the Creator and Maker of all things, "of whom are all things: And in one Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, his only-begotten Son, the Firſt-"born of every Creature, who before all Ages "was begotten, not made, by the good Will "of the Father, by whom all Things were made "in Heaven and in Earth, Viſible and Inviſible, "who in the laſt Times came down from Hea-"ven, and taking Fleſh upon him, was born of "the holy Virgin *Mary*, and lived an holy Life "according to the Laws of God his Father, "and was crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, and "died for us, and the third Day after he had "ſuffered, roſe again from the Dead, and aſ-"cended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the Right "Hand of the Father, and ſhall come again with "Glory in the End of the World to judge both "the Quick and Dead, of whoſe Kingdom "there ſhall be no End. And I am baptized "into the Holy Ghoſt, that is to ſay, the Com-"forter, which wrought effectually in all the "Saints from the Beginning of the World, and "was afterward ſent to the Apoſtles by the Fa-"ther, according to the Promiſe of our Lord "and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and after the Apoſtles "to all others, who in the Holy Catholick "Church believe the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, "the Remiſſion of Sins, the Kingdom of "Heaven, and the Life of the World to come."

Some have ſuſpected this Author of *Arianiſm*, but there is nothing of it appears in this Creed: For though he gives the Title of ἀγέννητον only to the Father, yet that is no more than what *Alexander* and *Athanaſius*, and all the Oppoſers of *Arius* always did, who never aſſerted δύο ἀγέννητα, as thoſe Words ſignify, two Abſolute, Co-ordinate, Unbegotten Principles, which is the proper Notion of two Gods; but always reſerved the Title of ἀγέννητον, Unbegotten, to the Father only, as the Eternal Principle and Fountain of the Deity; and ſtyled the Son, μονογενῆ Θεὸν, the Only-begotten God, which is the proper Notion of the Son of God, who is neither created, nor unbegotten, but eternally begotten of the Subſtance of the Father; and this Title of μονογενὴς Θεὸς, the only-begotten God, is the ſame as this very Author of the *Conſtitutions* elſewhere aſcribes [y] to the Son, whom he makes to be no Creature, but God, in this only differing from the Father, that he is not Unbegotten; which is neceſſary to the Notion of a Son; for it were a Contradiction to ſay, He is the Son of God, and yet Unbegotten alſo. I obſerve this, to ſhew, how little Advantage the Modern *Arians* have from this Author, if we allow him but that favourable Interpretation, which in Juſtice ought to be allowed to all antient Catholick Writers.

We may farther obſerve, That though this Creed be the ſame in Subſtance with the *Roman* Creed, which is commonly called the *Apoſtles Creed*, yet it differs from it very much in Phraſe and Expreſſion, and comes nearer the Creed of the *Eaſtern* Church; and though it be as perfect as any of that Age, yet it has neither the Article of the Deſcent into Hell, nor the Communion of Saints expreſsly mentioned in it: Which ſhews that theſe Articles were not *totidem verbis* inſerted into the firſt Creeds of the Church.

SECT. VIII. *The Creed of* Jeruſalem.

THUS far I have collected the ſcattered Remains of the antient Creeds, which were compoſed before the *Nicene* Creed, for the Uſe of ſeveral Churches; as they are ſtill upon Record in private Writers. But we have ſome more perfect Forms alſo remaining, as thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, *Cæſarea*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Rome*, by comparing which together, the Reader may eaſily perceive, how the Unity of the Faith was exactly agreed upon, and preſerved with ſome Variety of Expreſſion. The Creed of the Church of *Jeruſalem* we have imperfectly in St. *James*'s Liturgy, and more perfect in the catechetical Diſcourſes of *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, which are an Expoſition upon it. In St. *James's* Liturgy we have only the beginning of the Creed, "I believe in one God the Father Almighty [z] "Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in One Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God." But the remaining Articles are not inſerted, as being vulgarly known without reciting. However, in *Cyril*'s Catechiſms the Articles are rehearſed at full length, and when collected together they run in this Form:

"I believe in one God [a] the Father Almighty, "Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all "Things Viſible and Inviſible: And in one "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the only-begotten Son of "God, begotten of the Father before all Ages, "the True God, by whom all Things were "made, who was Incarnate and made Man, who "was crucified and buried, and the third Day "he roſe again from the Dead, and aſcended into "Heaven, and ſitteth on the Right Hand of "the Father, and ſhall come to judge the Quick "and Dead, of whoſe Kingdom there ſhall be

[x] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 41. πιστεύω καὶ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἕνα ἀγέννητον, μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν πατέρα τῆς Χριστοῦ, κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων δι' ὃν ἐβουλήθη ὁ πατὴρ γεννηθέντα, ὃ κτισθέντα, &c.

[y] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 43. Lib. 8. c. 7, 11, 12, 17.

[z] Jacobi Liturg. in Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 7.

[a] Cyril. Catechet. 6, &c.

" no End. And in the Holy Ghoſt the Com-
" forter, who ſpake by the Prophets. In one
" Baptiſm of Repentance, in the Remiſſion of
" Sins, in one Catholick Church, in the Reſur-
" rection of the Fleſh, and in Life Everlaſt-
" ing.

That this Creed was neither the *Nicene* Creed, nor the *Conſtantinopolitan*, is evident, becauſe it wants the Word Conſubſtantial, and other Titles, which are given to the Son in the *Nicene Creed*: Nor has it the full Explication of the Character of the Holy Ghoſt, which was afterward made in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed: Which is not to be wonder'd at, becauſe *Cyril*'s Catechiſms were written ſome Years before the Council of *Conſtantipople* was held. Therefore it muſt be the antient Creed of *Jeruſalem*, as Learned Men have [*b*] rightly concluded, and hence alſo obſerved, That the *Oriental* Creeds had originally the Articles that follow the Holy Ghoſt, *viz.* The Catholick Church, The Remiſſion of Sins, The Reſurrection of the Fleſh, and Eternal Life. Only the Communion of Saints, and Deſcent into Hell, are wanting in it.

SECT IX. *The Creed of Cæſarea in Paleſtine.*

AND ſo we find in the Creed of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, in the Profeſſion of which, *Euſebius* ſays he was baptized, and catechized; the Deſcent into Hell is not mentioned in it. But it differs in Expreſſion from the *Jeruſalem* Creed, and comes up the neareſt to the *Nicene* Creed of any other. The Form, as it was propoſed by *Euſebius* himſelf to the Council of *Nice*, is in theſe Words: " We " believe in One God, the Father [*c*] Almighty, " Maker of all Things Viſible and Inviſible: And " in One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Word of God, " God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, " his only-begotten Son, the Firſt-born of every " Creature, begotten of the Father before all A-" ges, by whom all Things were made; who for " our Salvation was Incarnate, and converſed a-" mong Men, and ſuffered, and roſe again the " Third Day, and aſcended unto the Father, and " ſhall come again to judge the Quick and the " Dead. We believe alſo in one Holy Spirit. E-" very one of theſe we believe to be and exiſt; " We confeſs the Father to be truly a Father, " the Son truly a Son, the Holy Ghoſt truly an " Holy Ghoſt, according to what our Lord, " when he ſent his Diſciples to preach, ſaid, Go " teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name " of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Ho-" ly Ghoſt."

The Articles that follow the Holy Ghoſt are here omitted, only for the ſame Reaſon, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter they were omitted in the *Nicene* Creed, becauſe then no Diſpute was made about them, and only ſo much of the Creed was now produced as was neceſſary to be mentioned in Oppoſition to the *Arian* Hereſy.

SECT X. *The Creed of Alexandria.*

THE Creed of *Alexandria* was ſomewhat ſhorter than this, and is ſuppoſed by learned Men to be that which *Arius* and *Euzoius* delivered in to *Conſtantine*, when they made a ſort of feigned Recantation before him. The Form is recorded in *Socrates* [*d*] in theſe Words: " We believe in " One God the Father Almighty, and in Jeſus " Chriſt his Son our Lord, God the Word, be-" gotten of Him before all Ages, by whom all " Things were made that are in Heaven and in " Earth; who came down from Heaven, and was " Incarnate, and ſuffered, and roſe again, and aſ-" cended into Heaven, and ſhall come again to " judge the Quick and the Dead. And in the " Holy Ghoſt, and in the Reſurrection of the " Fleſh, and in the Life of the World to come, " and in the Kingdom of Heaven, and in one ca-" tholick Church of God extended from one End " of the Earth to the other."

SECT. XI. *The Creed of Antioch.*

THE Creed of the Church of *Antioch* ſeems to be that which is recorded in *Caſſian*, who delivers it as it was probably received in that Church from the time of the Apoſtles, only with the Addition of the Word Conſubſtantial, inſerted from the time of the Council of *Nice*. " The Text and " Faith of the Creed of *Antioch*, ſays he, is this: " [*e*] I believe in the only true God the Father " Almighty, Maker of all Creatures Viſible and " Inviſible: And in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, his " only-begotten Son, the Firſt-born of every Crea-" ture, born of him before all Ages, and not made, " very God of very God, Conſubſtantial with the " Father, by whom the World was framed, and " all Things made. Who for our Sakes came " and was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and was cru-" cified under *Pontius Pilate*, and buried, and the " third Day roſe again according to the Scrip-" tures, and aſcended into Heaven, and ſhall come " again to judge the Quick and the Dead."

Caſſian here repeats not the whole Creed, but only thoſe Articles that were proper to be urged againſt *Neſtorius*, who had been Baptized into this Faith, and by this Creed at *Antioch*, from which he ſhews his Prevarications, and how he had ſtarted from the Profeſſion which he himſelf had made in the Words of this Creed both at his Bapttſm and Ordination, leaving the remaining Articles unrecited.

[*b*] Bull. Judic. Eccleſ. Cathol. *&c.* cap. 6. n. 5. [*c*] Euſeb. Epiſt. ad Eccleſiam Cæſar. ap. Socrat. Lib. cap. 8. [*d*] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 26. [*e*] Caſſian de Incarnat. lib. 6. p. 1272. Textus ergo & Fides Antiocheni Symboli hæc eſt. Credo in unum & ſolum verum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem omnium viſibilium & inviſibilium creaturarum. Et in Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, Filium ejus unigenitum, & Primogenitum totius creaturæ, ex eo natum ante omnia ſæcula, & non factum, Deum verum ex Deo vero, Humouſion Patri, per quem & ſæcula compaginata ſunt & omnia facta. Qui propter nos venit & natus eſt ex Maria Virgine, & crucifixus ſub Pontio Pilato, & ſepultus, & tertia die reſurrexit ſecundum Scripturas, & in cœlos aſcendit, & iterum veniet judicare vivos & mortuos. Et reliqua.

SECT. XII. *The* Roman *Creed, commonly called the* Apoſtles Creed.

THE Reader may eaſily perceive, by comparing the forementioned Creeds, that the Articles of the Communion of Saints, and the Deſcent into Hell, are not expreſly mentioned in any of them: Nor were they originally in the *Roman* Creed, which is commonly called the *Apoſtles Creed*, as appears not only from the Teſtimony of *Ruffin*, but from ſome antient Copies of this Creed ſtill remaining. Biſhop *Uſher* [*f*] met with two Copies here in *England*, which wanted theſe Additions, and alſo that of Life Everlaſting. The one was in *Greek*, though written in *Saxon* Characters, at the End of King *Athelſtan*'s Pſalter, about the Year 703. And the other in *Latin*, but both exactly in the ſame Form of Words: "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jeſus Chriſt his only-begotten Son "our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghoſt "and the Virgin *Mary*, and was crucified under "*Pontius Pilate*, and was buried, and the third "Day roſe again from the Dead, aſcended into "Heaven, ſitteth on the Right Hand of the Father, whence He ſhall come to judge the Quick "and the Dead. And in the Holy Ghoſt, the "Holy Church, the Remiſſion of Sins, and "the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. *Amen.*

The Variations of theſe antient Forms from the preſent Form of the *Apoſtles Creed*, in the want of ſeveral Words that have ſince been added, are noted by Biſhop *Uſher*, who alſo obſerves, that this Creed is delivered by ſeveral antient Authors with ſome Variety of Expreſſion. For in ſome Authors, which uſe this Creed, Life Everlaſting is added after the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. As in the Homilies of *Petrus Chryſologus* [*g*] Biſhop of *Ravenna*, where he expounds this Creed. And in the Author of the Book *De Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, in the Ninth Tome of St. *Auſtin*'s Works. And in the Creed which *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* preſented to Pope *Julius*, which is recorded in *Epiphanius* [*h*]. But others conclude this Creed with the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, and make no expreſs mention of Life Everlaſting; not that they ſuppoſed it to be no Article of Faith, but becauſe it was included in the other Article of the Reſurrection, as they rightly expound it. St. *Jerom* ſays plainly [*i*], That the Creed was concluded with the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. And *Maximus Taurinenſis* [*k*], who expounds every Article of it diſtinctly, ſays the ſame. And St. *Auſtin* alſo [*l*] concludes the Creed with the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, but then he includes Eternal Life in the Expoſition of it. For, ſays he, when the Reſurrection of the Body is effected, we ſhall be freed from the Conditions of Time, and enjoy Eternal Life with Ineffable Charity and Stability without Corruption. And ſo the Author of the Sermons *De Tempore* [*m*] under his Name: The Reſurrection of the Fleſh is the End of all, but it is an End without End. For there is no Death after that. Therefore they made it the Concluſion of the Creed, becauſe it was the Concluſion of all Things in this World.

SECT. XIII. *The Creed of* Aquileia.

AND thus it was in the Creed of the Church of *Aquileia*, which differed in other Points both from the *Roman* and *Oriental* Creeds. For *Ruffinus*, who wrote an Expoſition upon it, concludes it with the Article of the Reſurrection, and neither mentions nor expounds the Article of Eternal Life, but only tacitly, as it is implied in the Reſurrection. In other Articles ſome Additions were made to this Creed, which were not in the *Roman*: For here the Deſcent into Hell is particularly mentioned; and not only the Reſurrection of the Fleſh in general, but the Reſurrection of this Fleſh in particular; and in the firſt Article, after the Word Almighty, were added, Impaſſible and Inviſible, as peculiar Appellations of God the Father. For it was thus conceived: "I believe in God the "Father Almighty, Inviſible and Impaſſible [*n*]: "And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, "who was born by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin *Mary*, was crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, "and buried; he deſcended into Hell, and the "third Day roſe again from the Dead, and aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the Right "Hand of the Father, whence He ſhall come to "Judge the Quick and the Dead. And in the "Holy Ghoſt, the Holy Catholick Church, the "Remiſſion of Sins, and the Reſurrection of this "Fleſh."

The Reaſon of adding the Words, Inviſible and Impaſſible, to this Creed, which were not in the *Roman*, was to obviate the *Sabellian* or *Patripaſſian* Hereſy, which aſſerted, That God the Father was born of the Virgin, and ſo made Viſible and Paſſible in the Fleſh. In Oppoſition to which Impiety, *Ruffinus* [*o*] ſays, their Forefathers ſeem to have added thoſe Words, profeſſing the Father to be Inviſible and Impaſſible, that is, That He never was Incarnate, as the Son only was, and not the Father. The Deſcent into Hell is alſo almoſt peculiar to this Creed: For excepting this

[*f*] Uſſer. de Symbolis, p. 6. [*g*] Petrus Chryſol. Homil. 57, &c. [*h*] Epiph. Hær. 72. Marcel. n. 3. [*i*] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. in Symbolo Fidei-- poſt Confeſſionem Trinitatis & Unitatem Eccleſiæ, omne Chriſtiani dogmatis Sacramentum Carnis Reſurrectione concluditur. [*k*] Maxim. Taurin. Hom. 1. de Diverſis, p. 239. Hic Religionis noſtræ finis, hæc ſumma credendi eſt. [*l*] Aug. de Fide & Symbolo. Tom. 3. p. 66. Qua corporis Reſurrectione facta, à temporis conditione liberati, æterna vita ineffabili charitate & ſtabilitate ſine corruptione perfruemur. [*m*] Aug. Serm. 119. De Tempore, Tom. 10. p. 306. Iſte jam finis eſt. Sed finis erit ſine fine Reſurrectio Carnis, &c. [*n*] Ruffin. Expoſ. Symboli ad calcem Cypriani, p. 19. Credo in Deum Patrem, Omnipotentem, Inviſibilem & Impaſſibilem. Et in Chriſtum Jeſum unicum Filium ejus, Dominum noſtrum, qui natus eſt de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus ſub Pontio Pilato, & ſepultus, deſcendit ad inferna: Tertia die reſurrexit à mortuis, aſcendit in Cœlos, ſedet ad dexteram Patris: Inde venturus eſt judicare vivos & mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam, Remiſſionem peccatorum, hujus Carnis Reſurrectionem. [*o*] Ruffin. ibid. p. 19. Sciendum quod duo iſti Sermones in Eccleſiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur: Conſtat autem apud nos additos hæreſeos cauſa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ à noſtris Patripaſſiana appellatur; id eſt, quæ Patrem ipſum vel ex Virgine natum dicit, & Viſibilem factum, vel paſſum affirmat in carne.

and

and the Creed of the Council of *Sirmium* or *Ariminum* mentioned by *Socrates* [p], this Article was not expreſly mentioned in any other Creed of this Age; though *Ruffinus* thinks it was always implied in the word Buried, which he reckons of the ſame Importance. When it firſt came into the *Roman* Creed, the Reader may find a particular Account in Biſhop *Pearſon*, who ſpeaks of it as done about the Year Six Hundred.

SECT XIV. *The Nicene Creed, as firſt publiſhed by the Council of* Nice.

I have hitherto given an Account of all ſuch Creeds as might be reckoned of Uſe in the Church before the Time of the *Nicene* Council. I ſhall now give the like Account of the firſt forming of the *Nicene* Creed, and how it was afterward compleated and put into a new Form by the Council of *Conſtantinople*. The Creed as firſt publiſhed by the Council of *Nice*, was in theſe Words: "We believe in One God Almighty "[q], Maker of all Things, Viſible and Inviſible: "And in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, "begotten of the Father, the only-begotten, that "is, of the Subſtance of the Father, God of God, "Light of Light, very God of very God, be- "gotten not made, of one Subſtance with the "Father, by whom all Things both in Heaven "and Earth were made. Who for us Men and "our Salvation came down from Heaven, and "was Incarnate and made Man, and ſuffered, and "the third Day roſe again, and aſcended into "Heaven, and ſhall come again to judge the "Quick and the Dead. And in the Holy Ghoſt. "And thoſe who ſay, There was a Time when "the Son of God was not, or that he did not "exiſt before he was made, becauſe he was made "out of Nothing, or of another Subſtance or "Eſſence, or that he was created or mutable, "the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church Anathematizes them."

This Creed often occurs in the Writings of the antient Fathers and Councils in this very Form. As in *Athanaſius* Epiſt. ad Jovian. Tom. 1. p. 247. *Hilar. de Synodis*, p. 114. *Leo*, Ep. 95. *ad Leonem Imperat.* The Council of *Rome* under *Julius*, An. 337. The Council of *Epheſus*, *Epiſt. ad Neſtor.* The Council of *Chalcedon*, Act. 2. The Council of *Hippo*, the 6th Council of *Carthage*, the Preface to the *African Code*, the 3d Council of *Bracara*, the 3d and 13th of *Toledo*, the 5th General Council of *Conſtantinople*, Act 17. and many others.

Now ſome Learned Perſons have been of Opinion, That the ancient Creeds before the Council of *Nice*, had none of the Articles which follow after the Holy Ghoſt, but all ended as that does, with thoſe Words, *And in the Holy Ghoſt.* This was the Opinion of *Voſſius* and *Eraſmus*; and Biſhop *Uſher* ſays, he was once inclined to think ſo himſelf, but upon better Conſideration, he profeſſes [r] he found it neceſſary to alter his Judgment. For it plainly appears from moſt of the Forms before recited, That ſeveral of the Articles which follow after the Holy Ghoſt, were always a Part of the Creed: And the Reaſon why the Council of *Nice* repeated them not, was only becauſe there was then no Diſpute about them, and they only rehearſed ſo much of the former Creeds as there was then Occaſion for, to oppoſe the Hereſy of the *Arians*, leaving the reſt to be ſupplied from the former Creeds then generally receiv'd in the Church. This is evident both from the Creeds uſed by the *Arians*, and thoſe that were uſed by the *Church*, before the Council of *Conſtantinople* had ſettled and new-modelled the Form of the *Nicene* Creed that was afterwards generally received in the Church. Thus in the Creed of the Separating Biſhops in the Council of *Sardica* related by St. *Hilary* [s] and others, after the Article of the Holy Ghoſt, there follows, *We believe in the Holy Church, and in Remiſſion of Sins, and Eternal Life.* Or, as it is more perfectly in his *Fragments* [t], *The Holy Church, the Remiſſion of Sins, the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, and Eternal Life.* So again, the *Euſebians* in their firſt Creed, which they publiſhed in the Council of *Antioch*, mentioned both by *Athanaſius* and *Socrates* [u], after the Article of the Holy Ghoſt, add, *We believe the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, and Eternal Life.* Now it were abſurd to think the *Arians* ſhould retain theſe Articles in their Creeds, and in the mean time the *Church* reject or neglect them. Therefore it is plain the *Nicene Creed* was only one Part of the ancient Creed, that was uſed at full length in Baptiſm, though not here ſo recited. And what has been obſerved before out of *Cyril*'s Catechiſms, is a manifeſt Proof of it.

SECT. XV. *The Creeds of* Epiphanius.

THIS is farther evident from the two Creeds, a ſhorter and a longer, recited in *Epiphanius*, who wrote his *Anchorate* ſome Years before the Council of *Conſtantinople*. The ſhorter Creed, which he ſays every Catechumen repeated at his Baptiſm from the Time of the Council of *Nice* to the tenth Year of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, *An.* 373, was in theſe Words: "We believe [x] in one God the "Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, "and of all things Viſible and Inviſible. And in "One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the only-begotten Son "of God, begotten of the Father before all A- "ges, that is, of the Subſtance of his Father, "Light of Light, very God of very God, be- "gotten not made, of one Subſtance with the "Father by whom all Things were made which "are in Heaven and in Earth. Who for us "Men and our Salvation came down from Heaven "and was incarnate of the Holy Ghoſt and the "Virgin *Mary*, and was made Man, and was "crucified for us under *Pontius Pilate*, and ſuf- "fered and was buried, and the third day roſe a- "gain according to the Scriptures, and aſcended "into Heaven, and ſitteth on the Right Hand of "the Father. And ſhall come again with Glory "to judge both the Quick and the Dead, of

[p] Socrat. Lib. 2. cap. 37. [q] Ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8. [r] Uſſer. de Symbolis, p. 17. [s] Hilar. de Synodis, p. 108. [t] Hilar. Fragmenta, p. 140. [u] Socrat. Lib. 2. c. 10. Athanaſ. de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. Tom. 1. p. 892. [x] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 120. Tom. 2. p. 122.

"whoſe

" whoſe Kingdom there ſhall be no end. And in " the Holy Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, " who proceedeth from the Father, who with " the Father and the Son together is worſhipped " and glorified, who ſpake by the Prophets. And " in one Catholick and Apoſtolick Church. We " confeſs one Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of Sins, " and we look for the Reſurrection of the Dead, " and the Life of the World to come. But they " who ſay, there was a Time when the Son of " God was not, or that he was not before he " was begotten, or that he was made out of No- " thing, or of any other Subſtance or Eſſence, " or that he is mutable or changeable, thoſe the " Catholick and Apoſtolick Church anathema- " tizes. "

This, ſays *Epiphanius*, is the Faith which was delivered by the Holy Apoſtles, and received by the Church in the Council of *Nice*, where Three Hundred and Eighteen Fathers were preſent. By which he does not mean that theſe Articles were delivered in this very Form either by the Apoſtles or the Council of *Nice*, but that the Church agreed upon this Form to be uſed at Baptiſm, in purſuance of the Doctrine delivered by the Apoſtles and the *Nicene* Fathers. And afterwards upon occaſion of the *Apollinarians* and other Hereticks, which infeſted the Church about the Tenth Year of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and the 6th of *Gratian*, and the Ninetieth Year of the *Diocletian* Account, that is, *An.* 373, She enlarged her Creed with a more particular Explication of ſome certain Articles in Oppoſition to thoſe Hereſies. And then the Form appointed to be uſed in Baptiſm was in theſe Terms, as he informs us in the ſame Place.

" We believe in One God the Father Almigh- " ty, Maker of all Things, Viſible and Inviſible; " and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, " begotten of God the Father, the only-begot- " ten, that is, of the Subſtance of the Father, " God of God, Light of Light, very God of " very God, begotten not made, being of one " Subſtance with the Father, by whom all " Things were made, as well in Heaven as in " Earth, Viſible and Inviſible. Who for us Men " and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, " and was incarnate, that is, was born in perfect " manner of the Holy Virgin *Mary*, by the Ho- " ly Ghoſt, and was made Man, that is, took " upon him Perfect Man, Soul and Body and " Mind, and whatſoever is in Man, Sin only ex- " cepted; not by the Seed of Man, nor merely " by exiſting in Man, but by framing Fleſh to " Himſelf into one Holy Unity; not after the man- " ner as He inſpired the Prophets, and ſpake and " wrought in them, but by being perfectly made " Man. For the Word was made Fleſh, not by " undergoing any Change, or transforming the " Godhead into Manhood, but by making one " Perfect and Divine Union. For there is but " one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, not two, the ſame God, " the ſame Lord, the ſame King. Who ſuffer- " ed in the Fleſh, and roſe again, and aſcended " with his Body into Heaven, and ſitteth in Glo- " ry at the Right Hand of the Father; whence " he ſhall come with Glory in the ſame Body to " judge the Quick and Dead, of whoſe King- " dom there ſhall be no End. We believe in the " Holy Ghoſt, who ſpake in the Law, and " preached by the Prophets, and deſcended " at *Jordan*; who ſpake by the Apoſtles, and " dwells in the Saints: And thus we believe of him, " that he is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the " Perfect Spirit, the Comforter, uncreated, pro- " ceeding from the Father, receiving from the " Son, in whom we believe. We believe in one " Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, in one Bap- " tiſm of Repentance, in the Reſurrection of the " Dead, in the juſt Judgment of Body and Soul, " in the Kingdom of Heaven, and Life everlaſt- " ing. And thoſe that ſay, There was a Time " when the Son or the Holy Ghoſt was not, or " that they were made out of Nothing, or of a- " nother Subſtance or Eſſence; that ſay, the Son " of God, or the Holy Ghoſt are mutable or " changeable; thoſe the Catholick and Apoſto- " lick Church, the Mother of us and you, ana- " thematizes. And again, we anathematize thoſe " that confeſs not the Reſurrection of the Dead, " and all Hereſies which accord not to this Holy " Faith. "

Now if theſe Creeds were in Uſe in the Church at the Time which *Epiphanius* mentions, then it is certain the *Nicene* Creed was completed by the Church for the Uſe of her Catechumens long before the General Council of *Conſtantinople:* And what was done by that Council, was rather to contract the Form, than to augment or lengthen it, as any one may eaſily perceive, that will compare the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed with either of thoſe that have now been recited out of *Epiphanius*.

SECT. XVI. *The* Nicene *Creed, as completed by the Council of* Conſtantinople, *An.* 381.

FOR the Creed that was drawn up in the Second General Council of *Conſtantinople*, is no other but the *Nicene* Creed, with the Addition of ſuch Articles as were always uſed by the Church in their Interrogatories of Baptiſm, though not inſerted in the particular Form uſed by the *Nicene* Council. I need not here repeat the Form, becauſe it is the ſame with that which is commonly call'd the *Nicene* Creed in our *Liturgy*. Only the Word *Filioque*, expreſſing the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and Son together, was added afterward by the *Latin* Church. For the firſt Copies of this Creed in the Council of *Conſtantinople* [y] and the Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon* [z] have it only, Proceeding from the Father, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, without any mention of the Son: But in the *Latin* Councils the Word *Filioque* is commonly added, as in the firſt Council of

[y] Concil. Conſtantin. Conc. Tom. 2. p. 953. [z] Conc. Chalcedon. Act. 2. Tom. 4. p. 341.

Bracara, *An.* 411; and the third Council of *Toledo* [a], *An.* 589, where the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed is recited.

SECT. XVII. *Of the Uſe of the* Nicene *Creed in the Ancient Service of the Church. And when firſt it was taken in to be a part of the* Liturgy *in the Communion-Office.*

As to the Uſe of the *Nicene* Creed, it is certain, it was uſed in the *Greek* Church much after the ſame manner as the Apoſtolical and other Creeds were uſed in the *Latin* Church; firſt in the Office of Baptiſm; afterward it was taken in to be a Part of the *Liturgy* in the Communion-ſervice. Some learned Perſons, I know, are of Opinion, That the *Nicene* Creed was never uſed in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, but only the *Apoſtolical* Creed ſtill throughout the whole Church. But this is a very plain Miſtake. 1. Becauſe it does not appear, that the *Apoſtolical* Creed, which is the *Roman* Creed, was ever uſed in the *Greek* Church, even before the *Nicene* Creed was made: For they had ſeveral Creeds of their own, agreeing indeed with the *Roman* Creed in Subſtance, but differing from it in Words and Expreſſion; and thoſe Creeds were uſed by the *Greek* or *Eaſtern* Church in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. 2. When the *Nicene* Creed was formed, it is very evident, that very Form was uſed by many Churches in the *Eaſt*, as a Creed of Baptiſm. For the Fathers of the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas*, *An.* 536, do frequently call it the Creed in which both they themſelves were baptized [b], and alſo baptized others. And ſo it is ſaid in the Synodical Epiſtles of the Councils of *Tyre* and *Jeruſalem*, which are related [c] in the Acts of the ſame Council. As alſo in the Acts of the General Councils of *Epheſus* [d] and *Chalcedon* [e], in the former of which an Order was made, That Catechumens ſhould be taught the *Nicene* Creed, and no other. The like may be obſerved in the Edict of the Emperor *Baſiliſcus* mentioned by *Evagrius* [f], who ſpeaking of the *Nicene* Creed, calls it the Creed in which both he and all his Anceſtors were baptized. And it is remarked by *Epiphanius* [g], of the two Creeds which he recites, that they were the Creeds which every Catechumen repeated at his Baptiſm; which were nothing but the *Nicene* Creed, with the Addition of ſuch Articles as the Church ſupplied to make it a complete Summary of the Faith. So that nothing can be more evident, than that the *Nicene* Creed was the Creed they generally made uſe of in all the *Eaſtern* Churches for the Inſtruction of Catechumens at their Baptiſm.

But as yet it was not made a Part of the common *Liturgy* of the Church, to be repeated daily in Divine Service. St. *Ambroſe* [h] indeed ſpeaks of it as uſed in private Devotion, and gives Directions to the holy Virgins ſo to uſe it in their Morning Retirements, and upon other proper Occaſions. And *Habertus* [i] thinks it was alſo required of Biſhops at their Ordination; which is not improbable, becauſe they were obliged to make a Profeſſion of their Faith. But all this did not yet make it a Part of the daily *Liturgy* of the Church. For it is agreed among learned Men, both of the Romiſh and Proteſtant Communion, that the Creed was not uſed to be repeated in the daily Service till about the middle of the fifth Century in the *Greek* Church, and not till ſome time after in the *Latin* Church. So *Valeſius* [k], Cardinal *Bona* [l], *Schelſtrate* [m], *Pagi* [n], *Chriſtianus Lupus* [o], *Hamond L'Eſtrange* [p], and *Voſſius* [q]. *Theodorus Lector* [r] obſerves, that *Peter Fullo*, who was Biſhop of *Antioch* about the Year 471, was the firſt that ordered the Creed to be repeated in the Church ἀναβάσῃ σωμάξῃ, in every Church-Aſſembly. And the ſame Author reports [s], that *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, *An.* 511, was the firſt that brought in this Cuſtom into that Church; which he did in Hatred to his Predeceſſor *Macedonius*, and with an Intent to repreſent him as diſaffected to the *Nicene* Creed, which before that time was uſed to be rehearſed in the Church only once a Year, on the *Paraſceue*, or great day of Preparation before the *Paſſover*, now called *Maundy-Thurſday*, when the Biſhop was wont to catechize ſuch as were to be baptized at *Eaſter*. From the *Oriental* Churches the Cuſtom was brought into the *Weſt*, firſt in *Spain* and *Gallicia*, at the Petition of King *Recaredus*, by the Order of the third Council [t] of *Toledo* about the Year 589, when thoſe Churches were newly recovered from the Inundation of the *Arian* Hereſy, this Practice was then thought a proper Antidote to preſerve them from relapſing into their antient Error. *Lupus* and *Pagi* ſay, it was not brought into the *French* Churches till the time of *Charles the Great*, and then Pope *Leo* the 3d adviſed them to lay it aſide again, becauſe it was not yet the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Church. They concluded yet farther, that in the time of Pope *John* the 8th, *An.* 870, it was not yet the Practice of the *Roman* Church. But at laſt in the Days of *Benedict* the 8th, *An.* 1014, as it is collected from *Berno Augienſis*, the Cuſtom was admitted into the *Roman* Church; for this Reaſon, to give it in the Words of *Lupus*, Since the *Roman* Church could not bring over the *French* and *Spaniſh* Churches to her own Way, ſhe reſolves at laſt to comply with their Cuſtom, that there might be no Diſagreement among them: And ſo the *Nicene* Creed came to be univerſally read throughout the whole Church.

[a] Conc. tom. 5. p. 1001. [b] Vid. Con. C. P. ſub Menna, Act. 5. Con. tom. 5. p. 166, 171, 179. [c] Ibid. p. 190, & 199. [d] Conc. Epheſ. Act. 6. tom. 3. p. 690. [e] Conc. Chalced. Act. 2. tom. 4. p. 341. [f] Evagr. lib. 3. c. 4, & 7. [g] Epiphan. Ancorat. n. 120. tom. 2. p. 120. [h] Ambroſ. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 115. Symbolum quoque ſpecialiter debemus, tanquam noſtri Signaculum cordis, antelucanis horis quotidie recenſere. Quod etiam, cum horremus aliquid, animo recurrendum eſt. [i] Habert. Archieratic. p. 499. [k] Valeſ. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 566. [l] Bona Rer. Liturgic. lib. 2. c. 8. n. 2. [m] Schelſtrat. Concil. Antiochen. c. 6. p. 210. [n] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 325. n. 18. [o] Lupus, Scholia in Concil. tom. 1. cap. 4. p. 13. [p] *Alliance of Divine Offices*, chap. 3. p. 79. chap. 6. p. 170. [q] Voſſius de Symbolis. [r] Theodor. Lector. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 566. [s] Ibid. p. 563. [t] Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 2. Petitione Reccaredi Regis conſtituit Synodus, ut per omnes Eccleſias Hiſpaniæ & Galliciæ, ſecundum formam Orientalium Eccleſiarum, Concilii Conſtantinopolitani Symbolum Fidei recitetur: Et priuſquam Dominica dicatur Oratio, voce clara populo prædicetur, &c.

SECT. XVIII. *Of the* Athanasian *Creed.*

THERE is but one Creed more, which I need to ſtand to give any Account of, and that is the Creed which is commonly received under the Name of the *Athanaſian* Creed. *Baronius* [*u*] is of Opinion, that it was compoſed by *Athanaſius* when he was at *Rome*, and offered to Pope *Julius* as a Confeſſion of his Faith. Which Circumſtance is not at all likely; for *Julius* never queſtioned the Faith of *Athanaſius*. However, a great many learned Men have ſo far embraced the Opinion of *Baronius*, as to believe this Creed to be of *Athanaſius*'s compoſing; as Cardinal *Bona* [*x*] and *Petavius* [*y*], and *Bellarmin* [*z*], and *Rivet* [*a*], with many others of both Communions. *Scultetus* leaves the Matter in doubt. But the beſt and lateſt Criticks, who have examined the Thing moſt exactly, make no queſtion but that it is to be aſcribed to a *Latin* Author, *Vigilius Tapſenſis*, an *African* Biſhop, who lived in the latter End of the fifth Century, in the time of the *Vandalick Arian* Perſecution. The learned *Voſſius* [*b*] and *Queſnel* [*c*] have written particular Diſſertations upon this Subject. Their Arguments are, 1. Becauſe this Creed is wanting in almoſt all the Manuſcripts of *Athanaſius*'s Works. 2. Becauſe the Style and Contexture of it does not beſpeak a *Greek*, but a *Latin* Author. 3. Becauſe neither *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, nor the Council of *Epheſus*, nor Pope *Leo*, nor the Council of *Chalcedon*, have ever ſo much as mentioned it in all that they ſay againſt the *Neſtorian* or *Eutychian* Hereſies. 4. Becauſe this *Vigilius Tapſenſis* is known to have publiſhed ſeveral others of his Writings under the borrowed Name of *Athanaſius*, with which this Creed is commonly joyned. Theſe Reaſons have perſuaded ſuch Men as Biſhop *Pearſon* [*d*], Archbiſhop *Uſher* [*e*], *Hamond L'Eſtrange* [*f*], Dr. *Cave* [*g*], *Schelſtrate* [*h*], *Pagi* [*i*] and *Du Pin*, Criticks of the beſt Rank, to come in to this Opinion, that this Creed was not compoſed by *Athanaſius*, but by a later and a *Latin* Writer. Dr. *Cave* thinks, the firſt that mentions it under the Name of *Athanaſius*, is *Theodulphus Aurelianenſis*, who lived about the Year 794, in the Reign of *Charles the Great*: But in this he is a little miſtaken; for the Council of *Autun*, which was held above an hundred Years before, *An.* 670, not only mentioned it under that Name, but ordered every Presbyter, Deacon, Subdeacon, *&c.* to read it together with the *Apoſtles* Creed [*k*], or be liable to the Biſhop's Cenſure for his Omiſſion: Which implies, that it was then eſteemed the genuine Work of *Athanaſius*, and as ſuch had for ſome time been received in the Church. But whoever was the Author of it, there never was any Queſtion made of its Orthodoxy, except by the *Samoſatenians* and *Arians* in theſe latter Ages of the Church. Only as Bp. *Uſher* and others have obſerved, the Modern *Greeks* now uſe it with ſome Additions and Alterations. For whereas it is ſaid in the *Latin* Copies, That the Holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father and the Son; the *Greeks* now read it, from the Father, or the Father only; as *Paræus* [*l*] has remarked in his Expoſition of this Creed. And in the *Greek* Copy lately brought out of the *Eaſt*, and publiſhed by Biſhop *Uſher*, there is a long Interpolation by way of Addition, and Explication of thoſe Words, *He was Man of the Subſtance of his Mother, Perfect God and Perfect Man, of a Reaſonable Soul and Humane Fleſh ſubſiſting.* With ſome other Additions of leſſer note, which the Curious Reader may find marked out in the fore-mentioned Tract [*m*] of that learned Author.

To all the Creeds that have been related in this Chapter, I think it not improper to add the ſhort Account which *Euſebius* gives of the firſt Preaching of St. *Thaddæus* to King *Agbarus* and the People of *Edeſſa*, which I had from the Information of my Learned and Judicious Friend Mr. *Lowth*, to whoſe uſeful Converſation I owe many other curious Remarks and Obſervations, that lye ſcattered throughout the Antiquities of the Church. This is not indeed properly a Creed, but a Summary of his firſt Sermon, or the Heads of his firſt Catechetical Inſtitution to the People. "Concerning the coming of Jeſus into the World, after what Manner it was; and concerning his Miſſion, for what Reaſon he was ſent by the Father; concerning his Power, and the Myſteries which he ſpake in the World, and by what Power he did theſe; then of his new way of Preaching; of his Meanneſs and abject Eſtate, and the Humility of his outward Appearance as a Man; after what manner he humbled himſelf, and ſubmitted to Death, and made a diminutive [*n*] Appearance of his Divine Nature; What things he ſuffered of the *Jews*, and how he was crucified, and deſcended into Hell, and brake down the Partition that had been kept up in former Ages; how He aroſe from the Dead, and raiſed with Himſelf thoſe that ſlept in preceding Generations; how he deſcended [from Heaven] alone, but aſcended with a mighty Company to his Father; How he ſits at the Right Hand of God the Father, and ſhall come again with Glory and Power, to judge both the Quick and the Dead." Here

[*u*] Baron. an. 340. n. 11. [*x*] Bona de Pſalmodia. [*y*] Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hær. 72. [*z*] Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. p. 81. [*a*] Rivet. Critic. Sacr. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 240. [*b*] Voſſ. de Symbolis, Diſſert. 2. [*c*] Queſnel. Diſſert. de variis Fidei Symbolis in antiquo Codice Romano. [*d*] Pearſon. in Symbol. Artic. 8. p. 570. Edit. Lat. [*e*] Uſſer. de Symbol. Rom. p. 1. [*f*] L'Eſtrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, chap. 4. p. 99. [*g*] Cave Hiſt. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 146. [*h*] Schelſtrat Conc. Antioch. Diſſert. 3. c. 2. p. 109. [*i*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 340. n. 6. Du Pin. Vol. 2. p. 35. [*k*] Conc. Auguſtodun. Can. ult. Con. tom. 6. p. 536. Si quis Presbyter, Diaconus, Subdiaconus, vel Clericus, Symbolum, quod inſpirante Sancto Spiritu Apoſtoli tradiderunt, vel Fidem Sancti Athanaſii Præſulis irreprehenſibiliter non recenſuerit, ab Epiſcopo condemnetur. [*l*] Paræus, Not. in Symbol. Athanaſ. ad Calcem Urſin. Catech. p. 124. [*m*] Uſſer. De Symbolis, p. 29. [*n*] Euſeb. lib. 1. cap. 13. ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτὸ τὴν θεότητα — κατέβη ἐις τὸ ἅδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν, &c. *It is worth our Obſervation to compare the Apoſtle's Expreſſion*, Phil. ii. 7. ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, *He made himſelf of no Reputation, or he emptied himſelf, with this Expreſſion of* Thaddæus, ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτὸ τὴν θεότητα, *He leſſen'd or made a diminutive Shew and Appearance of his Godhead. For theſe Places mutually explain one another, and are a ſolid Proof that the Divinity of Chriſt in the Apoſtolical Age was one of the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Faith.*

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are two Things very remarkable in this antient Account of the first Principles of Christian Doctrine, *viz.* The Divinity of our Saviour, and the Descent into Hell; both which are here expressed in Terms, for which Reason I thought it might deserve a Place among the Creeds of the Church. *Eusebius* says, He had the Account in the *Syriack* Tongue, as it was preserved in the Archives of the Church of *Edessa*, signed in the Year 340, which, [according to the Computation of Time then used by the *Syrians* of *Edessa*, reckoning from the first Year that *Seleucus* began to reign in *Asia*] falls in with the same Year that Christ suffered and arose from the Dead, as *Valesius*, and *Pagi* [*o*] after him have rightly computed in their Observations upon this Passage of *Eusebius*.

CHAP. V.

Of the Original, Nature, and Reasons of the antient Discipline, in concealing the Sacred Mysteries of the CHURCH *from the* Catechumens.

SECT. I. *The Errors and Pretences of the* Romanists *upon this Point.*

THAT which makes this Enquiry a little more necessary, is the several vain Pretences of the *Romanists* concerning the Original and Reasons of this Discipline. *Bellarmin* and others urge it as a mighty Argument for Transubstantiation in particular, as if the concealing the Mystery of the Eucharist from the Catechumens was an Indication of the Belief of the Church concerning the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, which they were so studiously careful to hide from the Knowledge of the Catechumens. But this is abundantly refuted by a more accurate Observation of *Albaspinæus*, a Learned Bishop of the same Communion, who in the Book of the Antient Polity of the Church [*a*] relating to the Eucharist, as I find him cited by others [*b*], rejects this as an incompetent Proof of the Romish Doctrine of the Real Presence. For he rightly observes, That the Ancients concealed not only the Mystery of the Eucharist, but also the Sacrament of Baptism from the Catechumens; yea, and almost all other their sacred Rites and Ceremonies, which in a large Sense are called Sacraments, as the Oyl of Chrism or Confirmation, and the Ordination of Priests, which were as studiously concealed from the Knowledge or Inspection of the Uninitiated, as the Elements of the Holy Eucharist were. So that the bare concealing that Mystery from the Catechumens could no more be an Argument of Transubstantiation in the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, than it was in the Waters of Baptism, or any other Ceremony where the same Silence and Caution was used.

The Learned *Schelstrate* with a subtle Invention has made a more general Use of this antient Practice, to palliate and excuse all the novel Doctrines and Practices of his own Church. He wrote a Book which he entitled *Disciplina Arcani*, a Book highly magnified by *Pagi* and others of his own Communion [*c*], as stopping the Mouths of the *Protestants*, when they ask the *Romanists*, Why no Footsteps of their Modern Doctrines and Practices appear in the earliest Writers of the Church; The Answer is ready upon all Occasions, from this *Disciplina Arcani*, That it was because these Doctrines and Practices were kept secret, and only handed down by Tradition, not committed to Writing, lest they should come to the Knowledge of the Uninitiated *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and the Catechumens of the Church. This is the Reason, he tells us, why there is no Account of the Seven Sacraments, nor of the Worship of Saints or Images in the first Writers of the Church. The Things were really believed and practised from the Days of the Apostles, as he will have it, but kept secret as the hidden Mysteries of Religion, which were not to be divulged to any but such as were initiated and prepared to know them.

This is an Artifice that would justify as many Errors and Vanities as any Church could be guilty of: It is but working a little with this admirable Instrument and Tool, called *Disciplina Arcani*, and then all the seeming Contradictions between the antient Doctrines and Practices of the Church Universal, and the novel Corruptions of the Modern Church of *Rome* will presently vanish and disappear. So that we need not wonder, why Men, whose Interest it serves so much, should magnify this as a noble Invention; when yet in Truth it is only a Veil and a Mist cast before the Reader's Eyes, which may be easily dispelled by giving a true Account of that antient Piece of Discipline and Practice, first in its Original, and then in the Nature, Use, and Reasons of it.

SECT. II. *This Discipline not strictly observed in the very first Ages of the Church.*

As to its Original, the Learned *Albaspinæus* has rightly observed, That in the Apostolical Age, and some time after, they were not so very strict in this Discipline of Concealing their Sacred Mysteries from the Knowledge of the Catechumens. For he thus

[*o*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 41. n. 3. [*a*] Albaspin. Police de l'ancienne Eglise, &c. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 47. [*b*] Albertin de Eucharist. lib. 2. p. 703. [*c*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 118. n. 9.

argues againſt the Antiquity of the Book called *The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*: The laſt Words, ſays he [*d*], which forbid the Publication of thoſe eight Books, do plainly ſhew, that they were not written in the firſt Age; for the Chriſtians of the firſt Age did never make any ſcruple of publiſhing their Myſteries, as appears from the Writings of *Juſtin Martyr*. Mr. *Aubertine* obſerves [*e*] the ſame out of *Athenagoras* and *Tatian*. And *Daille* [*f*] joyns in Opinion with *Albaſpinæus*, and cites his Authority with Approbation. And *Baſnage* is [*g*] ſo far from thinking, that the Apoſtles concealed their Myſteries from the Catechumens, that he rather ſuppoſes they adminiſtred the Sacraments in their Preſence. Upon which Suppoſition, the whole Fabrick which *Schelſtrate* builds upon the *Diſciplina Arcani*, is ruined at once. For then it is certain, the Apoſtles had no ſuch Fear or Caution upon them, leſt the Catechumens ſhould come to the Knowledge of the Chriſtian Rites or Doctrines, as is pretended. And indeed any One that looks into the Writings of the Apoſtles may perceive with half an Eye that they were far enough from concealing their Opinion about the Worſhip of Angels, Saints, and Images: For they expreſsly write againſt it. And when they ſpeak of the Myſteries of Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt*, they do it with the greateſt Freedom, without any Fear or Apprehenſion of giving Offence to the Catechumens.

SECT. III. *But introduced about the Time of* Tertullian, *for other Reaſons than what the* Romaniſts *pretend.*

NAY, and when this Diſcipline was firſt introduced into the Chriſtian Church, it is very evident, it was done for different Reaſons than thoſe which the *Romaniſts* pretend. The firſt Beginning of it ſeems to have been about the Time of *Tertullian*; for he is the firſt Writer that makes any mention of it. He ſays [*h*], There was a Secrecy and Silence obſerved in all Myſteries. And he blames the Hereticks of his own Times for not regarding ſomething of this Diſcipline. They made no Diſtinction, he ſays [*i*], between Believers and Catechumens, they all met together, they all heard together, they all prayed together. And if *Heathens* chanced to come in upon them, they gave that which was Holy to Dogs, and caſt their Pearls, ſuch as they were, before Swine. Here it is plain, the Church now made ſeveral Diſtinctions between Catechumens and Believers, which Hereticks did not. The Place of the Catechumens was now in a ſeparate Part of the Church; they heard Sermons, but not all that Believers were allowed to hear; they had Prayers for themſelves, but were not admitted to hear the Prayers of the Faithful, which were peculiar to the Celebration of the Euchariſt, from which Catechumens were excluded. But all this was, and might be done, without favouring in the leaſt the vain Pretences of the modern *Arcaniſts*: For in all this there was no Deſign to conceal ſuch Myſteries as the Worſhip of Saints, and Angels, and Images, from the Knowledge of the Catechumens; but on the contrary *Tertullian* ſpeaks openly of theſe kinds of Worſhip, and with Indignation condemns them as ſuperſtitious Practices, belonging only to Heathens or Hereticks, and not to the Myſteries of the Church.

SECT. IV. *This proved from a particular Account of the Things which they concealed from the* Catechumens. *Which were, 1. The Manner of Adminiſtring* Baptiſm.

AND in the following Ages, no Writer that mentions this Diſcipline, among all thoſe that give us a more particular Account of what Things were concealed from the Knowledge or Inſpection of the Catechumens, ever ſo much as intimates, that the Worſhip of Saints and Images was in the number of the Myſteries of the Church which they concealed from them. But the Myſteries which they were ſo careful in ſome meaſure to hide from them, were, 1. The Manner of adminiſtring Baptiſm. 2. The Unction of Chriſm or Confirmation. 3. The Ordination of Prieſts. 4. The manner of celebrating the Euchariſt. 5. The Liturgy or Divine Service of the Church. 6. And for ſome time the Myſtery of the Trinity, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, 'till they became greater Proficients, and were ready for Baptiſm. In the firſt Place, that they were careful to conceal from them the manner of adminiſtring Baptiſm, appears from this, that the Catechumens were never ſo much as ſuffered to enter [*k*], or look into the Baptiſtery, or Place where Baptiſm was adminiſtred, according to the Order of the firſt Council of *Orange*. St. *Baſil* therefore [*l*] ſays, Baptiſm, the Euchariſt, and the Oyl of Chriſm, were Things that the Uninitiated were not allowed to look upon. And St. *Auſtin* [*m*] putting the Queſtion, What Things were kept ſecret, and not made publick in the Church? anſwers, The Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. For even Pagans may ſee our good Works, but the Sacraments are kept hidden from them. And as they did not admit Catechumens to ſee Baptiſm adminiſtred, ſo neither did they ordinarily diſ-

[*l*] Albaſpin. Obſervat. Lib. 1. c. 13. p. 38. Poſtrema verba, quibus cavetur, ne octo Libri Conſtitutionum Apoſtolicarum publicentur, aperte indicant, eas primis ſæculis factas non eſſe, cum primi ſæculi Chriſtiani ſua lubentes Myſteria, ut vel ex Juſtino conſtat, enuntiarent. [*e*] Albertin. de Euchariſt. lib. 2. p. 709. [*f*] Dallæus de Scriptis Ignatii, lib. 1. c. 22. p. 142. [*g*] Baſnag. exercitat. in Baron. p. 419. Alta de Myſteriis ſilentia non agebant Apoſtoli, nec Catechumenos arcebant Sacramentorum conſpectu. [*h*] Tertul. Apol. c. 7. Ex forma omnibus Myſteriis ſilentii fides adhibetur. [*i*] Tertul. de Præſcript. adverſ. Hæretic. cap. 41. In primis quis Catechumenus, quis Fidelis, incertum eſt: Pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant: Etiam Ethnici ſi ſupervenerint, Sanctum canibus, & porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt. [*k*] Conc. Araufican. Can. 19. Ad Baptiſterium Catechumeni nunquam admittendi. [*l*] Baſil. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 27. ὃ οὐδὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, Tom. 2. p. 352. [*m*] Aug. Com. in Pſal. 103. Concio 1. Tom. 8. p. 484. Quid eſt quod occultum eſt, & non publicum in Eccleſia? Sacramentum Baptiſmi, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ. Opera noſtra bona vident & Pagani, Sacramenta vero occultantur illis.

courſe

courſe of it before them in plain Terms, but in a myſtical Way, or elſe wholly excluded them from ſuch Diſcourſes, as incompetent Hearers. We do not ſpeak openly, ſays St. *Cyril* [n], of the Sacraments before the Catechumens, but deliver many Things covertly, that the Faithful who know them, may underſtand us, and they who know them not, may receive no Harm. So *Theodoret* [o], We diſcourſe of Myſteries obſcurely, becauſe of the Unbaptized; but when they are gone, we ſpeak plainly before the Initiated. In like manner *Nazianzen* [p] ſpeaking of Baptiſm, You have heard, ſays he, ſo much of the Myſtery as we are allowed to ſpeak publickly in the Ears of all, and the reſt you ſhall hear privately, which you muſt retain ſecret within yourſelf, and keep under the Seal of Baptiſm. A great many other Paſſages may be read in *Chryſoſtom* [q], *Theodoret* [r], *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [s], the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* [t], and the *Apoſtolical Canons* [u], with many others to the ſame Purpoſe. From all which we learn, that, though the Ancients acquainted the Catechumens with the Doctrine of Baptiſm ſo far as to make them underſtand the Spiritual Nature and Deſign of it, yet they never admitted 'em to the Sight of the outward Ceremony, nor ſo much as to hear any plain Diſcourſe about the Manner of its Adminiſtration, 'till they were fitted and prepared for the actual Reception of it.

SECT. V. *Secondly, The manner of adminiſtring the Holy Unction or Confirmation.*

AND they obſerved the ſame Diſcipline in reference to the Holy Unction of Chriſm, which the *Latins* call Impoſition of Hands or Confirmation. St. *Baſil* [x] ſpeaking of the Oyl which was uſed to be conſecrated, and uſed in this Ceremony, ſays, It was one of thoſe Things which the Uninitiated were not allowed to look upon. And Pope *Innocent* I, writing to another Biſhop about Confirmation, and the Form of Words uſed in the Adminiſtration of it, ſays, He could [y] not repeat the Words, leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſcloſe the Myſtery, rather than anſwer the Queſtion propoſed.

SECT. VI. *Thirdly, The Ordination of Prieſts.*

A third Thing which they concealed from the Catechumens, was the Ordination of Prieſts. The Council of *Laodicea* [z] has a Canon to this Purpoſe, That Ordinations ſhould not be performed in the Preſence of the Hearers, that is, the Catechumens. And *Chryſoſtom*, ſpeaking of this Office, and the ſolemn Prayers uſed at the Conſecration, delivers himſelf in an obſcure and covert way, becauſe of the Catechumens. He that ordains, ſays he, requires the Prayers of the Church [a], and they then joyn their Suffrage, and eccho forth thoſe Words which the Initiated know. For we may not ſpeak them openly before the Uninitiated Catechumens.

SECT. VII. *Fourthly, the Liturgy or Publick Prayers of the Church, ſuch as the Prayers for the* Energumens, *Penitents, and the Faithful.*

A fourth Thing which they concealed from the Catechumens, was the Publick Liturgy or ſolemn Prayers of the Church. For one Rank of the Catechumens, the *Audientes* or Hearers, were only permitted to ſtay and hear the Sermon, but not any Prayers of the Church. Another Sort, called Kneelers or Proſtrators, had the Prayers of the Church particularly for themſelves, but no others. And the *Competentes* ſtaid only to hear the Prayers offered up for themſelves and the *Energumens*, and then were diſmiſſed. They might not ſtay to hear ſo much as the Prayers for the Penitents, much leſs the Prayers for the Church Militant, or any others preceding the Communion. But before all theſe, the uſual Word of Command was given by the Deacons, or ſacred Heralds of the Church, *Ne quis Audientium*, or, *Ite, Miſſa eſt*, Catechumens depart. From whence it is eaſy to collect farther, That the ſolemn Office of the Abſolution of Penitents was never performed in the Preſence of the Catechumens. For the time of Abſolution was not till all others were diſmiſſed, except the Penitents themſelves who were to be abſolved, which was immediately before their going to the Altar to begin the Communion-Service. As ſeems to be clear from thoſe Words of *Optatus*, where he ſpeaks of it as the common Cuſtom both in the Church and among the *Donatiſts* [b], to give Impoſition of Hands for Abſolution immediately before their going to ſay the Lord's Prayer at the Altar. All theſe Things therefore were kept ſecret from the Catechumens: For they were never ſuffered to be Hearers or Spectators of any Part of them.

SECT. VIII. *Fifthly, The Manner of Celebrating the* Euchariſt.

BUT as the *Euchariſt* was the higheſt Myſtery in the Chriſtian Service, ſo they were moſt careful to conceal the Manner of its Celebration from the Catechumens. And in this they made a Difference between one Sort of Penitents and the Catechumens. For the higheſt Claſs of Penitents, called *Conſiſtentes* or Co-ſtanders, were allowed to be preſent at the Communion-Prayers, and ſee the Oblation offered and received by the Faithful,

[n] Cyril Catech. 6. n. 16. [o] Theodor. Quæſt. 15. in Numer. Tom. 1. p. 149. [p] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. Tom. 1. p. 672. [q] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. Hom. 46. in Act. p. 868. Tom. 4. Ed. Savil. [r] Theodor. Hæret. Fabul. lib. 5. c. 18. [s] Cyril. adv. Julian. Lib. 7. Tom. 6. p. 247. [t] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierar. c. 2. p. 251. [u] Canon. Apoſt. c. 85. [x] Baſil. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 27. [y] Innocent. Epiſt. 1. ad Decentium Eugubin. c. 3. Verba vero dicere non poſſum, ne magis prodere videar, quàm ad Conſultationem reſpondere: [z] Conc. Laodic. Can. 5. μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροθεσίας ἐπὶ παρρησίᾳ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις γίνεσθαι. [a] Chryſoſt. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 872. ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖν, τὰς ἐνεάνων εὐχὰς καλεῖ πάντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιψηφίζουσι, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν, ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι. ἃ γὰρ δεῖ θέμις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἐκκαλύπτειν ἅπαντα. [b] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. p. 57. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis & delicta donatis, mox ad altare converſi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non poteſtis. Vid. Conſtitut. Apoſt. Lib. 8. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9.

though they might not partake with them. But Catechumens of all Ranks were wholly excluded from all this. They were always diſmiſſed before theſe Prayers began, and the Doors of the Church were locked and guarded by proper Officers, to the intent that no Uninitiated Perſon ſhould indiſcreetly ruſh in upon them. We ſhut the Doors, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [c], when we celebrate the Holy Myſteries, and drive away all Uninitiated Perſons. This was one of the Secrets of the Church, as we heard St. *Auſtin* before [d] ſpeak of it. One of the Things which a Catechumen might not look upon, according to St. *Baſil* [e]. Therefore the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [f] makes it a Part of the Deacon's Office not only to command their Abſence, but alſo to keep the Doors, that none might come in, during the time of the Oblation. *Epiphanius* [g] and St. *Jerom* [h] bring it as a Charge againſt the *Marcionites*, that they deſpiſed this Diſcipline, and admitted Catechumens indiſcriminately with the Faithful to all their Myſteries. And *Palladius* [i] forms a like Charge againſt the Enemies of *Chryſoſtom*, That in the Tumult they raiſed againſt him, they gave Occaſion to the Uninitiated to break into the Church, and ſee thoſe Things which it was not lawful for them to ſet their Eyes upon. Nay, ſo ſtrict was the Church then in the Obſervation of this Diſcipline, that *Athanaſius* convicted the *Meletians* of falſe Witneſs againſt him, when they pretended to prove, by the Teſtimony of ſome Catechumens, that *Macarius*, one of his Presbyters, had overturned the Communion-table in the Time of the Oblation: He argued, That this could not be ſo; becauſe [k] if the Catechumens were preſent, there could then be no Oblation.

Nor did they only exclude Catechumens from the Sight of theſe Myſteries, but alſo from all Diſcourſes which treated plainly about them. They made a Diſtinction between Moral and Myſterious Subjects, and admitted the Catechumens to the one, but not to the other, as I have had Occaſion formerly to ſhew [l] from the Teſtimonies of *Theodoret* [m], St. *Auſtin* [n], and St. *Ambroſe* [o]. To which we may here add that of St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, You was once, ſays he, a Catechumen, and then we [p] did not diſcourſe of Myſteries to you: And now that you have attained by Experience to the height of thoſe Things which we teach, you will eaſily perceive that Catechumens are not worthy to be Hearers of ſuch things. And that of *Gaudentius*, Biſhop of *Brixia*, who in his Sermon [q] to the *Neophytes*, or Perſons newly baptized, tells them, He would now open to them thoſe Myſteries, which could not be explained in the Preſence of the Catechumens. Sometimes indeed they ſpake of the *Euchariſt* before the Catechumens in their popular Diſcourſes; but then they did it in ſuch obſcure and figurative Terms as were underſtood only by Communicants, and not by the Catechumens: According to that of St. *Chryſoſtom* [r], I would ſpeak plainly, but I dare not becauſe of the Unbaptized. For they make our Expoſitions to be more difficult, they compel us to ſpeak obſcurely, or elſe we muſt reveal what is not to be revealed unto them. Upon this account *Epiphanius* ſpeaking of the Words of Inſtitution before the Catechumens, would not ſay, This Bread is my Body, This Wine is my Blood; but, *Hoc meum eſt hoc & hoc*, This is my That and That [s], to let the Initiated know his Meaning, and not the Catechumens. And hence it was they ſo often uſed that Phraſe, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, *Et nôrunt Fideles*, The Initiated know what we ſay; which Phraſe *Caſaubon* [t] has obſerved to occur no leſs than Fifty times in the Writings of St. *Chryſoſtom*. *Caſaubon* makes another good Obſervation upon this Matter, which the learned *Albertinus* [u] takes from him, and ſtrenuouſly defends, That whereas there are three Things in the *Euchariſt*; 1. The Symbols or Sacred Elements of Bread and Wine; 2. The Things ſignified by them; and, 3. The Rites of Celebration; That which the Ancients laboured chiefly to conceal from the Catechumens, was not the Things ſignified, but only the Symbols or outward Signs, and the Rites and Manner of Celebration. For they made no Scruple to call the *Euchariſt* by the Name of Chriſt's Body and Blood before the Catechumens, at the ſame time that they would not call it Bread and Wine, or ſpeak particularly of the Form and Manner of adminiſtring it, as *Albertinus* proves out of *Theodoret* and many others. Which ſhews, that the Reaſon of concealing the Myſtery from the Catechumens was not the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation, as the *Romaniſts* pretend: For then they would have choſen rather to conceal the Names of Chriſt's Body and Blood, than the Names of the outward Symbols, and the myſtical Rites of Celebration, the latter of which they ſtudiouſly concealed, but not the former. He that would ſee more of this, may conſult the elaborate Diſcourſe of that moſt acute and learned Writer, where he anſwers all the Objections of *Coffetellus* againſt the preſent Aſſertion.

SECT. IX.

Sixthly, The Myſtery of the Trinity, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer from the firſt ſort of Catechumens.

THE laſt ſort of Things which they for ſome Time concealed from the more imperfect Catechumens, were the ſublimer Doctrines of Chriſtianity, ſuch as the Myſtery of the Trinity, and Hypoſtatick Union, together

[c] Chryſ. Hom. 23. in Mat. p. 236. [d] Aug. in Pſal. 103. [e] Baſil. de Spir. St°. c. 27. [f] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 2. p. 57. Lib. 8. c. 11. [g] Epiphan. Hæref. 42. n. 3. [h] Hieron. Com. in Galat. 6. Tom 9. p. 199. [i] Pallad. Vit. Chryſoſtom. c. 9. *The ſame Complaint is made by* Chryſoſtom *himſelf in his 1ſt Epiſtle to Pope* Innocent, Tom. 4. p. 681. Edit. Front. Ducæi. [k] Athan. Apol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 747. [l] *Book* I. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 8. [m] Theodor. Quæſt. 15. in Numer. [n] Aug. Serm. 1. ad Neophytos in Append. Tom. 10. p. 845. [o] Ambroſ. de Initiatis, c. 1: [p] Cyril. Catech. Præf. n. 7. [q] Gaudent. Serm. 2. ad Neophytos, Bibl. Patr. Tom. 2. p. 14. Ea ſolum aperienda Neophytis, quæ præſentibus Catechumenis explanari non poſſunt. [r] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. [s] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 57. [t] Caſaub. Exercit. 16. in Baron. p. 490. [u] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 2. p. 708.

with the Creed it ſelf and the Lord's Prayer, which the Catechumens did not learn till immediately before their Baptiſm. For ſo *Theodoret* [x] tells us, That they did not teach this Prayer to the Uninitiated, but to the Baptized, or immediate Candidates of Baptiſm. For no one that was not baptized could preſume to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, not having yet received the Gift of Adoption. But he that was made Partaker of Baptiſm might call God his Father, as being adopted among the Sons of Grace. St. *Chryſoſtom* [y] ſpeaks after the ſame manner: This Prayer belongs only to the Faithful, as both the Rule of the Church and the Beginning of the Prayer itſelf teach. For an unbaptized Perſon cannot yet call God his Father. This Prayer was then peculiar to the Communion-Service, and never uſed in the Church, but only at the Altar, where none of the Catechumens could be preſent, but only the Faithful. Whence it was called, ἡ εὐχὴ πιστῶν, The Prayer of the Faithful. And one Petition in it was thought to refer more particularly to the Euchariſt, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον our ſuper-ſubſtantial or ſuper-celeſtial Bread, as many of the Ancients render it. For theſe Reaſons they never taught the Lord's Prayer to any of the Catechumens, but the higheſt Rank of them, the *Competentes*, a few Days before their Baptiſm. As we learn from thoſe Words of St. *Auſtin* [z], Now learn the Lord's Prayer, which ye muſt repeat eight Days hence, when ye are to be baptized. So they received it only on *Saturday* before *Palm-Sunday*, in order to repeat it on *Saturday* before *Eaſter*, which was the Day of their Baptiſm.

They obſerved the ſame Diſcipline in reference to the Creed, which they taught to the Catechumens at the ſame time only as they did the Lord's Prayer, a little before their Baptiſm. This they did not always commit to writing, but kept it, as St *Jerom* [a] words it, in Tables of the Heart, and delivered it by Word of Mouth, that it might not come to the Knowledge of the uninitiated and Unbelievers. Which is the Reaſon that *Sozomen* [b] gives, why he did not inſert the Words of the *Nicene Creed* into his Hiſtory, becauſe probably many uninitiated Perſons might read his Book, who ought not to read or hear the Creed. They were as careful not to communicate to new Beginners the profound Myſteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, till they had firſt prepared them by proper preceding Inſtructions for the Reception of them. Therefore, as St. *Jerom* obſerves [c], it was the Cuſtom of the Church to put off this Part of the Inſtruction of Catechumens to the laſt, and not acquaint them with theſe Doctrines till about forty Days before they were to be baptized, though the Catechetical Inſtruction had continued perhaps for two or three Years before.

This was the whole of that Diſcipline, we read ſo much of among the Ancients, of concealing the Sacred Myſteries from the Catechumens. Among all which we have never the leaſt Intimation given, that the Practice of Image-worſhip, or the Adoration of Saints and Angels, or the Doctrine of Seven Sacraments, were the Myſteries they intended to conceal from them. For in thoſe Days there were no ſuch Myſteries in the Chriſtian Church. And therefore the late Invention of *Schelſtrate* is a mere Fiction and Sophiſm, to cover the Nakedneſs of the preſent *Roman* Church. And the Pretence of *Bona* [d] concerning the Prohibition of Images in Churches, made by the Council of *Eliberis*, that it was only to conceal the Secrets of Religion from the Knowledge of the Heathen, is an abſurd Suppoſition, which neither *Albaſpinæus* nor *Petavius* could digeſt, as I have ſhewed more fully in another Place [e], where I ſpeak of the Ornaments of the antient Churches.

SECT. X. *Reaſons for Concealing theſe Things from the* Catechumens. 1ſt, *That the Plainneſs and Simplicity of them might not be contemned.*

As to theſe Things which they really concealed from the Catechumens, the true Reaſons were, Firſt, That the Plainneſs and Simplicity of the Chriſtian Rites might not be contemned by them, or give any occaſion of Scandal or Offence to them, before they were thoroughly inſtructed about the Nature of the Myſteries. For both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, out of whom Chriſtian Converts were made Catechumens, were apt to deride the Nakedneſs and Simplicity of the Chriſtian Religion, as void of thoſe pompous Ceremonies and Sacrifices, with which thoſe other Religions abounded. The Chriſtian Religion preſcribed but one waſhing in Water, and one Oblation of Bread and Wine, inſtead of that Multitude of bloody Sacrifices, which the other Religions commanded. Therefore leſt the Plainneſs of theſe few Ceremonies ſhould offend the prejudiced Minds of Catechumens, before they were well inſtructed about them, the Chriſtian Teachers uſually adorned theſe Myſteries with great and magnificent Titles, ſuch as would convey Noble Ideas to the Minds of Men concerning their Spiritual Effects, but concealing their other Names, leſt the Simplicity of the Things ſhould offend them. When they ſpake of the Euchariſt, they never mentioned Bread and Wine, but the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood

[x] Theod. Epitom. Divin. Decret. lib. 5. Hæret. Fabul. c. 28. ταύτην τὴν προσευχὴν οὐ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μυσταγωγουμένοις διδάσκομεν. [y] Chryſ. Hom. 20. al. 19. in Matth. p. 200. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. [z] Aug. Hom. 42. ex 50. tom. 10. p. 195. Tenete ergo hanc Orationem, quam reddituri eſtis ad octo dies.—— Ad octo dies ab hodierno die reddituri eſtis hanc Orationem quam hodie accepiſtis. [a] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 9. p. 173. Symbolum Fidei & ſpei noſtræ, quod ab Apoſtolis traditum, non ſcribitur in charta & atramento, ſed in tabulis cordis carnalibus. [b] Sozomen. lib. 1. c. 20. [c] Hieron. Epiſt. 61. ad Pammach. c. 4. p. 167. Conſuetudo apud nos iſtiuſmodi eſt, ut his qui baptizandi ſunt, per quadraginta dies publice tradamus ſanctam & adorandam Trinitatem. [d] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 16. n. 2. [e] *Book* VIII. *Chap.* viii. *n.* 6.

of

of Chriſt; and ſtiled Baptiſm, Illumination and Life, the Sacrament of Faith and Remiſſion of Sins, ſaying little in the mean time of the outward Element of Water. This was one plain Reaſon, whey they denied Catechumens the Sight of their Sacraments, and always ſpake in Myſtical Terms before them. We ſhut the Doors, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [*f*], when we celebrate our Myſteries, and keep off all Uninitiated Perſons from them, not becauſe we acknowledge any Imperfection in the Things themſelves, but becauſe many are weakly affected towards them. And ſo St. *Cyril* [*g*] in the Place mentioned above, We ſpeak not openly of our Myſteries before the Catechumens, but ſay many Things myſtically and obſcurely, that they who know them may underſtand us, and they who know them not may receive no Harm. In like manner the Synod of *Alexandria* [*h*] charging the *Meletians* for publiſhing the Myſtery of the *Euchariſt* before the Catechumens, and what was worſe, before the Heathens, contrary to thoſe Rules of Scripture, *It is good to conceal the Secrets of a King*: And, *Give not that which is Holy unto Dogs, neither caſt ye your Pearls before Swine*; They add, That it is not lawful to bring Myſteries upon the open Stage before the Uninitiated, leſt the Heathen through their Ignorance ſhould deride them, or the Catechumens by their Curioſity ſhould be offended. Therefore there was an antient Rule in the Church, That if any Uninitiated Perſon had by any Miſtake been admitted to partake of the *Euchariſt*, he ſhould be immediately inſtructed and baptized, that he might not go forth a Contemner or Deſpiſer, as the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [*i*] words it. And the Fourth Council of *Toledo* gives a like Reaſon [*k*] why ſuch *Jews* as had been baptized by Force, ſhould continue in the Chriſtian Profeſſion, leſt the Name of God ſhould be blaſphemed, and the Faith which they had received, ſhould be reputed vile and contemptible. Though they made a ſevere Decree againſt obliging any *Jews* to be baptized by Force or Compulſion for the future.

SECT. XI. *Secondly, to conciliate a Reverence for them.*

ANOTHER Reaſon aſſigned for this Diſcipline of Silence, was to conciliate a Reverence in the Minds of Men for the Myſteries which they kept ſo concealed from them. For as St. *Baſil* obſerves [*l*], the Veneration of Myſteries is preſerved by Silence. And as things that are trite and obvious are eaſily contemned; ſo thoſe that are uncommon and reſerved are naturally adapted to beget in Men an Eſteem and Veneration. And therefore he thinks, the Apoſtles and Fathers of the Church, who made Laws about theſe Matters, preſcribed Secrecy and Silence, to preſerve the Dignity of the Myſteries. St. *Auſtin* [*m*] gives the ſame Reaſon for the Practice, when he ſays, It was the Honour that was due to the Myſteries, which made him paſs them over in Silence, and not explain them.

SECT. XII. *Thirdly, to make the Catechumens more deſirous to know them.*

ST. *Auſtin* adds to this a third Reaſon, which is, that the Myſteries of Baptiſm and the Euchariſt were therefore chiefly concealed from the Catechumens to excite their Curioſity, and inflame their Zeal, and make them more earneſt and ſolicitous in haſtening to partake of them, that they might come to an experimental Knowledge of them. Though the Sacraments, ſays he, are not diſcloſed [*n*] to the Catechumens, it is not always becauſe they cannot bear them, but that they may ſo much the more ardently deſire them, by how much they are the more honourably hidden from them. And again, The *Jews* acknowledge not the Prieſthood [*o*] according to the Order of *Melchiſedeck*. I ſpeak to the Faithful, if the Catechumens underſtand it not, let them caſt away their Slowneſs and haſten to the Knowledge of it. They that do not yet eat of this (*p*) Banquet, let them haſten upon Invitation. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* is at hand. Give in your Name to Baptiſm. If the Feſtival does not excite you, let Curioſity draw you, that you may know that which is ſaid, *He that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

Theſe were the Reaſons which engaged the Ancients to conceal their Myſteries from the Catechumens: Which, we plainly ſee, have no Relation to ſuch Doctrines as that of Tranſubſtantiation, or the number of Seven Sacraments, or ſuch Superſtitious Practices as the Worſhip of Images, or Saints and Angels, which are mere Novelties, and the Modern Inventions of the *Romiſh* Church.

I have now gone through all things relating to the Diſcipline of the Catechumens in their Preparation for Baptiſm. We are next to take a View of Baptiſm itſelf, and enquire into the Manner how the Church adminiſtred it, and what Rites and Cuſtoms were obſerved in the Celebration of it.

[*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 23. in Mat. p. 236. [*g*] Cyril. Catech. 6. n. 16. [*h*] Apud Athanaſ. Apol. 2. tom. 1. p. 731. [*i*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. c. 25. [*k*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 56. Oportet ut fidem etiam, quam vi vel neceſſitate ſuſceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen Domini blaſphemetur, & fides, quam ſuſceperunt, vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur. [*l*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27. [*m*] Aug. Serm. 1. inter 40. Edit à Sirmondo, tom. 10. Non mirari debetis, Fratres chariſſimi, quod inter ipſa myſteria de myſteriis nihil diximus, quod non ſtatim ea quæ tradidimus interpretari ſumus. Adhibuimus enim tam Sanctis rebus atque divinis honorem ſilentii. [*n*] Aug. Hom. 96. in Joh. Et ſi Catechumenis Sacramenta Fidelium non produntur, non ideo fit quod ea ferre non poſſint, ſed ut tanto ardentius ab eis concupiſcantur, quanto eis honorabilius occultantur. [*o*] Aug. Hom. in Pſal. 109. Judæi non agnoſcunt Sacerdotium ſecundum Ordinem Melchiſedek. Fidelibus loquor, ſi quid non intelligunt Catechumeni, auferant pigritiam, feſtinent ad notitiam. [*p*] Id. de Verbis Domini, Hom. 46. Qui nondum manducant, ad tales epulas invitati feſtinent.—— Ecce Paſcha eſt, da nomen ad Baptiſmum. Si non te excitat Feſtivitas, ducat ipſa Curioſitas, ut ſcias quid dictum ſit, Qui manducat carnem meam & bibit ſanguinem meum, manet in me, & ego in eo.

BOOK XI.

Of the Rites and Cuſtoms obſerved in the Adminiſtration of BAPTISM in the PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſeveral Names and Appellations of Baptiſm in the Primitive Church.

SECT. I. *The Names of Baptiſm moſt commonly taken from the Spiritual Effects of it.*

THERE are a great many Queſtions relating to the Doctrine of *Baptiſm*, which I intend not to make any Part of the Subject of this Book, becauſe they may be found in any Didactical and Polemical Writers upon this Head, and eſpecially in *Voſſius* his elaborate Diſcourſe *de Baptiſmo*, where he accurately canvaſſes all Queſtions of this nature, and learnedly determines them from the Doctrine of the Ancients. Here the Reader may find a ſatisfactory Account of all Queſtions relating to the Myſtical Signification and Spiritual Effects of *Baptiſm*; ſuch as are, 1. *Regeneration*: 2. *Adoption*: 3. *Reception into the Covenant of Grace*. In which alſo is contained *Remiſſion of Sins*, *Renovation of the Spirit*, and *Eternal Life*, which are the noble Effects, conferred on all thoſe that rightly receive it. Here alſo he determines the Queſtions, how it comes to paſs that though Sins are forgiven in Baptiſm, yet *Concupiſcence*, the Fewel or Incentive of Sin, remains ſtill in the Regenerate? And whence it is, that after Baptiſm, we are ſtill afflicted with *Diſeaſes*, and that as well Infants as Adult Perſons? How it comes to paſs, that the Magiſtrate has Power to puniſh thoſe Sins which are committed before Baptiſm, even after they are purged away and forgiven in Baptiſm? With many other Queſtions of the like nature, which are not neceſſary to come into this Diſcourſe. I ſhall alſo omit the Queſtion about the indelible Character of Baptiſm, which is pretended to be impreſſed upon the Soul; and the Queſtions about the Adminiſtrator of Baptiſm, and Lay-Baptiſm, and Heretical Baptiſm, becauſe I have lately conſidered theſe diſtinctly and fully in a firſt and ſecond Part of the *Scholaſtical Hiſtory of Lay-Baptiſm*. What remains therefore to be conſidered in this Place, is only ſuch other Matters in the Practice of the antient Church relating to the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as have not yet been ſpoken to. And here, firſt of all, it will be proper to ſay ſomething of the antient Names of Baptiſm; ſome of which were taken from the internal and Spiritual Effects of it; others from the Nature and Subſtance of the Action; others from the Conditions required in the Receivers; others from the external Circumſtances and Rites obſerved in the Adminiſtration.

SECT. II. *Hence Baptiſm called* Indulgentia, Indulgence, *or* Abſolution.

FROM one of its noble Effects, it was ſometimes ſtiled *Indulgentia*, *Indulgence*, or *Abſolution and Remiſſion of Sins*. Thus, in the *African* Council under *Cyprian* [a], *Privatianus à Suffetula* terms it, the *Divine Indulgence*. And in the *Roman* Council mentioned by *Cotelerius* [b], it is ſaid, that at the *Eaſter* Feſtival, Remiſſion of Sins, meaning Baptiſm, may be adminiſtred by either Presbyter or Deacon, in the Preſence of the Biſhop in the Pariſh-Churches. But foraſmuch as Abſolution or Remiſſion of Sins may not always neceſſarily accompany Baptiſm, through ſome Default in the Adminiſtrator or the Receiver, though the Baptiſm be otherwiſe a true Baptiſm; therefore St. *Auſtin*, in diſputing with the *Donatiſts*, chuſes ra-

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[a] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. n. 19. p. 234. Si Hæreſis à Deo eſt, habere & Indulgentiam divinam poteſt. [b] Conc. Rom. Can. 7. ap. Coteler. Not. in Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 9. Paſchæ tempore Presbyter & Diaconus per Parochias dare Remiſſionem peccatorum & miniſterium implere conſueverunt, etiam præſente Epiſcopo.

ther to call it [c] the *Sacrament of Grace*, and the *Sacrament of Abſolution*, rather than *Grace* or *Abſolution* itſelf; becauſe wicked Men may receive the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*, but they cannot receive the Grace of *Baptiſm*, which is *Abſolution* or *Remiſſion of Sins*; for God grants that to none but thoſe that turn to him with a ſincere Faith and true Repentance. Whenever therefore the Ancients call *Baptiſm* by the Name of *Abſolution* or *Indulgence*, they are to be underſtood with this Limitation, that it is ſo only to thoſe who are worthy Receivers of it. And hence we may obſerve, that the true antient proper Notion of an *Abſolution* or *Indulgence*, is God's pardoning Sin by the miniſterial Application of his Sacraments, which are the Seals of his Covenant, granting *Remiſſion of Sins*: Whence *Baptiſm*, entring Men into that Covenant of Grace, was dignified with the Name of *the Sacrament of Abſolution and Indulgence*.

SECT. III. *And* παλιγγενεσία, Regeneration, *and* χρῖσμα, *the* Unction.

ANOTHER noble Effect of *Baptiſm*, was *Regeneration*, or a new *Birth* from the Death of *Sin* to the Life of *Righteouſneſs*. For every Chriſtian was ſuppoſed to be born again with the Waters of Baptiſm, according that of *Tertullian* [d], *Nos Piſciculi ſecundum ἰχθὺν noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum in aqua naſcimur*, We Fiſhes are born in Water, conformable to the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ἰχθύς; which, as I have obſerved [e] in another place, was and Acroſtick or Technical Name, made of the initial Letters of our Saviour's ſeveral Titles in *Greek*, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ, υἱὸς, σωτὴρ, which put together, make up the Name ΙΧΘΥΣ, which ſignifies a *Fiſh*, and is alluded to not only by *Tertullian*, but by *Proſper* [f] and *Optatus* [g]. Hence Baptiſm had the Name of παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς [h] in *Cyril*'s Catechiſm, *the Regeneration of the Soul*; and ὕδωρ ζωῆς, *the Water of Life*, in *Juſtin Martyr* [i]; and *Fons Divinus*, in *Caſſiodore* [k], *the divine Fountain*, whence comes our *Engliſh* Name *Font*; with many other Titles of the ſame Importance. And becauſe this New Birth was wrought by the Power and Influence of the Spirit, therefore it was called the *Spiritual Birth*, whereby thoſe that were born carnally to the World before, were now born ſpiritually to God. And ſo, as *Optatus* words it [l], God was hereby made Father of Men, and the Holy Church their Mother. For till Men were baptized, they were not perfect Members of Chriſt's Body, the Church, nor properly adopted into God's Family, and conſequently had as yet no Right to call God their *Father*, or the Church their *Mother*. And, becauſe the Divine Operations of the Holy Spirit in ſanctifying Grace are ſometimes in Scripture called the *Unction* or *Anointing of the Spirit*, therefore Baptiſm had alſo the Name of *Chriſm* or *Unction*, from this noble Effect attending it. *Gregory Nazianzen* takes notice of this among many other Titles of Honour: We call it, ſays he, the *Gift* [m], and *Grace*, and *Baptiſm*, and *Unction*, and *Illumination*, and *Garment of Immortality*, and *Laver of Regeneration*, and *Seal* or *Character*, and whatever elſe is precious or honourable. And in explaining theſe Terms, he particularly notes, that it had the Name of *Unction*, becauſe it was a Sacred and a Royal thing, as thoſe things uſually were that were Anointed. Whence every Man was in ſome ſenſe made a King and a Prieſt to God by Chriſt in his Baptiſm, upon which account St. *Jerom* [n] ſtyles Baptiſm, *Sacerdotium Laici*, the Layman's Prieſthood, in contradiſtinction to the Clerical Prieſthood, which was only conferred by Ordination.

SECT. IV. *And* φωτισμὸς, Illumination.

ANOTHER Effect of Baptiſm was the enlightening Mens Underſtandings with divine Knowledge. Hence Baptiſm had the Name of φωτισμὸς, *Illumination*, as it frequently occurs in *Chryſoſtom* [o], *Nazianzen* [p], *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* [q], the Council of *Laodicea* [r], and many others. The Reaſon of which Name ſeems to be partly from the preceding Inſtruction of the Catechumens in their Preparation for Baptiſm, according to that of *Juſtin Martyr*, This *Laver* [s] is called *Illumination*, becauſe the Minds of thoſe, who learn theſe things, are enlightened. Then again, becauſe it was the Entrance on an enlightned State, and the Introduction to divine Knowledge, which grew by degrees to greater Perfection: For *Juſtin*'s Words may be underſtood of the Knowledge conſequent to Baptiſm. And ſo the Reaſon is given by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [t], and the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [u], becauſe it confers the firſt Light, and is the Introduction to all other divine illuminating Myſteries, therefore from the Effect, it was dignified with the Name of *Illumination*. Perhaps it might be ſo called in regard alſo that the baptized were now admitted to all the myſterious parts and recondite Knowledge of Religion, which by the

[c] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 5. c. 21. Sacramentum Gratiæ dat Deus etiam per malos: ipſum vero Gratiam non niſi per ſeipſum vel per Sanctos ſuos.—Baptiſmum vero, quod eſt Sacramentum Remiſſionis Peccatorum, nulli dubium eſt habere etiam homicidas poſſe, &c. [d] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 1. [e] *Book* I. *Chap.* 1. n. 2. [f] Proſper. de Prædict. & Promiſſis. Par. 2. cap. 39. [g] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. [h] Cyril. Catech. Præfat. n. 10. [i] Juſtin. Dial. p. 231. [k] Caſſiodor. in Cantic. cap. 7. [l] Optat. lib. 2. p. 52. Dum Trinitas cum Fide concordat, qui natus fuerat ſæculo, renaſcitur ſpiritualiter Deo. Sic fit hominum Pater Deus, ſancta ſic fit Mater Eccleſia. [m] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 638. Δῶρον καλοῦμεν, χρῖσμα, βάπτισμα, χεῖσμα, φώτισμα, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, σφραγῖδα, πᾶν ὅτι τίμιον. [n] Hieron. Dialog. adverſ. Lucifer. cap. 2. Sacerdotium Laici, id eſt, Baptiſma. Scriptum eſt enim; Regnum quippe nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri ſuo fecit. Et iterum, Gentem ſanctam, Regale Sacerdotium, &c. [o] Chryſoſt. Hom. 13. in Heb. p. 1848. [p] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 638. [q] Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccl. cap. 2. [r] Conc. Laod. can. 47. [s] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 94. καλεῖται τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φώτισμα, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. [t] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 93. [u] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hier. cap. 3. p. 283. ἐπειδὰν πρώτη φωτὸς μεταδίδωσι, καὶ πασῶν ἔστιν ἀρχὴ τῶν θείων φωταγωγιῶν, ἐν τῷ τελεῦν τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ φωτίσματος ἐπωνυμίαν ὑμνοῦμεν.

Diſci-

Diſcipline of the Church were kept ſecret from them whilſt they were Catechumens. And perhaps ſome regard might be had to the plentiful Effuſion of the Spirit in the Gift of Tongues, Knowledge and Prophecy, which in the Apoſtolical Age was immediately conferred at Baptiſm, by the Impoſition of the Hands of the Apoſtles.

SECT. V. *And* Salus, *Salvation.*

ANOTHER Effect of Baptiſm was eternal Salvation, as it was the ordinary Means, not only of obtaining Remiſſion of Sins, but of bringing Men by the Grace and Blood of Chriſt to the Glory of the Kingdom of Heaven. Whence as St. *Auſtin* [x] obſerves, it was very common among the *Punick* or *African* Chriſtians to call Baptiſm by the Name of *Salus*, *Salvation*, as they did the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt by the Name of *Life*, becauſe theſe two Sacraments were reputed neceſſary to the obtaining of Salvation or Eternal Life. And upon this account *Gregory Nazianzen*, introducing a Perſon pleading for Liberty to delay his Baptiſm, makes him ſpeak after this manner: I ſtay only for my Father, or Mother, or Brother, or Wife, or Children, or Friends, or ſome near Relations, and then I will be ſaved, τηνικαῦτα σωθήσομαι [y]; the Meaning of which muſt needs be, that then he would be baptized, in order to obtain Salvation. Such honourable Titles and Appellations did the Ancients give to this Sacrament of Baptiſm, taken from the noble Effects which it was ſuppoſed to confer on all thoſe who were worthy Partakers of it.

SECT. VI. *From the Nature and Subſtance of it, it was called* Myſterium, Sacramentum, *and* σφραγίς.

NEXT from the Nature and Subſtance of it, it had the Names of *Myſterium*, *Sacramentum*, and σφραγὶς. The two firſt of which are ſo common and ſo well known to every Reader, that I need not here ſpend Time to explain them. Only I ſhall Note, that the Terms *Myſtery* and *Sacrament* are ſometimes taken in a larger Senſe, to ſignify any ſacred Ceremony, or any part of Religion that had any thing of Spiritual or Myſtical Signification in it. Of which there will be a more proper Place to diſcourſe, when we come to treat of Confirmation. The Name σφραγὶς, and *Signaculum*, The Seal of the Lord, is a little more uncommon, as applied to Baptiſm, and therefore has occaſioned ſome Errors among learned Men, who often miſtake it either for the Sign of the *Croſs*, or the *Conſignation* and *Unction* that was uſed in Confirmation. Thus in that famous Diſcourſe of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, intitled, *Quis Dives ſalvetur*, Part of which is recorded in *Euſebius* [z], and the whole publiſhed by *Combefis* [a], it is ſaid, that the Biſhop, to whoſe Care St. *John* had committed a certain young Convert, firſt inſtructed or catechized him, and then gave him the perfect Phylactery or Preſervative againſt Sin, namely, *the Seal of the Lord*, τὴν σφραγῖδα τῦ κυρίυ. Now by the Seal of the Lord, *Chriſtopherſon* and *Bellarmin*, and others from him, underſtand Confirmation: Mr. *Seller* [b], and ſome others, will have it to be the Sign of the *Croſs*; but *Valeſius* [c] and *Daillé* [d], more truly expound it of *Baptiſm*, which was called, *the Seal of the Lord*, becauſe in the very nature of it there is contained a Covenant made between God and Man; and *Baptiſm* being the *Seal* of this Covenant, it was with the greateſt Propriety of Speech ſtyled, *the Seal of the Lord*. In this ſenſe the antient Author of the *Acts* of *Paul* and *Thecla* uſes the Name σφραγὶς for *Baptiſm*. *Give me*, ſays *Thecla* to St. *Paul*, *the Seal of Chriſt* [e], *and no Temptation ſhall touch me*. And *Hermas Paſtor*, in like manner, ſpeaking of ſome that were baptized and gone to Heaven, uſes the ſame Dialect: They that are now dead, were ſealed [f] with the *Seal of the Son of God*, and are entered into the Kingdom of God. For, before a Man receives the Name of the *Son of God*, he is conſigned over to Death; but when he receives that *Seal*, he is freed from Death, and conſigned over to Life. Now that *Seal* is *Water*, into which Men deſcend bound over to Death, but riſe out of it marked out or ſealed unto Life. This *Seal* therefore was preached unto them, and they made uſe of it, that they might enter into the Kingdom of God. In all this Paſſage there is no expreſs mention made of *Baptiſm*, but it is called the *Seal and Name of Chriſt*, becauſe it ſets the Mark and Name of *Chriſtians* on us, and diſtinguiſhes us from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and ſhews that we belong to the Dominion and Poſſeſſion of Chriſt. Hence *Tertullian* frequently calls it *Signaculum Fidei* [g], the *Signature of our Faith*; and ſays, we are diſtinguiſhed from *Jews* by this Signature [h] in our Bodies, becauſe their Signature was *Circumciſion*, but ours Baptiſm. In like manner, *Gregory Nazianzen* accounting for the reaſon of this Name, ſays, it was called the *Seal of the Lord*, becauſe it was an Indication to whoſe Dominion [i] we belong, and becauſe it was the Conſignation of us to eternal Life. In which reſpect, *Conſtantine* at the hour of Death

[x] Aug. de Pec. Merit. lib. 1. c. 24. tom. 7. p. 294. Optimè Punici Chriſtiani Baptiſmum ipſum nihil aliud quàm Salutem & Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti, nihil aliud quàm Vitam vocant, &c. [y] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 655. [z] Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 23. [a] Combefis Auctarium Noviſſimum, p. 185. [b] Seller, *Life of* Juſtin. Martyr. p. 102. [c] Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 17. [d] Dallæus de Confirmat. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 110. [e] Acta Theclæ, ap. Grabe Spicileg. tom. 1. p. 106. Δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγῖδα, καὶ οὐκ ἄψεταί μου πειρασμός. [f] Hermas Paſt. lib. 4. Simil. 9. n. 16. Illi igitur defuncti ſigillo Filii Dei ſignati ſunt, & intraverunt in regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filii Dei, morti deſtinatus eſt: at, ubi accipit illud Sigillum, liberatur à morte, & traditur vitæ. Illud autem Sigillum aqua eſt, in quam deſcendunt homines morti obligati, aſcendunt verò vitæ aſſignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum eſt illud Sigillum, & uſi ſunt eo ut intrarent in regnum Dei. [g] Tertul. de Spectac. c. 4. Ad principalem auctoritatem convertar, ipſius Signaculi nomen. It. c. 24. Hoc erit Pompa Diaboli: adverſus quam in ſignaculo Fidei ejeramus. [h] Tertul. Apol. c. 21. Neque de ipſo Signaculo corporis, neque de conſortio nominis cum Judæis agimus. [i] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 639.

desiring the Benefit of Baptism from the Bishops that were about him, is said by *Eusebius* [k] to ask it in these Words: *Now is the Time for me to enjoy the Seal of Immortality; now is the Time for me to obtain the Seal of Salvation.* Whence it was also called the *Seal of the Spirit*, because every worthy Receiver was supposed, together with the outward Element, to receive the Earnest of the Spirit in Baptism: According to that of *Chrysostom*, as a Mark is set upon [l] Soldiers, so the Spirit is put upon true Believers. And as the *Jews* had *Circumcision* for their Character, so we have the Earnest of the *Spirit*. And this Distinction between the Internal and External Seal of *Baptism* was necessary to be made, because many Men received the External Seal of *Baptism*, or outward Form of it, who by their own Default could not receive the internal Seal of the Spirit. Thus the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* [m] observes, that even *Simon Magus* himself received the *Seal of the Lord*, meaning the outward Form of *Baptism*; but neither he nor any other Author ever said, that he received the internal Seal or Grace of the Holy Spirit. In like manner *Optatus* [n] tells the *Donatists*, that both they and the *Catholicks* were sealed with one and the same Seal, which he explains to be the outward Form of Baptism, in which they both agreed and were both alike baptized. But both *Optatus* and St. *Austin* and all other antient Writers are agreed, that Heretical and Schismatical Baptism, such as was that of the *Donatists*, could not confer the internal Seal, or sanctifying Graces of the Holy Spirit, because those were only conferred by the Ministry of the Holy Catholick Church, of which I have given a more ample Account in another Place [o]. So that in this respect it was always thought necessary to distinguish between the internal and external Seal of Baptism, because though they are commonly joyned together, as in all true Believers, yet they are sometimes separated, as in such hypocritical or unworthy Receivers, as *Simon Magus*, and others of the like Complexion.

SECT. VII. *And* Character Dominicus, *the Mark or Character of the Lord.*

ST. *Austin* commonly uses the Names, *Character Regius*, and *Character Dominicus*, the Royal Mark or Character, and the Character of the Lord. By which he does not mean any internal Quality, or spiritual Power, distinct from Baptism, imprinted on the Soul, as the modern Schoolmen now love to word it; but only the external Form of Baptism, which is common to all Receivers both good and bad, who are duly baptized in the Name of the Holy Trinity: They are so far signed by the Mark or Character of the Lord, as thereby to be distinguished from unbaptized *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who never made any formal Profession of Christianity, nor ever received so much as the external Character or Indication of it. And this Character is allowed by St. *Austin* to be so far indelible also, as that an Apostatizing Christian, though he turn *Jew* or *Pagan* in Profession, can never need a second Baptism, but only Repentance and Absolution, to reinstate him in all the Privileges of the Christian Church. Of which, because I have spoken largely in a former Book [p], I need say no more in this Place.

SECT. VIII. *Why called the Sacrament of Faith and Repentance.*

ANOTHER sort of Names given to Baptism, were taken from the Conditions required of all those that received it, which were the Profession of a true Faith and a sincere Repentance. Upon which account Baptism is sometimes called the Sacrament of Faith, and the Sacrament of Repentance. St. *Austin* uses this Name to explain how [q] Children may be said to have Faith, though they are not capable of making any formal Profession by themselves. As the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is in some sort the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the Blood of Christ is the Blood of Christ, so the Sacrament of Faith is Faith. And upon this account, when the Answer is made, that an Infant believes, who has not yet the Habit of Faith, the meaning is, that he has Faith because of the Sacrament of Faith, and that he turns to God because of the Sacrament of Conversion. *Fulgentius* uses the same Terms in speaking of the necessity of Baptism: Firmly believe, and doubt not [r], that excepting such as are baptized in their own Blood for the Name of Christ, no Man shall have eternal Life, who is not here first turned from his Sins by Repentance and Faith, and set at Liberty by the Sacrament of Faith and Repentance, that is, by Baptism. Whence we may observe, what the Ancients mean, when they speak of Penance and Absolution, or Remission of Sins, as a Sacrament: For they themselves explain their own Meaning to be Baptism, which is a Sacrament requiring Repentance as a Condition, and granting Absolution as an Effect and Privilege to all worthy Receivers.

SECT. IX. *The Notation of the Names Baptism, Tinction, Laver, &c. That they do not*

LASTLY, From the Ceremonies used in the Act of Administration, it took the peculiar Names of Baptism, Tinction, and Laver of Regeneration,

[k] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 4. c. 62. ὥρα ἡ ἡμᾶς ἐπαλαῦσαι τ ἀθανάτοιοῦ σφραγίδ. ὥρα τῆ σωτηρί σφραγίσματος μεταλαχεῖν. [l] Chrysost. Hom. 3. in 2 Cor. in fine. καθάπερ στρατιώταις σφραγὶς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιδέδ, &c. [m] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 14. Σίμων ὁ μάγ τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἔλαβε. Vid. Aug. de Bapt. lib. 6. c. 12. [n] Optat. lib. 3. p. 72. Pares credimus, & uno Sigillo signati sumus: Nec aliter baptizati quam vos. [o] *Scholast. Hist. of Lay-Baptism*, Part I. Chap. i. n. 21. [p] *See Scholast. Hist. of Lay-Baptism*, Part II. Chap. vi. [q] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Sicut secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, & Sacramentum Sanguinis Christi Sanguis Christi est, ita Sacramentum Fidei Fides est. —— Ac per hoc, cum respondetur parvulus credere qui nondum Fidei habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter Fidei Sacramentum, & convertere se ad Deum propter Conversionis Sacramentum, &c. [r] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, cap 30. Firmissime tene & nullatenus dubites, exceptis illis, qui pro nomine Christi suo sanguine baptizantur, nullum hominem accepturum vitam æternam, qui non hic à malis suis fuerit per Pœnitentiam fidemque conversus, & per Sacramentum Fidei & Pœnitentiæ, id est, per Baptismum, liberatus, &c.

which

universally denote Immersion.

which properly denote either an Immersion in Water, or such a Washing or Sprinkling as was used among the *Jews* in some cases, and among Christians when they had occasion to baptize sick Persons upon a Death-bed. For then Baptism was administred by Sprinkling only, and not by Dipping or Immersion, as we shall see when we come to speak more particularly of Clinick Baptism. So that it must be noted, that Baptism in the ancient Style of the Church does not absolutely and necessarily import Dipping or Immersion, though that was the more usual Ceremony practised heretofore as well upon Infants as adult Persons, but an Exception was made for the time of Sickness, and such other cases of Necessity, as could not admit of a total Immersion. In which cases, the Substance of Baptism was still supposed to be preserved, though some minuter Circumstances were less regarded.

SECT. X. *Of some other Names given to Baptism.*

BESIDES these Names, which were taken from things that more immediately related to the Administration of Baptism, there were some others alluding to Circumcision, and others respecting the great Author and Institutor of it, our Saviour Christ, and others taken from the more remote and distant Effects of it, which, because we shall have no farther Occasion to speak of them, it will not be improper just to mention in this Place. Because Baptism succeeds in the room of Circumcision, and is the Seal of the Christian Covenant, as that was the Seal of the Covenant made with *Abraham*, therefore it is, by way of Analogy, sometimes styled the great Circumcision. As when *Epiphanius* comparing them both together, says, the carnal Circumcision [*s*] served for a time, till the great Circumcision came, that is, Baptism; which circumcises us from our Sins, and seals us in the Name of God. So in regard that Baptism had Christ for its Author and not Man, it was antiently known by the Name of Δῶρον, and χάρισμα κυρίε, the Gift of the Lord. As in the antient Acts of *Paul* and *Thecla*; when *Thecla* desired the Seal of the Lord, *Paul* bids her wait with Patience, and she should receive δωρεὰν τῦ Χριςῦ, the Gift of Christ, which, as the learned Editor observes [*t*], is but another way of denoting Baptism. Sometimes it was simply called δῶρον, without any other Addition by way of Eminence, because it was both a gratuitous and a singular Gift of Christ. We call it the Gift, says *Gregory Nazianzen* [*u*], because it is given to those who offer nothing for it. And St. *Basil* δέον ἐπιδράμειν τῷ δώρῳ, we ought to run to the Gift [*x*], meaning Baptism. And *Casaubon* has also farther observed [*y*], that because the Spirit was likewise given in Baptism, therefore the Holy Ghost had sometimes the Name of *Munus*, the Gift. And the Eucharist also, or the Sacramental Oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, both before and after Consecration, commonly went by this Name, δῶρα and μύσικα δῶρα, of which there are various Instances collected out of the antient Rituals by that learned Writer, which are not proper to be inserted in this Place. Baptism had also the Name of ἐφόδιον or *Viaticum*, as well as the Eucharist, which denotes properly the Preparation of all things necessary for a Journey: In which respect both the Sacraments were called *Viatica*, because they were equally esteemed Mens necessary Provision and proper Armour both to sustain and conduct them safe on their Way in their Passage through this World to Eternal Life. St. *Basil* exhorting Men of all Ages and Conditions to receive Baptism, makes his Address to them in these Words [*z*]: Art thou a young Man? Then secure thy Youth by the Bridle of Baptism. Art thou past the Flower of thy Age? Then beware thou lose not thy *Viaticum*, thy Phylactery, which should keep and preserve thee in thy Way to Eternal Life. In Allusion to which Name, *Gregory Nazianzen* [*a*], speaking of the Minister's Act in baptizing, terms it ἐφοδιάζειν, giving to Men their *Viaticum*, or Provision for their Journey to another World. In reference to the making Men compleat Members of Christ's Body, the Church, it had the Name of τελείωσις and τελετὴ, the Consecration and Consummation; because it gave Men the Perfection of Christians, and a Right to partake of the τὸ τέλειον, which was the *Eucharist* of the Lord's Supper. It had the Name of μύησις, and μυσαγωγία, the Initiation, because it was the Admittance of Men to all the sacred Rites and Mysteries of the Christian Religion. And as the *Eucharist*, from its representing the Death of Christ by the outward Elements of Bread and Wine, was called the sacred Symbols, so Baptism sometimes had the same Name, as we find in *Isidore* of *Pelusium*, and the Author of the Dispute with *Arius* in the Council of *Nice*, under the Name of *Athanasius*. Though the Priest be an ill Liver, [*b*] says *Isidore*, the Person initiated receives no Harm by the Symbols of Salvation, but only the Priest himself. And the other [*c*] thus argues for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: If the Holy Spirit be not of the Substance of the Father and the Son, why then did the Son of God joyn him together with them in the Symbol of Sanctification, when he said to his Disciples, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?* In both which places, 'tis plain, the Symbols of Sanctification and Salvation, can mean no other than Baptism. And hence it appears, that the same honourable Titles were given to the Waters of

[*s*] Epiphan. Hær. 8. al. 28. Cerinth. n. 4. Vid. Just. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 261. [*t*] Grabe Spicileg. Patrum, tom. 1. p. 106. [*u*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 638. [*x*] Basil. Homil. 13. de Bapt. p. 411. [*y*] Casaubon. Exercitat. 16. in Baron. n. 51. [*z*] Basil. Ibid. p. 413. μὴ ζημιωθῇς τὰ ἐφόδια, μὴ ἀπολέσῃς τὸ φυλακτήριον. [*a*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 644. [*b*] Isidor. lib. 2. Ep. 37. ὁ τελούμενος ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀδελφὸς εἰς τὰ σωτηριώδη σύμβολα, ἂν ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ ᾖ βίος ἄλλ' αὐτὸς μὲ πάντως. [*c*] Athanas. Disp. contra Arium in Conc. Nic. tom. 1. p. 141. τίνος ἕνεκεν συνεῖδμενον αὐτὸ ὁ υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ τῆς ἁγιασμῦ, &c.

Baptiſm, as to the Elements of Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper; and whatever Change was ſuppoſed to be wrought in the one by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, was equally aſcribed to the other alſo; and as noble Effects derived from the Font as the Lord's Table, whilſt the Death of Chriſt was equally repreſented, and the Benefits of it alike communicated to all worthy Receivers in Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. For which Reaſon I have been a little the more curious in Examining and Explaining the ſeveral Titles of Honour which the Ancients gave to Baptiſm, that under theſe eminent Characters we might ſee what Apprehenſions and Ideas the Church of Chriſt always had of this Venerable Myſtery, which ſome now by way of Contempt call Water-Baptiſm, as if the Spirit had no Concern in it; whoſe Doctrines may eaſily be perceived not to proceed from the general Senſe of the antient Catholick Church, but from particular Sects and Hereſies broken off from it, of which it may not be amiſs to give a ſhort Account in the following Chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the Matter of BAPTISM, *with an Account of ſuch Hereticks as rejected or corrupted* BAPTISM *by Water.*

SECT. I. *Baptiſm wholly rejected by the Hereticks called* Aſcodrutæ, *and* Marcoſians, *and* Valentinians, *and* Quintillians.

THOUGH the Church always maintained an honourable Opinion of Baptiſm, as a divine and heavenly Inſtitution, yet there wanted not Sects and Hereſies, who in the earlieſt Ages ſpake very diminutively and contemptibly of it; and either in whole or in part upon various Reaſons rejected or corrupted it. The *Aſcodrutæ*, who were a ſort of *Gnoſticks*, placed all Religion in Knowledge, and under pretence of ſpiritual Worſhip, would admit of no external or corporeal Symbols whatſoever. They aſſerted, as *Theodoret* [a] deſcribes them, That Divine Myſteries, being the Images of inviſible Things, were not to be performed by viſible Things; nor incorporeal Things by ſenſible and corporeal Things. Therefore they never baptized any that were of their Sect, nor celebrated any part of the Myſtery of Baptiſm among them. For they ſaid, the Knowledge of all Things was their Redemption. *Irenæus* and [b] *Epiphanius* obſerve the ſame Thing to be practiſed, upon the ſame Principle of Spiritual Redemption by Knowledge alone, among ſome of them who were called *Marcoſian* Hereticks, whilſt others of them, who retained a ſort of Baptiſm, invented ſtrange Forms of their own to corrupt it, of which I ſhall give an Account in the following Chapter, *n.* 8. *Irenæus* [c] gives a like Account of the *Valentinians*, ſome of which wholly rejected Baptiſm, and others corrupted it with ſtrange Forms of their own inventing, as the *Marcoſians* did, who ſeem to have been Branches of the ſame Hereſy under different Leaders. *Tertullian* [d] brings a like Charge againſt one *Quintilla*, a Woman-preacher at *Carthage* a little before his Time, who ſet up to decry Water-baptiſm as uſeleſs, pleading, That Faith alone was ſufficient to ſave Men, as it did *Abraham*, who pleaſed God without any other Sacrament, but the Sacrament of Faith. Againſt this Hereſy *Tertullian* wrote his Book of Baptiſm, to eſtabliſh the Neceſſity of it from our Saviour's Inſtitution, and to anſwer the little Sophiſms whereby the Libertines of this new Sect pretended to deſtroy it.

SECT. II. *And by the* Archontici.

THE *Archontici* rejected Baptiſm for another Reaſon, as *Epiphanius* [e] and *Theodoret* [f] inform us. They had entertained a very monſtrous and blaſphemous Opinion, That the World was not created by the Supreme God of all Things, but by certain Powers, whom they called ἄρχοντες, Rulers, whence they themſelves had the Denomination of *Archontici*; Theſe Rulers, ſeven or eight in number, they imagined to be in ſo many ſeveral Orbs of the Heavens one above another, with Orders of Angels and Miniſtries under them: And to the chief of theſe they gave the Name of *Sabaoth*. Now they alſo pretended that Baptiſm was only adminiſtred in the Name of *Sabaoth*, and not in the Name of the Supreme God, and therefore they rejected both it and the *Euchariſt* as foreign Inſtitutions, given by *Sabaoth*, the God of the *Jews* and the Giver of the Law, whom they blaſphemouſly diſtinguiſhed from the Supreme God.

SECT. III *And by the* Seleucians *and* Hermians.

THE *Seleucians* and *Hermians* refuſed the uſe of Baptiſm by Water, as St. *Auſtin* [g] deſcribes them. And the ground of their Refuſal, was a Pretence, that Baptiſm by Water, was not the Baptiſm inſtituted by Chriſt; becauſe St. *John Baptiſt* comparing his own Baptiſm with the Baptiſm of Chriſt, ſays, *I baptize you with Water, but he that cometh after me, ſhall*

[a] Theodor. Hæret. Fabul. lib. 1. c. 10. [b] Irenæ. lib. 1. c. 18. [c] Iren. lib. 3. c. 2. [d] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 1. Nuper converſata iſtic quædam de Caiana Hæreſi vipera venenatiſſima, doctrina ſua pleroſque rapuit, imprimis Baptiſmum deſtruens, &c. It. cap 13. Adeo dicunt, Baptiſmus non eſt neceſſarius, quibus Fides ſatis eſt, &c. [e] Epiphan. Hær. 40. de Archonticis, n. 2. [f] Theodor. Hær. Fab. lib. 1. c. 11. [g] Aug de Hæreſ. c. 59. Seleuciani & Hermiani Baptiſmum in aqua non accipiunt.

baptize

baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire [*h*], they thought the Souls of Men conſiſted of Fire and Spirit, and therefore a Baptiſm by Fire was more ſuitable to their Nature. But what kind of Baptiſm that was, none of the Ancients have told us; unleſs perhaps we may conjecture from what *Clemens Alexandrinus* [*i*] tells us out of *Heracleon*, of ſome who, when they had baptized Men in Water, alſo made a Mark upon their Ears with Fire; ſo joyning Water-baptiſm, and, as they imagined, Baptiſm by Fire, together. Though this was far enough from the fiery Baptiſm St. *John* ſpeaks of, which ſome of the Ancients underſtand of the ordinary Operations of the Spirit, which conſume our Sins; and others, of that extraordinary Effuſion of the Spirit in the Form of fiery Tongues upon the Apoſtles at the Day of *Pentecoſt*: And others, of the Fire of the laſt Judgment. A particular Account of which Interpretations the Reader that is curious may find in *Suicerus* upon this [*k*] Subject. I only note farther out of the Anonymous Writer about Heretical Baptiſm, publiſhed by *Rigaltius* and Biſhop *Fell* at the End of St. *Cyprian*, that there were a ſort of Hereticks, who pretended, That Baptiſm by Water alone was of itſelf imperfect, becauſe St. *John* had ſaid, We were to be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire. Therefore they boaſted [*l*], That theirs was the only complete and perfect Baptiſm, and all others curtailed and given only by halves, becauſe when they went down into the Water to baptize, either by ſome curious Art in Philoſophy, like that of *Anaxilaus*, or by ſome magical Art, they made Fire to appear upon the Surface of the Water, and this they called Baptiſm by Fire. Which they confirmed from an Apocryphal Writing of their own inventing, called the preaching of *Peter* or *Paul*, wherein it was ſaid, That when Chriſt was baptized, Fire ſo appeared upon the Water. The Cenſure which this Author paſſes upon this kind of Baptiſm, is, That it is Adulterate, Pernicious, and wholly evacuating the true Baptiſm of Chriſt.

SECT. IV. *And by the* Manichees *and* Paulicians.

ANOTHER Sect which rejected Water-baptiſm, were the *Manichees*, who among many other prodigious Errors, maintained, That baptizing in Water was of no Efficacy to Salvation, and therefore they deſpiſed it, and never baptized [*m*] any that entred into their Society, as St. *Auſtin* and the Author of the *Prædeſtinatus* [*n*] publiſhed by *Sirmondus*, inform us. But whether they admitted any other kind of Baptiſm, or upon what ground they rejected this, we are not told: Only we may probably conjecture, that it was upon that general vile Principle of theirs, That material Things were the Work of an Evil God, and therefore to be abhorred as polluted and prophane. One Branch of this Hereſy were afterward called *Paulicians*, from one *Paulus* and *Johannes* the firſt Founders of it. *Euthymius* out of *Photius* gives a large Account of them, where he tells us [*o*] That though they really rejected and deſpiſed Baptiſm, yet they pretended to receive it: But that was only with a deceitful Equivocation; for they maintained, That the Word of the Goſpel was Baptiſm, becauſe our Lord ſaid, *I am the living Water*. The learned *Voſſius* [*p*] is of Opinion, that thoſe Words, *Ego ſum Aqua Viva*, *I am the living Water*, was the Form which theſe *Paulicians* uſed in Baptiſm, inſtead of the Form of the Church: But he plainly miſtakes *Euthymius*, who does not ſay, that they uſed this as a Form of Words in their Baptiſm; for they had no Baptiſm at all, nor conſequently any Form of Words for baptizing: But their Opinion was, That believing in Chriſt, or the Word, or the Truth of the Goſpel, was all the Baptiſm that was required of Men, and that becauſe Chriſt had ſaid, *I am the living Water*. Yet ſometimes, as *Euthymius* relates in the ſame Place [*q*], they would bring their Children to the Presbyters of the Church to be baptized after the Catholick Way, becauſe they had an Opinion that both Baptiſm and the Croſs were of ſome Advantage to the Body for the Cure of Diſeaſes, but of no other Efficacy, Benefit or Vertue to purge the Soul. And ſuch an Opinion poſſeſſed the Minds of many others, who had no farther regard for Baptiſm, but only as it was of uſe to free the Body of ſome Diſtemper or Uncleanneſs. St. *Auſtin* [*r*] puts the Queſtion once or twice concerning ſome ſuch Perſons, who deſired to be baptized with no other View but this. And *Matthew Blaſtares* [*s*] mentions a famous Caſe of the *Agarenes*, who compelled the Chriſtian Clergy that were under their Dominion to baptize their Children before they would circumciſe them, becauſe they conceived this would contribute toward the prevention of thoſe Diſtempers and Noiſomeneſſes, which are occaſioned by Circumciſion. Upon this caſe a Queſtion was made in the Coun-

[*h*] Philaſtr. de Hæreſ. n. 8. Seleucus & Hermius Hæretici, animus hominum de Igne & Spiritu eſſe exiſtimantes, iſto baptiſmo non utuntur, propter verbum hoc quod dixit Johannes Baptiſta: Ipſe vos baptizabit in Spiritu & Igne. [*i*] Clem. Alex. Electa ex Scriptura, ap. Combefis Auctarium, tom. 1. p. 202. ξυνοι δ, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλεων, τυὲι τὰ ὦτα τῶν προσηλυτουμένων καθεσημέναι. Irenæus, lib. 1. c. 24. *has ſomething like this, of the* Carpocratians. [*k*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. tom. 1 p. 630 [*l*] Anonym. de Baptiſmo Hæreticorum, ad Calcem Cypriani, p. 30. Tentant nonnulli iterum tractare ſe ſolus integrum atque perfectum, non ſicuti nos, mutilatum, & decurtatum baptiſma tradere Quod taliter dicantur adſignare, ut, quàm mox in aquam deſcenderunt, ſtatim ſuper aquam ignis appareat, &c. [*m*] Aug. de Hæreſ. c. 46. Baptiſmum in aqua nihil cuiquam perhibent ſalutis adferre: Nec quenquam eorum, quos decipiunt, baptizandum putant: [*n*] Prædeſtinatorum Hæreſis, c. 46 [*o*] Euthym. Panoplia. Par. 2. Titul. 21. p. 48. Quinetiam cum baptiſmum aſpernentur, illud tamen ſe fingunt ſuſcipere: Nam Evangelii verba baptiſmum exiſtimant, quoniam Dominus, ego ſum, inquit, Aqua Viva. [*p*] Voſſ de Baptiſmo, Diſp. 1. Theſ. 2. p. 28. [*q*] Euthym. ibid. Liberos etiam ſuos ab Eccleſiæ Presbyteris ſalutari Baptiſmo volunt aliquando luſtrari; Exiſtimant enim Crucem & Baptiſmum corpori prodeſſe. Horum tamen vim ad animæ purgationem pervenire non putant, nec ullam aliam afferre utilitatem. [*r*] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifacium. [*s*] Blaſtar. Syntagm. Can. Litera β. cap 3. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. 2. p. 42. Vid. Balſamon in Phocii Nomocanon. tit. 13. de Laicis, cap. 2. & Baron an. 1148. p. 358. tom. 12. Ib. an. 1145. p. 314.

cil of *Conſtantinople* under *Lucas Chryſoberges*, Whether ſuch Perſons when they came over to the Chriſtian Faith, were to be re-baptized, or only anointed with Chriſm? And it was reſolved, That they ought without Controverſy to be re-baptized, ſince the Baptiſm with which they were waſhed, was not received with any pious Intent, but only as an Amulet or a Charm. Theſe Inſtances make the Account which *Euthymius* gives of the *Paulicians*, ſeem very probable, that though they had no Regard for Baptiſm as a Chriſtian Sacrament, yet they might ſometimes make uſe of it, as the *Saracens* did, as an Inchantment or a ſort of magical Spell, which appears to be the only Uſe they ever made of it, and that not in their own Aſſemblies, (where they had no Sacraments at all, neither Baptiſm nor the Euchariſt) but fraudulently receiving it in the Church at the Hands of the Chriſtian Catholick Prieſts. The Reader may obſerve by the way, that theſe *Paulicians* were not the Followers of *Paulus Samoſatenſis* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who are commonly called *Paulianiſts* and *Samoſatenians* [though *Balſamon* confounds them together]; but they had their Denomination from another *Paulus Samoſatenſis* and one *Johannes*, who revived and enlarged the Hereſy of the *Manichees*; as appears plainly from *Euthymius*. And *Juſtellus* [*t*] and *Voſſius* [*u*] have obſerved the ſame out of *Cedrenus*, *Theophanes*, *Matthew Blaſtares*, *Nicephorus*, and other Modern *Greeks*, with which it would be needleſs in this Place to trouble the Reader.

SECT. V. *What Opinion the* Meſſaliani *or* Euchites *had of Baptiſm.*

SOME add to the forementioned Sects, who rejected Baptiſm, the Hereſy of the *Meſſalians*, or *Euchites*, who were ſo called from the *Greek* Word Εὐχή, Prayer, and *Meſſalians* from the *Syriack* Word *Metſalah*, which is much of the ſame Signification, becauſe they reſolved all Religion into Prayer. But it does not appear that they wholly rejected the Sacrament of Baptiſm: For then the Church would have ordered them upon their Return to have been baptized as *Jews* or *Pagans*; which ſhe never did, but only obliged them to anathematize their Errors in order to be admitted to Communion, as may be collected from the Decree of the General Council of *Epheſus* [*x*], made with relation to ſuch of the Clergy or Laity as returned from them. But their Error was in denying the principal Part of the Spiritual Efficacy of Baptiſm: They ſaid indeed it granted Remiſſion of Sins that were paſt, but added no Strength or Ability from the Spirit to withſtand Sin for the future. This we learn from *Theodoret*, who comparing the Doctrine of the Catholick Church and that of the *Meſſalians* upon this Point together, delivers himſelf [*y*] to this purpoſe: Baptiſm, ſays he, is not like a Razor only, as the *Meſſalian* Enthuſiaſts call it, which takes away Sins that are paſt; though it has this Effect among many others: For, if this were the only Work of Baptiſm, for what Reaſon ſhould we baptize Infants, who have never yet taſted of Sin? For the Sacrament does not only promiſe this Effect, but greater and more perfect Things than that. It is the Earneſt of future Good, the Type of the Reſurrection to come hereafter, the Communication of our Lord's Paſſion, the Participation of our Lord's Reſurrection, the Garment of Salvation, the Clothing of Joy, and the Robe of Light, or rather Light itſelf. So that we muſt allow *Theodoret* to be his own Interpreter, when he ſeems to give a more harſh Account of theſe *Meſſalians* in another place, deſcribing them as Men who taught, that no manner [*z*] of Advantage accrued from Divine Baptiſm to thoſe who received it, but that it was only fervent Prayer that expelled the indwelling Devil out of Mens Minds. For this is to be underſtood with the fore-mentioned Exception, That they allowed Baptiſm ſo far to be uſeful, as to waſh away all former Sins, but not to grant any farther Perfection. And ſo *Harmenopulus* [*a*] repreſents their Doctrine, as teaching, That neither Baptiſm nor Participation of the *Euchariſt* could give a Man the Perfection of a Chriſtian, but only ſuch Prayer as they pretended to. In like manner *Euthymius* [*b*] deſcribes them, as maintaining, That Baptiſm did not eradicate Sin. They did not deny that it purged away former Sins, but they would not allow any Efficacy of the Spirit to be joyned with it to reſiſt or overcome Sin for the future. Againſt which Doctrine *Euthymius* thus argues: Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, *Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* Now the Holy Ghoſt is a Divine Fire; for he deſcended in the Form of fiery Tongues upon the Diſciples; and the Forerunner of Chriſt ſpake of this to the Multitude, when he teſtify'd of the Excellency of Chriſt, *He ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire.* As therefore Material Fire, when it catches a Wood, burns all things upon the Surface of the Earth, dries up the Roots, and purges the Place from Filth: So the Holy Spirit does, and much more. For it is a Fire conſuming the Iniquity of thoſe who are baptized. And it not only purges and obliterates the Spots, and Scars, and Filth of the Soul, but alſo illuminates and endows it with many Gifts, as the Apoſtles, eſpecially St. *Paul*, teach us, where they ſpeak of the Diſtribution of the Graces of the Holy Spirit, which are conferred on thoſe who are baptized. From this Account of the *Meſſalians* it appears, that they were neither *Anabaptiſts*, nor *Quakers*; they neither

[*t*] Juſtel. Not. in Can. 19. Codicis Eccl. Univerſæ. [*u*] Voſſ. de Baptiſmo, Diſp. 20. p. 241. [*x*] Conc. Epheſ. tom. 3. p. 809. [*y*] Theod. Epitom. Divin. Decret. ſive de Fabul. Hæret. lib. 5. cap. 18. [*z*] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 4. cap. 10. μηδεμίαν ἐκ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀξιωμένοις γίνεσθαι μόνην δὲ τὴν παιδαίαν ἀρχὴν τὸν δαίμονα τὸν ἔνοικον ἐξελαύνειν. [*a*] Harmenop. de Sectis, c. 18. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. 1. p. 536. τὸ βάπτισμα μὴ τελεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μηδὲ τὴν μετάληψιν, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐχήν. [*b*] Euthym. Panopl. Par. II. tit. 22. p. 55. Negant Divinum Baptiſmum poſſe radices evellere peccatorum, &c.

rejected

rejected the Baptiſm of adult Perſons nor Infants: For the true State of the Controverſy between them and the Church, was not about the Uſe of the outward Element of Water in Baptiſm, but about the internal and ſpiritual Effects of it, which the *Meſſalians* confined to Remiſſion of Sins, but the Church extended to many other Noble Benefits, which were the Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit. Upon which account, the Church never rebaptized the *Meſſalians*, that we read of, as ſhe did the *Manichees* and ſuch other Hereticks, who rejected the Uſe of Water, which was the outward Element which Chriſt had appointed. If this was either neglected, or any other Element uſed inſtead of it, the Baptiſm was eſteemed not only Irregular, but Null, as wanting one Neceſſary and Eſſential Part, which could not be ſupplied but by a new Baptiſm. And therefore when a certain *Jew* had been baptized in Sand, for want of Water in the Wilderneſs, *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Aſcalon* ordered him to be rebaptized, as *Johannes Moſchus* [c] tells the Story. And this was done not becauſe he was baptized by a Layman in extreme Neceſſity, but as Archbiſhop *Whitgift* [d] after the *Centuriators* [e] has obſerved, becauſe the Baptiſm wanted Water. Such was the Church's Opinion of the Neceſſity of Water-baptiſm, that where it might be had, She never thought fit to diſpenſe with the Neglect or Contempt of it; and therefore ſhe urged the Neceſſity of it againſt thoſe antient Hereticks who deſpiſed it, even whilſt She judged favourably of ſuch Catechumens as died without Baptiſm, not through Contempt, but unavoidable Neceſſity: Of which I have given a particular Account in the laſt Book, *Chap.* II. *n.* 20, *&c.*

Indeed there is one Exception againſt this in ſome Collections of the Canon Law. For there we have a Decree under the Name of Pope *Siricius* [f] which ſays, That if an Infant is baptized in Wine inſtead of Water, in caſe of Neceſſity, it is no Crime, and the Baptiſm ſhall ſtand good. But as *Antonius Auguſtinus* and *Baluzius* have obſerved, this was no Decree of *Siricius*, but of *Stephen* II. about the middle of the Eighth Century. So that it cannot be pleaded as a competent Authority to ſhew what was the antient Practice of the Church. *Antonius Auguſtinus* is very poſitive, that the Primitive Church had never any ſuch Cuſtom. And it ſeems pretty evident from that Saying of St. *Ambroſe* [g], That if we take away Water, the Sacrament of Baptiſm cannot ſtand. But among the Moderns, *Beza* [h], and ſome of the Schoolmen, *Tolet* and *Valentia*, determine otherwiſe: Againſt whoſe Reſolution I am not concerned to diſpute, but only to declare what I take to have been the more current and received Opinion of the Primitive Writers of the Church.

CHAP. III.

Of the Antient Form of Baptiſm, and of ſuch Hereticks as altered or corrupted it.

SECT. I. *The uſual Form of Baptizing in the Name of the* Father, Son, *and* Holy Ghoſt.

NEXT to the Matter of Baptiſm, it will be proper to conſider the Form of Words in which it was antiently adminiſtred. And this was generally ſuch a Form of Words as made expreſs mention of every Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity, according as our Saviour did at the firſt Inſtitution, when he commanded his Diſciples to baptize in the Name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*. This the antient Author of the *Recognitions* [a] means, when he ſays, Men were baptized under the Appellation of the *Triple Myſtery*. And again [b], By invocating the Name of the Bleſſed Trinity. *Tertullian* [c] refers this to the Inſtitution of Chriſt. The Law of baptizing was impoſed, and the Form preſcribed, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* In another Place [d] he ſays, Chriſt appointed Baptiſm to be adminiſtred not in the Name of One, but Three, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*. Therefore we are dipped not once, but thrice, unto every Perſon at the mention of each Name. *Cyprian* derives this Practice [e] likewiſe from the Inſtitution, ſaying, The Lord after his Reſurrection taught

[c] Moſchus Pratum Spirituale cap. 276. [d] Whitgift's *Defence*, tract. IX. p. 519. [e] Centur. Magdeburg. Cent. II. cap. 6. p. 82. [f] Antonius Auguſtinus *cites it out of a* Spaniſh *Collection of Canons, and* Baluzius *from one in* France, *under the Name of* Siricius. Presbyter qui in vino baptizat proxima neceſſitate, ut æger non periclitetur, pro tali re nulla ei culpa adſcribatur. Si vero aqua aderat, & neceſſitas talis non urgebat, hic Communione privetur. Infans vero ille, ſi in Sancta Trinitate baptizatus eſt, in eo baptiſmo permaneat. vid. Anton. Auguſt. de Emendat. Gratiani, p. 200. & Baluz. Not. in Anton. pag. 431. [g] Ambroſ. de iis qui initiantur, cap. 4. Nec iterum ſine Aqua regenerationis myſterium eſt. [h] Beza Ep. 2. ad Tillium. [a] Clem. Rom. Recognit. lib. 6. cap. 9. Baptizantur ſub appellatione triplicis Sacramenti. [b] Id. lib. 3. c. 67. Baptizabatur unuſquiſque veſtrûm in aquis perennibus, nomine Trinæ Beatudinis invocato ſuper ſe. [c] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 13. Lex tingendi impoſita eſt, & Forma præſcripta, Ite, Inquit, docete nationes, tingentes eas in Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti. [d] Id. cont. Praxeam, cap. 26. Noviſſime mandans, ut tingerent in Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum. Nam nec ſemel, ſed ter, ad ſingula nomina in ſingulas Perſonas tinguimur. [e] Cyprian. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 200. Dominus poſt reſurrectionem Diſcipulos ſuos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent inſtituit & docuit, dicens,—— Ite & docete gentes omnes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti. Inſiduat Trinitatem, cujus Sacramento baptizarentur.

his Disciples after what manner they should baptize, when he said, *Go teach all Nations*, &c. where he delivered the Doctrine of the Trinity, unto which Mystery or Sacrament the Nations were to be baptized. And he argues [*f*] farther, against such Heretick's as baptized only in the Name of Jesus Christ, from the same Principle, that Christ commanded the Nations to be baptized, not into one Person, but a compleat and united Trinity. Hence *Optatus* [*g*] calls Baptism the Laver which Christ commanded to be celebrated in the Name of the Trinity, and that holy Water which flowed from the Fountain of those three Names. And to mention no more Authorities (which are innumerable), St. *Austin* [*h*] observes, That this was not only the general Practice of the Catholick Church, but of most Heresies also. For one might more easily find Heretick's that did not baptize at all, than such as retained Baptism without using those Evangelical Words, of which the Creed consists, and without which Baptism cannot be consecrated.

SECT. II. *This Form of words generally thought necessary to be used in Baptism.*

AND hence it appears, that St. *Austin*, and these other Writers, thought this precise Form of Words necessary to be used in the Administration of Baptism, by vertue of the Original Appointment and Institution. And this may be farther evidenced to have been the general Sense of the Ancients, some one or two only excepted. The Apostolical Canons [*i*] order every Bishop and Presbyter, that shall presume to baptize any other way, than according to the Command of the Lord, in the Name of the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, to be deposed. And *Athanasius* [*k*] speaks of such Baptism as null, that is any otherwise delivered. He that takes away any one Person from the Trinity, and is baptized only in the Name of the *Father*, or only in the Name of the *Son*, or only in the *Father* and the *Son*, without the *Spirit*, receives nothing, but remains void and uninitiated. For in the Trinity alone, Initiation is given. He says in another Place [*l*], that Baptism, which is as it were the Compendium of our whole Faith, is not given in the Name of the Word, but of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*. *Didimus* of *Alexandria* [*m*] treads in the Steps of *Athanasius:* I cannot suppose any one, says he, so mad and void of Understanding, as to think that to be perfect Baptism, which is given in the Name of the *Father* and *Son*, without the Assumption of the *Holy Spirit*; or in the Name of the *Father* and *Holy Ghost*, omitting the Name of the *Son*; or in the Name of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, without first mentioning the Name of the *Father*. For though any Man should be of such a stony Heart, as I may say, or so much beside himself, as to leave out one of the appointed Names in Baptism, setting up himself a Lawgiver in opposition to Christ, his Baptism will be imperfect, and altogether insufficient to grant Remission of Sins to those whom he esteems baptized by him. *Idacius Clarus* [*n*] asserts the same, arguing thus against *Varimundus* the *Arian*, for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: If the Holy Ghost be not equal to the Father and Son in the Substance of the Deity, why then is that Sacrament of Baptism imperfect which is given without him? St. *Basil* [*o*] has a whole Chapter to the same Purpose. The very Title of it is against those, who asserted that it was sufficient to give Baptism only in the Name of the Lord. And whereas they urged, That in several Passages of Scripture Baptism was said to be given only in the Name of Christ; He answers, That in all those Places, though the Name of Christ was only mentioned, yet the whole Trinity was understood. Which he confirms from the like Expressions concerning the Holy Ghost, 1 *Cor.* xii. 13. *By one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body.* And, *Acts* i. 5. *Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many Days hence.* Where the Apostles seem only to make mention of the Holy Ghost in Baptism. But, says he, no one may from hence conclude, that that Baptism is perfect, wherein the Holy Ghost alone is named. For the Tradition ought to remain inviolable, which was given by the quickening Grace. He means the Form of baptizing, given by the Command of Christ, *Matth.* xxviii. Upon which he concludes, That as we believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, so we are baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Therefore both *Vossius* [*o*] and *Petavius* [*p*] are greatly mistaken to alledge St. *Basil* as one of those who asserted, That Baptism in the Name of Christ alone was allowable, when he so plainly and di-

[*f*] Ibid. p. 206. Quomodo quidam dicunt, foris extra Ecclesiam, imo & contra Ecclesiam, modo in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque & quomodocunque Gentilem baptizatum, remissionem peccatorum consequi posse; quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubeat in plena & adunata Trinitate? [*g*] Optat. lib. 5. p. 85. Lavacrum quod de Trinitate celebrandum esse mandaverat —— aqua sancta quæ de trium nominum fontibus inundat. [*h*] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 6. c. 25. Quis nesciat, non esse Baptismum Christi, si verba Evangelica quibus symbolum constat, illic defuerint? Sed facilius inveniuntur Hæretici, qui omnino non baptizent, quàm qui non illis verbis baptizent. [*i*] Canon. Apost. c. 49. [*k*] Athan. Epist. ad Serapion. tom. I. p. 204. ὁ ὑφαιρούμενός τι ἀπὸ τειάδος, ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τῷ πατρὸς ὀνόματι βαπτιζόμενος, ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ὀνόματι υἱοῦ, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, κἀκεῖνα λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ κενὸς καὶ ἀτελὴς διαμένει, &c. [*l*] Id. Orat. 5. cont. Arian. p. 535. ἐκ ὡς λόγον, ἀλλὰ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα δίδοται. [*m*] Didymus de Spir. Sancto, lib. 2. Bibl. Patr. tom. 9. p. 37. Non arbitror quenquam tam vecordem atque insanum futurum, ut perfectum baptisma putet, quod datur in nomine Patris & Filii, sine assumptione Spiritûs Sancti: aut rursus in nomine Patris & Spiritûs Sancti, Filii vocabulo prætermisso: aut certe in nomine Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, non præposito vocabulo Patris. Licet enim quis posset esse saxei, ut ita dicam, cordis & penitùs mentis alienæ qui ita baptizare conetur, ut unum de præceptis nominibus prætermittat, videlicet contrarius Legislator Christo; tamen sine perfectione baptizabit; imo penitus à peccatis liberare non poterit, quos à se baptizatos existimaverit. [*n*] Idacius, lib. 3. contra Varimundum, Bibl. Patr. tom. 4. p. 300. Si Spiritus Sanctus Deitatis substantia Patri & Filio non coæquatur, cur in Sacramento Sacri Baptismatis nihil absque illo completur? [*o*] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 12. ἐ τέλειον ἂν τις εἴπῃ τὸ βάπτισμα, ᾧ μόνον τῷ πνεύματος ὄνομα ἐπεκλήθη. χρὴ δὲ ἀπαρέβατον μένειν ἐν τῇ ζωοποιῷ χάριτι δεδομένην ἀφάσιν. &c. [*o*] Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 2. Thes. 5. p. 51. [*p*] Petav. de Trin. lib. 2. cap. 14. n. 6.

rectly

rectly writes againſt it. Many other Teſtimonies might here be inſerted out of *Theodoret* [q], *Gregory Nazianzen* [r] and *Nyſſen* [s], *Theophylact* [t] and others, but I ſhall only add farther the Decree of Pope *Vigilius*, which ſhews both the Practice of the Church and the Severity of her Cenſures againſt any one that ſhould pretend to tranſgreſs this ſettled Rule of baptizing. If any Biſhop or Presbyter, ſays he, baptize not according [u] to the Command of the Lord, *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*, but in one Perſon of the Trinity, or in two, or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Comforters, let him be caſt out of the Church of God.

SECT. III. *Whether Baptiſm in the Name of Chriſt alone was ever allowed in the Church.*

INDEED among all the Writings of the Ancients, I have never yet met with any but two, that plainly and directly allow or approve of any other Form of Baptiſm, ſave that which was appointed by Chriſt at the Inſtitution. *Gennadius* mentions one *Urſinus* an *African* Monk, who, he ſays, wrote a Book [which is now loſt] wherein he aſſerted, againſt ſuch as were for Rebaptizing all Hereticks, that it was not lawful to Rebaptize thoſe, who were baptized either ſimply [x] in the Name of Chriſt, or in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: But it was ſufficient for both ſorts of them, upon Confeſſion of the Trinity, to receive the Biſhop's Confirmation in order to obtain Eternal Life. This Author plainly diſtinguiſhes betwixt the two Forms of baptizing, one with explicite mention of the three Perſons of the Trinity, and the other in the Name of Chriſt alone; both which he makes to be lawful, and equivalent in Senſe, though differing in Words from one another. And St. *Ambroſe*, I confeſs, ſeems to have been of the ſame Opinion. For he takes all thoſe Expreſſions of Scripture, which ſpeak of being baptized in the Name of Chriſt, to mean, the uſing ſuch a Form as this; *I baptize thee in the Name of Chriſt*, without any expreſs mention of the three Perſons, though the whole Trinity was implied in it. He that is bleſſed in Chriſt, ſays he [z], is bleſſed in the Name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghoſt; becauſe the Name is one, and the Power one. The *Ethiopian* Eunuch, who was baptized in Chriſt, had the Sacrament compleat. If a Man names only a ſingle Perſon expreſly in Words, either Father, Son, or Holy Ghoſt, ſo long as he does not deny in his Faith either Father, Son, or Holy Ghoſt, the Sacrament of Faith is compleat: As on the other hand, if a Man in Words expreſs all the three Perſons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, but in his Faith diminiſhes the Power either of the *Father*, or *Son*, or *Holy Ghoſt*, the Sacrament of Faith is void. He ſays farther, He that names but one Perſon, deſigns thereby the whole Trinity. He that names Chriſt only, intends both the *Father* by whom the *Son* is anointed, and the *Son* himſelf who is anointed, and the *Spirit* with which he is anointed. And he that names only the Father, does in like manner intend both his Son and the Spirit of his Mouth, if he truly believe them in his Heart. So that according to St. *Ambroſe*, it was a ſufficient Baptiſm, though only one Perſon, Father, Son, or Holy Ghoſt, was expreſly mentioned, becauſe in one Name by an Orthodox Believer all the reſt were implied. But this appears to have been a ſingular Opinion in St. *Ambroſe*, contrary to the general Stream and Current of the antient Writers. For though *Petavius* joyns St. *Baſil* with him; and *Voſſius* after *Soto* makes *Cyprian* and *Athanaſius*, and the Author of the *Opus Imperfectum* under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom*, to be Abettors of the ſame Aſſertion; yet it is clear from what has been alledged before out of *Cyprian*, *Athanaſius* and *Baſil*, that they were of the contrary Opinion, and eſteemed it an Error and Tranſgreſſion againſt the firſt Inſtitution, to give Baptiſm only in the Name of Chriſt. Whence it is alſo farther evident, that they did not underſtand thoſe Paſſages of Scripture, which ſpeak of baptizing in the Name of Jeſus, or the Lord, or Chriſt, as new Forms of baptizing, different from the Original Form delivered by Chriſt; but as *Eulogius* in *Photius* [a] has explained them: To be baptized into Chriſt Jeſus, ſignifies to be baptized according to the Command and Tradition of Jeſus Chriſt; that is, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*. According to which Senſe it follows, that the Form of baptizing delivered by Chriſt, was not changed, as ſome imagine, but preciſely obſerved

[q] Theodor. Ep. 146. ad. Johan. Oeconom. tom. 3. p. 1038. [r] Naz. Orat. 24. p. 431. [s] Nyſſen. de Bapt. Chriſti, tom. 3. p. 372. [t] Theophylact. in Luc. 24. Fulgent. de Incarnat. c. 11. Cyril. Dial. 7. de Trin. tom. 5. p 633. [u] Vigil. Ep. 2. ad Eutherum, cap. 6. Si quis Epiſcopus aut Presbyter juxta præceptum Domini non baptizaverit in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, ſed in una Perſona Trinitatis, aut in duabus, aut in tribus Patribus, aut in tribus Filiis, aut in tribus Paracletis, projiciatur de Eccleſia Dei. [x] Gennad. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. cap. 27. Urſinus Monachus ſcripſit adverſus eos, qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos decernunt, docens, nec legitimum, nec Deo dignum rebaptizari illos, qui in nomine vel ſimpliciter Chriſti, vel in nomine Patris, Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, quamvis pravo ſenſu, baptizentur: Iis autem poſt Sanctæ Trinitatis & Chriſti ſimplicem Confeſſionem, ſufficere ad ſalutem manûs Impoſitionem Catholici Sacerdotis. [z] Ambroſ. de Spir. Sancto, lib. 1: cap. 3. Qui benedicitur in Chriſto, benedicitur in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, quia unum nomen, poteſtas una ---- Denique & Æthiops Eunuchus Candaces Reginæ, baptizatus in Chriſto plenum Myſterium conſecutus eſt.---Quemadmodum ſi unum in Sermone comprehendas, aut Patrem, aut Filium, aut Spiritum Sanctum, Fide autem nec Patrem nec Filium nec Spiritum abneges, plenum eſt Fidei Sacramentum: ita etiam quamvis & Patrem & Filium & Spiritum dicas, & aut Patris aut Filii aut Spiritûs Sancti minuas poteſtatem, vacuum eſt omne Sacramentum. --- Qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem Signavit. Si Chriſtum dicas, & Deum Patrem à quo unctus eſt Filius, & ipſum qui unctus eſt Filium, & Spiritum quo unctus eſt, deſignâſti. Et ſi Patrem dicas; & Filium ejus, & Spiritum oris ejus pariter indicâſti; ſi tamen id etiam corde comprehendas. [a] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1608. Τὸ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Βαπτισθῆναι σημαίνοι ἂν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, τουτέστιν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Vid. Aug. Cont. Maximin. lib. 3. cap. 17.

even by the Apoſtles, and after them by the general Conſent and Practice of the Catholick Church.

SECT IV. *Of Alterations made in the Form of Baptiſm. 1ſt, By the* Tritheiſts *and* Priſcillianiſts.

'TIS true indeed, as Sects grew up and increaſed in the Church, ſome Innovations were made in this Matter among them. For though, as St. *Auſtin* obſerves, the greateſt Part of Hereticks who retained any Baptiſm at all, retained alſo the old Form of the Church; yet ſome there were who varied from it, and brought in new Forms of their own, according as their Fancies or the Genius of their Hereſies led them. There were ſome very early that turned the Doctrine of the Trinity into *Tritheiſm*, and inſtead of three divine Perſons under the Oeconomy of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, brought in three Collateral, Co-ordinate, and Self-originated Beings, making them three abſolute and independent Principles, without any Relation of Father or Son, which is the moſt proper Notion of three Gods. And having made this Change in the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, they made another Change anſwerable to it in the Form of Baptiſm. For inſtead of baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, they brought in an unheard-of Form of baptizing in the Name of three Un-originated Prnciples, as we learn from one of thoſe called the *Apoſtolical Canons*, which is directly levelled againſt them in theſe Words: If any Biſhop [*b*] or Presbyter baptize not according to the Command of Chriſt, *In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*; but in three Un-originated Principles, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes, or Holy Ghoſts, let him be depoſed. This Canon does not deſcribe theſe Hereticks by any Name, but we may conjecture from another Canon of the firſt Council of *Bracara*, that they were the *Gnoſticks*, who firſt introduced this kind of *Tritheiſm*, or Doctrine of three Gods into the World, which was afterwards taken up by the *Priſcillianiſts*, and both of them condemned together in that Council. For ſo the Canon words it: If any one ſhall introduce any ſtrange Names [*c*] of the Divinity beſide the Holy Trinity, ſaying, that in the Godhead there is a Trinity of Trinities, as the *Gnoſticks* and *Priſcillianiſts* maintain, let him be *Anathema*. This was the Conſequence of aſſerting three unbegotten Principles: For hereby they made three Fathers, and three Sons, and three Holy Ghoſts, which was a Trinity of Trinities, as the Council charges them. And in compliance with this grand Error, they ſometimes baptized in the Name of three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Holy Ghoſts. As ſeems pretty evident from that Decree of Pope *Vigilius*, made againſt all ſuch Heterodox Innovations: If any Biſhop or Presbyter [*d*] baptize not according to the Command of the Lord, *in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*; but in one Perſon of the Trinity, or in two, or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes or Holy Ghoſts, let him be caſt out of the Church.

SECT. V. *Secondly, By* Menander *and his Followers.*

ANOTHER Corruption of the Form of Baptiſm was introduced by *Menander*, who was a Diſciple of *Simon Magus*, and to all his Maſter's Hereſies added this of his own, that no one could be ſaved, except he was baptized in his Name, as *Tertullian* [*e*] informs us. The Reaſon of this Innovation is aſſigned by *Irenæus* [*f*] and *Epiphanius* [*g*], who tell us, that he took upon him to be the Meſſias: For he taught, that he was the Perſon ſent for the Salvation of Men; and to gather a Church by Myſteries of his own appointing, to deliver Men from the Dominion of the Angels and Principalities and Powers that made the World. And *Theodoret* [*h*] gives the ſame Account of him. For he ſays, he called himſelf the Saviour of the World, and taught that Men were ſaved by being baptized in his Name, by which means alſo they got Power over the Powers that made the World. But this was ſo abſurd an Hereſy, that, as *Epiphanius* obſerves, it never prevailed much in the Church. *Menander* had promiſed his Proſelytes, as *Tertullian* [*i*] ſays, that all who would be baptized in his Name, ſhould be Immortal and Incorruptible, and have the Benefit of an immediate Reſurrection: But Experience in a little time confuted this Foolery: For in an hundred Years time none of his immortal Apoſtles appeared, to convince any doubting *Thomas* of the Truth of ſuch a pretended Reſurrection. And ſo this vain Attempt upon the Baptiſm of Chriſt quickly ſunk by its own Abſurdity.

SECT. VI. *Thirdly, By the* Elceſeans.

A no leſs abſurd Innovation was made by the *Elceſeans*, ſo called from their Founder, one *Elceſai*, who taught them Inchantments and Invocation of Dæmons, and to uſe Baptiſms [*k*] in the Name or Confeſſion of the Elements, or Letters, as *Theodoret* repreſents them. Though what ſort

[*b*] Canon: Apoſt. c. 49. εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου διατάξει μὴ βαπτίζει εἰς πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς ἀνάρχους, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς υἱοὺς, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς παρακλήτους, καθαιρείσθω. [*c*] Conc. Bracar. 1. Can. 2. Si quis extra Sanctam Trinitatem alia neſcio quæ Divinitatis nomina introducit, dicens, quod in ipſa Divinitate ſit Trinitas Trinitatis, ſicut Gnoſtici & Priſcilliani dixerunt, anathema ſit. [*d*] Vigil. Ep. 2. ad Eutherum. cap. 6. *Cited before*, Sect. 2. [*e*] Tertul. de Præſcript. c. 46. Quicquid ſe Simon dixerat, hoc ſe Menander eſſe dicebat, negans habere poſſe quenquam Salutem, niſi in nomine ſuo baptizatus fuiſſet. [*f*] Iren. lib. 1. cap. 21. [*g*] Epiphan. Hær. 22. ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν πεπέμφθαι εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑπ' ἄνωθεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ συνάγειν τινὰς εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μυστήριον, &c. [*h*] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 2. σωτῆρα ἑαυτὸν προσηγόρευσε.—— σώζεσθαι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν βαπτιζομένους. [*i*] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 50. In hoc ſcilicet ſe à ſuperna & arcana Poteſtate legatum, ut Immortales & Incorruptibiles & ſtatim Reſurrectionis compotes fiant, qui baptiſma ejus induerint.—— At ubi ſunt illi quos Menander ipſe perfudit, quos in Stygem ſuam merſit? Apoſtoli perennes veniant, aſſiſtant; videat illos meus Thomas, audit, contrectet, & credat. [*k*] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 2. c. 7. κέχρηνται βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ.

of Baptism this was, is not very easy to conjecture, there being scarce any one besides *Theodoret* that gives any Account of this Heresy. But they were great Admirers of *Astrology* and *Magick*, and upon that account perhaps might bring the Elements into their Baptism, by Composition of certain Letters and Numbers used by them in their Magical Operations.

SECT. VII. *Fourthly, By the* Montanists *and* Sabellians.

THE *Montanists* also or *Cataphrygians* introduced a new Form of Baptism. For *Montanus* their Founder took upon him to be the Holy Ghost, and made himself two Prophetesses, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, who pretended to write Books by Inspiration. Therefore their Followers having them in great Esteem, corrupted the old Form of Baptism, and administred it in the Name of Father, Son, and *Montanus* or *Priscilla*, as St. *Basil* acquaints us, who therefore judges their Baptism to be null, and necessary to be repeated [*l*] when they came over to the Catholick Church. *Theophylact* [*m*] gives the same Account of them, telling us, that their foul and stinking Tongues baptized in the Names of *Montanus* and *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*. By which he does not mean, that they used those three Names instead of the Trinity, but that they added the Name of *Montanus*, or *Priscilla*, or *Maximilla*, to the Father and Son, instead of the Holy Ghost. For which Reason, most probably, the Council of *Laodicea* [*n*] orders them to be rebaptized, notwithstanding that some of them had received a pretended Ordination, and were advanced not only to the Dignity of Bishops, but to the Title of Patriarchs and *Maximi* among them, as the Council of *Laodicea* words it. And the same Decree is made against them in the first General Council of *Constantinople* [*o*], and some others also. St. *Jerom* seems farther to intimate, that these *Montanists* were as to the Doctrine of the Trinity, really *Sabellians*. For though they pretended to believe a Trinity of Divine Persons, yet it was but Equivocally, in the same way as *Sabellius* had done before, whose three Persons were no more but three Names, or different Appearances of one and the same Person. Therefore St. *Jerom* says [*p*], the *Montanists* differed from the Catholicks in the very Rule of Faith. For we assert Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, every one distinct in his own Person, though united in Substance: But they following the Opinion of *Sabellius*, bring the Trinity to the narrow Restraints of one Person. That is, as he explains it a little after, they said, that God at first intended to save the World by *Moses* and the Prophets; but because he could not effect his Design that way, he assumed a Body of the Virgin, and preached in Christ under the Species of a Son, and suffered Death for our sakes. And because by these two Degrees he could not save the World, he at last descended by the Holy Ghost into *Montanus*, *Priscilla*, and *Maximilla*; and made *Montanus*, who was an *Eunuch*, and but half a Man, have that Plenitude of Prophecy, which *Paul* himself could not pretend to have. From this Account of St. *Jerom*, it is evident the *Montanists* in point of Doctrine were really *Sabellians*, and believed but one Person in the Godhead under different Appearances or Manifestations of himself, which they called πρόσωπα, Persons, in an equivocal Sense, whereby they imposed upon many Catholicks, and among the rest upon *Theodoret* [*q*], to make them believe them sound and Orthodox Men, when yet they asserted three Persons in no other Sense, than *Simon Magus*, and *Praxeas*, and *Noetus*, and *Sabellius*, and all the *Patripassians* had done before them. Now it is very probable the *Sabellians* had introduced a new Form of Baptism, correspondent to their Principles, for which Reason all the Councils that mention them, order them to be [*r*] re-baptized: And the *Montanists*, following the Doctrine of *Sabellius*, were liable to the same Censure. So that upon all Accounts it must be concluded, they had made Innovations upon the Form of Baptism received in the Catholick Church.

SECT. VIII. *Fifthly, By the* Marcosians.

ANOTHER very strange Form was conceived by the *Marcosians*, or *Marcites*, so called from one *Marcus* a Sorcerer, who taught his Disciples to baptize in the Name of the unknown Father [*s*] of all things, in the Name of Truth the Mother of all things, and in Jesus who descended (or as *Eusebius* [*t*] reads it, in him who descended into Jesus) for the Union and Redemption, and Communion of the Principalities or Powers; or in the Union and Redemption and Communion of these Powers. For it may be so understood, as if the Names of these Powers were taken into their Form of Baptism. But *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius* from him, tell us, they had several Forms of Baptism, and some of them added certain hard *Hebrew* Names to astonish their Catechumens and Converts, which the inquisitive Reader may find in those Writers. And some of them wholly rejected Baptism as useless, because the Mysteries of the ineffable and invisible Power were not to be performed by visible and corruptible Creatures, nor intellectual and incorporeal things by those

[*l*] Basil. Epist. Can. 1. cap. 1. [*m*] Theoph. in Luc. 24. p. 546. [*n*] Conc. Laodic. can. 8. [*o*] Conc. 1. Constant. Can. 7. [*p*] Hieron. Ep. 54. ad Marcellam adv. Montanum. Primum in Fidei Regula discrepamus. Nos Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum in sua unumquemque Persona ponimus, licet Substantia copulemus: Illi Sabellii dogma sectantes, Trinitatem in unius Personæ angustias cogunt. ——Aperta est convincenda Blasphemia dicentium, Deum primùm voluisse in veteri Testamento per Moysem & Prophetas salvare Mundum: Sed quia non potuerit explere, corpus sumpsisse de Virgine, & in Christo sub specie Filii prædicantem, mortem obiisse pro nobis. Et quia per duos Gradus Mundum Salvare nequiverit, ad extremum per Spiritum Sanctum in Montanum, Priscillam & Maximilam insanas fœminas descendisse: Et plenitudinem quam Paulus non habuerit---- absciisum & semivirum habuisse Montanum. [*q*] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 3. c. 2. [*r*] Vid. Conc. Constantinop. 1. Can. 7. Conc. Trul. Can. 95. [*s*] Theodor. Hæret. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 9. εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστε πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἕνωσιν καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων. So also in Irenæus, lib. 1. cap. 18. & in Epiphanius Hæres. 34. [*t*] Euseb. 4. cap. 11. has it, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

that

that are ſenſible and corporeal: But the Knowledge of the ineffable Greatneſs was a perfect Redemption. And in this they agreed with the *Aſcodrutæ*, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt Chapter.

SECT. IX. *Sixthly, By the* Paulianiſts.

THE *Paulianiſts*, or Followers of *Paulus Samoſatenſis* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who denied the Divinity of Chriſt, ſeem alſo to have been guilty of introducing a new Form of Baptiſm, though I do not remember any antient Writer, that tells us particularly what it was. But St. *Auſtin* concludes it muſt be ſo, becauſe the Council of *Nice* [*u*] made an Order to receive them only by a new Baptiſm into the Church: Which he takes to be an Argument, that the *Paulianiſts* had not kept to the Form or Rule of Baptiſm, which many other Hereticks, when they left the Church, took along with them, and continued ſtill to obſerve. Pope *Innocent* [*x*] likewiſe aſſigns this for the Reaſon, why the Council of *Nice* allowed the Baptiſm of the *Novatians*, but not the *Paulianiſts*; becauſe the *Paulianiſts* did not baptize in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; but the *Novatians* in their Baptiſm always made Uſe of thoſe venerable Names, as being in Point of the Divine Power of the Holy Trinity, always Aſſerters of the Catholick Faith.

SECT. X. *Seventhly, The* Eunomians *and others who baptized into the Death of Chriſt.*

ANOTHER ſort of Hereticks there were, who inſtead of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, uſed this Form, *I baptize thee into the Death of Chriſt*. Among the *Apoſtolical Canons*, there is one that particularly reflects upon this as an unlawful [*y*] Practice: If any Biſhop or Presbyter uſe not three Immerſions in the Celebration of Baptiſm, but one only given in the *Death of Chriſt*, let him be Depoſed. For our Lord did not ſay, Baptize into my Death: But, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*. St. *Paul* indeed ſometimes ſpeaks of being *baptized into the Death of Chriſt*; but then, as *Origen* has rightly obſerved, this does not denote any new Form of Baptiſm; for no other Form of Baptiſm was ever thought [*z*] lawful, beſide that which was given in the Name of the Trinity, according to the Command of Chriſt: And the Apoſtle is not ſpeaking of the Manner of baptizing, but of *Chriſt's Death*, and our conforming to it, as ſignified in Baptiſm. Where it would not have been convenient to have ſaid, As many of us as have been baptized in the Name of the *Father*, or of the *Holy Ghoſt*, have been baptized into his Death: And therefore the Apoſtle in Prudence omitted them in that Place, becauſe it was not proper to mention either *Father* or *Holy Ghoſt*, where he was ſpeaking of Death, which did not belong to them, but only to *Chriſt Incarnate*. Notwithſtanding this juſt Obſervation of *Origen's*. *Eunomius* the *Arian* revived this irregular Practice of thoſe antient Hereticks, and caſt off the old Form of Baptiſm, to make way for others more agreeable to his damnable Errors and Opinions. For becauſe he denied the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghoſt, he would no longer uſe the Trine Immerſion, nor baptize in the Name of the Trinity, but only *into the Death of Chriſt*, as *Socrates* [*a*] gives an Account of his Practice. *Epiphanius* [*b*] obſerves of the *Anomæans*, who were the peculiar Followers of *Eunomius*, that they baptized alſo in another Form, in the Name of the *Uncreated God*, and the Name of the *Created God*, and the Name of the *Sanctifying Spirit, created by the created Son*. And ſo ſtiff were they to this Form of their own inventing, that they baptized not only the Catholicks, but all other Sects, and even the *Arians* themſelves, who had been otherwiſe baptized before them. And *Gregory Nyſſen* tells us from *Eunomius* his own Books, that he perverted the Law of Chriſt, the Law or Tradition of the Divine Inſtitution; and taught, that Baptiſm was not to be given in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as Chriſt commanded his Diſciples when he firſt delivered the Myſtery, but [*c*] in the Name of the *Creator* and *Maker*, and not *Father* only, but *God of the only-begotten*. Upon which he charges him with adding to the Word of God, and corrupting it, becauſe no ſuch Words as *Creator* or *Maker* of the *Only-begotten*, or the Son's being a *Creature*, or the *Servant* of God, were to be found in the Words of the *Firſt Inſtitution*.

SECT. XI. *Whether all the* Arians *were guilty of the ſame Innovation.*

BUT now this Innovation was peculiar to the Diſciples of *Eunomius*, though *Baronius* [*d*] and ſome other learned Men, bring the Charge againſt the *Arians* in general, upon the miſtaken Authority of *Athanaſius* and St. *Jerom*. *Athanaſius* ſays they baptized [*e*] in a *Creator* and a *Creature*; and St. *Jerom*, that they believed in the *Father*, the only true God, in *Jeſus Chriſt* the *Saviour* [*f*] and a

[*u*] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 44. Iſtos ſane Paulianos baptizandos eſſe in Eccleſia Catholica Nicæno Concilio conſtitutum eſt. Unde credendum eſt, eos Regulam baptiſmatis non tenere, quam ſecum multi Hæretici, cum de Catholica diſcederent, abſtulerunt, eamque cuſtodiunt. [*x*] Innocent. Ep. 22. ad Epiſcopos Macedon. cap. 5. Idcirco diſtinctum eſſe ipſis duabus Hæreſibus ratio manifeſta declarat: Quia Paulianiſtæ in nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti, minimæ baptizant: & Novatiani iiſdem tremendis venerandiſque nominibus baptizant, &c. [*y*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 50. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὴ τελείαν βαπτίσματος μίαν μυήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ ἀλλὰ εἰς βάπτισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω. &c. [*z*] Orig. Com. in Rom. 6. p. 540. Cum utique non habeatur Legitimum Baptiſma niſi ſub nomine Trinitatis, &c. [*a*] Socrat. Lib. 5. c. 24. [*b*] Epiph. Hær. 76. Anomæan. p. 992. [*c*] Nyſſen. cont. Eunom. lib 11. tom. 2. p. 706. μὴ εἰς πατέρα τε καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καθὼς ἐνετείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Σωτὴρ βαπτίζειν τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ εἰς δημιουργὸν καὶ κτίσιν, καὶ ἕνα μόνον πατέρα τὸν μονογενοῦς, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεόν. [*d*] Baron. an. 325. n. 88. [*e*] Athanaſ. Orat. 3 cont. Arian. tom. 1. p. 413. εἰς κτίσιν ἢ κτίσμα, καὶ εἰς ποίημα καὶ ποιητήν. [*f*] Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. c. 4. Arrianus cum nihil aliud crediderit --- niſi in Patre ſolo vero Deo, & in Jeſu Chriſto ſalvatore Creatura, & in Spiritu ſancto utriuſque ſervo: quomodo Spiritum Sanctum ab Eccleſia recipiet, qui necdum peccatorum remiſſionem conſecutus eſt?

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Creature, and in the *Holy Ghoſt*, the Servant of them both. But they do not ſay that the *Arians* uſed this Form of Baptiſm; but only that their Baptiſm, though it was given in the Name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, was in Effect no more than if it had been given in the Name of a *Creature*, becauſe they believed the Son and Holy Ghoſt to be no more than Creatures. The *Arians* corrupted the Faith, but they ſtill retained the Catholick Form of Baptiſm, till *Eunomius* brought in another Form among them. And that is the true Reaſon, why both the firſt general Council of *Conſtantinople* [*g*], and the Council of *Trullo* [*h*], ordered the *Eunomians* to be rebaptized, at the ſame time that they appointed the other *Arians* to be received by Impoſition of Hands only, without a new Baptiſm. And the ſecond Council of *Arles* made a like Decree concerning the *Bonoſiaci*, or Followers of *Bonoſus* Biſhop of *Sardica*, who were a Branch of the *Arians*, that becauſe they retained Baptiſm in the Catholick Form, as they there [*i*] ſay the other *Arians* did, therefore it ſhould be ſufficient, after the Confeſſion of a true Faith, to receive them with Chriſm and Impoſition of Hands without a new Baptiſm. Which is a Demonſtration, that neither the ancient *Arians* before *Eunomius*, nor the *Bonoſians* after him, had made any Alteration in this Matter; but though they had corrupted the Faith, yet they retained the antient Form of baptizing uſed in the Catholick Church. For had it been otherwiſe, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that (as *Suicerus* [*k*] out of *Voſſius* [*l*] has rightly obſerved) the antient Councils would have rejected their Baptiſm, as they did the *Eunomians*, and ordered them to have been rebaptized upon their Return to the Catholick Church. For the Obſervation of the Form of Baptiſm was always eſteemed ſo neceſſary a Part of the Inſtitution, and ſo eſſential to the Sacrament, that where it was wanting, the Baptiſm was reputed an imperfect and void Baptiſm, and to be repeated by all the Rules made againſt Hereticks in the Catholick Church.

SECT. XII. *Whether any Additions were made to the Form of Baptiſm in the Catholick Church.*

THERE is one Queſtion more relating to the Form of Baptiſm, which it may not be improper to reſolve in this Place; that is Whether any Additions were ever allowed to be made to the Form of Baptiſm in the Catholick Church? Some learned Perſons are of Opinion, that ſuch Additions, when they were only by way of Explication, and greater Illuſtration, to confirm the Truth againſt Hereticks, were uſed in the Form of Baptiſm, as well as in the Creed. But I think *Voſſius*, upon better grounds of Reaſon and Authority, more judiciouſly determines the contrary. Two Authors are commonly alledged in favour of their Aſſertion, *viz. Juſtin Martyr* and the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, but neither of them comes fully up to the Thing intended. For *Juſtin Martyr*, as *Voſſius* obſerves [*m*], is only giving a Paraphraſtical Explication of the Words uſed in Baptiſm for the Inſtruction of the Heathens, to whom he is writing, when he tells them how the Chriſtians baptized in the Name of the Father of all Things, who was Lord and God, and in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and of the Holy Ghoſt. And the Author of the *Conſtitutions* is yet more plain: For firſt of all, he tells every Biſhop and Presbyter, That they ought to baptize [*n*] preciſely in that Form of Words which our Lord enjoyned us, when he ſaid, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all Things which I have commanded you.* And then he goes on to explain the ſeveral Names of the Three Perſons concerned, *viz.* That the Father is the Perſon who ſent, Chriſt the Perſon who came, and the Paraclete or Comforter the Perſon who bears witneſs. So that this was plainly an Explanation or Paraphraſe of the Form of Baptiſm only, and not the very Form that was then in Uſe. Nor can it be made appear, That ever the Catholick Church varied from the Form delivered by our Saviour, though *Voſſius* thinks a Form with ſuch an Orthodox Addition would not deſtroy the Eſſence of Baptiſm, as thoſe Heretical Forms certainly do, which corrupt the Truth of the Catholick Faith.

[*g*] Conc. Conſt. 1. can. 7. [*h*] Conc. Trull. can. 95. [*i*] Conc. Arelat. 2. can. 17. Bonoſiacos autem ex eodem errore venientes (quos, ſicut Arianos, baptizari in Trinitate manifeſtum eſt) dum interrogati fidem noſtram ex toto corde confeſſi fuerint, Chriſmate & manûs Impoſitione in Eccleſia recipi ſufficit. [*k*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. p. 638. [*l*] Voſſ. de Bapt. Diſp. 2. p. 54. [*m*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. n. 80. p. 107. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. [*n*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 22. ὕστω βαπτίσεως, ὡς ὁ κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν, λέγων, πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος — τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος παρακλήτου.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Subjects of Baptism, or an Account of what Persons were anciently allowed to be baptized. Where particularly of Infant-Baptism.

SECT. I. *Why the Question about the Administrators of Baptism is here omitted.*

HAVING spoken of the Matter and Form of Baptism, I should now have considered the Persons by whom this Sacrament was antiently administred: But because I have lately had Occasion to handle this Subject fully in a Scholastical Way in two distinct Discourses [a], it will be sufficient in this Place to give this Summary Account of the Matter. There I have shewed, That Bishops, as the Apostles Successors, were the Persons chiefly entrusted with this Power; That they granted Power to Presbyters to baptize in Ordinary Cases; To Deacons sometimes in Ordinary, and sometimes only in Extraordinary Cases; To Laymen only in Extraordinary Cases of extreme Necessity; That the usurped Baptism of Laymen was allowed to be Valid, so far as not to need Repeating, though given irregularly; That the Baptism of Women was wholly prohibited; That the Baptism of *Jews* and *Infidels* was never allowed, though now accepted in the Church of *Rome*; That the Baptism of Hereticks and Schismaticks was disannulled by the *Cyprianists*, and some few others, who required a true Faith as well as a true Form, to make a complete Baptism; but that this Opinion was rejected by the great Body of the Catholick Church, who thought the Defects of Heretical Baptism might be supplied by Imposition of Hands without Rebaptizing: That yet it was agreed both by the *Cyprianists* and all others whatsoever, That Hereticks and Schismaticks had not the Power of Priests, because some of them, as the *Novatians*, never had a just and legal Call to the Priesthood; and others were deprived of their Power by the lawful Authority of the Church, which first committed that Power to them; that thenceforward they were reputed, not true Christian Priests, but Wolves and Antichrists, instead of true Shepherds and Governors of the Flock of Christ; That the Church had Power not only to suspend the Execution of their Office, but to cancel their Commission, and wholly take away the Power and Authority of the Priesthood from them; and then they were reduced to the State and Condition of Laymen; And sometimes they were not only degraded from the Priesthood, but thrust down one Degree below Laymen, by being anathematized and cast out of the Communion of the Church: And yet notwithstanding all this, the Church did not think fit to cancel or wholly disannul the Baptisms given by such Men, though given by Usurpation and without any Authority of the Priesthood, so long as it appeared, they were given in due Form, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. All which Things being abundantly proved in the two foresaid Discourses, I think it not proper to repeat or insist any longer upon them: But shall now proceed, as the Order of the Discourse requires, to consider the Persons on whom Baptism was antiently conferred.

SECT. II. *Who were anciently reckoned the proper Subjects of Baptism. Where of the corrupt Custom of Baptizing Inanimate Things, as Bells in the* Roman *Church.*

AND here first of all, it is certain, That none but living Persons, whether Adult or Infants, and that in their own Personal Capacity, were ever reckoned Subjects capable of Baptism in the Primitive Church. The Ancients knew nothing of that profane Custom of giving Baptism to inanimate Things, as Bells and the like, by a superstitious Consecration of them. The first Notice we have of this is in the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* [b], where it is only mentioned to be censured. But afterward it crept into the *Roman* Offices by degrees (as I have noted in another Place [c] out of *Baronius*, Cardinal *Bona*, and *Menardus*) till at last it grew to that superstitious height, as to be thought proper to be complained of in the *Centum Gravamina* of the *German* Nation, drawn up in the publick Dyet of the Empire held at *Norimberg*, *An.* 1518, where (after having described the Ceremony of baptizing a Bell with Godfathers, who make Responses, as in Baptism, and give it a Name; and cloath it with a new Garment, as Christians were used to be cloathed, and all this to make it capable of driving away Tempests and Devils) they conclude [d] against it, as not only a superstitious Practice, but contrary to the Christian Religion, and a mere Seduction of the simple People, and an Exaction upon them. For which Reason, they declare, so wicked and unlawful a Custom ought to be abolished. He that would

[a] *Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism*, 1st *and* 2d Part, 1712, *and* 1714. [b] Capitular. Caroli Magni, *cited by* Durantus de Ritib. Eccl. Lib. 1. c. 22. n. 2. Ut Clocas non baptizent. [c] *See Book* viii. *chap.* vii. *p.* 15. [d] Centum Gravam. n. 51. in Fasciculo Rer. expetend. tom. 1. p. 366. Quæ res non solum superstitiosa, sed etiam Christianæ Religioni contraria ac simpliciorum seductio, & mera est exactio.——Res igitur tam nefanda & illicita meritò aboleri debet.

see

ſee more of this, may conſult *Hoſpinian* [e], or *Wolfius* [f], or *Sleidan* [g], who deſcribe the Ceremony at large out of the old *Romiſh* Pontifical. For I muſt return to the Primitive Church.

SECT. III. *Baptiſm not to be given to the Dead.*

AND here we meet with a Practice a little more antient, but not leſs ſuperſtitious than the former: Which was a Cuſtom, that began to prevail among ſome weak People in *Africk*, of giving Baptiſm to the Dead. The Third Council of *Carthage* [h] ſpeaks of it as a Thing that ignorant Chriſtians were a little fond of, and therefore gives a ſeaſonable Caution againſt it, to diſcourage the Practice. And this is again repeated in the *African* Code [i]. *Gregory Nazianzen* [k] alſo takes Notice of the ſame ſuperſtitious Opinion prevailing among ſome who delayed to be baptized. In his Addreſs to this kind of Men, he asks them whether they ſtayed to be baptized after Death? And doubts upon this Account whether to eſteem them greater Objects of Pity or Contempt. *Philaſtrius* alſo [l] notes it as the general error of the *Montaniſts* or *Cataphrygians*, That they baptized Men after Death. The Practice ſeems to be grounded upon a vain Opinion, that when Men had neglected to receive Baptiſm in their Life-time, ſome Compenſation might be made for this Default by receiving it after Death. And for the ſame Reaſon they gave the *Euchariſt* alſo to the Dead in the like Circumſtances, which is equally condemned in the forementioned *African* Canons, as proceeding from groſs Ignorance in ſome Presbyters, and want of a due Underſtanding of the true Intent and Meaning of thoſe Holy Inſtitutions; for whoſe Information they order Provincial Councils to be held twice a Year, that they might be better inſtructed.

SECT. IV. *Nor to the Living for the Dead. Where of the Apoſtle's meaning of being baptized for the Dead,* 1 Cor. 15. 29.

ANOTHER abſurd Practice prevailing among ſome of the antient Hereticks, was a ſort of Vicarious Baptiſm, which was, That when any one died without Baptiſm, another was baptized in his Stead. St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us [m], this was practiſed among the *Marcionites* with a great deal of ridiculous Ceremony, which he thus deſcribes: After any Catechumen was dead, they hid a living Man under the Bed of the Deceaſed, then coming to the dead Man, they ſpake to him, and asked him, Whether he would receive Baptiſm? And he making no Anſwer, the other anſwered for him, and ſaid, He would be baptized in his Stead: And ſo they baptized the Living for the Dead, as if they were acting a Comedy upon the Stage; ſo great was the Power of Satan in the Minds of theſe vain Men. Afterward when any one challenged them upon this Practice, they had Confidence to plead the Apoſtle's Authority for it, *Why are they then baptized for the Dead?* Againſt which St. *Chryſoſtom* urges very well, That if this were allowed, in vain had God threatned thoſe that died unbaptized. For by this Means any *Jew* or *Gentle* might eaſily be made a Chriſtian, by having another after his Death baptized for him. *Tertullian* brings the ſame Charge againſt the *Marcionites* [n], comparing their Practice to the Heathen Luſtrations for the Dead upon the Kalends of *February*. But he tells them they did but in vain alledge the Apoſtle's Authority for this Practice, as if he had argued from it for the Truth and Confirmation of the Reſurrection. For the Apoſtle ſpeaks but of one Baptiſm, and that was of the Living for themſelves. He reflects upon the ſame Practice in another Place [o], where he calls it the vicarious Baptiſm, which ſome uſed in Hopes of the Reſurrection. *Suicerus* thinks the *Cerinthians* were the firſt Authors of this kind of Baptiſm, and that indeed would carry it up to the Apoſtles Time. But *Epiphanius*, on whoſe Authority he depends, ſays no ſuch Thing, as from any certain Proof, or his own Judgment, but only that there was an uncertain Tradition handed down to him, concerning ſome Hereticks in *Aſia* in the Apoſtles Days [p], who, when any one died without Baptiſm, ſubſtituted another in his Room to be baptized for hm, leſt in the Reſurrection he ſhould be puniſhed for Want of Baptiſm, and be ſubjected to the Powers which made the World. And the ſame Tradition aſſerted, that the Apoſtle hence took Occaſion to ſay, *If the Dead riſe not, Why are they then baptized for the Dead?* But *Epiphanius* wholly rejects this Opinion, nor do we find any of the Ancients ſo interpreting this Paſſage of the Apoſtle, except only the Author under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, who is clearly of Opinion, that the Apoſtle had reſpect to ſuch a Cuſtom then in being, and thence drew an Argument from the Example [q] of thoſe

[e] Hoſpin. de Templis lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 113. [f] Wolfius Lection. Memorabil. Centur. 16. an. 1550. [g] Sleidan Commentar. lib. 21. p. 288. [h] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 6. Cavendum, ne mortuos baptizari poſſe fratrum infirmitas credat. [i] Cod. Eccleſ. Afr. can. 18. μὴ τοὺ ἤδη τελευτῶντας βαπτιζῆνοι ποιήσῃ ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄγνοια. [k] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 648. ἢ κἀγὼ μῶρος νεκρὸς λαθῆναι; ἢ μᾶλλον ἐλεέιμενος ἢ μισέιμενος. [l] Philaſtr. de Hæreſ. cap. 2. de Cataphry. Hi mortuos baptizant, &c. [m] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. [n] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 5. cap. 10. Viderit inſtitutio iſta, Kalendæ ſi forte Februariæ reſpondebunt illi pro mortuis petere. Noli ergo Apoſtolum novum ſtatim auctorem aut confirmatorem eum denotare, ut tanto magis fiſteret carnis reſurrectionem, quanto illi qui vane pro mortuis baptizarentur fide reſurrectionis hoc facerent. Habemus illum alicubi unius baptiſmi definitorem. [o] Tertul. de Reſur. Carnis, cap. 48. Si autem & baptizantur quidam pro mortuis, videbimus an ratione. Certe illa præſumptione hoc eos inſtituiſſe contendit, qua alii etiam carni Vicarium baptiſma profuturum exiſtimarent ad ſpem Reſurrectionis. [p] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 28. Cerinthian. n. 6. [q] Ambroſ. Com. in 1 Cor. 15. Exemplum eorum ſubjicit, qui tam ſecuri erunt de futura reſurrectione, ut etiam pro mortuis baptizarentur. Si quem forte mors præveniſſet, timentes, ne aut male, aut non reſurgeret, qui baptizatus non fuerat, vivus nomine mortui tingebatur.

who were ſo firmly perſwaded of the Truth of the future Reſurrection, that when any one among them was prevented by ſudden Death, they had another to be baptized in his Name, fearing leſt he ſhould either not riſe at all, or riſe to condemnation. But St. *Chryſoſtom* gives a much more rational Account of the Apoſtle's Argument; for he ſuppoſes him to refer to the Catholick Cuſtom of making every Catechumen at his Baptiſm with his own Mouth declare his Belief of the Reſurrection of the Dead, by repeating the Creed, of which that was a part, and ſo being baptized into that Faith, or Hope of the Reſurrection of the Dead. And therefore he puts them in mind of this, ſaying, If there be [r] no Reſurrection of the Dead, why art thou then baptized for the Dead, that is, the Body? For therefore thou art baptized for the Dead, believing the Reſurrection of the Dead, that the Body may not remain dead, but revive again. So that baptizing for the Dead is an elliptical Expreſſion, for being baptized into the Faith or Belief of the Reſurrection of the Dead. And ſo I think *Tertullian* [s] is to be underſtood, when he ſays in Oppoſition to the Error of the *Marcionites*, that to be baptized for the Dead, is to be baptized for the Body, which is declared to be dead by Baptiſm: That is, we are baptized into the Belief of the Reſurrection of the Body, both whoſe Death and Reſurrection are repreſented in Baptiſm. And the Interpretation of *Epiphanius* comes pretty near theſe, when he ſays [t] It refers to thoſe who were baptized upon the approach of Death in hopes of the Reſurrection from the Dead; for they ſhewed thereby, that the Dead ſhould riſe again, and that therefore they had need of the Remiſſion of Sins, which is obtained in Baptiſm. The ſame Senſe is given by *Theodoret* [u], and *Theophylact* [x], and *Balſamon*, and *Zonaras* [y], and *Matthew Blaſtares* [z] among the *Greeks*; and it is embraced by Biſhop *Patrick* [a], and Dr. *Hammond* [b], as the moſt natural and genuine Expoſition of this difficult Paſſage of the Apoſtle. Some indeed think it may refer to another Cuſtom of baptizing over the Monuments of the Martyrs, who died for the Faith in hopes of a future Reſurrection. But that Cuſtom was hardly antient enough to be alluded to in the Times of the Apoſtles, though *Voſſius* [c] and ſome other learned Men incline to this Opinion. However it be, it is not likely the Apoſtle ſhould draw an Argument from the abſurd Practice of the worſt of Hereticks: Therefore whatever Interpretation be thought moſt proper and worthy to be received, that is certainly to be rejected, together with the Error of the *Marcionites*, who founded their vicarious Baptiſm upon the Authority of this Apoſtolical Paſſage, contrary to the Senſe and Practice of the whole Catholick Church, which never allowed of Baptiſm given to the Living for the Dead, or of any Baptiſm but ſuch as was given to Men in their own Perſons.

SECT. V. *Proofs of Infant-baptiſm from the antient Records of the Church.*

Now of Perſons who were reckoned capable of receiving Baptiſm, there were two Sorts, Infants and adult Perſons. And Infants were of two Sorts, either ſuch as were born of Chriſtian Parents, or ſuch as were born of Heathens, but by ſome Providential Means became the Poſſeſſion and Property, as I may call it, of the Chriſtian Church: Neither of which ſort were excluded from Baptiſm, when ſufficient Sponſors could be provided for them. This is ſo evident from the antient Records of the Church, that it is to be wondred, how ſome learned Perſons could run into the contrary Opinion, and offer Reaſons from Antiquity, in Prejudice of the Church's conſtant Practice. Mr. *Wall*, in his elaborate Diſcourſe [d] of *Infant-Baptiſm*, has juſtly reflected upon abundance of theſe Men, who by their unwary Conceſſions, have given too great Advantage to the *Anabaptiſts* of this Age: There are ſome others alſo, which he had not ſeen, who advance as unworthy Notions of the antient Practice: For *Salmaſius*, and *Suicerus* [e] out of him, deliver it as authentick Hiſtory, that for the two firſt Ages no one received Baptiſm, who was not firſt inſtructed in the Faith and Doctrine of Chriſt, ſo as to be able to anſwer for himſelf, that he believed, becauſe of thoſe Words, *He that believeth and is baptized.* Which in effect is to ſay, that no Infant for the two firſt Ages was ever admitted to Chriſtian Baptiſm. But afterwards they own *Pædo-baptiſm* came in, upon the Opinion, that Baptiſm was neceſſary to Salvation. Now I ſhall not think my ſelf obliged to be very Prolix in refuting this Opinion, together with the falſe Suppoſition which is made the Foundation of it, ſince that has ſo often, and ſo ſubſtantially been done by *Voſſius* [f], Dr. *Forbes* [g], Dr. *Hammond* [h], Mr. *Walker* [i], and eſpecially Mr. *Wall* [k], who has exactly conſidered the Teſtimony and Authority of almoſt every antient Writer that has ſaid any thing upon this Subject. But that no one who reads theſe Collections, may be wholly at a loſs for want of other Authors, I ſhall here ſubjoin a brief Ac-

[r] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 689. εἰ μὴ ἔστιν ἀνάστασις, τί καὶ βαπτίζῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, τουτέστι, τῶν σωμάτων; καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο βαπτίζῃ, τῷ νεκρῷ σώματι ἀνάστασιν πιστεύων, ὅτι ἀκέτι μένει νεκρόν. [s] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 5. c. 10. Igitur & pro mortuis tingui, eſt pro corporibus tingui; mortuum enim corpus oſtendimus. [t] Epiphan. Hær. 28. n. 6. [u] Theodor. Com. in 1 Cor. 15. 29. [x] Theophyl. in eundem Loc. [y] Balſamon. in Can. 18. Conc. Carthag. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 1. p. 541. [z] Blaſtar. Syntag. Canon. ibid. tom. 2. p. 41. [a] Patrick Aqua Genitalis. p. 453. [b] Hammond in 1 Cor. 15. 29. [c] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. Diſp. 15. p. 225. [d] Wall *Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm*, Part. 2. chap. 2. [e] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. tom. 2. p. 1136. Primis duobus Sæculis nemo baptiſmum accipiebat, niſi qui in fide inſtructus, & Doctrina Chriſti imbutus, teſtari poſſet, ſe credere, propter illa verba, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit.—— Poſtea Opinio invaluit, Neminem Salvari poſſe, niſi qui baptizatus fuiſſet. [f] Voſſ. de Bapt. Diſp. 14. [g] Forbeſ. Inſtruct. Hiſt. Theol. lib. 10. cap. 5. [h] Hammond. Def. *of Infant Bapt.* cap. 4. [i] Walker. *Plea for Infant-Baptiſm*, cap. 27, &c. [k] Wall. *Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm*, Part I. cap. 1, &c.

count of the moſt pertinent Authorities that occur in the three firſt Ages.

SECT. VI. *From* Clemens Romanus *and* Hermes Paſtor.

THE moſt antient Writer that we have, is *Clemens Romanus*, who lived in the Time of the Apoſtles. And he, though he does not directly mention Infant-baptiſm, yet ſays a thing that by Conſequence proves it. For he makes Infants liable to Original Sin, which in effect is to ſay, that they have need of Baptiſm to purge them from it. For ſpeaking of *Job*, he ſays, though he was a juſt Man, yet he [*l*] condemns himſelf, ſaying, There is none free from Pollution, though his Life be but of the length of one Day. Now if Children be born in Sin, they have need of a Regeneration to make them capable of the Kingdom of Heaven. *Hermes Paſtor* lived about the ſame time with *Clemens*, and has ſeveral Paſſages to ſhew the general Neceſſity of Water, that is, Baptiſm, to ſave Men. In one place he repreſents the Church as a Tower built on the Waters, and ſays, [*m*] Hear therefore why the Tower is built on the Waters; becauſe your Life is ſaved, and ſhall be ſaved by Water. In another place, he makes Water-baptiſm ſo neceſſary to all, that in a Viſion he repreſents the Apoſtles as going after Death [*n*] to baptize the Holy Spirits who lived under the *Old Teſtament*, that they might be tranſlated into the Kingdom of God. It was neceſſary, ſays he, for them to aſcend by Water, that they might be at Reſt: for they could not otherwiſe enter into the Kingdom of God, than by putting off the Mortality of their former Life. They therefore after they were dead, were ſealed with the Seal of the Son of God, and ſo entred into the Kingdom of God. For before any one receives the Name of the Son of God, he is liable to Death: But when he receives that Seal, he is delivered from Death, and is aſſigned to Life. Now that Seal is Water, into which Men deſcend bound over unto Death, but aſcend out of it aſſigned unto Life. For this Reaſon the Seal was alſo preached unto them, and they made uſe of it that they might enter into the Kingdom of God. The plain Deſign of this place is to repreſent the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, without which none can ordinarily enter into the Kingdom of God. And it cannot be doubted, that he who thought it ſo neceſſary even for the Patriarchs, who died before the coming of Chriſt, muſt think it equally neceſſary to all thoſe who lived under the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel. Though whether the Baptiſm here mentioned be to be underſtood in a Literal and Corporeal Senſe, or only in a Metaphorical or Myſtical way, as a Viſion or a Parable may require, is what may admit of ſome Diſpute. And therefore *Cotelerius* [*o*] gives his Opinion for the latter Senſe, concluding, That for as much as waſhing in Water properly belongs to Bodies, and not to Spirits, our Author is neceſſarily to be underſtood of Metaphorical and Myſtical Baptiſm, that is, the Spiritual Effects of it, the good things which are conferred by God in Baptiſm, the chief of which is a Title to eternal Life, which the Patriarchs after Death are ſuppoſed to be made Partakers of, by believing the Word of the Goſpel then preached to them. This was that Spiritual Water in which departed Souls were baptized, as the Bodies of the living are baptized in common Water; from the Analogy of which we muſt needs conclude the Neceſſity of Water-baptiſm for all thoſe who are in a Capacity to receive it, that is, for all thoſe who are yet in the Body, in order to be made Partakers of eternal Life. God indeed may, if he pleaſes, give the Baptiſm of the Spirit, and the Baptiſm of Faith, which is the Baptiſm of the Word, without it: And ſo ſome of the Ancients ſuppoſe the Apoſtles to be baptiz'd without Water, from that Saying of our Saviour, Now ye are clean, through the Word which I have ſpoken unto you; ſo *Tertullian* [*p*] and others: (Though the more general Opinion (*q*) is, that they were baptized by Chriſt himſelf.) In like manner God might diſpenſe with the want of Water-baptiſm in Caſes extraordinary, and ſupply this Want either by Martyrdom, or Faith and Repentance, in ſuch Caſes where it could not be had; As I have ſhewed (in the laſt Book) the general Conſent of the Ancients [*r*] upon this Matter to be: But yet in all ordinary Caſes, where Water-baptiſm might be had, they concluded as generally for the Neceſſity of it, from that Aſſertion of our Saviour, *Except one be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* This was not only a Doctrine of the third or fourth Ages, as *Salmaſius* and *Suicerus* repreſent, but the Doctrine of the very firſt Ages, immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles: For, we ſee, *Hermes Paſtor*, who lived in the Apoſtolical Age, founds the general neceſſity of Baptiſm upon that very Saying of our Saviour. And therefore they who repreſent this Doctrine of the neceſſity of Baptiſm, as a Novelty or an Error, firſt introduced into the Church in the Age of St. *Auſtin* againſt the *Pelagian* Hereticks, do manifeſt wrong both to the Doctrine it ſelf, and to St. *Auſtin*, and to the Ancients, who embraced and de-

[*l*] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 17. αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καλὴν μαρτυρίαν λέγει, οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου, οὐδὲ εἰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. [*m*] Hermas Paſtor. lib. 1. Viſion 3. cap. 3. Quare igitur ſuper aquas ædificatur turris, audi. Quoniam vita veſtra per aquam ſalva facta eſt & fiet. [*n*] Id. lib. 3. Simil. 9. n. 16. Neceſſe eſt ut per aquam habeant aſcendere, ut requieſcant: Non poterant enim aliter in regnum Dei intrare, quàm ut deponerent mortalitatem prioris vitæ. Illi igitur defuncti Sigillo Filii Dei ſignati ſunt, & intraverunt in regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen filii Dei, morti deſtinatus eſt: at ubi accipit illud ſigillum, liberatur à morte, & traditur vitæ. Illud autem ſigillum Aqua eſt, in quam deſcendunt homines morti obligati, aſcendunt vero vitæ aſſignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum eſt illud ſigillum, & uſi ſunt eo, ut intrarent in regnum Dei. [*o*] Coteler in Loc. p. 117. Quandoquidem Lavatio corporibus competit, non animis, Noſter neceſſario intelligit Baptiſmum Metaphoricum & Myſticum, bona videlicet quæ in Baptiſmate à Deo conceduntur. [*p*] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 12. [*q*] Vid. Auguſtin. Ep. 108. Anonymus Auctor de non iterando Baptiſmo ad calcem Cypriani, p. 23. Edit. Oxon. It. Clem. Alex. Hypotypoſ. lib. 5. ap. Johan. Moſchum Prat. Spiritual. cap. 176. [*r*] *See Book* X. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 20.

livered the ſame before him. And it gives an unneceſſary Advantage to the *Anti-pædobaptiſts*, which a right underſtanding of this Matter abſolutely takes from them. I thought it therefore of ſome uſe to obſerve this againſt *Salmaſius* and *Suicerus*, and to add it to the Obſervations which Mr. *Wall* has made upon *Hermes Paſtor*.

SECT VII. *From* Juſtin Martyr.

ANOTHER Antient Writer, who lived within the Compaſs of the Second Century, was *Juſtin Martyr*, who very plainly ſpeaks of Infant-baptiſm as uſed from the time of the Apoſtles. For in one of his Apologies he takes Occaſion to ſay [*s*], There were among Chriſtians in his Time many Perſons of both Sexes, ſome ſixty, and ſome ſeventy Years old, who had been made Diſciples to Chriſt from their Infancy, and continued Virgins or Uncorrupted all their Lives. Now *Juſtin* wrote this Apology about the Year 148, in the middle of the ſecond Century, and therefore thoſe whom he ſpeaks of as baptized 60 or 70 Years before in their Infancy, muſt be Perſons baptized in the firſt Age, while ſome of the Apoſtles were living. In another Place of the ſame Apology [*t*] he urges theſe Words of our Saviour, *Joh.* iii. 35. *Except ye be* Regenerated, or *born again, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, to prove the Neceſſity of Baptiſm. And in his Dialogue with *Tripho* the *Jew*, he ſpeaks of the whole Progeny of *Adam* as liable to Death [*u*] and the Deception of the Serpent, by reaſon of *Adam*'s Sin, beſide the particular Guilt which each Man contracts by actual Sin in his own Perſon. Now if all Mankind be born with Original Sin, this extends to Infants, who have need of Regeneration or Baptiſm to free them from it. And this Aſſertion in *Juſtin* by conſequence proves the Neceſſity of Baptiſm for Infants, as well as others, that they may have Redemption from Original Sin. In another place of the ſame Dialogue [*x*] he makes Baptiſm parallel to Circumciſion, ſaying, we have not received that carnal Circumciſion, but the ſpiritual Circumciſion which *Enoch* and thoſe like him obſerved. And we have received it by Baptiſm, through the Mercy of God, becauſe we were Sinners: and it is incumbent on all Perſons to receive it in the ſame Way. Now if Baptiſm be anſwerable to Circumciſion, and ſucceed in its room, and be neceſſary to be received as the Means to obtain the true Circumciſion of the Spirit; then as Infants were admitted to Circumciſion, ſo they were to be admitted to Baptiſm, that being the ordinary Means of applying the Mercy of the Goſpel to them, and cleanſing them from the Guilt of Original Sin.

SECT. VIII. *And the Author of the* Recognitions, *Co-temporary with* Juſtin Martyr.

NEXT after *Juſtin Martyr*, I ſubjoin the antient Author of the Book called, *The Recognitions, or Travels of St.* Peter; becauſe tho' it be not the genuine Work of *Clemens Romanus*, whoſe Name it borrowed, yet it is an antient Writing of the ſame Age with *Juſtin Martyr*, mentioned by *Origen* in his *Philocalia*, and by ſome aſcribed to *Bardeſanes Syrus*, who lived about the Middle of the ſecond Century. This Author ſpeaks of the Neceſſity of Baptiſm in the very ſame Style as *Juſtin Martyr* did, making it univerſally neceſſary to purge away Original Sin, and to qualify Men for the Kingdom of Heaven. For putting an Objection by way of Queſtion, What does Baptiſm by Water [*y*] contribute toward the Worſhip of God? He anſwers, 1ſt, That it is fulfilling that which is the Will and Pleaſure of God. Then 2dly, The Man that is regenerated by Water, and born again to God; is thereby freed from the Weakneſs of his firſt Nativity, which comes to him by Man: And ſo he is made capable of Salvation, which he could not otherwiſe obtain. For ſo the true Prophet (meaning Chriſt) has teſtified with an Oath, ſaying, *Verily I ſay unto you, except one be born again of Water, he ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* This Author indeed does not ſpeak particularly of the Baptiſm of Infants, but his Reaſons are ſuch, as ſhew his Diſcourſe to extend to them. For if Baptiſm be neceſſary upon theſe two Accounts, Firſt to cut off Concupiſcence, or original Sin, which is the Infirmity of our firſt Birth; and then to qualify us to enter into the Kingdom of God; theſe are general Reaſons for Baptiſm, which make it neceſſary for Infants as well as any other, ſince according to this Author, they are born in Original Sin, and cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, 'till that Sin be purged away by the Waters of Baptiſm. Here then we have another Author within the Compaſs of the two firſt Ages, directly confronting that Aſſertion of *Salmaſius* and *Suicerus*, That the Doctrine of the Neceſſity of Baptiſm to Salvation, was not the Doctrine of the two firſt Ages, but only an Opinion taken up afterwards, upon which Foundation the Practice of Infant-baptiſm was introduced into the Church. For no one can, or ever did, declare himſelf plainer for the Neceſſity of Baptiſm to Salvation, than this Author does, from the Words of our Saviour Chriſt, which he interprets, as all the Ancients both before and after him did, of the ordinary Neceſſity of Water-baptiſm to Salvation: So that if Infant-baptiſm was founded, as *Salmaſius* pleads, upon the Opinion of the Neceſſity of Baptiſm to Salvation; this Au-

[*s*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 62. καὶ πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἑξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀφθορεῖ διαμένουσι. [*t*] Ibid. p. 94. [*u*] Juſtin. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 315. Τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τὴν Ὄφεως ἐπεπλώκει, ἕκαστος τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν πονηρεύσαμένου. [*x*] Juſtin Dial. p. 261. ἣ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομὴν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν Ἐνὼχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ βαπτίσματος αὐτὴν, ἐπειδὴ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγεγόνεμεν, διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλάβομεν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν.

[*y*] Recognition. lib. 6. n. 9. p. 551. ap. Coteler. tom. 1. Quid confert aquæ Baptiſmus ad Dei cultum? Primò quidem, quia quod Deo placuit impletur; Secundò, quia regenerato ex aquis, & Deo renato, Fragilitas prioris Nativitatis, quæ tibi per hominem facta eſt, amputatur; & ita demum pervenire poteris ad Salutem: Aliter vero impoſſibile eſt. Sic enim nobis cum Sacramento verus Propheta teſtatus eſt, dicens: Amen dico vobis, niſi quis denuo renatus fuerit ex aqua, non intrabit in regnum cœlorum. *This is repeated in the* Greek *Clementines*, Hom. 11. n. 26. p. 698.

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thor must be an Assertor of Infant-baptism, because he was undeniably an Assertor of the general Necessity of Baptism to Salvation. I have the rather insisted a little upon this Author's Meaning, because I know not whether his Testimony has been produced before in this Cause by any other.

SECT. IX. *And* Irenæus.

NOT long after the Time of *Justin Martyr* and the Author last mentioned, lived *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons*, who, as Mr. *Dodwel* evidently shews [z], and Dr. *Cave* from him [a], was born in the latter end of the first Century, about the Year 97, and was a Disciple of *Polycarp*, who was a Disciple of St. *John*. About the Year 176, he wrote his Book against Heresies, being then about eighty Years old, and died not many Years after. So that he must needs be a competent Witness of the Church's Sense and Practice upon this Point during the Second Century. Now there are three Things relating to this Matter, which appear very evident from him. 1. That the Church then believed the Doctrine of Original Sin. 2. That the ordinary Means of purging away this Sin, was Baptism. 3. That Children, as well as others, were then actually baptized to obtain Remission of Sins, and apply the Redemption of Christ to them. For the Doctrine of Original Sin; he sometimes calls it the Sin [b] of our first Parents, which was done away in Christ, by his loosing the Bonds wherein we were held and bound over unto Death: The Sin whereby we offended God [c] in the first *Adam*, by disobeying his Command; but were reconciled to God in the second *Adam*, by Obedience unto Death. So that Infants as well as others, were under the Guilt of this Sin, and had need of a Redeemer with the rest of Mankind, to deliver them from it. Now the ordinary way of being freed from this original Guilt, he says, is Baptism, which is our Regeneration [d] or new Birth unto God. And this he expressly affirms to be administred to Children as well as adult Persons. For, says he, Christ, [e] came to save all Persons by himself; all, I say, who by him are regenerated unto God, Infants and little ones, and Children, and Youths, and elder Persons. Therefore he went through the several Ages, being made an Infant for Infants, that he might sanctify Infants; and for little ones he was made a little one, to sanctify them of that Age also. No Art can elude this Passage, so long as it is owned, that Regeneration means Baptism. And for this we have the Explication of *Irenæus* himself, who calls Baptism by the name of Regeneration; and so all the Ancients commonly do, as *Suicerus* (against whom I am now disputing) scruples not to own, alledging *Justin Martyr* [f], *Chrysostom* and *Gregory Nyssen* to this Purpose. Which fully evinces Infant-baptism in the Age of *Irenæus*, that is in the 2d Century, to have been the common Practice of the Church.

SECT. X. *And* Tertullian.

IN the latter End of the second Century, and Beginning of the third lived *Tertullian*, Presbyter of the Church of *Carthage*; who though he had some singular Notions about this Matter, yet he sufficiently testifies the Church's Practice. In his own private Opinion he was for deferring the Baptism of Infants, especially where there was no Danger of Death, till they came to years of Discretion: But he so argues for this, as to shew us that the Practice of the Church was otherwise. For, says he, according to every one's Condition [g] and Disposition, and also their Age, the delaying of Baptism is more advantageous, especially in the case of little Children. For what Need is there that the Godfathers should be brought into Danger? Because they may either fail of their Promises by Death, or they may be deceived by a Child's proving of wicked Disposition. Our Lord says indeed, *Do not forbid them to come unto me*. Let them come therefore when they are grown up: Let them come when they can learn; when they can be taught whither it is they come: Let them be made Christians, when they can know Christ. What need their innocent Age make such haste to the forgiveness of Sins? Men proceed more cautiously in worldly Things: And he that is not trusted with earthly Goods, shall he be trusted with divine? Let them know how to ask Salvation, that you may appear to give it to one that asketh. For no less Reason unmarried Persons ought to be delayed, because they are exposed to Temptations, as well Virgins that are come to Maturity, as those that are in Widowhood by the Loss of a Consort, until they either marry or be confirmed in Continence. The way of *Tertullian*'s arguing upon this Point, shews plainly that he was for introducing a new Practice; that therefore it was the Custom of the Church in his time to give Baptism to Infants, as well as

[z] Dodwel. Dissert. in Irenæ. [a] Cav. Hist. Liter. Vol. 1. p 41. [b] Irenæ. lib. 5. c. 19. Protoplasti peccatum per correptionem Primogeniti emendationem accipiens.— Vinculis illis resolutis, per quæ alligati eramus morti. [c] Id. lib. 5. c. 16. Deum in primo quidem Adam offendimus, non facientes ejus præceptum, in secundo autem Adam, reconciliati sumus, obedientes usque ad mortem facti. [d] Id. lib. 1. c. 18. τὸ βαπτίσμα τοῦ εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως. &c. [e] Id. lib. 2. cap. 39. Omnes venit per semeteipsum salvare: omnes inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; Infantes, & parvulos, & pueros, & juvenes, & seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, & Infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes: In parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem, &c. [f] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Ἀναγέννησις, tom. 1. p. 243. [g] Tertul. de Baptismo, c. 18. Pro cujusque Personæ conditione ac dispositione, etiam ætate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, præcipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est, Sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia & ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possint, & proventu malæ indolis falli. Ait quidem Dominus, Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire. Veniant ergo dum adolescunt, veniant dum discunt, dum quo veniunt docentur: Fiant Christiani, dum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agetur in Sæcularibus; ut cui Substantia terrena non creditur, Divina credatur. Nôrint petere Salutem ut petenti dedisse videaris. Non minori de causa innupti quoque procrastinandi, in quibus tentatio præparata est; tam Virginibus per maturitatem, quam Viduis per vacationem, donec aut nubant, aut Continentia corroborentur.

adult Perſons: And his Arguments tend not only to exclude Infants, but all Perſons that are unmarried or in Widowhood, for fear of Temptation. Which are Rules that no one beſide himſelf ever thought of, much leſs were they confirmed by any Church's Practice. But even this Advice of *Tertullian*, as ſingular as it was, ſeems only calculated for Caſes where there was no Danger or Apprehenſions of Death: For otherwiſe he pleads as much for the neceſſity of Baptiſm as any other, both from thoſe Words of our Saviour [*h*], *Except one be born again of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; as alſo from the general Corruption of Original Sin, which renders every Son of *Adam* unclean 'till he be made a Chriſtian: Which is only done in Baptiſm; for Men are not born Chriſtians, but made ſo. And therefore in caſe of Neceſſity, he thought every Chriſtian had Power to give Baptiſm, rather than any Perſon ſhould die without it. Which ſeems to imply, that his Opinion for delaying Baptiſm, whether of Infants or others, reſpected only ſuch Caſes, where there was no Danger of Death: But even in thoſe Caſes the Practice of the Church was otherwiſe; for ſhe baptized Infants as ſoon as they were born, though without any imminent danger of Death, as appears from *Tertullian*'s Diſcourſe it ſelf, who laboured to make an Innovation, but without any Succeſs; for the ſame Practice continued in the Church in the following Ages.

SECT. XI. *And* Origen.

Origen lived in the Beginning of the third Century, and nothing can be plainer than the Teſtimonies alledged from him. In one place he ſays, Every one is born in Original Sin; which he thus proves from the Words of *David*, ſaying, *I was conceived in Iniquity, and in Sin* [*i*] *did my Mother bear me*; Shewing that every Soul that is born in the Fleſh, is polluted with the Filth of Sin and Iniquity: And that therefore it was ſaid, as we mentioned before, That none is clean from Pollution, though his Life be but of the length of one Day. Beſides all this, it may be enquired, What is the Reaſon, why the Baptiſm of the Church, which is given for the remiſſion of Sins, is by the Cuſtom of the Church given to Infants alſo? Whereas if there were nothing in Infants, that wanted Remiſſion and Indulgence, the Grace of Baptiſm might ſeem needleſs to them. In another place [*k*] he ſays, Infants are baptized for the Forgiveneſs of Sins. Of what Sins? Or when did they commit them? Or how can any Reaſon be given for baptizing them, but only according to that Senſe which we mentioned a little before; none is free from Pollution, though his Life be but the length of one Day upon the Earth. And for that Reaſon Infants are baptized, becauſe by the Sacrament of Baptiſm the Pollution of our Birth is taken away. And, *Except one be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Where he not only makes Infant-baptiſm the Practice of the Church, but derives it from divine Inſtitution. As he does in another Place [*l*] from Apoſtolical Tradition; for he affirms, That the Church received the Order of baptizing Infants from the Apoſtles. For they to whom the divine Myſteries were committed, knew that there is in all Perſons the natural Pollution of Sin, which muſt be waſhed away by Water and the Spirit; by reaſon of which the Body it ſelf is alſo called the Body of Sin.

SECT. XII. *And* Cyprian *with the Council of* Carthage *under him.*

IN the middle of this Age lived St. *Cyprian*, in whoſe time there was a Queſtion moved concerning the Day on which Infants ought to be baptized. For one *Fidus* an *African* Biſhop had ſent a Query to him upon this Caſe, whether Infants were to be baptized, if need required, as ſoon as they were born, or not till the eighth Day, according to the Rule given in the caſe of Circumciſion? To this Queſtion St. *Cyprian* and a Council of Sixty ſix Biſhops returned this Synodical Anſwer: As to the caſe of Infants, whereas you judge [*m*] that they ought not to be baptized within two or three Days after they are born; and that the Rule of Circumciſion ſhould be obſerved, ſo that none ſhould be baptized and ſanctified before the eighth Day after he is born: We were all in our Council of the contrary Opinion. It was our unani-

[*h*] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 40. De Bapt. cap. 13. [*i*] Orig. Hom. 8. in Levit. tom. 1. p. 145. Audi David dicentem, In iniquitatibus, inquit, conceptus ſum, & in peccatis peperit me mater mea: oſtendens, quod quæcunque anima in carne naſcatur, iniquitatis & peccati ſorde polluitur: & propterea dictum eſſe illud, quod jam ſuperius memoravimus; quia nemo mundus à ſorde, nec ſi unius diei fuerit vita ejus. Addi his etiam illud poteſt, ut requiratur quid cauſæ ſit, cum baptiſma Eccleſiæ in Remiſſionem peccatorum detur, ſecundum Eccleſiæ obſervantiam etiam parvulis baptiſmum dari? Cum utique ſi nihil eſſet in parvulis quod ad Remiſſionem deberet & Indulgentiam pertinere, Gratia baptiſmi ſuperflua videretur. [*k*] Orig. in Luc. Hom. 14. tom. 2. p. 223. Parvuli baptizantur in remiſſionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt? Aut quomodo poteſt ulla Lavacri in parvulis ratio ſubſiſtere, niſi juxta illum Senſum de quo paulo ante diximus. Nullus mundus à ſorde, nec ſi unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus ſuper terram. Et quia per baptiſmi Sacramentum Nativitatis ſordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur & parvuli. Niſi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu, non poteſt intrare in regnum cœlorum. [*l*] Id. in Rom. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 543. Eccleſia ab Apoſtolis Traditionem ſuſcepit etiam parvulis baptiſmum dare. Sciebant enim illi quibus myſteriorum ſecreta commiſſa ſunt Divinorum, quia eſſent in omnibus genuinæ Sordes peccati, quæ per aquam & Spiritum ablui deberent: propter quas etiam corpus ipſum corpus peccati nominatur. [*m*] Cypr. Ep. 59. al. 64. ad Fidum, p. 158. Quantum vero ad cauſam infantium pertinent, quos dixiſti intra ſecundum vel tertium diem, quo nati ſunt, conſtitutos, baptizari non oportere, & conſiderandam eſſe Legem Circumciſionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus eſt baptizandum & ſanctificandum non putares: longe aliud in Concilio noſtro omnibus viſum eſt.—— Univerſi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato miſericordiam Dei & Gratiam denegandam.—— Porro autem ſi etiam graviſſimis Delictoribus & in Deum multum ante peccantibus, cùm poſtea crediderint, Remiſſa peccatorum datur, & à Baptiſmo atque à Gratia nemo prohibetur; quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, niſi quod ſecundum Adam carnaliter natus, contagium mortis antiquæ prima Nativitate contraxit? Qui ad remiſſam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipſo facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria, ſed aliena peccata.

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mous Reſolution and Judgment, that the Mercy and Grace of God is to be denied to none as ſoon as he is born. For if the greateſt Offenders, and they that have ſinned moſt grievouſly againſt God before, have afterward, when they come to believe, Forgiveneſs of their Sins; and no Perſon is kept off from Baptiſm and Grace; how much leſs Reaſon is there to prohibit an Infant, who being newly born has no other Sin, ſave that being deſcended from *Adam* according to the Fleſh, he had from his Birth contracted the Contagion of the Death antiently threatned? Who comes for that Reaſon more eaſily to receive Forgiveneſs of Sins, becauſe they are not his own, but other Men's Sins, that are forgiven him. Here we have both the Practice of the Church, and the Reaſon of it together; Infants were baptized, becauſe they were born in original Sin, and needed Baptiſm to cleanſe them from the Guilt and Pollution of it. To this we may add another Place of *Cyprian*, where deſcribing the great Wickedneſs of thoſe that lapſed in time of Perſecution, he thus aggravates their Crime: That nothing might be wanting [n] to fill up the Meaſure of their Wickedneſs, their little Infants were either led or carried in their Parents Arms, and loſt that which they had obtained at their firſt coming into the World, meaning the Benefits of their Baptiſm. And therefore he brings them in thus pleading againſt their Parents in an elegant Strain at the Day of Judgment: This was no Fault of ours, we did not of our own Accord forſake the Meat and Cup of the Lord, to run and partake of thoſe prophane Pollutions: 'Twas the unfaithfulneſs of others that ruined us, we had our Parents for our Murderers; they denied us God for our Father, and the Church for our Mother; for whilſt we were little, and unable to take Care of ourſelves, and ignorant of ſo great a Wickedneſs, we were enſnared by the Treachery of others, and by them drawn into a Partnerſhip of their Impieties. Here we may obſerve, that Children were made Partakers of the Euchariſt (which *Cyprian* calls the Meat and Drink of the Lord) and this is evident from other Paſſages in the ſame Author: Which is a further Evidence for the Practice of Infant-baptiſm; for it is certain that none but baptized Perſons were ordinarily allowed to partake of the Euchariſt at the Lord's Table. I think it needleſs to clog this Diſcourſe with any more Authorities from the Council of *Eliberis*, *Optatus*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Paulinus*, the Councils of *Carthage*, St. *Auſtin*, or St. *Jerom*, or other Writers of the fourth Age, which the Reader may find collected together by Mr. *Wall*, with ſuitable Obſervations on them. It is ſufficient to my Deſign, againſt *Salmaſius* and *Suicerus*, to have proved that Infant-baptiſm was not owing to any new Doctrine begun in the third Century, but was derived from more antient Principles, and handed down through the two firſt Ages from Apoſtolical Practice.

SECT. XIII. *Infant-baptiſm not to be delayed to the eighth Day after the Example of Circumciſion. Nor till three Years, as* Gregory Nazianzen *would have had it.*

I ſhall now proceed to remark a few other things relating to the Baptiſm of Infants, among thoſe who allowed them to be capable of it from their Birth. Some there were in the *African* Church, as we have heard out of the laſt-mentioned Citations from *Cyprian*, who were ſtrictly for confining Baptiſm to the eighth Day, becauſe ſuch was the Rule in the caſe of Circumciſion. But *Cyprian* and the Council of *Carthage* anſwer all the Arguments that were brought in favour of this Novelty, which ſeems only to have been a Queſtion in *Theory*, and ſcarce ever reduced to Practice. The Abettors of it pleaded, that an Infant in the firſt Days after its Birth is unclean, ſo that any one of us abhors to kiſs it. To which *Cyprian* anſwers, We judge not [o] this to be any Reaſon to hinder the giving to it the Heavenly Grace. For it is written, *to the Clean all things are clean*: Nor ought any of us to abhor that which God has vouchſafed to make. To the other Pretence, that the eighth Day was obſerved in the *Jewiſh* Circumciſion, he anſwers, that this was only a Type going before, a Shadow and Reſemblance, but upon Chriſt's coming it was fulfilled in the Subſtance; for becauſe the eighth Day, that is, the next to the Sabbath Day, was to be the Day on which the Lord was to riſe from the Dead, and quicken us, and give us this Spiritual Circumciſion; this eighth Day, that is, the next Day to the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, was ſignified in the Type before, which Type ceaſed, when the Subſtance came, and the Spiritual Circumciſion was given to us. So that we judge that no Perſon is to be hindred from obtaining the Grace, by the Law that is now appointed; and that the Spiritual Circumciſion ought not to be reſtrained by the Circumciſion that was according to the Fleſh: But that all are to be admitted to the Grace of Chriſt; for as much as *Peter* ſaith in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, The Lord hath ſhewed me, that no Perſon is to be called Common or Unclean. This is the only Place where-ever we read that this Queſtion was made, and after the Reſolution here given we never find that it was propoſed again. So that this Circumſtance of Time ſeems never to have prevailed in the Practice of the Church. *Gregory Nazianzen* had alſo a ſingular Opinion in relation to the Time of baptizing Children when there was no Danger of Death. For in that Caſe he thought it better to defer it till they were about three Years old, but in caſe of Danger to give it immediately after they were born, for fear they ſhould die unbaptized. His Words are theſe: What ſay you [p] to thoſe that are as yet Infants, and are

[n] Cypr. de Lapſis, p 125. Ac nequid deeſſet ad criminis cumulum, Infantes quoque Parentum manibus vel impoſiti vel attracti, amiſerunt parvuli, quod in primo ſtatim nativitatis exordio fuerant, conſecuti. &c. [o] Cypr. Ep. 59. al. 64. ad Fidum, p. 160. [p] Naz. Orat. 40. de Baptiſmo, tom. 2. p. 658.

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not in a Capacity to be ſenſible either of the Grace, or of the Loſs of it? Shall we baptize them too? Yes, by all means, if any Danger ſo require it. For it is better that they ſhould be ſanctified without their own Senſe of it, than that they ſhould die unſealed and uninitiated. And the Ground of this is Circumciſion, which was given on the eighth Day, and was a Typical Seal, and was given to thoſe who had not the uſe of Reaſon: As alſo the anointing of the Door-poſts, which preſerved the Firſt-born by Things that have no Senſe. As for others, I give my Opinion that they ſhould ſtay three Years, or thereabouts, till they can hear the myſtical Words, and make Anſwers to them; and though they do not perfectly underſtand them, yet they can then frame to ſpeak them: And then you may ſanctify them in Soul and Body with the great Sacrament of Initiation. But this was a ſingular Opinion of *Nazianzen*, taken up upon ſome particular Reaſons, which the Church never aſſented to: And therefore I join this with that other of *Fidus* the *African*, as peculiar Fancies of private Men, which never gained any Eſteem or Credit in the publick and avowed Practice of the Church.

SECT. XIV. *Yet in ſome Churches it was deferred to the Time of an approaching Feſtival.*

YET in ſome Churches a Cuſtom had prevailed to defer the Baptiſm of Infants, as well as Adult Perſons, where there was no apparent Danger of Death, to the Time of ſome of the more eminent and noted Feſtivals, which were more peculiarly deſigned and ſet a-part for the ſolemn Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. *Socrates* [q] ſays, in *Theſſaly* they only baptized at *Eaſter*: Upon which account a great many in thoſe Parts died without Baptiſm. He does not ſay expreſly, that this was the caſe of Children: But there are ſome Reaſons to incline one to believe, that it related to them as well as others. For both in the *French* and *Spaniſh* Councils there are Canons which order the Baptiſm of Children to be adminiſtred only at *Eaſter*, except in caſe of Neceſſity and imminent danger of Death. In the Council of *Auxerre* [r] it was decreed for the *French* Churches, That no Children ſhould be baptized at any other time ſave on the ſolemn Feſtival of *Eaſter*, except ſuch as were near Death, whom they called *Grabatarii*, becauſe they were baptized on a Sick-bed. And if any one contumaciouſly in Contempt of this Decree offered their Children to Baptiſm in any of their Churches, they ſhould not be received. And if any Presbyter preſumed to receive them againſt this Order, he ſhould be Suſpended three Months from the Communion of the Church. The ſecond Council of *Bracara* [s] alſo ſpeaks of the like Practice in the *Spaniſh* Churches, ordering that in the middle of *Lent*, ſuch Infants as were to be baptized at *Eaſter*, ſhould be preſented twenty Days before to undergo the Purgation, or Preparation of Exorciſm. St. *Auſtin* alſo ſpeaks of Children, Infants [t], Little ones, Sucklings hanging on their Mothers Breaſts, coming at *Eaſter* to be baptized among adult Perſons; whence *Palm-Sunday*, or the Sunday before *Eaſter*, had the Name of *Octavæ Infantium*, the *Octave* of Infants, upon their Account. St. *Ambroſe* alſo [u] ſpeaks of great numbers of Infants coming at *Eaſter* to be baptized: This, ſays he, is the Paſchal Gift: Pious Fathers, and holy Mothers bring their newborn Progeny in great Multitudes by Faith to the holy Font, from whoſe Womb being regenerated under the Tree of Faith, they ſhine with the innocent Ornament of Lights and Tapers. Theſe are abundant Proofs, that though in Caſes of Extremity Children might receive Baptiſm at any time, yet in other Caſes where there was no viſible Appearance or Danger of Death, their Baptiſm in many places was deferred till the *Eaſter*-Feſtival, as well as that of adult Perſons.

SECT. XV. *A Reſolution of ſome Queſtions. Whether Children might be baptized, when only one Parent was Chriſtian?*

WHILST I am upon the Subject of Infant-baptiſm, it will not be improper to reſolve certain Caſes and Queſtions, that may be put concerning it, ſo far as they are capable of being reſolved from the Practice of the Church, or Judgment of the antient Writers. One is concerning ſuch Children, who had only one Parent Chriſtian, and the other a *Jew* or an *Heathen*: Theſe were reckoned capable of Baptiſm upon the Right of one Parent being Chriſtian. For ſo it was reſolved in the fourth Council of *Toledo* [x], in the Caſe of ſuch Women that had *Jews* for their Husbands, that the Children that were born of them ſhould follow the Faith and Condition of the Mother: And ſo on the other hand, they who had unbelieving Mothers, and believing Fathers, ſhould follow the Chriſtian Religon, and not the Jewiſh Superſtition.

SECT. XVI. *Whether the Children of Excommunicated Parents might be baptized.*

ANOTHER Caſe was concerning the Children, whoſe Parents were under Excommunication and the Church's Cenſures. St. *Auſtin* had occaſion to conſider this Caſe upon the account of one *Auxilius*, a young Biſhop, who in a Fit of ungoverned Zeal, had raſhly Ex-

[q] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶ πάσχα μόνον βαπτίζεσι. διὸ σφόδρα πολὺν ὀλίγων οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ βαπτισθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσι. [r] Conc. Autiſſiodor. can. 18. Non licet abſque Paſchæ ſolennitate ullo tempore baptizare, niſi illos quibus mors vicina eſt, quos Grabatarios dicunt. Quod ſi quis in alio pago, contumacia faciente, poſt interdictum hoc Infantes ſuos ad baptiſmum detulerit in Eccleſias noſtras, non recipiantur. Et quicunque Presbyter ipſos extra noſtrum præceptum recipere præſumpſerit, tribus menſibus à Communione Eccleſiæ ſequeſtratus ſit. [s] Conc. Bracar. 2. can. 9. Mediante Quadrageſima, ex viginti diebus baptizandos Infantes, ad exorciſmi purgationem offerre præcipiant. Vid. Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 3. [t] Aug. Serm. 160. de Tempore, tom. 10. p. 331. Hodie Octavæ dicuntur Infantium.—Illi Pueri, Infantes, Parvuli, Lactentes, maternis uberibus inhærentes, & quantum in eos gratiæ referatur neſcientes, ut ipſi videtis, quia Infantes vocantur, & ipſi habent Octavas hodie. Et iſti Senes, Juvenes, Adoleſcentuli, omnes Infantes, &c. [u] Ambroſ. de Myſterio Paſchæ, cap. 5. Hoc Paſchæ donum.—Hinc caſti Patres, pudicæ etiam Matres, novellam per fidem ſtirpem proſequuntur innumeram. Hinc ſub fidei arbore ab utero fontis innocui Cereorum ſplendet ornatus, &c. [x] Conc. Tolet 4. can. 62. Filii autem qui ex talibus (Judæis) nati exiſtunt, Fidem atque Conditionem Matris ſequantur. Similiter & hi qui procreati ſunt de Infidelibus mulieribus, & Fidelibus viris, Chriſtianam Religionem ſequantur, non Judaicam Superſtitionem.

communicated

communicated one *Classicianus*, and together with him, laid his whole Family under an *Anathema* and *Interdict*. Which was a Practice, that however some later Popes have dealt much in, the Ancients were not acquainted with. He also seems to have forbidden any Children to be baptized, who were born in the Family during this Interdict. Upon which St. *Austin* took occasion to write to him, and expostulate with him upon the Reasons of these Proceedings, desiring to be informed [y] upon what Grounds and Authority of Reason, or Testimony of Scripture he could confirm his Opinion; by what Right a Son was to be anathematized for the Father's Crime, or a Wife for her Husband's, or a Servant for his Master's; or a Child not yet born, if he happened to be born in the House whilst it lay under such an Interdict; why it should not have the benefit of the Laver of Regeneration in danger of Death. In corporal Punishments, he owns, sometimes it was otherwise: For God thought fit to punish some Despisers, with their whole Families, though they were not accessory to the Contemner's Crimes, that by the death of mortal Bodies, which must otherwise have shortly died, he might strike Terror into the Living: But he never dealt thus in spiritual Punishments, which affect the Soul; but the Soul that sinneth, it shall die. And therefore St. *Austin* for his own part declares, he never durst use Excommunication to this Purpose, though he was never so highly provoked by the most villainous Actions of any Men against the Church; because if any one should ask him a Reason of such his Practice, and oblige him to shew the Justice of his Proceeding, he freely owns, he could find nothing to answer him. Whence I think we may fairly conclude, that the Excommunication of a Parent did not deprive the Child of his Right to Baptism: And though there were some who made a Stretch upon Church Power in this Case, yet their Actions were so far from being generally approved, or authorized by any Rule, that they were rather thought to deserve a Censure. The Reader that would know how the Reformed Churches have resolved the same Case, about the admission of the Children of excommunicated Persons to Baptism, may consult another Discourse [z] which I have formerly had occasion to write in defence of the Church, where this Case is more particularly considered and resolved, upon the Principles and Practice of some of the most eminent Churches of the Reformation.

SECT. XVII. *Whether exposed Children, whose Parents were unknown, might be baptized.*

ANOTHER Question sometimes agitated in the primitive Church, was concerning such Children who were either exposed, or redeemed from the Barbarians, whose Parents were unknown, and consequently it was utterly uncertain whether they were ever baptized or not. This was a Case that often hapned in *Africk*, where the Christians bordered upon several barbarous Nations: And it was thus resolved upon a Consultation in one of the Councils of *Carthage*: That all such Infants [a] as had no certain Witnesses to testify that they were baptized, neither could they testify for themselves, by reason of their Age, that the Sacrament had been given them, that such should without any Scruple be baptized, lest an Hesitation in that case should deprive them of the purgation of the Sacrament. And this Resolution was made at the Instance of the Legates of the Churches of *Mauritania*, who informed the Council, that many such Children were redeemed by them from the Barbarians. In which case it was uncertain whether their Parents were Heathens or Christians.

SECT. XVIII. *Whether the Children of Jews or Heathens might be baptized in any Case whatsoever.*

BUT (as in some Cases) if it plainly appeared, that the Parents of Infants, who by some providential Means fell into the Hands of Christians, were mere *Jews* or *Pagans*: Yet in such Cases, Baptism was not denied to the Infants, because they were now become the possession of Christians, who undertook to be their Sponsors, and answer for their Education. This is evident from St. *Austin* [b], who says it in express Terms: This Grace is sometimes vouchsafed to the Children of Infidels, that they are baptized, when by some Means through the secret Providence of God they happen to come into the Hands of pious Christians. Sometimes they were bought or redeemed with Money, sometimes made lawful Captives in War, and sometimes taken up by any charitable Persons [c], when they were exposed by their Parents: In all which Cases, either the Faith and Promises of the Sponsors, or the Faith of the Church in general, who was their common Mother, and whose Children they were now supposed to be, was sufficient to give them a Title to Christian Baptism. The holy Virgins of the Church did many times in such Exigencies become their Sureties, and take care of their religi-

[y] Aug Ep. 75. ad Auxilium. Apud Charitatem tuam tacere non potui, ut si habes de hac re sententiam, certis rationibus vel Scripturarum testimoniis exploratam, nos quoque docere digneris: quomodo recte anathematizetur pro Patris peccato Filius, aut pro Mariti Uxor, aut pro Domini servus, aut quisquam etiam in domo nondum natus, si eodem tempore quo universa domus est anathemate obligata, nascatur, nec ei possit per Lavacrum Regenerationis in mortis periculo subveniri.—— Ego autem, si quis ex me quærat, utrum recte fiat, quid ei respondeam non invenio. Nunquam hoc facere ausus sum, cum de quorundam facinoribus immaniter adversus Ecclesiam perpetratis gravissime permoverer. [z] French *Churches Apology for the Church of* England, Book 3. Chap. 19. [a] Conc. Carth. 5. can. 6. Placuit, de Infantibus, quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sunt per ætatem idonei de traditis sibi Sacramentis respondere, absque ullo Scrupulo eos esse baptizandos, ne ista Trepidatio eos faciat Sacramentorum purgatione privari. Hinc enim Legati Maurorum fratres nostri consuluerunt, quia multos tales à Barbaris redimunt. Vid. Cod. Can. African. c. 72. [b] Aug. de Gratia & Libero Arbitrio, cap. 22. tom. 7. p. 527. Aliquando Filiis Infidelium præstatur hæc gratia ut baptizentur, cum occultâ Dei Providentiâ in manus Priorum quomodocunque perveniunt. [c] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Videas multos non offerri à Parentibus, sed etiam à quibuslibet Extraneis, sicut à Dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnunquam mortuis Parentibus suis, parvuli baptizantur ab eis oblati, qui illis hujusmodi misericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter Parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos à quibuslibet, nonnunquam à Sacris Virginibus colliguntur, & ab eis offeruntur ad Baptismum.

ous Education. And ſo it happened, as is obſerved by St. *Ambroſe*, or whoever was the Author of the excellent Book [*d*] *de Vocatione Gentium*, that many who were deſerted by the Impiety of their Kindred, were taken care of by the good Offices of others, and brought to be baptized by Strangers, when they were neglected by their neareſt Relations. Which was ſo general and charitable a Practice among the Ancients, that ſome learned Modern [*e*] Writers ſpeak of it with great Commendation upon that account, and tell us ſuch Children have a Right to Baptiſm, after the ſame manner that *Abraham*'s Servants bought with his Money had to Circumciſion, as well as thoſe that were born in his Houſe. And they concur ſo far in aſſerting it to be the common Practice beyond all Controverſy in the primitive Church, as to ſay, That St. *Auſtin* made uſe of it as an unconteſted Argument to prove Free-grace and Election againſt the *Pelagians*. Which I note only here by the way, for the ſake of ſome miſtaken Perſons, who impute the Encouragement of the ſame Practice in the *Engliſh* Church, not to her Charity, but rather to a Fault and Error in her Conſtitution.

SECT. XIX. *Whether Children born while their Parents were Heathens, might be baptized.*

THERE is one Queſtion more concerning ſuch Infants as were born while their Parents were Heathens: But of theſe there was no Doubt ever made; for as ſoon as the Parents were baptized themſelves, they were obliged to take care that their Wives and Children and whole Families ſhould be baptized likewiſe. To which purpoſe there is a Law in the *Juſtinian Code* [*f*] inflicting a ſevere Penalty upon them in caſe of Neglect or Prevarication in this Matter. For it is there enacted, That ſuch *Pagans* as were yet unbaptized, ſhould preſent themſelves, with their Wives and Children, and all that appertained to them, in the Church, and there they ſhould cauſe their little Ones immediately to be baptized, and the reſt as ſoon as they were taught the Scriptures according to the Canons. But if any Perſons for the ſake of a publick Office or Dignity, or to get an Eſtate, received a fallacious Baptiſm themſelves, but in the mean time left their Wives, or Children, or Servants, or any that were Retainers or near Relations to them, in their antient Error, their Goods in that caſe are ordered to be confiſcated, and their Perſons puniſhed by a competent Judge, and excluded from bearing any Office in the Common-wealth. *Photius* repeats this Law in his *Nomocanon*, and adds to it another of the ſame nature, concerning the *Samaritans*, that tho' they themſelves were not to be baptized till they had been two Years Catechumens, yet their little Ones, who were not capable of Inſtruction, might be admitted to Baptiſm without any ſuch Delay or Prorogation. Which Law is now extant among *Juſtinian*'s [*g*] *Novels*. From all which it appears, that as ſoon as any *Jews* or Heathens were either baptized themſelves, or had only taken upon them the State of Catechumens, their Children were made capable of Baptiſm, and accordingly by Law required to be baptized. Thus much of Infants, and the ſeveral Caſes I have met with in the Writings of the Ancients, relating to their Baptiſm.

CHAP. V.

Of the Baptiſm of Adult Perſons.

SECT. I. *No adult Perſons to be baptized without previous Inſtruction to qualify them to anſwer for themſelves.*

THE other ſort of Perſons on whom Baptiſm was conferred, were adult Perſons, who were grown up to Years of Underſtanding, and who in thoſe Days made up the main Body of the baptized. Theſe were uſually Converts from *Judaiſm* or *Gentiliſm*, who before they could be admitted to Baptiſm, were obliged to ſpend ſome Time in the State of Catechumens, to qualify them to make their Profeſſions of Faith and a Chriſtian Life in their own Perſons. For without ſuch perſonal Profeſſions, there was ordinarily no admiſſion of them to the Privilege of Baptiſm. The Time of their Inſtruction, and the Subſtance and Manner of it has already been conſidered particularly in the laſt Book: All therefore I have farther to obſerve concerning them here, is in relation to ſome ſpecial Caſes, which we find determined in the Canons of the antient Councils, when becauſe great Multitudes were baptized at riper Years, the Church had Occaſion to conſider many Caſes which are ſcarce to be met with in the Rules of later Ages.

[*d*] Ambroſ. de Vocat. Gent. lib. 2. cap. 8. Multis ſæpe, quos ſuorum Impietas deſeruit, alienorum cura ſervierit, & ad Regenerationem venerint per Extraneos, quæ eis non erat providenda per proximos. [*e*] Vid. Rivet. & Walæum in Synopſi Purioris Theologiæ, Diſput. 44. n. 49. [*f*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. Tit. 11. de Paganis. Leg. 10. Qui nondum ſunt baptizati, ipſi cum Liberis & Conjugibus & omnibus ſuis perducant ſe ad ſanctas Eccleſias: Et ſuos parvulos Liberos ſine mora baptizari curent: majores vero prius Scripturas ſecundum Canones doceantur. Si vero propter Militiam, vel Dignitatem, vel facultates habendas fingant baptizari: & Liberos aut Conjuges eorum, aut Domeſticos ſuos in errore reliquerint, & eos qui ſibi attinent & neceſſitudine juncti ſunt; & publicantur, & competenter plectuntur, & Rempublicam non attingunt. *This Law is repeated by* Balſamon. Conſtitut. Eccleſ. ap. Juſtel. Bibliothec. Juris Canon. tom. 2. p. 1298. *and in* Photius Nomocanon. Tit. 4. cap. 4. p. 907. ibid. [*g*] Phot. Nomocan. Tit. 4. cap. 4. p. 907. Juſtin. Novel. 144. cap. 2. Per duos primum annos in fide inſtituantur, & pro viribus Scripturas ediſcant: tumque demum ſacro redemptionis offerantur baptiſmati, tam longi temporis pœnitentia prorſus redemptionis fructum aſſecuti. Pueros autem admodum, qui per ætatem doctrinas intelligere nequeunt, etiam abſque hac Obſervatione ſacro dignari baptiſmate admittimus.

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SECT. II.
Yet Dumb Perſons allowed to be baptized in ſome certain Caſes.

ONE of theſe doubtful Caſes was in reference to Dumb Perſons, who were incapacitated at the time of Baptiſm from anſwering for themſelves. In this Caſe, if Perſons had deſired to be baptized before this Infirmity came upon them, or if they could by ſufficient Signs ſignify their preſent Deſire, the Church favourably accepted their Requeſt, and admitted them to the Privilege of Baptiſm. The firſt Council of *Orange* [a] has a Canon in favour of ſuch Perſons, both with reſpect to Baptiſm and Penance; for it decrees, that a Perſon who is ſuddenly ſtruck Speechleſs, may either be baptized, or admitted to Penance, if it appears by the Teſtimony of others, that he had any ſuch Will or Deſire before he became dumb; or if in the time of this Misfortune he could make Signs to expreſs his preſent Deſire and Intention. In the *African Code* there is a Canon to the ſame purpoſe, that Men [b] ſo ſick that they cannot anſwer for themſelves, may be baptized, if their Friends who attended them in Danger, do teſtify their Deſire of Baptiſm. And among the Canonical Anſwers of *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*, there is one of the like nature. For the Queſtion is put [c], Whether if a Catechumen be ſo diſordered in his Mind that he cannot make Profeſſion of his Faith, he may be baptized, notwithſtanding this Infirmity? And the Anſwer is, He may, if he be not poſſeſſed. We have an Inſtance of this Caſe actually verify'd in the Baptiſm of an *African* Negro-Slave at *Carthage*, whom his Maſter had cauſed to be inſtructed among the Catechumens, and prepared him among the *Competentes* for Baptiſm. He had made his Profeſſion of Faith and the uſual Renunciations publickly in the Church, as was cuſtomary for the Candidates of Baptiſm to do, before they came to the Baptiſtery to conſummate the Myſtery. But juſt before the Time of Baptiſm he fell ſick of a Fever, which made him ſpeechleſs. However he was baptized; others anſwering in his Name, as if it had been for an Infant. *Ferrandus*, who tells the Story, had ſome Doubts concerning this Baptiſm, which he communicated to *Fulgentius* Biſhop of *Ruſpa*, who gave him a conſolatory Anſwer to this effect: That this Man [d] had all the Conditions required by our Saviour for Adult Perſons, which were, That they ſhould believe and be baptized. Faith and the Profeſſion of it is the Act of the Man: The baptizing him is only the Act of the Miniſter. And though this Man had not his Senſes when the Miniſter performed his Act, yet he had when he himſelf performed his own. We believe indeed, that none but Infants are ſaved by the Faith of thoſe that bring them, and that at the Age of Reaſon a Man's own Confeſſion is required: But this Man made his Profeſſion whilſt he had his Senſes, and was baptized whilſt he was yet alive. From whence he concludes, that there was no Reaſon to doubt of his Salvation, becauſe he had done all that was neceſſary on his part, and was baptized in the Manner that in this caſe the Canons had appointed. Let me add to all this, how it is that *Albaſpinæus* and many others underſtand that Canon of the Council of *Eliberis* [e], which ſpeaks of Catechumens deſerting their Station, and forſaking the Church for a long time, yet at laſt deſiring to be baptized: In this caſe, tho' they were Speechleſs, they might be baptized, if either any of the Clergy, or other faithful Witneſſes could teſtify that they deſired to be made Chriſtians; becauſe their Crimes were committed whilſt they were in the Old Man: Or, as other Copies read it, becauſe they ſeemed to have relinquiſhed and bid adieu to the Old Man: that is, in their former State of Sin and Natural Corruption. And this was but the very ſame Privilege as was allowed Men in the buſineſs of Penance, mentioned in the forecited Council of *Orange*, and alſo the fourth Council of *Carthage*, where it is ſaid [f], That if a Lapſer deſires to be admitted to Penance in time of Sickneſs, and unfortunately becomes Speechleſs, or falls into a Phrenzy, while the Prieſt who is ſent for is coming to him, they who heard his Deſire ſhall teſtify for him, and he ſhall be admitted to Penance: And if he ſeems to be at the point of Death, he ſhall be reconciled by the Impoſition of Hands, and have the Euchariſt poured into his Mouth. But if he recovers, the Witneſſes ſhall acquaint him, that his Petition was granted, and then he ſhall ſubmit himſelf to the ordinary Rules of Penance, ſo long as the Prieſt who admitted him to Penance ſhall think fit in his Diſcretion. Now it is probable, that after the ſame manner, Perſons who were baptized in ſuch a Condition, when they recovered were obliged to make their Profeſſions, as was uſual in Baptiſm, when afterwards they received the Impoſition of Hands in

[a] Conc. Arauſican. 1. can. 12. Subito obmuteſcens, prout Statutum eſt, baptizari aut Pœnitentiam accipere poteſt, ſi voluntatis præteritæ teſtimonium aliorum verbis habet, aut præſentis in ſuo nutu. [b] Con. Carthag. 3. can. 34. Ut ægrotantes, ſi pro ſe reſpondere non poſſunt, cum voluntatis eorum teſtimonium ſui dixerint, baptizentur. Similiter & de Pœnitentibus agendum eſt. *This Canon is repeated in the* Codex Canon. Eccleſ. Afric. can. 48. *and in the latter Edition of the Councils it is read with a little Variation, thus*; Cum Voluntatis eorum teſtimonium hi, qui ſuis periculo proprio affuere, dixerint, baptizentur, &c. [c] Timoth. Reſponſ. Canon. cap. 4. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. 2. p. 166. [d] Fulgent. de Baptiſmo Æthiopis, cap. 8. *See a like Caſe in St.* Auſtin's *Confeſſions*, lib. 4. cap. 4. [e] Conc. Eliber. can. 45. Qui aliquando fuerit Catechumenus, & per infinita tempora nunquam ad Eccleſiam acceſſerit, ſi eum de Clero quiſquam agnoverit voluiſſe eſſe Chriſtianum, aut teſtes aliqui fideles extiterint, placuit ei baptiſmum non negari, eo quod in veterem hominem deliquiſſe videatur. al. eo quod veterem hominem dereliquiſſe videatur. [f] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 76. Qui Pœnitentiam in Infirmitate petit, ſi caſu, dum ad eum Sacerdos invitatus venit, oppreſſus infirmitate obmutuerit, vel in Freneſin verſus fuerit, dent teſtimonium qui eum audierunt, & accipiat Pœnitentiam; & ſi continuo creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per manûs Impoſitionem, & infundatur ori ejus Euchariſtia. Si ſupervixerit, admoneatur à ſupradictis Teſtibus petitioni ſuæ ſatisfactum, & ſubdatur ſtatutis pœnitentiæ legibus, quamdiu Sacerdos qui Pœnitentiam dedit, probaverit. Vid. Leo. Ep. 89. ad Theodor. Forojulienſem. al. 91.

Confirmation. But as I cannot affirm this upon the certain Evidence of any Rule or Canon, as in the other case of Penance, but only judge by parity of Reason, I will not be positive, but leave every one to enjoy his own Opinion.

SECT. III. *And* Energumens *in Cases of Extremity.*

ANOTHER Question was sometimes raised about the *Energumens*, or Persons possessed by Evil Spirits, whether during the time of their Possession it was proper to give them Baptism. The Council of *Eliberis* orders them to be deferred, till they were set free and cured; but yet in case of Extremity and visible Appearance of Death [*g*] appoints them to be baptized. The first Council [*h*] of *Orange* seems to have allowed it not only in absolute Necessity, but in the Remissions and Intervals of their Distemper; for it orders, that such Catechumens as were possessed, should be baptized, according as their Necessity required, or Opportunity permitted. In the Canons of *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the same Question is put, but resolved a little differently: If Baptism be desired for a Catechumen that is possessed, What shall be done? To which the Answer is, Let him be baptized at the Hour of Death, and not otherwise [*i*]. So likewise in the *Constitutions* [*k*] under the Name of the Apostles: If any one is possessed with a Devil, let him be taught the Principles of Piety, but not be receiv'd to Communion till he is cleansed: Yet if he be under the pressure of imminent Death, let him be received. Some understand this of being received to the Communion of the Eucharist, but it is plain the Author means it of being received to the Communion of the Church by Baptism: For he is there giving Rules concerning Persons to be baptized, and describing their necessary Qualifications; among which this is one, That *Energumens* shall be cleansed before they be admitted to Communion, except at the Hour of Death, where Necessity gave them a Dispensation. And this was the ancient Rule in the time of *Cyprian*, who says, that they who were possessed with unclean Spirits, were baptized in time of Sickness: And many times this Benefit followed from it, that though some of those for want of Faith were still vexed [*l*] with unclean Spirits; the true Energy of Baptism, which was to deliver Men from the Power of the Devil, failing in some by their own Default and Weakness of Faith: Yet in others it was found true by Experience, that they who were baptized in time of Sickness and urgent Necessity, were thereby deliver'd from the unclean Spirit, with which they were before possessed, and thenceforward lived a very laudable and reputable Life in the Church, and made a daily Proficiency and Increase in heavenly Grace by the Augmentation of their Faith. And on the contrary it oftentimes happened, that some of those who were baptized in Health, when they afterward fell into Sin, were tormented with the unclean Spirit returning upon them: Whence it was apparent, that the Devil was excluded in Baptism by the Faith of the Believer, but if afterwards his Faith failed, the Devil returned to his old Possession. From this Discourse of *Cyprian* we learn, not only that *Energumens* in time of Extremity were admitted to Baptism, but that Baptism in such Cases was many times a peculiar Benefit to them, whilst it deliver'd them from the Possession of unclean Spirits, which could not before be cast out by any Power of the Exorcists, though in those Days the Power of Exorcism was a miraculous Gift of the Holy Ghost.

SECT. IV. *No Slave to be baptized without the Testimony of his Master.*

ANOTHER Observation to be made upon the Baptism of Adult Persons, is in relation to such as were Slaves to Christian Masters. For we find by the Author of the *Constitutions* under the Name of the Apostles, that in the Examination of the several Qualifications of those that offered themselves to Baptism, one part of the Enquiry was, Whether they were Slaves or Freemen: If they were Slaves to an Heathen, they were only taught their Obligations to please their Master, that the Word of God might not be blasphemed; and the Master had no farther concern in their Baptism, as being himself an Infidel: But if the Master were a Christian, then the Testimony of the Master was first to be required [*m*] concerning the Life and Conversation of his Slave, before he could be admitted to the Privilege of Baptism. If he gave a laudable Account of him, he was received: If otherwise, he was rejected, till he approved himself to his Master. So far in those Days it was thought necessary and serviceable to Religion to grant Chri-

[*g*] Conc. Eliber. can. 37. Eos qui ab immundis Spiritibus vexantur, si in fine mortis fuerint constituti, baptizari placet. [*h*] Conc. Arausican. can. 15. Energumenis Catechumenis, in quantum vel necessitas exegerit, vel opportunitas permiserit, de baptismate consulendum. [*i*] Timoth. Respon. Can. c. 2. Ἐὰν δαιμονιζόμενος μὴ καθαρισθῇ, ἐὰν δύναται λαβεῖν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἔξοδον βαπτίζεται. [*k*] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32. Ἐὰν δέ τις δαίμονα ἔχει, διδασκέσθω μὲν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, μὴ προσδεχέσθω δὲ εἰς κοινωνίαν, πρὶν ἂν καθαρισθῇ. εἰ δὲ θάνατος κατεπείγοι, προσδεχέσθω. [*l*] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum p. 187. Si aliquis in illo movetur, quòd quidam de iis qui ægri baptizantur, Spiritibus adhuc immundis tentantur; scint Diaboli nequitiam pertinacem usque ad aquam salutarem valere, in baptismo vero omne nequitiæ suæ virus amittere. —— Ibid. p. 188. Hoc denique & rebus ipsis experimur, ut necessitate urgente in ægritudine baptizati & gratiam consecuti, careant immundo Spiritu, quo antea movebantur; & laudabilis ac probabilis in Ecclesia vivant, plusque per dies singulos in augmentum cælestis gratiæ per fidei incrementa proficiant. Et contra nonnulli sæpe de illis qui sani baptizantur, si postmodum peccare cœperint, Spiritu immundo redeunte quatiuntur; ut manifestum sit, Diabolum in Baptismo fide credentis excludi; si fides postmodum defecerit, regredi. *See also* Clemen. Recognit. Lib. 4. cap. 32. *to the same Purpose.* [*m*] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32. ἐὰν πιστὸς δοῦλος ᾖ, ἐρωτάσθω ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτῷ. ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἀποδοκιμαζέσθω, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἀποδείξῃ τῷ δεσπότῃ. εἰ δὲ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτῷ, προσδεχέσθω.

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ſtian Maſters a Power over their Slaves, that without their Teſtimony and Approbation they could not be accepted as fit Candidates of Baptiſm. Not that this was intended to countenance any tyrannical Power in Chriſtian Maſters, to debar their Slaves of Baptiſm, and deny them the Privilege and Benefits of the Chriſtian Religion (which is a piece of barbarous Cruelty and ſpiritual Tyranny over Mens Souls, unknown to former Ages) but the Deſign was to preſerve the purity of Religion, and keep back hypocritical and prophane Pretenders from the Holy Myſteries; the over-haſty admiſſion of whom might prove a Scandal and Diſgrace to the Profeſſion, if Perſons of a doubtful Life were indiſcriminately and indifferently admitted to the Sacred Rites of it. This Caution wiſely lodged an Uſeful Power in the Hands of Chriſtian Maſters, which Prudence and Charity directed them to uſe ſoberly to Edification, and not to Deſtruction. And Experience prov'd it to be an Uſeful Rule: For it both made the Maſters zealous for the Salvation of their Slaves, as we have ſeen in the Inſtance of the *African* Negro mentioned in *Fulgentius*; and alſo made the Slaves ſincere in their Profeſſions and Pretences to Religion, when they knew they could not be accepted as Real Converts, worthy of Baptiſm, without the corroborating Teſtimony of their Maſters. There were alſo Laws of State obliging all Maſters to take Care of their Families, ſo far as to ſee that every individual Perſon, Slaves as well as Children, were made Chriſtians, and in default of this, ſome Penalties were annexed, depriving the Maſters of certain Privileges in the Common-wealth, if they were found either remiſs, or acting by Colluſion in this part of their Duty [*n*]. So that all imaginable Obligation was laid upon Maſters, both in point of Intereſt, Duty, and Charity, to take Care of the Inſtruction of their Slaves, and bring them with their own Teſtimonials to Chriſtian Baptiſm.

SECT. V.

Yet Baptiſm to be a voluntary Act, and no One to be compelled by Force to receive it.

YET becauſe Baptiſm was to be a voluntary Act in Adult Perſons, ſome Laws were made againſt compelling any one by Force to receive it. In the Fourth Council of *Toledo* a Canon was made to this purpoſe concerning the *Jews*, who had ſometimes been drawn by Force to be baptized againſt their Will, and it was order'd by the Synod, That thenceforth no one ſhould be compelled by Force to profeſs [*o*] the Chriſtian Faith. *For God hath Mercy on whom He will have Mercy, and whom he will He hardeneth.* For ſuch are not to be ſaved againſt their Will, but of their own free Conſent, that the Form or Method of their Juſtification may be perfect. For as Man periſhed by his own free Will, obeying the Serpent, ſo every Man is ſaved (when he is called by the Grace of God) by his own voluntary Act of Faith, and Converſion of his own Mind. Therefore they are not to be compelled by Force, but to be perſuaded by their own free Will to be converted. But as to thoſe who have heretofore been forced to embrace Chriſtianity, as was done in the Time of the Religious Prince *Siſebutus*, or *Siſenandus*, for as much as they have been Partakers of the Sacraments, and have received the Grace of Baptiſm, and the Unction of Chriſm, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, therefore they ought to be obliged to hold the Faith which they were compelled by Force or Neceſſity to receive, leſt the Name of the Lord ſhould be blaſphemed, and the Faith which they have received be vilified and expoſed to Contempt. By this we learn that Baptiſm was always to be a voluntary Act in Adult Perſons, and none were to be compelled againſt their own Wills to receive it: And though the Church did not reſcind ſuch Actions as were done againſt this Rule, yet ſhe did not approve them, but thought them worthy of Her Cenſure, and unfit to be made a Precedent for the future. That which looks moſt like Force in this caſe allowed by Law, was the Orders of *Juſtinian* mentioned [*p*] before, one of which appoints the Heathens, and the other the *Samaritans* to be baptized, with their Wives and Children and Servants, under pain of Confiſcation. But even theſe Laws did not compel them to be baptized againſt their Wills, but allowed them two Years time to be Catechumens, and admitted none but ſuch as made a voluntary Profeſſion of their Faith and Repentance. For the Penalties were only deſigned to prevent Fraud and Prevarications, in ſuch as pretended to receive Baptiſm themſelves, but in the mean time took no Care to have their Families made Chriſtian: Againſt whom the Wiſdom of the State then thought no Laws ſevere enough could be enacted. So that theſe Laws were tempered with the greateſt Prudence, between the Extreams of Rigor and Remiſneſs, that Men might be made ſenſible on the one hand of their Obligations to become Chriſtians, and yet none have Reaſon to complain on the other hand, that they were forced by Violence to embrace a Religion againſt their Wills, which they could not approve and aſſent to. For the Penal-

[*n*] *See* Chap. iv. n. 17. [*o*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 56: De Judæis autem præcepit Sancta Synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre. Cui enim vult Deus miſeretur, & quem vult indurat. Non enim tales inviti ſalvandi ſunt, ſed volentes, ut integra ſit forma Juſtitiæ: Sicut enim homo propria arbitrii Voluntate Serpenti obediens periit, ſic vocante ſe gratiâ Dei, propriæ mentis converſione homo quiſque credendo ſalvatur. Ergo non vi, ſed liberâ arbitrii Voluntate, ut convertantur ſuadendi ſunt, non potius impellendi. Qui autem jam pridem ad Chriſtianitatem venire coacti ſunt, ſicut factum eſt temporibus religioſiſſimi Principis Siſebuti, (al. Siſenandi,) quia jam conſtat eos Sacramentis Divinis ſociatos, & Baptiſmi gratiam ſuſcepiſſe, & Chriſmate unctos eſſe, & Corporis Domini & Sanguinis extitiſſe participes, oportet etiam ut Fidem, quam Vi vel Neceſſitate ſuſceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen Domini blaſphemetur, & fides, quam ſuſceperunt, vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur. [*p*] *See* Chap. 4. n. 17.

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ties, as I ſaid, were only deſigned to chaſtize the hypocritical Practices and fraudulent Remiſneſs of manifeſt Prevaricators. And it were to be wiſhed, that all Civil Governments and States in all Ages would enact ſuch Laws and put them duly in Execution, againſt ſuch ſort of Chriſtians, who inſtead of encouraging their Slaves to be baptized, are the only Obſtacles to hinder and deprive them of the Benefit of Chriſtian Baptiſm.

SECT. VI.

What Perſons were rejected from Baptiſm: With a particular Account of ſome certain Trades and Vocations, which kept Men from it: Such were Image-makers and Stage-players.

I have one Thing more to note concerning Adult Perſons, who might or might not be admitted to Baptiſm: And that is, That all ſuch Heathens as made their Livelihood out of any ſcandalous Trades or Profeſſions, which could not be allowed by the Rules of Chriſtianity, were rejected from Baptiſm, till they ſolemnly promiſed to bid *Adieu*, and actually forſook ſuch Vocations. The Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* ſpecifies ſeveral of this nature. Such as the πορνοβοσκοὶ, Panders or Procurers; πόρναι, Whores; εἰδωλοποιοὶ, Makers of Images or Idols [q]; againſt whom *Tertullian* has alſo a particular Diſſertation, where he cenſures this Trade as inconſiſtent with the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, telling Men, that by this Art they made the Devils their *Alumni*, their Pupils, to whom they were a ſort of Foſter-Fathers, whilſt they furniſhed out Materials to carry on their Service. And with what Confidence, [r] ſays he, can any Man exorciſe his own *Alumni*, thoſe Devils, whoſe Service he makes his own Houſe a Shop or Armoury to maintain? Reflecting on this unlawful Trade of making Images for the Idol-Temples. Next to theſe in the *Conſtitutions* follow οἱ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, Actors and Stage-players, who could not ſtick to that Profeſſion, and be admitmitted to Chriſtian Baptiſm, becauſe a great deal both of Lewdneſs and Idolatry was actually committed and encouraged by ſuch as made a Livelihood of that Profeſſion. The Canons therefore forbad all ſuch to be baptized, and excommunicated thoſe that fell to the Trade again after Baptiſm. If a Soothſayer or a Stage-player, ſays the Council of *Eliberis* [s], have a Mind to become Believers, that is, to be baptized, let them be received, on condition they firſt bid *Adieu* to their Arts, and return not to them again. Which if they attempt to do againſt this Prohibition, they ſhall be caſt out of the Church. In like manner the third Council of *Carthage* appoints all ſuch [t] to be excommunicated, and not to be reconciled or received again to favour but upon their Converſion. And in the time of *Cyprian*, not only publick Actors, but private Teachers and Maſters of this ſcandalous Art were debarred the Communion of the Church: As appears from *Cyprian*'s Anſwer to *Eucratius*, who put this Queſtion to him, Whether [u] a Stage-player might communicate, who continued to follow that diſhonourable Trade by teaching Children that pernicious Art, which he was Maſter of? To which *Cyprian* replies, That it was neither agreeable to the Majeſty of God, nor the Diſcipline of the Goſpel, that the Modeſty and Honour of the Church ſhould be defiled with ſo baſe and infamous a Contagion. For if the Law prohibited Men to wear Womens Apparel, and laid a Curſe upon all that did it; how much greater was the Crime, not only to wear their Cloaths, but to expreſs their looſe, and wanton, and effeminate Geſtures, by teaching this Immodeſt Art to others? Indeed, this kind of Life was ſcandalous even among the wiſe and ſober part of the very Heathens; *Tertullian* obſerves [x], that they who profeſſed theſe Arts were noted with Infamy, degraded and denied many Privileges, driven from Court, from Pleading, from the Senate, from the Order of Knighthood, and all other Honours in the *Roman* City and Commonwealth. Which is alſo confirmed by St. *Auſtin* [y], who ſays, No Actor was ever allowed to enjoy the Freedom, or any other honourable Privilege of a Citizen of *Rome*. Therefore ſince this was ſo infamous and ſcandalous a Trade even among the Heathens, it is no wonder the Church would admit none of this Calling to Baptiſm, without obliging them firſt to bid *Adieu* to ſo ignominious a Profeſſion. To have done otherwiſe had been to expoſe Herſelf to Reproach, and to have given Occaſion to the Adverſary to blaſpheme, if Men of ſuch lewd and profligate Practices had been admitted to the Privileges of the Church, who were excluded from the Liberties of the City, and Honours of the Commonwealth.

[q] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. cap. 32. [r] Tertul. de Idololat. c. 11. Quâ conſtantiâ exorcizabit Alumnos ſuos, quibus domum ſuam Cellariam preſtat? [s] Conc. Eliber. can. 62. Si Augur aut Pantomimi credere voluerint, placuit, ut prius Artibus ſuis renuncient, & tunc demum ſuſcipiantur, ita ut ulterius non revertantur. Quod ſi facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab Eccleſia. [t] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 35. Ut Scenicis atque Hiſtrionibus, cæteriſque hujuſmodi Perſonis, vel Apoſtaticis, converſis vel reverſis ad Dominum, Gratia vel Reconciliatio non negetur. [u] Cypr. Ep. 61. al. 2. ad Eucratium, p. 3. Conſulendum me exiſtimaſti, quid mihi videatur de Hiſtrione quodam, qui apud vos conſtitutus, in ejuſdem adhuc artis ſuæ Dedecore perſeverat, & Magiſter & Doctor non erudiendorum, ſed perdendorum puerorum, id quod male didicit, cæteris quoque inſinuat; an talis debeat communicare nobiſcum? Puto nec Majeſtati Divinæ, nec Evangelicæ Diſciplinæ congruere, ut Pudor & Honor Eccleſiæ tam turpi & infami contagione fœdetur, &c. [x] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 22. Damnant ignominia & Capitis minutione, arcentes Curia, Roſtris, Senatu, Equite, cæteriſque honoribus omnibus ſimul ac ornamentis. [y] Aug. de Civ. Dei, Lib. 2. c. 14. Actores Poeticarum Fabularum removent à Societate Civitatis—ab honoribus omnibus repellunt homines Scenicos.

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SECT. VII. *And* Gladiators, Charioteers, *and other* Gamesters.

THE next that are prohibited in the *Conſtitutions* are *Charioteers* and *Gladiators* [z], and *Racers*, and *Curators* of the Common Games, Practiſers in the *Olympick Games*, Minſtrels, Harpers, Dancers, Vintners, and ſuch like, who are commanded either to quit theſe Callings, or to be rejected from Baptiſm. It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that ſome of theſe Callings, which ſeem indifferent in their own Nature, and are now commonly allowed, ſhould then be thought juſt Reaſons to debar Men from Baptiſm. But it is to be ſuppoſed, that theſe Arts in the Time of Heatheniſm were inſtrumental in carrying on Idolatry, Lewdneſs and Prophaneneſs, and therefore by the Ancients, whoſe Diſcipline was exact, were thought improper to be allowed in the Practice of a Chriſtian. The *Circenſian* Games were in Honour of the Gods, and therefore to be concerned in them as a *Charioteer*, was ſtill to partake in Idolatry. Upon which Account the firſt Council of *Arles* [a] ordered all ſuch to be Excommunicated as continued after Baptiſm in this Service. And there is a remarkable Story told by St. *Jerom* [b] in the Life of *Hilarion*, concerning one of theſe Charioteers, an Heathen of the City of *Gaza*, who being ſtruck by the Devil with a dead Palſie, as he was driving his Chariot, ſo that he could not move his Hand, nor Neck, but only his Tongue to Prayer: In this Condition he was brought in a Bed to *Hilarion*, who told him, That he could not be healed, unleſs he believed in Jeſus, and promiſed to bid adieu to his former Trade. The Man immediately upon this believed, renounced, and was healed, rejoycing more for the Salvation of his Soul than his Body. This Calling miniſtred to Idolatry, and upon that ſcore a Renunciation of it was ſo preciſely exacted of Men at their Baptiſm. The *Gladiators* Art was Infamous for its Barbarity and Cruelty, involving Men in Murder and Bloodſhed, and therefore utterly inconſiſtent with the Rules of Chriſtianity. The Racers and Curators of the Publick Games, and *Olympick* Combatants, were all concerned in Idolatrous Practices: For theſe Games alſo were held in the Name and to the Honour of ſome Idol-God; which Calling was therefore to be renounced, as an Appendage to Idolatry, before Men came to Baptiſm. For the other Trades of Minſtrels, Harpers, Dancers, *&c.* beſides their miniſtring to Levity, Vanity, and Luxury, they were alſo employed in Idol-Worſhip and other Prophaneneſs, which ſeems to have been the principal Reaſon of making ſuch a ſtrict Prohibition of them in the ſubſequent Life of every Chriſtian.

SECT. VIII. Aſtrologers *and Practicers of other curious Arts.*

THE next ſort of Perſons mentioned in the Conſtitutions, as unworthy of Baptiſm, are laſcivious Perſons, with all Practiſers of curious Arts [c], as *Magicians*, *Inchanters*, *Aſtrologers*, *Diviners*, *Magical Charmers*, *Idle* and *Wandering Beggars*, Makers of *Amulets* and *Phylacteries*, and ſuch as dealt in *Heatheniſh Luſtrations*, *Soothſayers*, and Obſervers of *Signs* and *Omens*, *Interpreters* of *Palpitations*, *Obſervers of Accidents in meeting others*, making Divination thereupon, as upon a Blemiſh in the Eye, or in the Feet, Obſervers of the Motion of *Birds*, or *Weeſels*, Obſervers of *Voices* and *Symbolical Sounds*. All theſe are appointed to be examined and tryed a conſiderable Time, whether they would relinquiſh their Arts or not. If they did, they might be received; if not, they were to be rejected from Baptiſm. The Names of theſe curious Arts, which I have expreſſed in the Margin, are ſome of them difficult to be underſtood. The λώταγες are explained by *Chryſoſtom* [d] to be idle wandering Beggars, given to ſpend what they got in Gaming and Luxury. But others make them a ſort of Diviners, or Fortune-tellers, like our *Gipſies*, which is moſt agreeable to this Place. The φυλάμματα were the ſame with the *Phylacteria*, which were Amulets made of Ribbands, with a Text of Scripture, or ſome other Charm of Words written in them, and hanged about the Neck to cure Diſeaſes, and preſerve Men from Danger, whence they had the Name of *Phylacteries* or *Preſervatives*. Now this was a piece of Heatheniſh Superſtition and Idolatry, which ſtuck cloſeſt to new Converts, and was moſt difficult to be cured. Therefore we find the antient Canons and Fathers very ſevere in their Cenſures and Invectives againſt it. The Council of *Laodicea* condemns Clergymen that pretended to make ſuch *Phylacteries*, which were truly the Bonds and Fetters of their own Souls, and orders all ſuch as wore them, to be caſt out [e] of the Church. The Council of *Trullo* [f] decrees Six Years Penance for ſuch Offenders. St. *Cryſoſtom* [g] declaims againſt it as great Idolatry, whatever little Pleas were brought in Favour of it. The Uſe of Amulets to hang about the Neck, ſays he, is Idolatry, though they that gain by it offer a thouſand Philoſophical Argu-

[z] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 32. ἡνίοχος, ἢ μονομάχος, ἢ σφαιρομάχος, ἢ παλαιστής, ἢ Ὀλυμπικός, ἢ χορεύτης ἢ κιθαριστής, ἢ λυτής, ἢ ὁ ἐπὶ ὄρχησιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἢ κάπηλος, ἢ πανδόκευς, ἢ ὑποβαλλέσθω. [a] Conc. Arelat. 1. Can. 4. De Agitatoribus, qui fideles ſunt, placuit eos, quamdiu agitant, à Communione ſeparari. [b] Hieron. Vit. Hilarion. cap. 13. Auriga Gazenſis, in curru percuſſus à Dæmone, totus obriguit, ita ut nec manus agitare, nec cervicem poſſet reflectere. Delatus ergo in lecto, cum ſolam linguam moveret ad preces, audivit non prius poſſe ſanari, quàm crederet in Jeſum, & ſe ſponderet arti priſtinæ renunciaturum. Credidit, ſpopondit, ſanatus eſt, magiſque de animæ quàm de corporis ſalute exultavit. [c] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. cap. 32. Μάγος, ἐπαοιδός, ἀστρολόγος, μάντις, ὀνειροπόλος, λώταξ, ὀχλαγωγός, φυλάμματα ποιῶν, φυλακτήρων, οἰωνιστής, συμβολοσκόπος, ψαλμῶν ἑρμηνεύς, φυλακτήριον ἐν συναγωγῇ κλάσας ὄψεως, ἢ ποδῶν, ἢ ὀρνίθων, ἢ γαλῶν, ἢ ἐπφωνήσεων, ἢ φθεγγομένων συμβολικῶν, χρόνῳ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν, &c. [d] Chryſoſt. Hom. 13. in Epheſ. [e] Conc. Laodic. can. 36. ὁ δὲ ἱερατικὸς ἢ κληρικὸς ποιῶν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια, ἅτινά ἐστι δεσμωτήρια τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν· παὺ ὃ φορῶντας ῥίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκελεύσαμεν. [f] Conc. Trull. can. 61. [g] Chryſ. Hom. 8. in Coloſ. p. 1374. Τὰ φυλακτήρια, κἂν μύρια φιλοσοφῶσιν οἱ ἐκ τούτων χρεμετίζόμενοι, &c. ἐξωλολαλίας τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν. Vid. Chryſ. in Pſalm 9. & Hom. 6. adverſus Judæus. It. Baſil. in Pſal. 46. Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch.

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ments to defend it, saying, We only pray to God, and do nothing more; and, the Old Woman that made them was a Christian and a Believer; with other such like Excuses: Notwithstanding all which he threatens to excommunicate all such as were found to practise it. So that as this was a Crime deserving Excommunication in all that were already baptized, it was thought also a just Reason to prohibit any from coming to Baptism who would not first promise to renounce it.

SECT. IX. *Frequenters of the Publick Games and Theatre.*

ANOTHER sort of Persons whom the Author of the *Constitutions* excludes from the Privilege of Baptism, are Frequenters of the Publick Games and Theatre. If any Man's Mind [*h*] be addicted to the Madness of the Theatre, or Huntings, or Horse-Racings, or other Gymnastical Sports and Exercises, let him either leave them off, or be rejected from Baptism. The Learned *Hieronymus Mercurialis* [*i*] has an Observation, that will explain the Reason of this Prohibition. For in his curious Discourse *De Arte Gymnastica*, he observes these several sorts of Heathen Games and Plays were instituted upon a Religious Account, in Honour of the Gods, and Men thought they were doing a grateful Thing to them, whilst they were engaged in such Exercises. Therefore a Christian could not be present at them as a Spectator, without partaking in some measure in the Idolatry of them. Besides, there was a great deal of Barbarity and Cruelty, as well as Lewdness and Prophaneness committed in many of them, which it did not become a Christian Eye to behold with Pleasure and Approbation. The Theatre was looked upon as the Devil's Propriety, and so he himself termed it, as we learn from that famous Story in *Tertullian* [*k*], where speaking of a Christian Woman, who went to the Theatre, and returned possessed with a Devil, he says, the unclean Spirit being asked by the Exorcist, How he durst presume to make such an attempt upon a Believer? replied confidently, That he had a Right to her, because he found her upon his own Ground. For these Reasons the antient Canons and Fathers are so frequently severe in their Invectives against all Theatrical Exercises, not only in the Actors, but also in the Spectators, declaring them to be incompatible with the Piety and Purity of a Christian Life. And upon this account Men were obliged to renounce them before they could be admitted to Baptism. But of this something more when we come to the Form of Renunciation.

SECT. X. *In what Cases the Military Life might unqualify Men for Baptism.*

THE several sorts of Persons hitherto mentioned, were excluded from Baptism without Exception: But there are two other Kinds or States of Life, that must be considered with some Distinction, that is, the Military Life, and the State of Concubinage, as it is called sometimes in the Civil Law and antient Canons. Some Learned Persons [*l*] are of Opinion, That the Antients had so much a Dislike to the Military Life, as to excommunicate such as bore Arms after Baptism: Which they affirm upon the Authority of the *Nicene* Fathers, to whom they impute it as an Error, That they condemned absolutely the Military Life as unlawful, which St. *John Baptist* had approved. But this Charge is grounded merely upon a Mistake and Misunderstanding of the Meaning of those Fathers, who had no Intent to condemn the Military Life in general, but only as it might happen to be unlawful in some particular Circumstances and Cases. The Words of the Canon referred to are these: *If any, who at first by the Grace of God made Confession* [*m*] *of the Faith, and cast away the Military Girdle, afterward return to their Vomit again, so as to give Money and buy a Place in the Army, let them be Ten Years among the Prostrators, after they have been three Years among the Hearers.* The Generality of Interpreters take this to refer peculiarly to the Times of *Licinius* the Persecutor, who by an Edict had ordered all such Christian Soldiers to be cashiered, as would not Sacrifice to the Gods; upon which many Christians in the Army threw away their Girdles, and quitted the Military Life. But afterward some of them returned again to it upon the Conditions proposed, doing Sacrifice, and committing Idolatry, and giving Money to regain their Places; against whose Prevarication and Revolt the Discipline of this Canon was intended. So *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* among the old Expositors; and so *Grotius* [*n*] and *Ziegler* [*o*], *Silvius* and *Coriolanus*, *Binnius*, and Bishop *Beverege*, with many other Modern Writers. *Albaspinæus* thinks it peculiarly respected such Penitents only, as vowed to renounce all secular Business and Employments, and to live in a State of perpetual Penance, but after [*p*] returned to a secular Life, and took upon them Civil Offices again, which in the Imperial Law and Canons of the Church are sometimes called by the Name of *Militia Palatina*. And *Salmasius* advances [*q*] an Opinion not much different from this. However it is agreed on all hands, that the Council of *Nice* made no general Prohibition of the Military Life, but only in some such spe-

[*h*] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 42. Θεατρομανία εἴτις πρόσκειται, ἢ κυνηγίοις, ἢ ἱπποδρομίοις, ἢ ἀγῶσιν· ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθω. [*i*] Mercurial. de Arte Gymnast. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 12. Ludorum finis erat Religio quædam, qua Antiqui opinabantur sese Diis rem gratam illis Ludis tanquam promissam facturos. [*k*] Tertul de Spectac. cap. 26. Theatrum addiit, & inde cum Dæmonio rediit. Itaque in Exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus Spiritus, quod ausus esset Fidelem aggredi; constanter, & justissime, inquit, feci, in meo enim inveni. [*l*] Scult. Discus. Quæst. de Concilio Nicæno, in Medulla Patr. Par. 1. p. 477. [*m*] Conc. Nic. can. 12. Οἱ προσκληθέντες μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι, καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀνδρομένοις, &c. [*n*] Grot. de Jure Belli lib. 1. c. 2. p. 36. [*o*] Ziegler. Animadverf. in Grotium, lib. 1. c. 2. p. 105. [*p*] Albasp. Not. in Can. 12. Conc. Nic. [*q*] Salmas. de Fœnore Trapezitico, p. 782. *cited by* Ziegler.

cial Cases. There is therefore no Reason to conclude from hence, that they esteemed the Vocation of a Soldier simply unlawful. Especially considering that *Constantine* himself allowed the Soldiers who were cashiered by *Licinius*, to return to their antient Employment again, as is rightly observed by *Ziegler* out of *Theodoret* and *Eusebius* [r]. Nay, the first Council of *Arles* excommunicated all such as threw away their Arms in time of Peace [s], on pretence that they were Christians. All which abundantly proves, that the antient Canons did not condemn the military Life, as a Vocation simply Unlawful or Antichristian, nor consequently such as Men were obliged to renounce at their Baptism: But all that was required of them was only what St. *John Baptist* had exacted before, when they came to his Baptism, as appears from the Rule in the *Constitutions* [t], providing in this Case, That a Soldier when he desired Baptism should be taught to do Violence to no Man, to accuse no one falsly, and to be content with his Wages: If he consented to these Things, he was to be received; if otherwise, to be rejected. This was the standing Rule of the Church, and I believe there is no Instance of any Man being refused Baptism merely because he was a Soldier, unless some unlawful Circumstance, as that of Idolatry, or the like, made the Vocation sinful.

SECT. XI.

Whether Persons might be baptized, who lived in the State of Concubinage.

THE other Case, which has been matter of Doubt, is concerning the State of Concubinage, which in the common Acceptation is a Matter of such ill Fame, that it seems a Wonder to many to hear of any Allowance made to it in the civil Law and antient Canons. But they made a Distinction antiently in this Matter, as the *Jews* and Patriarchs of old did, among whom there was one sort of Concubines which was permitted, as differing nothing from a Wife, save only that she was not married with all the Solemnities and usual Forms that the other was. And this sort of Concubines the antient Canons received both to Baptism and the Communion. The Rule in the *Constitutions* [u] about this Matter, is given thus: A Concubine that is a Slave to an Infidel, if she keep herself only to him, may be received to Baptism; but if she commit Fornication with others, she shall be rejected. A like Decree was made in the Council of *Toledo* [x] concerning the Admission of Persons to the Communion: If any Christian who has a Wife, have also a Concubine, let him not communicate. But if he have no Wife, but only a Concubine instead of a Wife, he may not be repelled from the Communion, provided he be content to be joyned to one Woman only, whether Wife or Concubine, as he pleases. Now the difference betwixt such a Concubine and a Wife, as learned Men have observed [y], was not that the one was truly married, and the other not; but in the different way of their being married. For she that was called a Wife was married publickly, and with great Solemnity, and Instruments of Dowry, and other Ceremonies which the Civil and Canon Law required; but she who was called a Concubine, was one married in a private way, without the Solemnity which the Law required: But they both agreed in these three Things: 1. That they were unmarried Persons before. 2. That they obliged themselves to their Husbands to live in conjugal Chastity, and in Procreation of Children, and be joyned to no other. 3. And that they would continue faithful in this State all their Lives. Now this sort of Concubines, being in the nature of Wives married without the Formalities required in the Civil Law, were not reputed guilty of Fornication, though they wanted the Privileges, Rights and Honours, that the Law allowed to those who were called Legal Wives: And therefore they were admitted to Baptism without any further Obligation, in case the Husband was an Heathen. But if the Husband was a Christian, the Rule in the *Constitutions* made a little difference. For if he had a Concubine, he was obliged to dismiss her, and marry a lawful [z] Wife, if his Concubine was a Slave; and if she was a free Woman, he must make her a lawful Wife; otherwise he was to be cast out of the Church. And so in the Decrees of Pope *Leo* [a], Christians who had only Concubines, were obliged to dismiss them, and they were Slaves, unless they would free them, and lawfully endow them, and give them a publick Marriage as the Laws required. And in this these Decrees seem to differ from that of the Council of *Toledo*, which allows a Concubine to cohabit in private Wedlock without any Ecclesiastical Censure. St. *Austin* [b] reckons this Case one of

[r] Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 2. c. 33. [s] Conc. Arelat. 1. can. 3. de his qui arma projiciunt in Pace, placuit abstinere eos à Communione. [t] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. Στρατιώτης προσιὼν διδασκέσθω μὴ ἀδικεῖν, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς διδομένοις ὀψωνίοις. πειθόμενον δὲ προσδεχέσθω. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποβαλλέσθω. [u] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. Παλλακὴ τινὸς ἀπίστου ἀνδρὸς, ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ σχολάζουσα, προσδεχέσθω. εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἄλλους ἀσελγαίνει, ἀποβαλλέσθω. [x] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 17. Si quis habens Uxorem fidelis, Concubinam habeat, non communicet. Cæterum is qui non habet Uxorem, & pro Uxore Concubinam habeat, à Communione non repellatur, tantum ut unius mulieris, aut Uxoris, aut Concubinæ, ut ei placuerit, sit conjunctione contentus. [y] Vide Anton. Augustinum de Emendatione Gratiani, lib. 1. Dial. 15. p. 170. Pet. Martyr. Loc. Com. lib. 2. cap. 20. n. 3. p. 273. [z] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. Πιστὸς ἐὰν ἔχῃ παλλακὴν, εἰ μὲν δούλην, παυσάσθω, καὶ νόμῳ γαμέτω, εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέραν, ἐκγαμέτω αὐτὴν νόμῳ. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποβαλλέσθω. [a] Leo. Ep. 92. ad Rusticum, c. 4. Clericus, si Filiam viro habenti Concubinam in Matrimonium dederit, non ita accipiendum est, quasi conjugato ei dederit, nisi forte illa mulier & ingenua facta, & dotata legitime, & publicis nuptiis honestata videatur. — Ibid. c. 5. Ancillam à toto abjicere, & uxorem certæ ingenuitatis accipere, non duplicatio conjugii, sed profectus est honestatis. [b] Aug. de Fide & Operibus, cap. 19. tom. 4. p. 33. De Concubina quoque, si professa fuerit nullum se alium cognituram, etiamsi ab illo cui subdita est, dimittatur: merito dubitatur, utram ad percipiendum baptismum non debeat admitti.

thoſe dubious and difficult Points which cannot eaſily be determined. But he inclines to think a Concubine of this kind might be admitted to Baptiſm, becauſe her Caſe differs much from that of a profeſſed Adultereſs, who could never be admitted to Baptiſm, whilſt ſhe lived in the practice of ſo flagrant a Crime; but the other Caſe, he thinks, is a matter which the Scripture has no where ſo poſitively condemned, but rather left in Doubt, as many other ſuch Points and Queſtions, which the Church in her Prudence muſt decide by the beſt Skill ſhe had to determine ſuch difficult Queſtions. I have repreſented the Senſe of the Ancients upon this Point as clearly as I could, becauſe it has occaſioned ſome ill-grounded Cenſures of the Ancients, and of *Gratian*'s Canon-law (which is only copied from them) in ſome Modern Authors; as if they had allowed ſuch Concubines, as we commonly call Harlots, to be baptized without giving Signs of Repentance: Whereas, we ſee, this Matter was not ſo crudely delivered by them, but conſidered and determined with ſeveral neceſſary Cautions and Diſtinctions. And I have been the more particular in making Enquiries concerning theſe ſeveral kinds of adult Perſons, who might, or might not, be admitted to Baptiſm, becauſe theſe are Queſtions which the Reader will not readily find ſo diſtinctly examined in modern Writers, who have profeſſedly treated of the Subject of Baptiſm.

SECT. XII. *Apeculiar Error of the* Marcionites *in rejecting all married Perſons from Baptiſm.*

I only note one thing more concerning a pretended Rule of Purity among the *Marcionites*, which was, That they would admit no married Perſons to their Baptiſm; but they muſt be either Virgins, or Widows, or Batchelors, or divorced Perſons: Which, as *Tertullian* obſerves, came doubtleſs from their Abhorrence and Condemnation [*c*] of the married Life; which Error was common to them with many other antient Hereticks: Though I do not find this Peculiarity, of denying Baptiſm to ſuch Perſons, aſcribed to any others. However it was, we are ſure, there was no ſuch Rule ever made to diſcourage Marriage in the Catholick Church. Her Rule was always that of St. *Paul*, *Marriage is Honourable in all, and the Bed undefiled; but Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge.* The Church took upon her to judge Adulterers, and by the Power of the Keys to exclude them from Baptiſm: But beyond this ſhe pretended to no Power or Commiſſion from God, to be exerciſed over any others, whom God had left at Liberty to be married or unmarried, as they ſaw Occaſion.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Time and Place of Baptiſm.

SECT. I. *Why adult Perſons ſometimes delayed Baptiſm by Order of the Church.*

NEXT to the Perſons who were the Subjects of Baptiſm, it will be proper to conſider the Circumſtances of Time and Place in the Adminiſtration of it. As to Infants I have already ſhewed, that no Time was limited for their Baptiſm; but they were to be regenerated as ſoon as they could with Convenience after the time of their natural Birth; being confined to no day, as Circumciſion was, by any Rule of Scripture: Though the Church in ſome places deferred them, when there was no danger of Death, to the Solemnity of ſome greater Feſtival. But for adult Perſons, the caſe was ſomething otherwiſe. For their Baptiſm was generally deferred for two or three Years, or a longer, or ſhorter time, by order of the Church, till they could be ſufficiently inſtructed and diſciplined to the Practice of a Chriſtian Life; of which I have given a full Account in the laſt Book. Others had their Baptiſm put off a longer time by way of Puniſhment, when they fell into groſs and ſcandalous Crimes, which were to be expiated by a longer courſe of Diſcipline and Repentance. This was ſometimes five, or ten, or twenty Years, or more, even all their Lives to the Hour of Death, when their Crimes were very flagrant and provoking. If a Catechumen turned Informer againſt his Brethren in time of Perſecution, and any one was proſcribed or ſlain by his means, then by a Canon [*a*] of the Council of *Eliberis* his Baptiſm was to be deferred for five Years. And ſo in caſe a Woman-catechumen divorced herſelf from her Husband, her Puniſhment was five Years [*b*] Prorogation. But if ſhe committed Adultery, and after Conception uſed any Arts to deſtroy her Infant in the Womb, then ſhe was to remain unbaptized all her Life, and only be admitted [*c*] to Baptiſm at the Hour of Death. From whence it is plain, that the Baptiſm of adult Perſons was ſometimes deferred a conſiderable time by Order of the Church: But then this was always either by way of Preparation or Puniſhment, whilſt Catechumens were firſt learning the Principles of Religion, or were kept in a State of Penance to make Satisfaction to the Church for ſome ſcandalous Tranſgreſſion.

[*c*] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 1. cap. 29. Non tinguitur apud illum Caro niſi Virgo, niſi Vidua, niſi Cœlebs, niſi Divortio baptiſma mercata. —— Sine dubio ex damnatione Conjugii inſtitutio iſta conſtabit.

[*a*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 73. Si quis Catechumenus Delator fuerit, & per delationem ejus aliquis fuerit proſcriptus, vel interfectus, poſt Quinquennii tempora admittatur ad Baptiſmum. [*b*] Conc. Elib. Can. 11. [*c*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 68. Catechumena ſi per adulterium conceperit, & conceptum necaverit, placuit eum in fine baptizari.

SECT. II. *Private Reaſons for deferring Baptiſm againſt the Rules of the Church. 1. Supinity and Negligence of Salvation.*

BUT others deferred their Baptiſm of their own accord againſt the Rules of the Church: Of which Practice there are frequent Complaints in the Writings of the Ancients, and ſevere Invectives againſt it, anſwering the Common Pleas which Men uſually urged in their own behalf. Some did it out of a ſupine Lazineſs and careleſs Negligence of their Salvation, which was a very common Reaſon [*d*], but ſuch an one as Men were aſhamed to own, becauſe its own Reproach was a ſufficient Anſwer to it.

SECT. III. 2. *An Unwillingneſs to renounce the World, and ſubmit to the Severities of Religion.*

OTHERS deferred it out of an heatheniſh Principle ſtill remaining in them, becauſe they were in love with the World and its Pleaſures, which they were unwilling to renounce, to take upon them the Yoke of Chriſt, which they thought would lay greater Reſtraints upon them, and deny them thoſe Liberties which they could now more freely indulge themſelves in, and ſecurely enjoy. They could ſpend their Life in Pleaſure, and be baptized at laſt, and then they ſhould gain as much as thoſe that were baptized before; for the *Labourers who came into the Vineyard at the laſt Hour*, had the ſame Reward as thoſe that had *born the Burden and Heat of the Day*. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* [*e*] brings them in, arguing for delaying their Baptiſm, as Men now uſually do for delaying Repentance. This Reaſon was ſo very abſurd and fooliſh, that many who were governed by it, were aſhamed to own it. But yet, as St. *Baſil* [*f*] obſerves, though they did not ſpeak a Word, their Actions ſufficiently proclaimed it. For it was the ſame as if they had ſaid, Let me alone, I will abuſe the Fleſh to the enjoyment of all that is filthy; I will wallow in the Mire of Pleaſures; I will embrue my Hands in Blood; I will take away other Mens Goods; live by Deceit; Forſwear and Lye; and then I will be baptized when I ſhall leave off ſinning. Such Men had the Idol of Infidelity ſtill in their Hearts, as the Author [*g*] of the *Recognitions*, under the Name of *Clemens Romanus*, charges them; and that was the true Reaſon why they put off their Baptiſm: For had they believed Baptiſm to be neceſſary to all, whether Juſt or Unjuſt, they would have made haſte to receive it, becauſe the End of every Man's Life is utterly uncertain.

SECT. IV. 3. *A Fear of Falling after Baptiſm.*

ANOTHER ſort of Men put off their Baptiſm to the End of their Lives upon a ſort of *Novatian* Principle, becauſe they pretended to be afraid of falling into Sin after Baptiſm; and there was no ſecond Baptiſm allowed to regenerate Men again to the Kingdom of Heaven; whereas if they were baptized at the Hour of Death, Heaven would be immediately open to them, and they might go pure and undefiled into it. In the mean time, if they died before Baptiſm, they hoped God would accept the Will for the Deed, and the Deſire of Baptiſm for Baptiſm itſelf. Now, as this Pretence was founded on abundance of Errors, ſo the Ancients are copious in refuting them. St. *Baſil* [*h*] argues againſt their Practice from the Uncertainty of Life. For who, ſays he, has fixed for thee the term of Life? Who is it that can promiſe thee the enjoyment of Old-age? Who can undertake to be a ſufficient Sponſor for Futurity? Do you not ſee both Young and Old ſuddenly ſnatched away? And why do you ſtay to make Baptiſm only the Gift of a Fever? *Gregory Nazianzen* [*i*] calls it a Riddle, for an unbaptized Man to think he is baptized in the Sight of God, whilſt he depends upon his Mercy in the Neglect of Baptiſm; or to imagine himſelf in the Kingdom of Heavrn, without doing the Things that belong to the Kingdom of Heaven. This is but a vain Hope, ſays *Gregory Nyſſen* [*k*], bewitching the Soul with falſe Appearances and Pretenſions. And as they thus expoſed the groundleſs Hopes of theſe Men, ſo they as zealouſly demonſtrated to them the Vanity of their pretended Fears. For though there was no ſecond Baptiſm for them that fell into Sin after the firſt, yet it was not impoſſible for Men to avoid falling into damnable Sins after their firſt Purgation; or if they did ſo fall, yet if they were not Sins unto Death, they might obtain a ſecond Cleanſing by Pardon upon Repentance. So that it was plain Madneſs and Folly to neglect Baptiſm upon ſuch uncertain Fears, becauſe that was to run a much more dangerous Riſque, whilſt they ſought to avoid a leſſer Inconvenience, which was attended with much more Safety, and had no ſuch apprehended Danger in it.

SECT. V. 4. *Superſtitious Fancies in reference to the Time and Miniſters of Baptiſm.*

SOME again there were, who deferred their Baptiſm upon a Principle of mere Fancy and Superſtition, in reference to the Time, or Place, or Miniſters of Baptiſm. *Gregory Nazianzen* [*l*] brings in ſome, making this Excuſe, I ſtay till *Epiphany*, the Time when Chriſt was baptized, that I may be baptized with Chriſt; I rather chuſe *Eaſter*, that I may riſe with Chriſt; I wait for *Whitſuntide*, that I may honour the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. And what then? In the mean time comes Death ſuddenly, in a Day thou didſt not expect, and in an Hour thou art not aware of. Others had a ſuperſtitious Fancy to be baptized in ſome certain place, as at *Jeruſalem*, or in the River *Jordan*, and therefore they deferred their Baptiſm,

[*d*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654. Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 6. cap. 15. [*e*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 650, *and* 652. [*f*] Baſil. Exhort. ad Bapt. Hom. 13. tom. 1. p. 414. [*g*] Clem. Recognit. lib. 6. n. 9. ap. Cotelerium. tom. 1. Qui moratur accedere ad Aquas, conſtat in eo Infidelitatis adhuc Idolum permanere; & ab ipſo prohiberi ad Aquas, quæ ſalutem conferunt, properare. Sive enim juſtus, Baptiſmus tibi per omnia neceſſarius eſt, &c. [*h*] Baſil. Exhort. ad Bapt. tom. 1. p. 415. [*i*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 647. [*k*] Nyſſen. de Bapt. tom. 2. p. 216. [*l*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654.

till they could have a Convenience to come to the place intended. This ſeems tacitly to be reflected on by *Tertullian* [m], when he ſays, There is no difference between thoſe whom *John* baptized in *Jordan*, and thoſe whom *Peter* baptized in the *Tiber*; and by St. *Ambroſe* in his Diſcourſe to the Catechumens [n], where exhorting them to come with all poſſible ſpeed to be baptized, he invites them to draw the Bleſſing of Conſecration from the Font of *Jordan*, and to drown their Sins in that Stream, where Chriſt's ſacred Perſon was baptized: But then that they might not miſtake his Meaning, he adds, That in order to their being baptized in the Font of *Jordan*, it was not neceſſary they ſhould go to the *Eaſtern* Country, or to the River in the Land of *Judæa*: For whereever Chriſt was, there was *Jordan*: And the ſame Conſecration which bleſſed the Rivers of the *Eaſt*, ſanctified alſo the Rivers of the *Weſt*. *Euſebius* tells us, [o], That *Conſtantine* had a Deſign for many Years to have been baptized in the River *Jordan*, after the Example of Chriſt, and that perhaps might be the Reaſon why he ſo long deferred his Baptiſm: But God, who knew beſt what was fit for him, diſappointed him in this Deſign, and he was at laſt baptized at *Nicomedia* a little before his Death. For as to that Story, which is ſo pompouſly ſet forth by *Baronius* [p], concerning his being baptized by Pope *Silveſter* at *Rome*, and cured of his Leproſy; it is a mere Fable, refuted by the Teſtimony of all the Ancients, *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Athanaſius*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Jerom*, and the Council of *Ariminum*, who all ſpeak of his Baptiſm immediately before his Death: And the beſt Criticks ſince *Baronius*, *Valeſius* [q], and *Schelſtrate* [r], *Lambecius* [s], *Papebrochius* [t] and *Pagi* [u], agree in their Verdict with the Ancients againſt the Modern Fiction. So that now it is agreed on all hands, That *Conſtantine* was one of thoſe who deferred his Baptiſm to the time of his Death: And the moſt probable Account that can be given of this, is the Fancy which he had entertained of being baptized in *Jordan*, which the Providence of God never ſuffered him to put in Execution. Another ſort of fanciful Men would not be baptized, till they could have one to miniſter Baptiſm to them, who had ſome extraordinary Qualifications. *Gregory Nazianzen* takes notice of ſome ſuch as theſe, and rebukes them after this manner: Say not thou [x], A Biſhop ſhall baptize me, and that a Metropolitan, and alſo one of *Jeruſalem*: For Grace is not the Gift of the Place, but of the Spirit: Say not, I will be baptized by one that is of noble Birth, and that it will be a Reproach to thy noble Deſcent to be baptized by any other: Say not, If I am baptized by a Presbyter, it ſhall be one that is unmarried, and one that is of the Continent and Angelick Order, as if thy Baptiſm were defiled by any other: Make not thyſelf Judge of the Fitneſs or Qualification of the Preacher or Baptizer, for there is Another that judgeth of theſe Things. Every one is qualify'd to thee for thy Purgation, provided only he be one of thoſe that are allowed, and not condemned, nor a Foreigner, nor an Enemy of the Church. Judge not thy Judges, thou that haſt need of Healing. Tell me not of the Dignity of thy Purgators; make no Difference among thy ſpiritual Fathers; one may be better or more humble than another, but each of them is in an higher Rank than thee. By all this it appears, that a ſuperſtitious Diſtinction of Times, and Places, and Perſons, had an Influence upon ſome, and was pleaded as a Reaſon for deferring Baptiſm.

SECT. VI.

5. A Pretence to follow the Example of Chriſt.

OTHERS pleaded for deferring their Baptiſm till they were thirty Years old, from the Example of Chriſt, becauſe he was of that Age when he was baptized. Which Pretence is copiouſly refuted by *Gregory Nazianzen* [y], ſhewing in Anſwer to it, That Chriſt, as God, was Purity itſelf, and had no need of Purgation, but what he did in that kind, was only for the ſake of Men; that there was no Danger could befall him by delaying or protracting his Baptiſm; that there were particular Reaſons for his doing ſo, which did not belong to other Men; and that he did many Things which we are not concerned to follow his Example in; for all his Actions were not deſigned to be Copies and Examples for our Imitation.

He that would ſee more of theſe Pleas, may conſult the Diſcourſes of St. *Baſil*, *Nazianzen*, and *Nyſſen* upon this Subject; or Mr. *Walker's* Treatiſe of *Infant-Baptiſm*, in the *Preface* to which, he enumerates no leſs than Nineteen ſuch Caſes as theſe, which were the pretended Occaſions of Mens deferring their Baptiſm. Thoſe I have already mentioned, are ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe, to ſhew, that when Men made great Delays in this Matter, they commonly did it againſt the Rules and Orders of the Church, and that the Ancients with great Severity and Sharpneſs always declaimed and inveighed againſt it as a dangerous and unchriſtian Practice. Therefore though there may be ſome particular Inſtances of Perſons, who thus careleſly and wilfully, through Ignorance or falſe Conceits, neglected their own Baptiſm, and perhaps the Baptiſm of their Children too; yet theſe Mens Actions are

[m] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 4. Nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, & quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. [n] Ambroſ. Ser. 41. tom. 3. p. 268. Debemus, Fratres dilectiſſimi, vobis Catechumenis loquor, gratiam baptiſmatis ejus omni feſtinatione ſuſcipere, & de Fonte Jordanis quem ille benedixit, benedictionem Conſecrationis haurire; ut in eum gurgitem in quem ſe illius Sanctitas merſit, noſtra peccata mergantur. —— Sed ut eodem Fonte mergamur, non nobis Orientalis petenda eſt Regio, non Fluvius terræ Judaicæ. Ubi enim nunc Chriſtus, ibi quoque Jordanes eſt. Eadem Conſecratio, quæ Orientis Flumina benedixit, Occidentis fluenta ſanctificat. [o] Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. lib. 4. c. 62. [p] Baron. an. 324. n. 17. [q] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 39. [r] Schelſtrat. Concil. Antiochen. Diſſert. 2. c. 1. p. 43. [s] Lambec. Commentar. de Bibliothcca Vindobonenſi. tom. 5. ap. Pagi. [t] Papebroch. Acta Sanctor. Maii. Tom. 5. Vit. Conſtant. Maii 21. p. 15. [u] Pagi. Critic. in Baron. an 324. n. 4. [x] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 656. [y] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 658.

of no Account to ſhew us what were the ſtanding Meaſures and Methods of proceeding in the Church, ſince they are manifeſt Tranſgreſſions of her Rule, and Deviations from her ordinary Practice. The Church had but two Reaſons at any time for deferring the Baptiſm of adult Perſons Year after Year; the one was to give ſufficient Time to the Catechumens to prepare them for Baptiſm, and the other to reform their Miſcarriages, when they happened to turn Lapſers or Apoſtates before their Baptiſm. Both theſe were grounded upon one and the ſame Principle; which was, That Men were obliged to give ſufficient Security and Satisfaction to the Church, that they intended to live by the Rules of the Goſpel, before they were admitted to the Myſteries of it: And the beſt Security that could be given, was from the Experiment and Tryal beforehand, and therefore this Diſcipline was uſed to make them give Teſtimony of their Intentions by a reaſonable Prorogation of their Baptiſm.

SECT. VII.

The ſolemn Times appointed for Baptiſm in the Church were Eaſter, Pentecoſt, *and* Epiphany.

UPON this account the Church appointed certain ſtated Seaſons and ſolemn Times of Baptiſm in Ordinary Caſes; allowing her Miniſters ſtill the Liberty to anticipate theſe Times, if either Catechumens were very great Proficients, or in danger of Death by any ſudden Accident or Diſtemper. The moſt celebrated Time among theſe, was *Eaſter*; and next to that, *Pentecoſt* or *Whitſuntide*; and *Epiphany*, or the Day on which Chriſt was ſuppoſed to be baptized. Theſe Three are plainly referred to by *Gregory Nazianzen* [z], where he brings in ſome giving this Reaſon why they deferred their Baptiſm: One ſaid, he ſtaid till the *Epiphany*, (for the Ancients mean that by φῶτα & *Lumina*, not *Candlemas*, as ſome miſtake it, but *Epiphany*, the day on which Chriſt was baptized, and manifeſted to the World:) Another ſaid, he had a great Reſpect for *Eaſter*; and a third, that he waited till the time of *Pentecoſt*. Which plainly implies, That theſe three Feſtivals were then the moſt noted and ſolemn Times of Baptiſm. But *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt* were the chief: For they are ſometimes mentioned without the other, and ſometimes with an expreſs Prohibition of it. St. *Jerom* ſpeaks of the two former, as uſual, but ſays nothing of the latter. He tells us, ſome referred that Prophecy in *Zechary* to Baptiſm [a], *Living Waters ſhall go out from* Jeruſalem; *in Summer and in Winter ſhall it be.* The *Septuagint* reads it, *in Summer and in the Spring.* And this they applied to the two ſolemn Times of Baptiſm, *Pentecoſt*, and *Eaſter*, one of which was in *Summer*, and the other in the *Spring*, when the living Waters of Baptiſm were diſtributed to all that thirſted after them. He mentions the ſame in his Epiſtle to *Pammachius* [b] againſt the Errors of *John* of *Jeruſalem*, where he ſpeaks of forty that were baptized at *Bethleem* upon *Pentecoſt*, and others that offered themſelve at *Eaſter*, but were rejected by that humourſome Biſhop, when they were ready for Baptiſm. Theſe two, and no other, are likewiſe ſpoken of by *Tertullian* [c]. He ſays, *Eaſter* was appointed, as the Time of Chriſt's Sufferings, into which we are baptized. And after that, *Pentecoſt* is a very large Space of Time ſet aſide for that purpoſe. In which Time Chriſt manifeſted his Reſurrection to his Diſciples, and the Grace of the Holy Spirit was firſt given, and the Angels predicted his ſecond Advent at his Aſcenſion. Where it is very plain, that *Tertullian* by the large Space of *Pentecoſt*, does not mean a particular Day, but the whole fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*, which in his time was one continued Feſtival, as he tells us in other [d] Places. And therefore though *Vicecomes* [e] reprehends *Ludovicus Vives* for aſſerting this, as if he had no Authority for it; yet *Habertus* [f] defends him out of this Place of *Tertullian*, and other learned Men [g] are of the ſame Opinion. *Vicecomes* thinks the Time of baptizing at *Eaſter* was only one Day, that is, the *Great Sabbath*, or *Saturday*, when our Saviour lay in the Grave. But this is alſo a Miſtake: For though this Day was the moſt famous for baptizing Catechumens and Infants alſo, as we learn from *Chryſoſtom* [h] and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [i], yet the whole Time of fifty Days was ſet apart for this Purpoſe, and accounted but as one ſolemn Seaſon for Baptiſm. Which perhaps is the true Reaſon, why ſome antient Canons allow no other Time but that of *Eaſter* for Baptiſm; including the whole fifty Days from *Eaſter* till *Pentecoſt*, in the Senſe of *Tertullian*. Thus, in the Second Council of *Maſcon* [k], a Decree was made, That whereas many Chriſtians not regarding the lawful Time of Baptiſm, were uſed to bring their Children to be baptized upon any Holyday or Feſtival of a Martyr, ſo that at *Eaſter* there were not above two or three to be baptized; they therefore enacted, That from thenceforward no one ſhould be permitted ſo to do, excepting thoſe whoſe Children were in Extremity of Sickneſs and Danger of Death. A like Decree was made in the

[z] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654. μένω τὰ φῶτα, τὸ πάσχα μοι τιμιώτερον, ἢ πενθεκοστὴν ἐκδέξομαι, &c. [a] Hieron. Com. in Zechar. 14. 8. Aquas viventes multi ad Baptiſmum referunt, quæ in Vere & in Æſtate, hoc eſt, in Paſcha & Pentecoſte, ſitientibus largiendæ ſunt. [b] Id. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 16. Circa dies Pentecoſtes, quadraginta diverſæ ætatis & ſexus Presbyteris tuis obtulimus baptizandos. —— It. Præcepiſti Bethleem Presbyteris tuis, ne Competentibus noſtris in Paſcha baptiſmum traderent. [c] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 19. Diem Baptiſmo ſolenniorem Paſcha præſtat, cum & Paſſio Domini, in qua tingimur, adimpleta eſt. —— Exinde Pentecoſte ordinandis Lavacris latiſſimum ſpatium eſt, quo & Domini Reſurrectio inter Diſcipulos frequentata eſt, & Gratia Spiritûs Sancti dedicata, &c. [d] Vid. Tertul. de Idol. cap. 14. & de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. [e] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 1. c. 25. [f] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 8. Obſerv. 4. p. 134. [g] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Par. 1. c. 11. p. 307. [h] Chryſoſt. Ep. 1. ad Innocent. p. 680. [i] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 5. c. 19. [k] Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 3. Comperimus Chriſtianos, non obſervantes legitimum diem baptiſmi, pene per ſingulos dies ac Natales Martyrum filios ſuos baptizare, ut vix duo vel tres reperiantur in Sancto Paſcha, qui per aquam & Spiritum Sanctum regenerentur: idcirco cenſemus, ut ex hoc tempore nullus eorum permittatur talia perpetrare, præter illos, quos infirmitas nimia aut dies extremus compellit filios ſuos baptiſmum ſuſcipere.

Council

Council of *Auxerre* [*l*], confining all Children to the Time of *Eaſter*, except in caſe of Sickneſs, when they were allowed to have *Clinick* Baptiſm. And ſo *Socrates* ſays [*m*] it was the Cuſtom in *Theſſaly* only to baptize at *Eaſter*. All which muſt either be underſtood to include the Fifty days of *Pentecoſt*, or elſe it muſt be ſaid theſe Churches had a peculiar Cuſtom differing from the reſt of the World. For in other Rules and Canons, expreſs mention is made of *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, though other Feſtivals are excluded. In the Council of *Girone* in *Spain* [*n*], all Catechumens are ordered to come only at *Eaſter* or *Pentecoſt*, becauſe the greater the Feaſt was, the greater ought the Solemnity to be. But on all other Feſtivals, none but ſick People were to be baptized, who were not to be refuſed Baptiſm at any time. *Siricius*, in his Epiſtle to *Himerius* [*o*] Biſhop of *Tarraco* in *Spain*, intimates indeed, that abundance of People preſumed to take greater Liberties to be baptized on the Nativity of Chriſt, and the *Epiphany*, and the Feſtivals of the Apoſtles and Martyrs; but this was againſt the Rule of the *Roman* Church, and all others, which reſerved this Privilege peculiar to *Eaſter*, with its *Pentecoſt* or Fifty days following, at which time Baptiſm was generally adminiſtred to all that were qualify'd, but not at other times, except only to Infants, and Perſons in a languiſhing Condition and in danger of Death. In the time of Pope *Leo*, the Cuſtom had prevailed in *Sicily*, to baptize as many on the Feſtival of *Epiphany*, as at *Eaſter* or *Pentecoſt*: But he calls [*p*] this an unreaſonable Novelty, and a Confuſion of the Myſteries of each Time, to think, that no Difference was to be made between the Day on which Chriſt was adored by the wiſe Men, and that whereon he aroſe from the dead. Therefore ſince theſe two, *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, were the only Lawful [*q*] Times of baptizing the Elect Catechumens in the Church, he gives them an Admonition, that they ſhould mingle no other Days in the like Obſervance. He gives the ſame Admonition to the Biſhops of *Campania* [*r*], *Samnium*, and *Picenum*, in another Epiſtle, againſt baptizing of any, except in caſe of Neceſſity, on the Feſtivals of the Martyrs. And after him, *Gelaſius* [*s*], made another Decree, directed to the Biſhops of *Lucania*, prohibiting Baptiſm to be given at any other time, ſave *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, except in caſe of dangerous Sickneſs, when there might be reaſonable Fear of the Party's dying without the Remedy of Salvation. So that in the *Roman* and *Weſtern* Churches, this was the general Rule, to baptize none of the adult in ordinary Caſes, ſave only upon theſe two great Feſtivals, though the Practice in ſome Places was a little diſſonant to the Injunction of the Canons. In the *Eaſtern* Churches, and in *Africk*, *Epiphany* ſeems alſo to have been regarded. For, beſides what has been already noted out of *Nazianzen*, *Valeſius* [*t*] has obſerved out of the antient Ritual, called *Typicum Sabæ*, that on this Day they were wont to baptize in the Church of *Jeruſalem*. And *Joannes Moſchus* [*u*] mentions the ſame Cuſtom in other Parts of the *Eaſt*. And *Victor Uticenſis* [*x*] plainly intimates, That it was a ſolemn time of baptizing at *Carthage* and in the *African* Churches. For though he does not name it *Epiphany*, yet we may eaſily collect it was either that Day or Chriſt's Nativity; for he ſays, it was but a little before the *Kalends* of *February*, that fatal Day on which the *African* Biſhops were baniſhed, and the Church deſtroyed by the Fury of the *Arians*, in the Time of the *Vandalick* Perſecution.

SECT. VIII. *And in ſome Places the Feſtivals of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and Anniverſary Days of the Dedication of Churches, prevailed alſo.*

IT was alſo cuſtomary in ſome Churches, to make the Anniverſary Feſtival of the Dedication of the Church a ſolemn time of Baptizing. *Sozomen* [*y*] obſerves it to have been ſo at *Jeruſalem*, from the Time that *Conſtantine* built that famous Church over our Saviour's Grave at Mount *Calvary*, called *Anaſtaſis*, or the Church of the Reſurrection. For every Year after that Time the Church of *Jeruſalem* held an Anniverſary Feſtival of the Dedication, which, to make the Solemnity more auguſt, laſted for eight Days together, on which they held Eccleſiaſtical Meetings, and adminiſtred the Sacrament of Baptiſm; and many Men came from all Parts of the World to viſit the ſacred Places upon this Occaſion. *Valeſius* [*z*] takes ſome Pains to prove out of ſeveral Authors, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Nicephorus*, the *Greek Menologium*, and *Typicum Sabæ*, that this was on the Thirteenth of *September*; that no one might think it fell in with the Feſtivals of *Eaſter* or *Pentecoſt*, the other ſolemn Times of Baptiſm. Whether the ſame Cuſtom prevailed in any other

[*l*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 19. Non licet abſque Paſchæ ſolennitate ullo tempore baptizare, niſi illos quibus mors vicina eſt, quos Grabatarios dicunt, &c. [*m*] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. [*n*] Conc. Gerundenſ. Can. 4. De Catechumenis baptizandis id ſtatutum eſt, ut in Paſchæ ſolennitate, vel Pentecoſtes, quanto majoris celebritatis celebritas major eſt, tanto magis ad baptizandum veniant. Cæteris autem ſolennitatibus infirmi tantummodo debeant baptizari, quibus quocunque tempore convenit baptiſmum non negari. [*o*] Siric. Ep. ad Himer. c. 2. Sola temeritate præſumitur, ut paſſim ac libere Natalitiis Chriſti, ſeu Apparitionis, nec non & Apoſtolorum ſeu Martyrum Feſtivitatibus, innumeræ (ut aſſeris) plebes baptiſmi Myſterium conſequantur; cum hoc ſibi Privilegium & apud nos & apud omnes Eccleſias, dominicum ſpecialiter cum Pentecoſte ſuâ Paſcha defendat, quibus ſolis per annum diebus, ad fidem confluentibus generalia baptiſmatis tradi convenit Sacramenta, &c. [*p*] Leo Ep. 4. ad Epiſc. Siculos, cap. 1. Miror vos tam irrationabilem novitatem uſurpare potuiſſe, ut confuſo temporis utriuſque Myſterio, nullam eſſe differentiam crederetis inter diem quo adoratus eſt Chriſtus à Magis, & diem quo reſurrexit à mortuis, &c. [*q*] Ibid. c. 5. Unde quia manifeſtiſſime patet, hæc duo tempora baptizandis in Eccleſia Electis eſſe legitima, monemus & nullos alios dies huic Obſervantiæ miſceatis. [*r*] Leo. Ep. 78. ad Epiſc. Campan. cap. 1. [*s*] Gelaſ. Ep. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucan. cap. 12. Baptizandi ſibi quiſpiam paſſim quocunque tempore nullam credat ineſſe fiduciam præter Paſchate Feſtum & Pentecoſtes venerabile Sacramentum, excepto duntaxat graviſſimi languoris incurſu, in quo verendum eſt, ne morbi creſcente periculo, ſine remedio ſalutari fortaſſis ægrotans exitio præventus abſcedat. [*t*] Valeſ. Not. in Theodorit. lib. 2. c. 27. [*u*] Moſch. Prat. Spirit. cap. 214. [*x*] Victor. de Perſec. Vandal. lib. 2. Bibl. Patr. tom. 7. p. 603. [*y*] Sozom: lib. 2. cap. 26. ὡς καὶ μυήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ ἑορτῇ τελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς ἐκκλησιάζειν. [*z*] Valeſ. Differt. de Anaſtaſi & Martyrio Hieroſolym. ad calcem Euſebii, p. 306.

Churches,

Churches, is not ſaid; but it is not improbable that it might obtain, becauſe *Jeruſalem* was a leading Pattern, and is ſometimes ſtiled the Mother of all Churches. The Cuſtom of baptizing on the Feſtivals of the Apoſtles and Martyrs ſeems to have prevailed in many of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Churches: But this was condemned and forbidden by many Canons, and therefore cannot be ſpoken of as an Authentick Cuſtom, becauſe it was rather a Tranſgreſſion and Encroachment upon the eſtabliſhed Rules of the Church, which in this caſe might be obſerved without any Detriment, whilſt a Liberty was granted to baptize at any Time upon ſudden Emergencies and extraordinary Caſes.

SECT. IX. *No ſuch ſtated Times in the Apoſtles Days.*

INDEED in the firſt Plantation of the Goſpel there was no ſuch Obligation to obſerve any ſtated times of Baptiſm, becauſe the Apoſtles made no Law about it. They themſelves baptized indifferently at any time, as Occaſion required, and they left this Circumſtance wholly to the Judgment and Prudence of their Succeſſors in the Church, to act as Reaſon and Piety ſhould direct them. This is very evident from the Hiſtory of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and the ſubſequent Hiſtory of the Church compared together. The Author of the *Comments on* St. *Paul's Epiſtles* under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [*a*] has diligently noted this Difference in the Church's Diſcipline, between the firſt and the following Age. At firſt, ſays he, every one taught and baptized on all Days and Times, as Occaſion required. *Philip* ſtayed for no Time, nor Day, to baptize the *Eunuch*, nor did he uſe any intermediate Faſt before it. Neither did *Paul* and *Silas* delay the Time, when they baptized the Keeper of the Priſon with all his Houſe. Neither did *Peter* uſe Deacons, or ſtay for a Solemn Day, when he baptized *Cornelius* and his Family. But when the Church had ſpread itſelf into all Parts, then *Oratories* were built, and Church-Officers were appointed, and ſeveral Orders made about the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm: Whence it was, that now neither Deacons preached; nor any of the inferior Clergy nor Laymen baptized; nor was Baptiſm adminiſtred at all Times to Believers, but only to thoſe that were Sick. That which ſeems to have made the Difference in this Matter, was the Difference in the Zeal and Readineſs of the firſt Converts and thoſe that came afterwards. For the Church found it neceſſary in Proceſs of Time to proceed a little more ſlowly with the Candidates of Baptiſm, both in the Inſtruction and Tryal of them, becauſe of their Dulneſs and Negligence and frequent Relapſes. And by this means it came to paſs, that in ſome populous Churches often vaſt Multitudes were baptized together. As *Palladius* obſerves in the Life of St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*], that at *Conſtantinople* three thouſand Perſons were baptized at once upon one of theſe greater Feſtivals. And this was the Reaſon why Deacons at *Rome*, who were not allowed to baptize upon any other Occaſion, no not even in times of Sickneſs, were admitted to do it at *Eaſter*, becauſe of the vaſt Numbers of People that came then to be baptized, as I have had occaſion to ſhew out of a Canon of one of the *Roman* Councils in another Diſcourſe [*c*].

SECT. X. *How far theſe Rules were obliging in ſucceeding Ages.*

BUT when theſe Rules about ſtated Times of Baptiſm were in their ſtricteſt Obſervation, there were ſtill ſeveral Caſes, wherein it was thought proper to diſpenſe with them, and diſcharge Men of their Obligation. The caſe of Sickneſs and Extremity pleaded a juſt Exemption, as we have ſeen before, in all the Canons of the Univerſal Church. And the Promptneſs and Proficiency of ſome Catechumens above others, gave them an earlier Title to Baptiſm, if they deſired it, without waiting for a more ſolemn Seaſon, eſpecially in the *Eaſtern* Churches; as may be collected from the Exhortations of *Chryſoſtom* and *Baſil*, inviting ſuch as were duly prepared for Baptiſm, to receive it the firſt Opportunity, without ſtaying for one of theſe greater Feſtivals. You pretend to ſtay to the time of *Lent*, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [*d*]: But why ſo? Has that Time any thing more than others? The Apoſtles received not this Grace at *Eaſter*; but at another Time. Neither was it the Time of *Eaſter*, when the Three Thouſand and the Five Thouſand were baptized, of whom we read in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Other Things, ſays St. *Baſil* [*e*], have their peculiar Seaſons; there is a time for Sleep, and a time for Watching; a time for War, and a time for Peace: But the time of Baptiſm is Man's whole Life; All times are ſeaſonable to receive Salvation thereby, whether Day or Night, every Hour, every Minute, every Moment. And *Nazianzen* [*f*] in anſwering that Plea which Men uſed for Delay, that they ſtayed only till *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, or *Epiphany*, plainly ſhews, that he rather thought Men ought not to defer their Baptiſm, when once they were qualified for it, leſt Death ſhould come ſuddenly upon them in a Day they did not expect it, and in an Hour they were not aware of. And in this Reſpect it was true, what *Tertullian* ſaid in the cloſe

[*a*] Ambroſ. Com. in Epheſ. 4. Primum omnes docebant & omnes baptizabant, quibuſcunque diebus vel temporibus fuiſſet occaſio. Nec enim Philippus tempus quæſivit, aut diem, quo Eunuchum baptizaret; neque Jejunium interpoſuit. Neque Paulus & Silas tempus diſtulerunt, quo Optionem carceris baptizarent cum omnibus ejus. Neque Petrus Diaconos habuit, aut diem quæſivit, quando Cornelium cum omni domo ejus baptizavit. —— Ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa eſt Eccleſia, Conventicula conſtituta ſunt, & Rectores & cætera Officia in Eccleſia ordinata ſunt. —— Hinc ergo eſt, unde nunc neque Diaconi in populo prædicant, neque Clerici vel Laici baptizant; neque quocunque die credentes tinguntur, niſi ægri. [*b*] Pallad. Vit. Chryſoſt. cap. 9. [*c*] Scholaſt. *Hiſt. of Lay-Baptiſm*, Part I. Chap. i. p. 19. [*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 1 in Act. tom. 4. p. 615. Edit. Savil. [*e*] Baſil. Exhort. ad Bapt. Hom. 13. tom. 1. p. 409. [*f*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654.

of

of his Diſcourſe upon this Subject, that every Day [g] was the Lord's Day, every Hour, and every Time was fit for Baptiſm, if Men were fit and prepared for it. One Day might be more ſolemn than another, but the Grace of Baptiſm was the ſame at all times. So that theſe ſolemn Times were ſet apart for prudent Reaſons by the Church, and for as prudent Reaſons they might be diſpenſed with, when either the Neceſſities of a languiſhing Diſtemper, or the Zeal and Activity of forward Proficients made it adviſeable to anticipate the uſual Times of Baptiſm, which, like all other Parts of Diſcipline, were deſigned for Edification, and not for Deſtruction.

SECT. XI. *Baptiſm not confined to any Place in the Apoſtolical Ages.*

THE like Obſervation may be made with reſpect to the Place of Baptiſm: For this varied alſo with the State and Circumſtances of the Church. In the Apoſtolical Age and ſome time after, before Churches and Baptiſteries were generally erected, they baptized in any Place where they had Convenience, as *John* baptized in *Jordan*, and *Philip* baptized the Eunuch in the Wilderneſs, and *Paul* the Jaylor in his own Houſe. So *Tertullian* obſerves, That *Peter* baptized [h] his Converts in the *Tiber* at *Rome*, as *John* had done in *Jordan*, and that there was no Difference whether a Man was baptized in the Sea, or in a Lake, in a River, or a Fountain; for the ſame Spirit ſanctified the Waters in all places, and gave them the Power of Sanctification, when once they were conſecrated by Invocation and Prayer. After this manner the Author of the *Recognitions* under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* [i] repreſents *Peter* preaching to the People, and telling them, They might waſh away their Sins in the Water of a River, or a Fountain, or the Sea, when they were baptized by invoking the Name of the Bleſſed Trinity upon them. And he deſcribes his own Baptiſm, and ſome others [k], as given them by *Peter* in certain Fountains in *Syria* by the Sea-Shore. And it ſeems to have continued to the Time of *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*. For *Tertullian* ſpeaks of their going from the Church to the Water, and then making [l] their Renunciations there, as they had done in the Church before. And *Juſtin Martyr* deſcribing the Ceremony of the Action, ſays, They brought the Perſon who was to be baptized [m] to a Place where there was Water, and there gave him the ſame Regeneration which they had received before.

SECT. XII. *In ſucceeding Ages confined to the Baptiſteries of the Church.*

BUT in After-ages Baptiſteries were built adjoining to the Church, and then Rules were made, That Baptiſm ſhould ordinarily be adminiſtred no where but in them. *Juſtinian*, in one of his Novels [n], refers to antient Laws, appointing, That none of the Sacred Myſteries of the Church ſhould be celebrated in private Houſes. Men might have private Oratories for Prayer in their own Houſes, but they were not to adminiſter Baptiſm or the *Euchariſt* in them, unleſs by a particular Licence from the Biſhop of the Place. Such Baptiſms are frequently condemned in the antient Councils, under the Name of ἰδιοβαπτίσματα, Baptiſms in private Conventicles. As in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas* [o] Complaint is made againſt *Zoaras* the Monk, that though the Emperor had forbidden all private Baptiſms by an Edict, yet *Zoaras* deſpiſing that Order, had baptized many in a private Houſe upon the *Eaſter* Feſtival. The Edict which that Council refers to, was another [p] Novel of *Juſtinian*'s, made againſt *Severus* and his Accomplices, who after they were expelled the Church, held Conventicles in private Houſes, and received and baptized, and gave the Communion to all that came to them. Which ſort of Parabaptizations are there condemned. So alſo in the Petition of the Monks preſented to *Mennas* and the Council under him, theſe Baptiſms and Communions in private Houſes are reckoned [q] to be an erecting of ſtrange Altars and Baptiſteries in Oppoſition to the true Altar and Baptiſtery or Laver of the Church; under which Name they are frequently condemned in the Acts [r] of that Council. And in the Council of *Trullo* the Order was again renewed, That no Perſons [s] ſhould receive Baptiſm in Oratories belonging to Houſes, but that they who deſire Illumination, ſhould go to the Catholick, that is, the Publick Churches: And that on pain of Depoſition to the Clergy-

[g] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 19. Cæterum omnis dies Domini eſt, omnis hora, omne tempus habile Baptiſmo: Si de Solennitate intereſt, de Gratia nihil refert. [h] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 4. Nulla diſtinctio eſt, Mari quis an Stagno, Flumine an Fonte, Lacu an Alveo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, & quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. — Omnes aquæ de priſtina originis prærogativa Sacramentum Sanctificationis conſequuntur, invocato Deo Supervenit enim ſtatim Spiritus de Cœlis, & aquis ſupereſt, ſanctificans eas de ſemetipſo, & ita ſanctificatæ vim ſanctificandi combibunt. [i] Clem. Recognit. lib 4. c. 32. Ut in præſenti quidem tempore diluantur peccata veſtra per aquam Fontis, aut Fluminis, aut etiam Maris, invocata ſuper vos Trino Beatudinis nomine. Vid. Clementin. Hom. 9. n. 19. [k] Ibid. lib. 6. n. 15. In Fontibus qui contigui habentur mari, perennis aquæ mihi Baptiſmum dedit, &c. [l] Aquam adituri, ibidem, ſed & aliquanto prius in Eccleſia ſub Antiſtitis manu conteſtamur nos renunciare Diabolo, &c. Tertul. de Coron. c. 3. [m] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 93. ἔπειτα ἄγουσι ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ &c. [n] Juſtin. Novel. 58. Priſcis Sancitum eſt Legibus, nulli penitus eſſe licentiam, domi quæ Sacratiſſima ſunt agere. — Sed ſi quidem domos ita ſimpliciter aliqui habere putant oportere in Sacris ſuis, Orationis videlicet ſolius gratia, & nullo celebrando penitus horum quæ Sacri ſunt Myſterii, hoc eis permittimus, &c. [o] Conc. Conſtant. ſub Menna, Act. 1. p. 70. Ed. Crab. Quanquam piiſſimus Imperator noſter mandaverit non reconventiculare, neque rebaptizare (leg. parabaptizare) Zoaras tamen tale præceptum deſpexit, & parabaptizavit in die Paſchæ non paucos. [p] Juſtin. Novel. 42. c. 3. Sancimus quemlibet talium Silentium ducere, & non convocare aliquos ad ſe, neque accedentes recipere, aut Parabaptizare audere, aut Sacram Communionem ſordidare. [q] Libel. Monachor. in Act. 1. Conc. ſub Menna ap. Crab. tom. 2. p. 28. Iſti falſi Sacerdotes & veri Antichriſti in Domibus intrarunt, & Aliena Altaria erexerunt, & Baptiſteria ædificaverunt, in contrarium veri Altaris & ſancti Lavacri. [r] Epiſt. Monachor. 2. Syriæ in Act. 1. Ibid. p. 67. [s] Conc. Trull. Can. 59. Μηδαμῶς ἐν ἰδιωτείῳ οἴκῳ ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι βάπτισμα ἐπιτελεῖσθω. Ἀλλ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἀξιοῦσθαι τὸ ἁγιάσμα φωτίσματος, ἐν καθολικαῖς περιέρχεσθωσαν ἐκκλησίαις.

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man, who was the Administrator, and Excommunication to the Layman, who was the Receiver.

SECT. XIII. *Except in Case of Sickness, or with the Bishop's Licence to the contrary upon some special Occasions.*

Now all these Laws and Rules were intended for the Preservation of Decency and good Order in the Church, that Baptism might be performed in the Presence of the whole Church, whereof Men were then made Members, and all the Congregation might be Spectators and Witnesses of their admission. Upon which Account it was improper to allow it to be done either in Heretical Conventicles, or in private Houses. Yet in Cases of Necessity, Sickness, Imprisonment, Journeying, and the like, these Rules could not bind; for they were only made for ordinary Cases. Therefore we read of Martyrs sometimes baptized in Prison, and frequently of Clinicks, as they were called, who were baptized on a Sick-Bed, and others baptized at Sea or in a Journey, which were not interpreted Transgressions of this Rule, because the Exigence and Necessity of the Case made them lawful. And sometimes Baptism was allowed in private Oratories by the Bishop's Licence, as both the Law of *Justinian* and the Canons in some Places had provided. For the Council of *Agde* [t] in *France*, allows the Eucharist to be celebrated in Country Chapels at all Times by the Bishop's Leave, not excepting the greater Festivals: And it is reasonable to suppose, that where the Eucharist was allowed, there Baptism might be administred also, though they were not properly parochial or baptismal Churches. The Council of *Eliberis* [u] in *Spain* speaks of Deacons presiding over a People, and baptizing in Places where there was neither Bishop nor Presbyter, which we must reasonably suppose to have been Country-Villages at some Distance from the Mother-Church, where yet for Convenience Baptism was allowed to be performed by the Hands of a Deacon. As St. *Jerom* [x] also testifies, who says, That in Villages and Castles, and Places remote from the Bishop's Church, Men were baptized both by Presbyters and Deacons. So that though the Bishop's Church was the ordinary Place of Baptism, as he himself was the chief Minister of it, and the publick Baptistery was only at his Church; yet upon proper Reasons, by his Authority and Permission, Baptism might be administred in other Places, especially in those that were a sort of Secondary Churches; of which, and their several Distinctions from the *Ecclesia Matrix*, the Episcopal or Principal Church, I have given a more particular Account before in the Discourse of Churches.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Renunciations and Professions made by all Persons immediately before their Baptism.

SECT. I. *Three Things required of all Persons at their Baptism. 1. To Renounce the Devil.*

HAVING thus far conducted the Catechumens to the Place of Baptism, that is, to the Baptistery of the Church; we are next to consider how the Discipline of the Church proceeded with them immediately before their Baptism. And here we are to observe in the first place, That three Things were now indispensably required of them at this Season, that is, a formal and solemn Renunciation of the Devil, a Profession of Faith made in the Words of some received Creed, and a Promise or Engagement to live in Obedience to Christ, or by the Laws and Rules of the Christian Religion. For though these Things were in some measure required of them before, during the Time of their Institution, yet now they were to make a more solemn and publick Profession of them before the Congregation. *Tertullian* seems [a] to intimate this twofold Profession, when he says, That according to the Discipline of the Church in his time, Catechumens first made their Renunciation of the Devil, and his Pomp, and his Angels in the Church, when they received Imposition of Hands from the Bishop in his Prayers for them, and again when they came to the Water to be baptized.

SECT. II. *The Form of this Renunciation, and the Import of it.*

THE Form of this Renunciation is more perfectly delivered by the Author of the *Constitutions*, in these Words: I renounce *Satan*, and his Works, and his Pomps, [b] and his Service, and his Angels, and his Inventions, and all Things that belong to him, or that are subject to him. Others express it more concisely; some calling it the Renunciation of the World, as *Cyprian* [c], who sometimes joyns the Devil and the World together, as where he asks one of the Lapsers, who had gone to offer Sacrifice at the

[t] Conc. Agathen. Can. 21. Si quis etiam extra Parochias, in quibus legitimus est ordinariusque conventus, Oratorium in agro habuerit, reliquis Festivitatibus ut ibi Missas teneat propter fatigationem Familiæ justa Ordinatione permittimus, &c. [u] Conc. Eliber. Can. 77. Si quis Diaconus regens Plebem, sine Episcopo vel Presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, Episcopus eos per Benedictionem perficere debebit. [x] Hieron. Dial. cum Lucifer cap. 4. In Villulis & Castellis & remotioribus locis per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati, &c.

[a] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed & aliquanto prius in Ecclesia, sub Antistitis manu, contestamur nos Renunciare Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. [b] Const Apost. lib. 7. cap. 41. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ἐφευρέσεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν. [c] Cypr. Ep. 7. al. 13. ad Rogat p 37. Seculo renunciaveramus, cum baptizati sumus.

Capitol, how a Servant [*d*] of God could ſtand there, and ſpeak, and Renounce Chriſt, who before had renounced the Devil and the World? And ſo it is in St. *Ambroſe*: Thou wenteſt into the Baptiſtery, conſider what Queſtions were asked thee, and what Anſwers thou gaveſt to them. Thou didſt renounce the Devil and his Works, the World [*e*] and its Luxury and Pleaſures. In like manner St. *Jerom* [*f*] joyns the Devil and the World together: I renounce thee, *Satan*, and thy Pomp, and thy Vices, and thy World which lieth in Iniquity. Sometimes the Games and Shows, which were part of the Devil's Pomp, were expreſly mentioned in this Form of Renunciation, as it is in *Salvian:* I renounce the Devil, his Pomps, his Shows, and his Works. For he thus addreſſes himſelf to Chriſtians, who ſtill gave themſelves Liberty to be Spectators at the *Roman* Shows: What is the firſt Profeſſion [*g*] that Chriſtians make at Baptiſm? Is it not a Proteſtation, that they renounce the Devil, and his Pomps, and his Shows, and his Works? Therefore theſe Shows and Pomps, even by our own Profeſſion, are the Works of the Devil. How then, O Chriſtian, canſt thou after Baptiſm, follow thoſe Shows, which thou confeſſeſt to be the Work of the Devil? *Tertullian* made uſe of the ſame Argument before, to make Chriſtians refrain from following the *Roman* Theatres. But then he had alſo the Charge of Idolatry to throw into the Scale againſt them. For, ſays he [*h*], What is the chief and principal Thing to be underſtood by the Devil, his Pomps, and his Angels, but Idolatry? Therefore if all the Preparation and Furniture of the Shows be made up of Idolatry, there can be no Diſpute, but that the Renunciation we make in Baptiſm, relates to thoſe Shows, and is a Teſtimony againſt them. He argues after the ſame manner againſt all ſuch Secular Offices [*i*], and Honours, and Employments, as could not be held and diſcharged without partaking in ſome Idolatrous Rites and Ceremonies; ſuch as the Offices of the *Flamens*, and many others; in which, the very wearing of a Crown or Garland, or exhibiting ſome of the publick Shows to the People, as by ſuch an Office they were obliged to do, made them guilty of Idolatry, though they abſtained from the groſſer Act of it, that of offering Incenſe and Sacrifice to the Idols. And ſo the Council of *Eliberis* [*k*] determined, That ſuch *Flamens* as only exhibited the publick Shows to the People, (which in their Language is called, *Munus dare*) though they did not ſacrifice to the Idols, ſhould be caſt out of the Church all their Lives, and only be admitted to Communion at the Hour of Death. Whence it is plain, that in the Times of Heatheniſm and Idolatry, all ſuch Offices and Employments as obliged Men to exhibit thoſe publick Games and Shows to the People, were ſuppoſed to be included in the Renunciation of the Pomps and Works of the Devil, becauſe of the Idolatry that was interwoven with them. But in the time of *Salvian*, all this Idolatry was aboliſhed, and theſe Pomps and Shows were no longer exhibited to the Honour of Idol-Gods: Yet they had ſtill ſo much Vanity, Lewdneſs and Profaneneſs in them, that they were juſtly complained of as Unchriſtian and Diabolical, upon the account of their Immorality, and therefore were reputed among thoſe unlawful Pomps which every Chriſtian was ſuppoſed to renounce at his Baptiſm. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who wrote after Idolatry was in a great meaſure deſtroy'd, ſtill continues the Charge [*l*] againſt them for their Lewdneſs and Cruelty, and reckons them among the Pomps of the Devil, whilſt he is explaining to his Catechumens this part of their baptiſmal Profeſſion.

SECT. III.

The Antiquity of this Renunciation. By ſome derived from Apoſtolical Practice.

THE Antiquity of this Renunciation is evidenced from all the Writers that have ſaid any thing of Baptiſm. And by ſome it is derived from Apoſtolical Inſtitution and Practice. For ſo they interpret that Paſſage of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1 Tim. vi. 12. *Lay hold on Eternal Life, whereunto thou art called, and haſt profeſſed a good Profeſſion before many Witneſſes.* The Authors of the Comments under the Names of St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Jerom*, ſuppoſed to be *Hilary* the *Roman* Deacon and *Pelagius*, give this Interpretation of the Place: Thou haſt confeſſed a good Confeſſion [*m*] in Baptiſm, by renouncing the World and its Pomps, before many Witneſſes, before the Prieſts and Miniſters and the Heavenly Powers. So *Pelagius*. And *Hilary* [*n*] ſeems to ſay farther, That this Confeſſion was alſo entered or enrolled in the Monuments of the Church. Others do not found it upon this or any other expreſs Text of Scripture, but yet

[*d*] Cypr. de Lapſis, p. 125. Stare illic potuit Dei ſervus & loqui, & Renunciare Chriſto, qui jam Diabolo renunciârat & Seculo? [*e*] Ambroſ. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Ingreſſus es Regenerationis Sacrarium, repete quid interrogatus ſis, recognoſce quid reſponderis. Renunciaſti Diabolo & Operibus ejus, Mundo & Luxuriæ ejus ac Voluptatibus. [*f*] Hieron. Com. in Mat. 15. 26. Renuncio tibi Diabole, & Pompæ tuæ & Vitiis tuis, & Mundo tuo, qui in maligno poſitus eſt. [*g*] Salvian. de Provident. lib. 6. p. 197. Quæ eſt enim in baptiſmo Salutari Chriſtianorum prima Confeſſio? Quæ ſcilicet, niſi ut renunciare ſe Diabolo ac Pompis ejus, atque Spectaculis & Operibus proteſtentur? Ergo Spectacula & Pompæ, etiam juxta noſtram Profeſſionem, opera ſunt Diaboli. Quomodo, O Chriſtiane, ſpectacula poſt baptiſmum ſequeris, quæ opus eſſe Diaboli confiteris? Vid. Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 1. n. 4. [*h*] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 4. Quid erit ſummum ac præcipuum in quo Diabolus & Pompæ & Angeli ejus cenſeantur, quam Idololatria? —— Igitur ſi ex Idololatria univerſam ſpectaculorum paraturam conſtare conſtiterit, indubitate prejudicatum erit etiam ad Spectacula pertinere Renunciationis noſtræ teſtimonium in Lavacro. [*i*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil c. 13. Hæ erant Pompæ Diaboli & Angelorum ejus, Officia Sæculi, Honores, ſolennitates poſtulatrices, falſa Vota, Humana ſervitia, Laudes vanæ, Gloriæ turpes: Et in omnibus iſtis Idololatria in ſolo quoque cenſu Coronarum, quibus omnia iſta redimita ſunt. [*k*] Conc. Elib. can. 3. Item Flamines, qui non immolaverint, ſed Munus tantam dederint, eo quod ſe à funeſtis abſtinuerunt ſacrificiis, placuit in finè eis præſtari communionem, actâ tamen legitimâ Pœnitentiâ. [*l*] Cyril. Catech. Myſtag. 1. n. 4. p. 280. [*m*] Pelag. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. Confeſſus es bonam Confeſſionem in baptiſmo, renunciando Sæculo & Pompis ejus, coram multis Teſtibus, coram Sacerdotibus, vel Miniſtris, Virtutibuſque Cœleſtibus. [*n*] Ambroſ. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. Cujus Confeſſio inter ipſa rudimenta Fidei, teſte Interrogante & Reſpondente, Monumentis Eccleſiaſticis continetur.

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derive it from antient Tradition. As *Tertullian* and St. *Baſil*, the former of which [o] reckons it among many other Eccleſiaſtical Rites and Uſages, which are not expreſly determined in Scripture, but yet proceeded from Tradition, and are confirmed by Cuſtom. And St. *Baſil* ranks it [p] among thoſe Myſtical Rites which were received in the Church, not from any written Word, but by private Direction and Tradition from the Apoſtles. The Conjecture of thoſe Learned Men [q] is not improbable, who think the Form of Renunciation, made by way of Queſtions and Anſwers, to have been ſo antient in the Church, as that the Apoſtle St. *Peter* may be juſtly thought to refer to it, when he ſtiles Baptiſm, *The Anſwer of a good Conſcience toward God*, which can reaſonably refer to nothing ſo well as that common Cuſtom of anſwering in Baptiſm, *Doſt thou renounce the Devil?* &c. I renounce him. *Doſt thou believe in God?* &c. I believe.

SECT. IV. *This Renunciation made by Perſons ſtanding with their Face to the* Weſt: *And the Reaſon of that Practice, with ſome other Ceremonies.*

IT is farther to be obſerved concerning this Renunciation, That as ſoon as Baptiſteries were built, there was a particular place in them aſſigned peculiarly to this Service. For they commonly had two diſtinct Apartments, as has been ſhewed before [r], in the Deſcription of Churches; firſt their προαύλιον οἶκον, their Porch, or Ante-Room, where the Catechumens made their Renunciations of Satan, and Confeſſions of Faith; and then their ἐσώτερον οἶκον, their Inner Room, where the Ceremony of Baptiſm was performed. When the Catechumens were brought into the former of theſe, they were placed with their Faces to the *Weſt*, and then commanded to renounce Satan with ſome Geſture and Rite expreſſing an Indignation againſt him, as by ſtretching out their Hands, or folding them, or ſtriking them together; and ſometimes by Exſufflation and ſpitting at him, as if he were preſent: Which were all of them ſo many Indications of their Abhorrence. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, in his myſtical Catechiſms to the Illuminated [s], thus deſcribes this part of the Action: Ye were firſt brought into the Ante-Room of the Baptiſtery, and placed toward the *Weſt* in a ſtanding Poſture, and then commanded to renounce *Satan*, by ſtretching out your Hands againſt him, as if he were preſent. A little after he explains the Meaning of their doing this with their Face toward the *Weſt*. The *Weſt*, ſays he, is the Place of Darkneſs, and *Satan* is Darkneſs, and his Strength is in Darkneſs. For this Reaſon ye ſymbolically look toward the *Weſt*, when ye renounce that Prince of Darkneſs and Horror. St. *Jerom* plainly alludes to this Cuſtom, when he ſays, In our Myſteries, meaning the Celebration of Baptiſm, we firſt renounce him that is in [t] the *Weſt*, who dies to us with our Sins: And then turning about to the *Eaſt*, we make a Covenant with the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and promiſe to be his Servants. In like manner, St. *Ambroſe* diſcourſing to ſome newly baptized Perſons [u], When you entered into the Baptiſtery, and had viewed your Adverſary whom you were to renounce, you then turned about to the *Eaſt*. For he that renounces the Devil, is turned unto Chriſt. Whence, as *Gregory Nazianzen* [x] obſerves, they did not only renounce the Devil in Words, but in their very Habit and Geſture; for they did it diveſted of their Clothes, and with their Body turned toward the *Weſt*, and with Hands ſtretched out againſt him; to this they added ſometimes a Colliſion, or ſtriking of the Hands together, and an Exſufflation, or a Spitting at their Adverſary, to expreſs their Abhorrence of him, as the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [y] deſcribes it.

SECT. V. *Why this Renunciation was made three Times.*

FROM whom we learn alſo, that this Renunciation was repeated three Times. For in another place he thus deſcribes the whole Ceremony: The Prieſt makes the Perſon who is to be baptized [z] to ſtand with his Hands ſtretched out toward the *Weſt*, and ſtriking them together; (the Original is, τὰς χεῖρας ἀποθέντα, which denotes *Colliſion* or ſtriking of the Hands together by way of Abhorrence) then he bids him ἐμφυσῆσαι τρὶς τῷ σατανᾷ, thrice Exſufflate, or ſpit in Defiance of *Satan*: Afterwards thrice repeating the ſolemn Words of Renunciation, he bids him thrice renounce him in that Form: Then he turns him about to the *Eaſt*, and with Hands and Eyes lift up to Heaven, bids him συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ, enter into Covenant with Chriſt. *Vicecomes* [a] thinks this triple Renunciation was made, either becauſe there were three Things which Men renounced in their Baptiſm, the Devil, his Pomps, and the World; or to ſignify the Three Perſons of the Trinity, by whom they were adopted as Sons on their renouncing *Satan*; or becauſe it was uſual in Civil Adoptions and Emancipation of Slaves, for the Maſter to yield up his Right by a Triple Renunciation, which he ſhews from *Aulus Gellius*, and *Sigonius*. But as the Ancients are ſilent in this Matter, I leave theſe Reaſons to the Diſcretion of every judicious Reader.

[o] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Hanc ſi nulla Scriptura determinavit, certe Conſuetudo corroboravit, quæ ſine dubio de Traditione manavit. [p] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. c. 27. Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἐσχήκαμεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ. [q] *See Dr.* Cave Prim. Chriſt. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 315. & Eſtius & Grotius *on* 1 Pet. iii. 21. [r] *Book* VIII. *Chap.* vii. *n.* 1. [s] Cyril. Catech. Myſtag. 1. n. 2. p. 278. εἰσήειτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸ προαύλιον οἶκον τοῦ βαπτισηρίου, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐστῶτες, ἠκούσατε καὶ προσετάγητε ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀποτάγεσθε τῷ σατανᾷ. [t] Hieron. in Amos 6. 14. In Myſteriis primum renunciamus ei qui in Occidente eſt, nobiſque moritur cum peccatis: Et ſic verſi ad Orientem, pactum inimus cum Sole juſtitiæ, & ei ſervituros nos eſſe promittimus. [u] Ambroſ. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Ingreſſus ut Adverſarium tuum cerneres, cui renunciandum mox putares, ad Orientem converteris. Qui enim renunciat Diabolo, ad Chriſtum convertitur. [x] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 67. γνώσῃ καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὡς ὅλην ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν ἀθέαν. ἅτως ὅλῃ θεότητι συνλαωόμενος. [y] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 258. γυμνὸν καὶ ἀνυπόδετον ἵστησι πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀφορῶντα. &c. [z] Ibid. p. 253. [a] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. Lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 311.

SECT. VI. *The ſecond Thing required of Men at their Baptiſm, was a Vow or Covenant of Obedience to Chriſt.*

THE next Thing required of Men at their Baptiſm, was a Vow or Covenant of Obedience to Chriſt, which the *Greeks* call, συντάσσεσθαι Χριστῷ, Giving themſelves up to the Government and Conduct of Chriſt. This was always an indiſpenſable part of their Obligation, before they could be admitted to the Ceremony of Regeneration. They firſt renounced the Devil, and then immediately promiſed to live in Obedience to the Laws of Chriſt. Some indeed in St. *Auſtin*'s Time pleaded hard for an Exemption in this Particular. They were willing to make a Profeſſion of Faith in Chriſt, but not of univerſal Obedience; and yet would impudently pretend to demand Baptiſm of the Church, notwithſtanding their incorrigible Temper. Againſt whom he wrote that excellent Book, *De Fide & Operibus*, to ſhew the Neceſſity of Good-works, as well as Faith, to the Being of a Chriſtian; where he anſwers all the Objections and Arguments they pretended to bring from Scripture: for they pleaded Scripture for their Practice. Amongſt other Things they urged that famous Text of St. *Paul*, *Other Foundation can no Man lay, than that is laid, which is* Jeſus Chriſt. *Now if any Man build upon this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble; every Man's Work ſhall be made manifeſt: For the Day ſhall declare it; becauſe it ſhall be revealed by Fire; and the Fire ſhall try every Man's Work of what Sort it is. If any Man's Work abide, which he hath built thereupon, he ſhall receive a Reward. If any Man's Work ſhall be burnt, he ſhall ſuffer Loſs: But he himſelf ſhall be ſaved; yet ſo as by Fire.* Upon which they made this perverſe Comment: That they who built upon this Foundation [*b*] Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, were ſuch as added Good-works to their Faith in Chriſt: But they who built Wood, Hay, Stubble, were they that held the ſame Faith in Unrighteouſneſs and a wicked Life. And they imagined, that even theſe Men might be ſo purged by certain Puniſhments of Fire, as to obtain Salvation by Virtue of the Foundation, which they retained. To which St. *Auſtin* replies, That if this was true [*c*], it were a laudable Charity indeed, for them to endeavour that all Men might indifferently be admitted to Baptiſm, not only Adulterers and Adultereſſes, who pretended falſe Marriages contrary to the expreſs Command of Chriſt, but alſo publick Harlots continuing in the baſeſt of all Profeſſions; which yet the moſt negligent Church on Earth never pretended to admit to Baptiſm, 'till they had firſt forſaken that vile Proſtitution. They urged farther, That to deny wicked Men the Privilege of Baptiſm, was to root out the Tares before the time. To which St. *Auſtin* [*d*] replies, That this Rejection of them from Baptiſm, was not rooting out the Tares, but rather not ſowing them, as the Devil did: They did not prohibit any that were willing to come to Chriſt, but only convinced them by their own Confeſſion, that they were unwilling to come to him. And therefore though theſe Men called it a Novel Doctrine and Practice to reject Harlots and Stage-players, and all that made open Profeſſion of ſuch abominable Arts, from Baptiſm, yet he tells them, this was grounded upon the Rule [*e*] of antient Truth, which manifeſtly declared, That *they who do ſuch Things, ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* And that this was the antient Rule, by which the Church proceeded, is evident from all the Writers that have ſpoken of Baptiſm. *Juſtin Martyr*, who deſcribes the Ceremonies of Baptiſm with the greateſt Simplicity, ſays, It was only given to thoſe, who to their Confeſſion of Faith added alſo a Promiſe or Vow [*f*] that they would live according to the Rules of Chriſtianity. And hence came that uſual Form of Words in their Profeſſion, συντάσσομαί σοι Χριστέ, I gave myſelf up to thee, O Chriſt, to be governed by thy Laws: Which immediately followed the ἀποτάξις, or Renunciation of the Devil, whoſe Service they forſook to chuſe a new Maſter; as we find it frequently in St. *Chryſoſtom* [*g*], St. *Baſil* [*h*], St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [*i*], the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [*k*], and moſt of the *Greek* Writers, whoſe Words, as being but one and the ſame Form, I think it needleſs to repeat upon this Occaſion. The *Latins* commonly call it *Promiſſum*, *Pactum*, and *Votum*, a Promiſe, a Covenant, and Vow, which Names they apply indifferently to all Parts of the Chriſtian Engagement, as well the Renunciation of the Devil, as the Profeſſion of Faith and Obedience to Chriſt, which do mutually ſuppoſe, and are virtually included in one another. For he that renounces the Devil and the World, does thereby profeſs himſelf a Soldier and Servant devoted to Chriſt. Therefore St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaking of the Renunciation, calls it [*l*] a Promiſe, a Caution, an Handwriting or Bond, given to God, and regiſtred in the Court of Heaven: Becauſe this is a Vow

[*b*] Aug. de Fide & Oper. c. 15. tom. 4. p. 30. Quod quidam ita intelligendum putant, ut illi videantur ædificare ſuper hoc Fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretioſos, qui fidei quæ in Chriſto eſt, bona opera adjiciunt: Illi autem fœnum, ligna, ſtipulam, qui cum eandem fidem habeant, male operantur. Unde arbitrantur per quaſdam pœnas ignis eos poſſe purgari ad ſalutem percipiendam merito Fundamenti. [*c*] Ibid. Hoc ſi ita eſt, fatemur iſtos laudabili charitate conari, ut omnes indiſcrete admittantur ad baptiſmum, non ſolum adulteri & adulteræ, contra ſententiam Domini falſas nuptias prætendentes, verum etiam publicæ Meretrices in turpiſſima profeſſione perſeverantes, quas certe nulla etiam negligentiſſima Eccleſia conſuevit admittere, niſi ab illa primitus proſtitutione liberatas. [*d*] Aug. de Fide & Oper. c. 17. Quando tales ad Baptiſmum non admittimus, non ante tempus zizania evellere conamur, ſed nolumus inſuper ſicut Diabolus zizania ſeminare; nec ad Chriſtum volentes venire prohibemus, ſed eos ad Chriſtum venire nolle, ipſa ſua Confeſſione convincimus. [*e*] Ibid. c. 18. Antiquum & robuſtum morem Eccleſia retinet, ex illa ſcilicet liquidiſſima veritate venientem, qua certum habet, quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non poſſidebunt. [*f*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 93. καὶ βίῳ ἕτως δύναται ὑπισχνῶν, &c. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 275. Hom. 6. in Coloſ. p. 1358. [*h*] Baſil. Hom. 13. Exhort. ad Bapt. [*i*] Cyril. in Joh. xi. 26. [*k*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. c. 41. [*l*] Ambroſ. de Sacrament. lib. 1. c. 2. Reſpondiſti, Abrenuncio: Memor eſto Sermonis tui, & nunquam tibi excidat ſeries Cautionis tuæ.—— Ubi promiſeris conſidera, vel quibus promiſeris: Levitam vidiſti, ſed Miniſter eſt Chriſti. Vidiſti illum ante altaria miniſtrare: Ergo Chirographum tuum tenetur, non in terra, ſed in Cœlo.

made before his Miniſters, and the Angels, who are Witneſſes to it. Upon which Account he ſays in another place [*m*], It is recorded not in the Monuments of the Dead, but in the Book of the Living. St. *Auſtin* calls it a Profeſſion [*n*] made in the Court of Angels, and the Names of the Profeſſors are written in the Book of Life, not by any Man, but by the heavenly Powers. St. *Jerom* [*o*] ſtyles it a Covenant made with the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and a Promiſe of Obedience to Chriſt. And he ſo ſpeaks of this Ceremony, as to ſhew it to be a diſtinct Act from the Renunciation (though they both tended to the ſame End) becauſe different Rites were uſed in expreſſing them. For in renouncing the Devil they had their Faces to the *Weſt*, for ſymbolical Reaſons which we have heard before; but in making their Covenant with Chriſt, they turned about to the *Eaſt*, as an Emblem of that Light, which they received from the Sun of Righteouſneſs, by engaging themſelves in his Service.

SECT. VII. *This Vow of Obedience made by turning to the* Eaſt. *And why.*

THIS Cuſtom of turning about to the *Eaſt*, when they made their Profeſſion of Obedience to Chriſt, is alſo mentioned by St. *Ambroſe*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius*. For which they aſſign two Reaſons: 1. *Cyril* [*p*] tells his Diſciples, That as ſoon as they had renounced the Devil, the Paradiſe of God, which was planted in the *Eaſt*, and whence our firſt Parent for his Tranſgreſſion was driven into Baniſhment, was now laid open to them: And their turning about from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt*, which is the Region of Light, was a Symbol of this. For the ſame Reaſon St. *Baſil* [*q*] and ſome others of the Ancients tell us, They prayed toward the *Eaſt*, that they might have their Faces towards Paradiſe. The other Reaſon for turning to the *Eaſt* in Baptiſm, was becauſe the *Eaſt* or riſing Sun was an Emblem of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, to whom they now turned from Satan: Thou art turned about to the *Eaſt*, ſays St. *Ambroſe* [*r*], for he that renounces the Devil, turns unto Chriſt. Where he plainly intimates with St. *Jerom*, that turning to the *Eaſt*, was a Symbol of their Averſion from Satan, and Converſion unto Chriſt, that is, from Darkneſs to Light, from ſerving Idols, to ſerve him who is the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and Fountain of Light.

SECT. VIII. *The Third Thing required of the Party to be baptized, was a Profeſſion of Faith in the uſual Words of the Creed.*

TOGETHER with this Profeſſion of Obedience there was alſo exacted a Profeſſion of Faith, of every Perſon to be baptized. And this was always to be made in the ſame Words of the Creed, that every Church uſed for the Inſtruction of her Catechumens. They were obliged to repeat it privately to the Catechiſt, and then again publickly in the Church, when they had given in their Names to Baptiſm: as I have ſhewed [*s*] before. But beſides this, they were alſo obliged to make a more ſolemn Profeſſion of it at the time of Baptiſm, and give diſtinct Anſwers to the ſeveral Queſtions, as the Miniſter propounded them, with relation to the ſeveral Parts of the Creed, which contained the Summary of the Chriſtian Faith. There were ſome indeed in St. *Auſtin*'s time, who, as they were for excluding the Profeſſion of Obedience out of the baptiſmal Vow, ſo were they for curtailing the Profeſſion of Faith, and reducing it to one ſingle Article, I believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God. In favour of this, they pleaded the Example of *Philip* baptizing the Eunuch upon this ſhort Confeſſion [*t*], and that Saying of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, *I determined to know nothing among you, ſave* Jeſus Chriſt, *and him crucify'd.* Yet they never durſt proceed ſo far as to put their Deſign in Practice; for they ſtill continued to make Interrogatories about other Articles, as the Church always did, concerning the Holy Ghoſt, the holy Church, the Remiſſion of Sins, the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Incarnation of Chriſt, his Paſſion and Death upon the Croſs, his Burial and Reſurrection on the third Day, his Aſcenſion, and Seſſion on the Right Hand of the Father. All which were thought ſo neceſſary, that the Chuch never omitted them even in Clinick Baptiſm, when Men were baptized upon a Sick-Bed: For if they were able to ſpeak, they anſwered for themſelves, as St. *Auſtin* ſays, to every particular Interrogation, though they were not able to commit them to Memory: And if they were ſpeechleſs, their Sureties or Sponſors anſwered for them, as they did for Children, as will be ſhewed in the next Chapter. So that one way or other the whole Creed was repeated, and every individual Article aſſented to by Men at their Baptiſm. And this was always the Practice of the Church from the very Days of the Apoſtles, and in their Time alſo: For though no other Article be mentioned in the Baptiſm of

[*m*] Id. de Initiatis, c. 2. Tenetur Vox tua, non in Tumulo mortuorum, ſed in Libro Viventium. [*n*] Aug. de Symbolo, lib. 2. c. 1. tom. 9. Profeſſi eſtis renunciare vos Diabolo, Pompis, & Angelis ejus. Videte dilectiſſimi, quia hanc Profeſſionem veſtram in Curiam profertis Angelicam: Nomina Profitentium in Libro excipiuntur Vitæ, non à quolibet homine, ſed à ſuperiore cœlitùs Poteſtate. [*o*] Hieron. Com. in Amos vi. 14. in Myſteriis primùm renunciamus ei qui in occidente eſt; & ſic verſi in Orientem, Pactum animus cum Sole Juſtitiæ, & ei ſervituros nos eſſe promittimus. [*p*] Cyril. Catech. Myſtagog. 1. n. 6. [*q*] Baſil. de Spir. St°. c. 27. [*r*] Ambroſ. de Initiatis, c. 2. Ad Orientem converteris. Qui enim renunciat Diabolo, ad Chriſtum convertitur. [*s*] *Book* X. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 10: [*t*] Aug. de Fide & Oper. cap. 9. Spado, inquiunt, ille quem Philippus baptizavit, nihil plus dixit, quàm, Credo Filium Dei eſſe Jeſum Chriſtum. Num ergo placet, ut hoc ſolum homines reſpondeant & continuo baptizentur? Nihil de Spiritu Sancto, nihil de Sancta Eccleſia, nihil de Remiſſione Peccatorum, nihil de Reſurrectione mortuorum? &c. Si enim Spado cum reſpondiſſet, Credo Filium Dei eſſe Jeſum Chriſtum, hoc ei ſufficere viſum eſt, ut continuo baptizatus abſcederet: Cur non id ſequimur, atque auferimus cætera quæ neceſſe habemus etiam cum ad baptizandum temporis urget anguſtia exprimere, interrogando ut baptizandus ad cuncta reſpondeat, etiamſi ea memoriæ mandare non valuit?

the Eunuch, but only his believing Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God, yet, as St. *Auſtin* obſerves in the ſame place [*u*], the Scripture in ſaying, *Philip* baptized him, is to be underſtood as meaning that all Things were fulfilled, which uſed to be obſerv'd in Baptiſm, though for Brevity's ſake they be not mentioned. And indeed in all the Accounts we have of Baptiſm in antient Writers, there is expreſs mention of this Profeſſion, either to believe the Doctrines of Chriſtianity in general, as they are delivered in Scripture, or as they are briefly ſummed up in the Articles of the Creed. *Juſtin Martyr* [*x*] ſays, Before Men were Regenerated, they muſt both profeſs to believe the Truth of thoſe Things which they had been taught, and alſo promiſe to live anſwerable to their Knowledge. *Cyprian* particularly [*y*] mentions the Uſe of the Creed in Baptiſm, and ſpecifies in ſeveral of the Interrogatories that were made in reference to the particular Articles of it; as, Whether they believed eternal Life, and Remiſſion of Sins in the holy Church? which were always the concluding Articles of the Creed. And in another place he ſpeaks both of theſe, and the Articles relating to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as Interrogatories uſed in Baptiſm both by the Catholick [*z*] Church, and the *Novatians*. For however they differed in the Senſe of ſome of the Articles, yet they both agreed in the ſame Form of Interrogatories, and both baptized in the ſame Creed. *Tertullian* alſo [*a*] ſpecifies the Articles relating to Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and the Church, as part of the Interrogatories of Baptiſm. And *Euſebius* reciting the Words of the Creed of *Cæſarea* [*b*], ſays, It was the Creed into which he was baptized. The ſame Uſe was made of the *Nicene* Creed, as ſoon as it was compoſed, in moſt of the *Eaſtern* Churches. For they ordinarily baptized in the Profeſſion of that Faith, as I have ſhewed [*c*] in the laſt Book. It were eaſy here to ſubjoin many Teſtimonies out of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Jerom*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Jeruſalem*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Nazianzen*, *Baſil*, *Epiphanius*, and *Salvian*, and the Author of the *Conſtitutions:* But the Matter is ſo inconteſtable, that the Ancients did never baptize into the Profeſſion of any ſingle Article, but into a complete and perfect Creed, that I think it needleſs to inſiſt upon the Proof of it, whilſt there is not any Pretence of an Exception to be made againſt it in any publick or private Baptiſm whatſoever.

SECT. IX. *This Confeſſion made in the moſt ſolemn and publick Manner.*

THERE were ſome Circumſtances and Ceremonies of this Confeſſion, which becauſe they added ſomething to the Solemnity of the Action, it will not be improper to mention. As firſt, That it was uſually done in Publick before many Witneſſes. Which was a Circumſtance grounded upon Apoſtolical Practice, and very rarely diſpenſed with. *Primaſius* [*d*] deduces it from the Example of *Timothy*, who *witneſſed a good Confeſſion before many Witneſſes*: Which he interprets of his Profeſſion of Faith made at Baptiſm. Which is alſo the Expoſition given by *Ephrem* [*e*] *Syrus*. And Pope *Leo* [*f*] ſeems to refer to the ſame, when he exhorts Men to ſtand firm in that Faith, which they confeſſed before many Witneſſes; that Faith in which they were born again of Water and the Holy Ghoſt, and received the Unction of Salvation, and the Seal of Eternal Life. It was uſual at *Rome*, St. *Auſtin* [*g*] tells us, To make this Confeſſion publickly in the Church in ſome eminent place appointed for the Purpoſe, that they might be ſeen and heard by all the Congregation. But ſometimes to favour the Modeſty of ſome very baſhful Perſons, who could not ſpeak without trembling in ſuch an awful Aſſembly, the Presbyters received their Confeſſion in private: And this they offered to *Victorinus*, a famous Rhetorician, upon his Converſion; but he choſe rather to make his Confeſſion in Publick; ſaying, There was no Salvation in *Rhetorick*, and yet he had always taught that in publick: And therefore it would not become him to be afraid of making a publick Confeſſion of God's Word before the meek Flock of Chriſt, who had never been afraid to repeat his own Words in the Schools of the Heathen, who, in compariſon of Chriſtians, were only to be reputed Mad-men.

SECT. X. *With Hands and Eyes lift up to Heaven.*

ANOTHER Circumſtance which added to the Solemnity of the Action, was the Poſture of the Body, not only looking toward the *Eaſt*, but with Hands and Eyes lift up to Heaven, as if they were immediately lift up to Chriſt, with whom they were now entring into Covenant, as their New Lord ſitting on the Throne of his Glory. For as they renounced the Devil with Hands ſtretched out againſt him, or with *Colliſion* or ſtriking them together in Defi-

[*u*] Aug. ibid. In eo quod ait, Baptizavit eum Philippus, intelligi voluit impleta eſſe omnia, quæ licet taceantur in Scripturis, gratiâ brevitatis, tamen ſerie Traditionis ſcimus implenda. [*x*] Juſtin Apol. 2. p. 93. ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βίον ὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνεῖσθαι — ἀναγεννῶνται. [*y*] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Epiſc. Numidas, p. 190. Sed & ipſa Interrogatio quæ ſit in Baptiſmo, teſtis eſt veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, Credis in Vitam æternam, & Remiſſionem peccatorum per Sanctam Eccleſiam? Intelligimus remiſſionem peccatorum non niſi in Eccleſia dari, &c. [*z*] Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 76. ad Magnum, p 183. [*a*] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. Quum ſub tribus & Teſtatio Fidei & ſponſio ſalutis pignorentur, neceſſario adjicitur Eccleſiæ mentio: quoniam ubi tres, id eſt, Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Eccleſia, quæ trium corpus eſt. [*b*] Euſeb. Epiſt. ad Cæſarienſes, ap. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8. [*c*] *Book* x. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 17. [*d*] Primaſ. in 1 Tim 6. 12. Confeſſus bonam Confeſſionem in Baptiſmo, coram multis teſtibus, coram Sacerdotibus & Miniſtris, atque Virtutibus cœleſtibus ac divinis. [*e*] Ephrem. de Pœnitent. cap. 5. [*f*] Leo. Serm. 4. de Nativ. Domini, p. 17. Parmanete ſtabiles in Fide, quam confeſſi eſtis coram multis teſtibus, & in qua renati per aquam & Spiritum Sanctum, accepiſtis Chriſma ſalutis & ſignaculum vitæ æternæ. [*g*] Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 8. cap. 2. Ut ventum eſt ad horam profitendæ Fidei, quæ verbis certis conceptiſque memoriter de loco eminentiore in conſpectu populi fidelis Romæ reddi ſolet ab eis qui acceſſuri ſunt ad Gratiam tuam, oblatum eſſe dicebat Victorino à Presbyteris, ut ſecretius redderet, ſicut nonnullis qui verecundia trepidaturi videbantur, offerri mos erat: Illum autem maluiſſe ſalutem ſuam in conſpectu ſanctæ multitudinis profiteri: Non enim erat Salus quam docebat in Rhetorica & tamen eam publice profeſſus erat. Quanto minus ergo vereri debuit manſuetum gregem tuum, pronuncians verbum tuum, qui non verebatur in verbis ſuis turbas inſanorum?

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ance of him; ſo on the contrary, they made their Confeſſion and Covenant, and Addreſſes to Chriſt in the Poſture of Petition, with Hands lift up to the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and ready to embrace him. So the Author, under the Name of *Dionyſius* [*h*] deſcribes it, ſaying, The Prieſt bids the Catechumen, after he has renounced *Satan*, to turn about to the *Eaſt* and make his Covenant with Chriſt, with Hands and Eyes lift up to Heaven.

SECT. XI. *Repeated Three Times.*

THIS Confeſſion alſo, for greater Solemnity, is thought to have been repeated three Times, as we have heard before, that it was uſual to do in the Renunciation of *Satan*. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [*i*] ſays, It was the Cuſtom of the Church to require a Triple Confeſſion of Chriſt, of all thoſe that propoſed to love him, and came to his holy Baptiſm: And this after the Example of St. *Peter*, to whom Chriſt ſaid three Times, Simon *Son of* Jonas *loveſt thou me?* And *Peter* anſwered thrice, *Lord, thou knoweſt that I love thee.* St. *Ambroſe* [*k*] ſays, That in the Celebration of Baptiſm, three Interrogatories were made, and a Triple Anſwer was given to them; nor could any one be otherwiſe baptized. Whence alſo *Peter* was asked three Times in the Goſpel, Whether he *loved the Lord?* That by anſwering thrice, he might looſe thoſe Bonds with which he had bound himſelf by denying his Lord. But I am not ſure that this triple Confeſſion always means thrice repeating the whole Creed. For St. *Ambroſe* [*l*] in another place makes this triple Confeſſion to be rather anſwering three Times, *I believe*, to the ſeveral Parts of the Creed. Thou waſt asked, ſays he, *Doſt thou believe in God the Father Almighty?* And thou didſt anſwer, *I believe.* Thou waſt asked again, *Doſt thou believe in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his Croſs?* And thou didſt anſwer a ſecond time, *I believe.* Thou waſt asked a third Time, *Doſt thou believe in the Holy Ghoſt?* And thy Anſwer was, *I believe.* So thou waſt thrice buried under Water, that thy triple Confeſſion might abſolve thee from the manifold Offences of thy former Life. Where it is plain, the Triple Confeſſion means no more than anſwering thrice, *I believe*, to the ſeveral Parts of the Creed. But there might be different Cuſtoms in different Places; for St. *Cyril* ſeems to mean ſomething more, when he makes theſe Anſwers not only to be a Confeſſion of the three Perſons of the Trinity, but a triple Confeſſion of Chriſt, which implies a Repetition of the Creed three Times over, if I rightly underſtand him.

SECT. XII. *And ſubſcribed with their own Hands in the Books of the Church, as ſome think.*

THERE was one Circumſtance more, which, if true, added great Weight to the whole Action: Which was, that the Party, after he had made his Confeſſion of Faith, ſubſcribed it alſo with his own Hand, if he were able to do it, in the Books or Regiſters of the Church. I cannot poſitively ſay that this was any certain or univerſal Practice, but there ſeem to be ſome Footſteps of it in ſome antient Records, and the Alluſions of Writers to ſuch a Cuſtom. *Gregory Nazianzen* is thought to refer to it, when exhorting Men to continue ſtedfaſt to the Faith which they profeſſed at Baptiſm, he ſays, If thou waſt enrolled into any other Faith [*m*] than what I have expounded, come and be enrolled again: And then tell thoſe that would draw thee away from it, *What I have written, I have written.* St. *Ambroſe* ſeems alſo to allude to this, when [*n*] he tells the Initiated, that their Hand-writing was recorded not only in Earth, but in Heaven, becauſe it was taken both in the preſence of Men and Angels. And St. *Auſtin* [*o*] ſays, the Names of ſuch as made their Profeſſion, were written in the Book of Life, not only by Men, but by the heavenly Powers above. Yet I confeſs St. *Chryſoſtom* has a Paſſage which ſeems to go contrary to all this: For ſpeaking of the Difference between earthly Maſters buying Slaves, and Chriſt taking us to be his Servants, he reckons this among others, That Chriſt requires no Witneſſes, nor Hand-writing [*p*] of us, but only our bare Word, to ſay, *I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy Pomp.* Whence it muſt be concluded, either that this Cuſtom was not ſo univerſal as the reſt, ſince St. *Chryſoſtom* knew nothing of it; or that the fore-cited Evidences are not ſo cogent as at firſt ſight they may ſeem to be. For St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtin* may be ſo interpreted, where they ſpeak of being written in the Book of Life, as to be underſtood only in a Figurative Senſe, for having their Names written in Heaven. Yet *Vicecomes* is very poſitive not only of this, but that Men alſo ſet their Seal [*q*] to their Subſcription, and confirmed their Profeſſion with an Oath. But I do not find any ſufficient Authority for this, and therefore will not any farther inſiſt upon it, which I had ra-

[*h*] Dionyſ. de Eccleſ. Hierarch. cap. 2. p. 253. [*i*] Cyril. lib. 12. in Joh. 21. tom. 4. p. 1119. Τύπῳ ὃ πάλιν τὸ μὲ ἐκκλησίας εἰσεῦθεν ὡς τὸ χρῆναι τρίτον διερωτᾶν τὸ εἰς Χριςὸν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐλομένους, διὰ τῦ τρισσεληθεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι. [*k*] Ambroſ. de Spiritu Sancto, lib. 2. c. 11. Ideo in Myſteriis Interrogatio trina defertur, & confirmatio trina celebratur: nec poteſt quis niſi trina Confeſſione purgari. Unde & ipſe Petrus in Evangelio tertiò interrogatur, utrum diligat Dominum, ut trina Reſponſione vincula, quæ Dominum negando ligavit, abſolveret. [*l*] Id. de Sacram. lib. 2. c. 7. Interrogatus es, Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? Dixiſti, Credo, &c. Iterum interrogatus es, Credis in Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum & in crucem ejus? Dixiſti, Credo, & Merſiſti —Tertiò interrogatus es, Credis & in Spiritum Sanctum? Dixiſti, Credo. Tertiò merſiſti, ut multiplicem lapſum ſuperioris ætatis abſolveret Trina Confeſſio. [*m*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 670. εἰ μὲ ἄλλως ἐγγεγράφθαι, ἢ ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀπαλῆ λόγῳ, δεῦρο καὶ μετεγγράφηθι. —εἰπὲ τοῖς μεταπειθομένοις σε, ὁ γέγραφα, γέγραφα. [*n*] Ambroſ de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 2. Chirographum tuum tenetur, non in terra, ſed in Cœlo. It. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumulo mortuorum, ſed in Libro Viventium. [*o*] Aug. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos lib. 2. cap. 1. Nomina Profitentium in Libro excipiuntur Vitæ, non à quolibet homine, ſed à ſuperiore cœlitùs Poteſtate. [*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Populum Antioch. tom. 1. p. 274. ἀ μάρτυρας ἡμᾶς, ἀκ ἔγγραφα ἡμᾶς ἀ ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ ψιλὴ τῆ φωνῆ, κἂν εἴπῃς ὑπὸ διανοίας, ἐπαίομαί σοι σατανᾶ, &c. [*q*] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 343.

ther leave to the farther Diſquiſition of the critical and curious Reader.

SECT. XIII.
The uſe of all theſe Ceremonies and Engagements; to make Men ſenſible of their Obligation, and ſtedfaſt to their Profeſſion.

BUT by what has been ſaid we may eaſily perceive, that the Deſign of the Church in all theſe Ceremonies, and the Caution and Deliberation uſed in the whole Action, was only to make Men truly ſenſible of the Nature of the Chriſtian Religion, (which admitted of no Proſelytes without theſe formal and ſolemn Profeſſions) and of their great Obligations to continue ſtedfaſt in that Faith of Obedience to Chriſt, which they had ſo ſolemnly promiſed with their Mouths, and ſubſcribed with their own Hands, not only before Men, but in the Preſence of God and the holy Angels. This was the greateſt Engagement imaginable upon them, and of Force to influence their whole Lives. To which Purpoſe St. *Chryſoſtom* often propoſes and inſiſts upon it, to make Men bear it perpetually in Memory, and uſe it as their beſt Armour and Weapon againſt all Temptations. In his laſt Diſcourſe to the People of *Antioch*, he expatiates upon this Topick, inveighing firſt ſeverely againſt all the Shows of the *Roman* Theatre, and *Circus*, and Obſervation of Days, and Preſages, and Omens, which he reckons among the Pomps of *Satan*. To theſe he joins Inchantments and Ligatures: For ſome Chriſtians made no Scruple to hang Golden Medals of *Alexander the Great* about their Head or Feet to cure Diſeaſes. With whom he expoſtulates after this manner: Are theſe our Hopes [*r*] and Expectations, that after the Croſs and Death of our Lord, we ſhould put our Truſt for Health in the Image of an Heathen King? Knoweſt thou not what Wonders the Croſs hath done? How it hath deſtroyed Death, extinguiſhed Sin, emptied Hell, diſſolved the Power of the Devil? And is it not as fit to be relied on to cure a bodily Diſeaſe? It hath given Reſurrection to the World, and canſt not thou confide in it? But thou not only procureſt Ligatures, but alſo Charms, bringing ſome old drunken ſtaggering Woman to thy Houſe for this Purpoſe, and payeſt Reverence to theſe Things, after thou haſt been diſciplined in the Religion of Chriſt. Nay, when Men are admoniſhed of theſe Things, they plead in Excuſe, that the old Woman the Inchanter is a Chriſtian, and names nothing but the Name of God. For which ſhe is the more to be abhorred, becauſe ſhe abuſes the Name of God to ſo ſcandalous a Practice, and whilſt ſhe calls herſelf a Chriſtian, does the Works of the Heathen. The Devils named the Name of Chriſt, and yet were Devils for all that, and were rebuked and ejected by our Saviour. Therefore I beſeech you, keep yourſelves pure from this Deceit, and take this Word as your Staff and Armour. As none of you will chuſe to walk abroad without his Shoes or Clothes: So without this Word, let none of you venture out in Publick, but when you go over the Threſhold of your Gate, ſay firſt this Word, *I renounce thee*, Satan, *and thy Pomp, and thy Worſhip; and I make a Covenant with thee, O Chriſt.* Never go forth without this Word, and it will be your Staff, your Armour, your invincible Tower. And with this Word, ſign yourſelves with the Sign of the Croſs: And then not only Man, but the Devil himſelf cannot hurt you, whilſt he finds you appearing guarded with this Armour. Thus St. *Chryſoſtom* exhorts Men daily to remember their ſolemn Profeſſion of Faith, and baptiſmal Vow, wherein they renounced Satan and embraced Chriſt, as the beſt Preſervative againſt Sin and Danger. To which both he and *Ephrem Cyrus* add this momentous Conſideration [*s*], That an Account of this Vow will be required of Men at the Day of Judgment. For *by thy Words ſhalt thou be juſtified, and by thy Words ſhalt thou be condemned.* And Chriſt will ſay to every wilfull Tranſgreſſor of it, *Out of thine own Mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked Servant.* As nothing therefore could be more uſeful than this Part of the Church's Diſcipline, in requiring ſuch Profeſſions and Promiſes of every Man before they entred the Service of Chriſt; as it was uſual for Maſters to do, before they bargained [*t*] with Slaves and took them into their Family: So nothing could be more material than the continued Impreſſions of this Vow upon Mens Minds, to keep them under a quick Senſe of their Obligations, on which the whole Conduct of their Lives ſo much depended, and their Eternal Intereſt at the Day of Judgment.

SECT. XIV.
Whether Publick and particular Confeſſion of Sins was required of Men at their Baptiſm.

THERE is one Thing more remains to be enquired into under this Head, that is, Whether any Publick or particular Confeſſion of Sins was required of Men at their Baptiſm, beſides what was implied in the general Renunciation of Satan and all his Works and Service? Now this is plainly reſolved by St. *Chryſoſtom* in the Negative: For diſcourſing of the Difference between God's chuſing his Servants, and the Choice which earthly Princes and Maſters make of their Soldiers and Slaves, he makes the Difference chiefly to conſiſt in this: That before Men were allowed to enter the Liſts in any of the famous Exerciſes of the Theatre, a publick Cryer muſt firſt lead them about by the Hand before all, and cry out, ſaying, *Does any one accuſe this Man?* Though there the Engagement was only of the Body, and not of the Soul. But in God's Choice of us it is quite otherwiſe: For though our Engagement depends not upon ſtrength of Arms, but on the Philoſophy and Virtue of our Souls, yet the Ruler and Governour thereof acts quite contrary: He does not take a Man, and lead him about, and ſay,

[*r*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antiochen. T. 1. p. 275. [*s*] Ephrem. de Abrenunc. Baptiſmi, p. 150. Hæc ipſa Abrenunciatio & pulchra Confeſſio exigetur à quocunque Chriſtiano in illa die, &c. Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 274. Hoc igitur dicamus, Abrenuncio tibi Satana: tanquam in illa die hujus vocis rationem reddituri, ut ſalvum tunc reddamus Depoſitum. [*t*] Chryſ. ibid. p. 273.

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Does any one accuſe him? But he cries out, Though all Men and Devils ſhould riſe up againſt him, and accuſe him of ſecret and horrible Crimes, I do not reject, I do not abhor him; but I deliver him from his Accuſer, and abſolve him from his Iniquity, and ſo I lead him to the Combat. Nor is this the only admirable Thing, that he forgives our Sins, but that he does not reveal nor diſcloſe them; he neither makes open Proclamation of them [*u*], nor compels thoſe that come to him to publiſh their own Offences, but requires them to give Account, and confeſs their Sins to him alone. He does not, like earthly Judges, oblige Criminals to make a publick Confeſſion before all Men in hopes of Pardon, but he forgives Sins upon our private Teſtimony without any other Witneſſes. This is undeniable Evidence, that no publick Confeſſion was required of Men for their private Offences, when they came to Baptiſm. And therefore when *Gregory Nazianzen* [*x*] ſpeaks of Confeſſion of Sins made at Baptiſm, he is to be underſtood either of a general Confeſſion, or ſuch a particular Confeſſion as Men voluntarily impoſed upon themſelves, to teſtify more eminently the Sincerity of their Repentance; which ſome think was done at *John*'s Baptiſm, *Mat.* iii. 6. and in the Baptiſm of thoſe mentioned *Acts* xix. 18. where it is ſaid, That *many who believed, came and confeſſed and ſhewed their Deeds*; though this was not impoſed upon Men by any neceſſary Law or Rule of the Church. In caſe of publick ſcandalous Crimes they were obliged particularly to Promiſe and Vow the forſaking of them: But for private Crimes, no particular Confeſſion was required to be made, ſave only to God, with a general Renunciation of all Sin, in which every private Crime was ſuppoſed to be included. *Vid. Aug. Serm.* 116. *de Tempore.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Uſe of Sponſors *or Sureties in Baptiſm.*

SECT. I. *Three Sorts of Sponſors in the Primitive Church.* 1. *For Children.*

NEXT to the Conditions and Promiſes required of Men in their Baptiſm, we muſt examine the Office and Buſineſs of Sponſors or Sureties, who had always ſome Concern in theſe Obligations. And here it is firſt to be obſerved, that there were three ſorts of Sponſors made uſe of in the Primitive Church. 1. For Children, who could not renounce, or profeſs, or anſwer for themſelves. 2. For ſuch adult Perſons, as by reaſon of Sickneſs or Infirmity were in the ſame Condition with Children, incapacitated to anſwer for themſelves. 3. For all adult Perſons in general. For the Church required Sponſors alſo for thoſe, who were otherwiſe qualify'd to make their own Reſponſes. Now the Office of Sponſors was diverſify'd a little in its Nature, according to theſe Diſtinctions. They who were Sureties or Sponſors for Children, were obliged firſt to anſwer in their Names to all the Interrogatories that were uſually put in Baptiſm, and then to be Guardians of their Chriſtian Education. Some will alſo needs have it, that they were obliged to give them a perfect Maintenance, and take them as it were for their own Children by Adoption, in caſe their Parents failed, and left them deſtitute in their Minority.

SECT. II. *Parents commonly Sponſors for their own Children.*

BUT this I take to be a Miſtake. For whoever were Sponſors for Children, if ever they became deſtitute, the Burden devolv'd upon the Church in general, and not upon any others. Which will be evidenced by theſe two Conſiderations: Firſt, That Parents were commonly Sponſors for their own Children: And in that caſe there can be no Diſpute where the Obligation of Maintenance lay, ſo long as they were alive. For they were obliged to maintain their own Children by a natural Law, not becauſe they were Sponſors, but becauſe they were Parents to them. It was not indeed abſolutely neceſſary that Parents ſhould be Sponſors for their own Children, tho' ſome in St. *Auſtin*'s Days were inclined to think ſo, which he reckons an Error, and ſhews [*a*], That in many Caſes there was a Neceſſity it ſhould be otherwiſe. But yet in moſt Caſes the Parents were Sponſors for their own Children, as appears from St. *Auſtin*, who ſpeaks of Parents in all ordinary Caſes offering their own Children to Baptiſm, and making the proper Reſponſes for them [*b*]: And the extraordinary Caſes in which they were preſented by others, were commonly ſuch Caſes where the Parent could not or would not do that kind Office for them: As when Slaves [*c*] were preſented to Baptiſm by

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 270. ἐ τ̃το ὃ μόνον ὀκὶ θαυμαςὸν, ὅτι ἀφίησιν ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήμαλα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ ὐδὲ ἐκκαλύπ]ᾳ, ὐδὲ ποιεῖ φανερὰ ᾧ δ῀ῦλα, ὐδὲ ἀναγκάζ᾽ παρελθόντας εἰς μέσον ἧκειν τὰ πεπλημμελημμύα, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀπολογήσαδαι κελεύ᾽, ᾧ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἧομολογῆσαδαι. [*x*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 657.

[*a*] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Illud autem nolo te fallat, ut exiſtimes reatûs vinculum ex Adam tractum, aliter non poſſe dirumpi, niſi Parvuli ad percipiendam Chriſti gratiam à Parentibus offerantur.

[*b*] Aug. ibid. Quid eſt illud, quod quando ad Baptiſmum offeruntur, Parentes pro eis tanquam Fidedictores reſpondent, &c: [*c*] Aug. ibid. Videas multos non offerri à Parentibus, ſed etiam à quibuſlibet extraneis, ſicut à Dominis ſervuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnunquam mortuis Parentibus ſuis, parvuli baptizantur, ab eis oblati, qui illis hujuſmodi miſericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter Parentes expoſuerunt, nutriendos à quibuſlibet, nonnunquam à ſacris Virginibus colliguntur, & ab eis offeruntur ad Baptiſmum.

their Maſters; or Children, whoſe Parents were dead, were brought by the Charity of any who would ſhew Mercy on them; or Children expoſed by their Parents, which were ſometimes taken up by the holy Virgins of the Church, and by them preſented unto Baptiſm. Theſe are the only Caſes mentioned by St. *Auſtin*, in which Children ſeem to have had other Sponſors, and not their Parents. Which makes it probable, that in all ordinary Caſes Parents were Sureties for their own Children. Which may be collected alſo from the Author of the *Hypognoſticks* [d] under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, who ſpeaks of Infants being preſented to Baptiſm by the Hands of their Parents, and ſome of them dying in their Arms before the Prieſt could baptize them. Whilſt Parents therefore were Sureties for their own Children, they were obliged to maintain them; but this not by the Law of Sureties, but by the Law of Nature: And if they failed, this Duty devolved upon the whole Church.

SECT. III.
Other Sureties not bound to maintain the Children for whom they were Sponſors.

SECONDLY, In other Caſes, where Strangers became Sureties for Children, the Burden of Maintenance did never devolve upon them by any Law of Suretyſhip, except they were obliged by ſome antecedent Law to take care of them. In caſe a Maſter was Sponſor for his Slave, he was obliged to maintain him, becauſe he was antecedently in the nature of a Father to him: And this Obligation aroſe, not from his Suretyſhip, but from his being his Maſter. But in other Caſes it was not ſo. For ſometimes Children that were expoſed, were taken up and preſented to Baptiſm by mere Strangers, and in that caſe the burden of Maintenance fell upon the Church, and not upon the Sponſors. And in ſome Caſes, as St. *Auſtin* [e] informs us, ſuch Children were preſented unto Baptiſm by the ſacred Virgins of the Church, who had no other Maintenance but what they themſelves received from the Church: And in that Caſe it is evident the Childrens Maintenance muſt be derived from the ſame Fountain, as the Virgins was, that is, from the publick Stock of the Church. So that in all Caſes the Church was charged with this Care, and not the Sponſors, except there was ſome antecedent Obligation. And there was good Reaſon for this: For, as St. *Auſtin* [f] obſerves, Children were preſented to Baptiſm not ſo much by thoſe in whoſe Hands they were brought, (though by them too, if they were good and faithful Men) as by the whole Society of Saints. The whole Church was their Mother, ſhe brought forth all and every one by this new Birth. And therefore if any were to be charged with Maintenance, it was but reaſonable that the Church ſhould maintain her own Children. So that they who lay ſo much Streſs upon Sponſors Undertaking for Children, as if they thereby undertook to give them Maintenance too, have no Grounds for their Aſſertion, ſince it appears from the beſt Light that we have, to have been otherwiſe in the Practice of the Primitive Church. I have not ſaid this to excuſe Sponſors from any Duty that properly belongs to them, but only to take off the Force of an unreaſonable Objection, which ſome have made againſt the preſent Uſe of Sponſors in Baptiſm, as if they were of a different Sort from thoſe of the antient Church, becauſe they are not under this particular Obligation, which appears not to have any other Foundation but the bare Surmiſe of thoſe who make the Objection.

SECT. IV.
But only to anſwer for them to the ſeveral Interrogatories in Baptiſm.

TWO Things indeed were antiently required of Sponſors as their proper Duty: 1. To anſwer in their Names to all the Interrogatories of Baptiſm. This ſeems to be intimated by *Tertullian* [g] where he ſpeaks of the Promiſes which the Sponſors made in Baptiſm, and of the Danger there was of their failing to fulfill them, either by their own Mortality, or by the untoward Diſpoſition of the Party. But if any one thinks theſe Promiſes related only to what the Sponſors promiſed for themſelves, and not in the Name of the Child, he may be informed more clearly from others. *Gennadius* [h] tells us, Theſe Promiſes for Infants and ſuch as were uncapable of Learning, were made after the uſual manner of Interrogatories in Baptiſm. And St. *Auſtin* [i] more particularly acquaints us with the Form then uſed, which was, Doth this Child believe in God? Doth he turn to God? Which is the ſame as Renouncing the Devil, and making a Covenant with Chriſt. In other places [k] he tells us more expreſly, That the Sponſors anſwered for them, That they renounced the Devil, his Pomps and his Works. And diſputing againſt the *Pelagians*, he proves by this Argument, That Children were under the Power of Satan and the Guilt of Original Sin, and needed Pardon; becauſe if a *Pelagian* himſelf brought a Child to

[d] Aug. Hypognoſtic. contra Pelag. lib. 6. cap. 7. tom. 7. p. 633. Novimus etiam Parvulos, quibus uſus Liberi Arbitrii non eſt, ut de bonis aut malis eorum meritis judicemus, Parentum manibus ad Gratiam ſacri Baptiſmatis deportatos: Et cum in uno eorum per manus Sacerdotis Myſterium Fidei adimpleretur, aliquotiens alterum in Parentum manibus factum examinem, fraudatum gratiâ Salvatoris. [e] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. [f] Aug. ibid. Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam Spiritualem Gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum geſtantur manibus, quamvis & ab ipſis, ſi & ipſi boni fideles ſunt, quàm ab univerſa Societate Sanctorum atque Fidelium.——Tota hoc Mater Eccleſia quæ in ſanctis eſt, facit: Quia tota omnes, tota ſingulos parit. [g] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 18. Quid enim neceſſe eſt Sponſores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia & ipſi per Mortalitatem deſtituere Promiſſiones ſuas poſſint, & proventu malæ indolis falli. [h] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogmat. cap. 52. Si vero parvuli ſunt, vel Hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, reſpondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi. [i] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Interrogamus eos à quibus offeruntur, & dicimus, Credit in Deum? de illa ætate, quæ utrum ſit Deus, ignoret; Reſpondent, Credit. Et ad cætera ſic reſpondent ſingula quæ quæruntur, &c. [k] Aug. Serm. 116. de Tempore, tom. 10. p. 304. Fidejuſſores pro ipſis reſpondent, quòd abrenuncient Diabolo, Pompis, & Operibus ejus.

Baptiſm, he muſt anſwer for him [*l*], becauſe he could not anſwer for himſelf, That he renounced the Devil, that he turned to God, and that among other Things, he believed the Remiſſion of Sins; all which would only be fallaciouſly ſaid, if Children had no Concern in them. And he profeſſes, he would not admit any Child to Baptiſm, whoſe Sponſor he had Reaſon to believe did not make theſe Promiſes and Reſponſes ſincerely for him. Of the Form and Practice then there is no Diſpute. Only it ſeemed a great Difficulty to Biſhop *Boniface*, and as ſuch he propoſed it to St. *Auſtin*, How it could be ſaid with Truth, that a Child believed, or renounced the Devil, or turned to God, who had no Thought or Apprehenſion of theſe Things; or if any, yet ſecret and unknown to us? If any one ſhould ask us concerning a Child, Whether he would prove Chaſte or a Thief, when he became a Man? we ſhould doubtleſs in that caſe anſwer, We know not. Or if the Queſtion was, Whether a Child in his Infancy thought Good or Evil? we ſhould make the ſame Anſwer, We know not. Since therefore no one would promiſe either for his future Morals, or his preſent Thoughts, how is it that when Parents preſent their Children as Sponſors in Baptiſm, they anſwer and ſay, The Children do thoſe Things which that Age does not ſo much as think of? As, That they believe in God, and are turned unto him, *&c.* To this St. *Auſtin* anſwers, That the Child is only ſaid to believe, becauſe he receives the Sacrament of Faith and Converſion, which entitles him to the Name of a Believer. For the Sacraments, [*m*] becauſe of the Reſemblance between them and the Things repreſented by them, do carry the Name of the Things repreſented. Chriſt was but once offered in himſelf, and yet he is offered not only on the Annual Solemnity of the *Paſſover*, but every Day for the People; and no one tells a Lye, that ſays, He is offered. As therefore the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body after a certain manner is called his Body, and the Sacrament of his Blood is called his Blood; ſo the Sacrament of Faith is Faith. And upon this Account, when it is anſwered, That an Infant believes, who has not yet any Knowledge or Habit of Faith, the meaning of the Anſwer is, That he has Faith becauſe of the Sacrament of Faith, and is converted to God becauſe of the Sacrament of Converſion, for theſe Anſwers appertain to the Celebration of the Sacrament. So that according to St. *Auſtin*, when an Infant is ſaid to have Faith, the meaning is only that he receives the Sacrament of Faith, which Faith he is bound to embrace when he comes to underſtand it. In the mean time he is called a Believer, becauſe he receives the Sacrament of Faith, and is entred into the Covenant of God by his Sponſors, who ſupply that Part for him which he cannot perform in his own Perſon. This was the firſt Duty of Sponſors toward Children.

SECT. V. *And to be Guardians of their Spiritual Life for the future.*

THE other was, That they were to be Guardians of their Spiritual Life for the future, and to take care by good Admonitions and good Inſtructions that they performed their part of the Covenant they were now engaged in. St. *Auſtin* [*n*] makes Sponſors themſelves concerned in this Covenant with God, and therefore preſſes it as a Duty upon them, that they ſhould not only by their Examples, but by their Words and Inſtructions teach them the great Duties of Chaſtity, Humility, Sobriety and Peace, for as much as they had anſwered in their ſtead, that they renounced the Devil, his Pomps and his Works. And in another place [*o*] he more particularly ſpecifies their Obligations, that they ſhould admoniſh them to live chaſtly, and preſerve their Virginity to Marriage, to refrain their Tongues from Evil-ſpeaking and Perjury, not to accuſtom their Mouths to filthy and laſcivious Songs, not to be Proud nor Envious, not to retain Anger nor Hatred in their Hearts, not to obſerve Divination or Sooth-ſaying, nor to hang Phylacteries or Diabolical Characters upon their own Bodies or their Relations, to keep and hold the Catholick Faith, to frequent the Church, to hear the Scriptures read with Attention, to entertain Strangers, and waſh their Feet, according to what was ſaid to them in Baptiſm, to live peaceably, to be Peace-makers among diſagreeing Brethren, and to honour the Prieſts and their Parents with the love of ſincere Charity. Theſe were ſuch Things as they had promiſed for Children in Baptiſm, and therefore they were bound by Compact with God to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to engage their Spiritual Pupils to perform them.

SECT. VI. *A 2d Sort of Sponſors for ſuch adult Perſons as could not anſwer for themſelves.*

ANOTHER ſort of Sponſors were ſuch as were appointed to make Anſwers for ſuch Perſons, as by reaſon of ſome Infirmity could not anſwer for themſelves. I have obſerved before, that ſuch adult Perſons as were ſuddenly ſtruck Speechleſs, or ſeized with a

[*l*] Aug. de peccator. Meritis, lib. 1. cap. 34. Vellem aliquis iſtorum qui contraria ſapiunt, mihi baptizandum Parvulum afferret. Ipſe certe mihi erat reſponſurus pro eodem Parvulo quem geſtaret, quia ille pro ſe reſpondere non poſſet. Quomodo ergo dicturus erat eum renunciare Diabolo, cujus in eo nihil eſſet? Quomodo converti ad Deum, à quo non eſſet averſus? Credere inter cætera Remiſſionem peccatorum, quæ illi nulla tribueretur? Ego quidem ſi contra eum hæc ſentire exiſtimarem, nec ad Sacramenta cum Parvulo intrare permitterem. [*m*] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Nonne ſemel immolatus eſt Chriſtus in ſeipſo? Et tamen in Sacramento non ſolum per omnes Paſchæ ſolennitates, ſed omni die populis immolatur; nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum reſponderit immolari. Si enim Sacramenta quandam Similitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta ſunt non haberent, Sacramenta non eſſent. Ex hac autem Similitudine plerumque etiam ipſarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo ſecundum quendam modum Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti Corpus Chriſti eſt, Sacramentum Sanguinis Chriſti Sanguis Chriſti eſt, ita Sacramentum Fidei Fides eſt. Ac per hoc cum reſpondetur Parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum, reſpondetur Fidem habere propter Fidei Sacramentum, & convertere ſe ad Deum propter Converſionis Sacramentum, quia & ipſa Reſponſio ad celebrationem pertinet Sacramenti. [*n*] Aug. Serm. 116. de Tempore, tom. 10. p. 304. Non ſolum exemplis, ſed etiam verbis eos ad omne opus bonum admonere debetis.— Poſteaquam baptizati fuerint, de Caſtitate, de Humilitate, de Sobrietate vel Pace eos admonere vel docere non deſinant, & agnoſcant ſe Fide juſſores eſſe ipſorum. Pro ipſis enim reſpondent, quod Abrenuncient Diabolo, Pompis & Operibus ejus. [*o*] Aug. Serm. 163. de Temp.

Phrenzy by the Violence of a Diſtemper, might yet be baptized, if any of their Friends could teſtify that they had beforehand deſired Baptiſm: And in this caſe the ſame Friends became Sponſors for them, making the very ſame Anſwers for them as they did for Children. This we learn from *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who aſſures us, That when Men were ſeized with Extremity of Sickneſs [p], and it was thought proper upon that account to baptize them, there were ſome appointed to make both the Renunciations and Confeſſions in their Name. And ſo it is in the Account which *Fulgentius* [q] gives of the *African* Negro, who juſt before his Baptiſm fell ſick of a Fever, which bereaved him of his Senſes, and made him ſpeechleſs: He was baptized for all this, having his Sponſors to anſwer in his Name, as if it had been for an Infant. So that all thoſe Canons which [r] ſpeak of baptizing Dumb Perſons in caſes of Extremity, though they do not expreſly require Sponſors for them, yet are to be underſtood as intending them, according to the uſual Practice of the Church. And if the Party happened to recover after ſuch a Baptiſm, it was the Sponſor's Duty, not only to acquaint him, as a Witneſs, with what was done for him, but alſo as a Guardian of his Behaviour, to induce him to make good the Promiſes, which he in his Name had made for him. For this was the indiſpenſible Duty of Sureties in all caſes whatſoever.

SECT. VII. *The Third ſort of Sponſors for all adult Perſons in general.*

THE Third ſort of Sponſors were for ſuch ſort of adult Perſons as were able to anſwer for themſelves. For theſe alſo had their Sponſors, and no Perſons antiently were baptized without them. Theſe are ſpoken of not only by *Dionyſius* [s] and the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [t], but by many other more unqueſtionable Writers. *Victor Uticenſis* tells us [u] of one *Muritta* a Deacon, who was Sponſor for *Elpidiphorus* at *Carthage*. And *Palladius* [x] ſays, *Evagrius Ponticus* performed the ſame Office for *Rufinus* the great Stateſman, and *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Arcadius*. St. *Auſtin* often mentions them, but then he alſo acquaints us, That it was no part of their Office to make Reſponſes for their Pupils in Baptiſm, as it was in the caſe of Infants and ſick Perſons who could not anſwer for themſelves. For though the Church accepted it [y] in the caſe of Infants by reaſon of their Diſability; yet ſhe would not allow adult Perſons to anſwer by Proxy, who were able to anſwer for themſelves; there being ſomething of natural Reaſon in that Saying in the Goſpel, *He is of Age, let him ſpeak for himſelf.* The moſt ruſtick Capacities and meaneſt Underſtandings even in the weaker Sex, would not ordinarily excuſe them from doing this in their own Perſons, unleſs, as *Gennadius* [z] ſays, They were ſo heavy and dull, as not to be capable of Learning, in which Condition the Sponſors were required to anſwer for them as for little Children, from whom they differed ſo little in Underſtanding.

SECT. VIII. *Whoſe Duty was not to anſwer in their Names, but only to admoniſh and inſtruct them before and after Baptiſm.*

BUT in ordinary Caſes, this was no Office of the Sponſors, when Men were in a Capacity to anſwer for themſelves. Their only Buſineſs was to be Curators and Guardians of their Spiritual Life; to which purpoſe, it was incumbent on them to take care of their Inſtruction and Morals, as well before as after Baptiſm. Upon this account the Deaconeſſes were uſually employed in the private Inſtruction of Women, to teach them how to make their Reſponſes in Baptiſm. And this was one Qualification required in Deaconeſſes by ſome antient Canons [a], that they ſhould be Perſons of ſuch good Underſtanding, as to be able to inſtruct the ignorant and ruſtick Women, how to make their Reſponſes to the Interrogatories, which the Miniſter ſhould put to them in Baptiſm, and how to order their Converſation afterward, as has been obſerved in another place [b].

SECT. IX. *This Office chiefly impoſed upon Deacons and Deaconeſſes.*

AND by ſome antient Rules this Office was chiefly impoſed upon Deaconeſſes, to be Sponſors for Women, as the Deacons were obliged to be for Men. For ſo the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* ſeems to repreſent it, when he orders [c] a Deacon to be Suſceptor for a Man, and a Deaconeſs for a Woman in Baptiſm. And we find the ſacred Virgins often mentioned as concerned in this Office. St. *Auſtin*, as we heard before, ſpeaks of them [d] as preſenting expoſed Children to Baptiſm, tho' they had no Children of their own, nor intended to have any. And in the Life of *Epiphanius* [e] we read, that as one *Lucian* was his Godfather in Baptiſm,

[p] Cyril. Com. in Joh. xi. 26. tom. 4. p. 683. ὕπερ τῶν ἐκάτη νόσῳ καλαλημμένων, μελλόντων τε διὰ τοῦτο βαπτίζεσθαι, καὶ ὑποτάττοντ᾽ τινες καὶ συνάπτοντ᾽. [q] Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiopis, c. 7. p. 610. Factum eſt, ut Confeſſionem tempore præterito redditam, quia non potuit in hora baptiſmi reddere propter infirmitatem corporis, adjutorio fraternæ redderet charitatis. Vid. Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 52. [r] *See Chap.* v. *n.* 2. [s] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 2. p. 252. [t] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 3. cap. 16. [u] Victor. de Perſecut. Vandal. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. tom. 7. p. 613. Hic dudum fuerat apud nos in Eccleſia Fauſti baptizatus, quem venerabilis Muritta Diaconus de alveo Fontis ſuſceperat generatum. [x] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 12. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. 1. p. 915. ὑποδέχε᾽ τὸν Ῥηφῖνον ὁ ἅγιος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκεφάλε βαπτίσματος. [y] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 24. Cum alii pro Infantibus reſpondent, ut impleatur circa eos celebratio Sacramenti, valet utique ad eorum Conſecrationem, quia ipſi reſpondere non poſſunt. At ſi pro eo qui reſpondere poteſt, alius reſpondeat, non itidem valet, &c. [z] Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 52. Si vero Parvuli ſunt, vel hebetes, qui Doctrinam non capiant, reſpondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt juxta morem baptizandi. [a] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 12. Viduæ vel Sanctimoniales quæ ad Miniſterium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam inſtructæ ſint ad Officium, ut poſſint apto & ſancto Sermone docere imperitas & ruſticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ ſunt, qualiter Baptizatori reſpondeant, & qualiter accepto baptiſmate vivant. [b] *See Book* II. *Chap.* xxii. *n.* 9. [c] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 16. τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ὑποδεχέσθω ὁ διάκονος, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἡ διάκονος. [d] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter Parentes expoſuerunt, nutriendos à quibuſlibet, nonnunquam à Sacris Virginibus colliguntur, & ab eis offeruntur ad Baptiſmum: Quæ certe proprios filios non habuerunt ullos, nec habere diſponunt: [e] Vita Epiph. n. 8. T. 2. p. 324 ὃς καὶ πατὴρ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ φωτίσματος. — Βερνίκην τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, ἥτις ἐγένετο μήτηρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἐπιφανίου.

so

so *Bernice*, a Sacred Virgin, was Godmother to his Sister. Whence it appears, that at first the sacred Virgins and Monasticks were thought as proper Persons as any to take this weighty Office upon them. Though afterward, in the *French* Church, by a Canon [*f*] of the Council of *Auxerre*, Monks are prohibited from being Sponsors in Baptism. And so the Prohibition stands in the *Romish* Church to this Day.

SECT. X. *What Persons prohibited from being Sponsors.*

BUT antiently there was no Prohibition of any sorts of Men from performing this Charitable Office, save only of such as unqualify'd themselves, by going contrary to the Rules of the Christian Religion. Fathers, as we heard before, were frequently Sponsors for their own Children; and I know of no Prohibition of this before the time of *Charles the Great*, when the Council of *Mentz* [*g*] made a Decree against it, forbidding Fathers to be Susceptors to their own Sons or Daughters at the Font in Baptism. Antiently also Presbyters and Deacons were allowed to be Sponsors, though this is also now prohibited in some Provincial Councils of the *Romish* Church by Cardinal *Borromæo* [*h*] in the last Age. But the only Persons whom the Ancients excluded from this Office, were Catechumens, Energumens, Hereticks, and Penitents; that is, Persons who either were yet never in full Communion with the Church, as being themselves unbaptized; or else such as had forfeited the Privileges of their Baptism and Church-Communion by their Errors, or Crimes, or Incapacity to assist others, who needed Assistance themselves. And by some Canons [*i*] Persons who were never confirmed, were excluded from being Sponsors both in Baptism and Confirmation.

SECT. XI. *But one Sponsor required, and that a Man for a Man, and a Woman for a Woman.*

FROM what has been said, the Reader will also easily observe, that antiently no more but one Sponsor was required, and that was a Man for a Man, and a Woman for a Woman; for we never read of more than one, in all the Accounts of the Ancients, and one of the same Sex for adult Persons. In the case of Infants, there was no Regard had to the Difference of Sex: For a Virgin might be Sponsor for a Man-child, and a Father for his own Children, whether they were Male or Female. And one Sponsor was sufficient in any case. Some Rules forbid more than one, either in Baptism or Confirmation: As that Decree of *Leo* [*k*], cited by *Gratian*, which says, No more than one, whether Man or Woman, shall be admitted as Surety for a Child in Baptism: And the like to be observed in Confirmation. Which Rule was renewed and confirmed by the Council of *Metz* [*l*], but upon a Reason which is something peculiar. For they conclude, that because there is but one God, one Faith, one Baptism, therefore an Infant ought to have only one Sponsor, whether Man or Woman, at his Baptism. Which I mention not for the Excellency of the Reason, but only to shew what conformity it bears to the antient Practice.

SECT. XII. *When first it became a Law, that Sponsors might not marry a Spiritual Relation.*

SOME perhaps will here be desirous to know the Original of that Practice in the *Romish* Church, which is the Occasion of so many Dispensations in Matrimonial Causes, arising from the Prohibition of Sponsors or Godfathers marrying within the forbidden degrees of Spiritual Relation. Now that which seems to have given the first Tendency towards this, was a Law of *Justinian*, still extant in the Code, wherein he forbids [*m*] any Man to marry a Woman, whether she be a Slave or Free, for whom he had been Godfather in Baptism when she was a Child: Because nothing does induce a more Paternal Affection, or juster Prohibition of Marriage, than this Tie by which their Souls are in a divine manner united together. Now this Law extended no farther than to prohibit Marriage in this immediate Relation: And it could not affect very many, whilst Parents were commonly Sponsors for their own Children, and the sacred Virgins, or the Deaconesses, or the Clergy for others; and Men were Sponsors for Men, and Women for Women. But afterward this was improv'd a little farther: For the Council of *Trullo* [*n*] forbids the Godfather not only to marry the Infant, but the Mother of the Infant, for whom he answers; and orders them that have done so, first to be separated, then to do the Penance of Fornicators. This Prohibition was extended to more degrees in the following Ages, and grew so extravagant, that the Council of *Trent* thought it a Matter worthy of their Reformation; though still by their Rules this spiritual Relation [*o*] was extended to more Degrees, than either the Laws of *Justinian* or the Canons of *Trullo* had prohibited. For they forbid Marriage not only between the Sponsors and their Chil-

[*f*] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 25. Non licet Abbati Filium de Baptismo suscipere; nec Monachis Commatres habere. [*g*] Conc. Mogunt. an. 813. can. 55. Nullus igitur proprium Filium vel Filiam de Fonte Baptismatis suscipiat. [*h*] Barromæ. Synod. Diœcesf. 2. Decret. 17. [*i*] Conc. Moguntinum. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. c. 102. In Baptismate vel in Chrismate, non potest alium suscipere in Filiolum, qui non est ipse vel baptizatus vel confirmatus. [*k*] Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. cap. 101. Non plures ad suscipiendum de baptismo Infantem accedant, quàm unus, sive Vir, sive Mulier. In Confirmatione quoque id ipsum fiat. [*l*] Conc. Metense. cap. 12. *cited by* Vicecomes. [*m*] Justin. Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. de Nuptiis. Leg. 26. Ea Persona omnimodo ad nuptias venire prohibenda, quam aliquis, sive Alumna sit, sive non, à sacrosancto suscepit baptismate; cum nihil aliud sic inducere potest Paternam affectionem, & justam Nuptiarum prohibitionem, quàm hujusmodi nexus, per quem Deo mediante animæ eorum copulatæ sunt. [*n*] Conc. Trull. can. 53. Ἐγνωμέν τινας ἐκ τῶ βαπτίσματο παῖδας ἀναδεχομένες, καὶ μετὰ τῦτο ταῖς ἐκείνων μητράσι γαμικὸν συναλλάσσονλας συνοικέσιον. δείζομεν ἀπὸ τῦ παρόντο μηδὲν τοιῦτον πεαχθῆναι. [*o*] Conc. Trident. Sess. 24. de Reform. Matrimon. cap. 2. Inter susceptores ac Baptizatum ipsum, & illius Patrem ac Matrem, necnon inter Baptizantem & Baptizatum, Baptizatique Patrem ac Matrem, tantum Spiritualis Cognatio contrahatur.

dren, but alſo between the Sponſors themſelves; and the Father and Mother of the Baptized is not to marry a Sponſor; nor may the Baptizer marry the Baptized, nor the Father or Mother of the Baptized, becauſe of the ſpiritual Relation that is contracted between them. But they forbid above two Sponſors to appear for a Child, and if more than two appear, they are not bound by this Law of ſpiritual Relation, though the Canon-Law [p] had determined otherwiſe in former Ages. Yet after all their Regulations about this Matter, there remain a thouſand Difficulties to exerciſe the Pens of the *Roman Caſuiſts*, which the Reader that is curious may find referred to by *Soteallus* and *Barboſa* [q] in their Declarations and Remiſſions on the Council of *Trent*.

SECT. XIII. *Why the Names of the Sponſors ordered to be Regiſtred in the Books of the Church.*

THERE is one Thing indeed ordered by that Council, which was antiently of good Uſe, though not for the Purpoſe for which they appointed it: That is, That not only the Names of the Baptized, but alſo the Names of the Sponſors ſhould be Regiſtred in the Books of the Church. The Council of *Trent* orders it only that Men might know what Perſons were forbidden to Marry by this ſpiritual Relation. But antiently it had a much better Uſe, that the Church might know who were Sponſors, and that they might be put in Mind of their Duty, by being entred upon Record, which was a ſtanding Memorial of their Obligations. This Cuſtom we find mentioned in the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius*, where he deſcribes the Ceremony of admitting Catechumens together with their Sponſors. The Biſhop firſt explains to the Catechumen the Laws and Rules of a divine Life and Converſation, and then asks him, Whether he purpoſes ſo to live? Which when he has promiſed, he lays his Hand upon his Head, and orders the Prieſts to Regiſter [r] both the Man and his Sponſor. Afterward he ſpeaks of reciting their Names out of theſe Regiſters, when Men were preſented by their Sponſors immediately to be baptized. And thus much of the Uſe of Sponſors in the Primitive Church.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Unction and the Sign of the Croſs in Baptiſm.

SECT. I. *Of the firſt Original of Unction in Baptiſm.*

WE find in ſome of the Antient Ritualiſts, but not in all, mention made of an Unction preceding Baptiſm, and uſed by way of Preparation for it. They who firſt deſcribe it, ſpeak of it as uſed either immediately after the Confeſſion of Faith, as the Author [a] of the *Conſtitutions*; or elſe between the Renunciation and the Confeſſion, as *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [b] deſcribes it. But there is no mention of this Unction either in *Juſtin Martyr* or *Tertullian*. For though *Tertullian* ſpeaks of an Unction among the Ceremonies of Baptiſm; yet, as *Daillé* [c] rightly obſerves, it was not this Unction preceding Baptiſm, but the Unction which followed after it in Confirmation, accompanied with Impoſition of Hands, which belongs to another Subject. For it is plain from *Tertullian* that neither of theſe were given before Baptiſm, but when Men [d] were come out of the Water, then they were anointed with the holy Unction, and had Impoſition of Hands, in order to receive the Holy Ghoſt. Whence I think *Daillé*'s Conjecture very juſt and reaſonable, That the Unction preceding Baptiſm is of later Dare, and was not as yet adopted among the Ceremonies of Baptiſm in the time of *Tertullian*.

SECT. II. *Of the Difference betwixt this and Chryſm in Confirmation.*

BUT the Writers of the following Ages ſpeak diſtinctly of two Unctions, the one before, the other after Baptiſm: Which they deſcribe by different Names and different Ceremonies, to diſtinguiſh them one from the other. The firſt they commonly call χρῖσιν μυσικὴν ἔλαίῳ, the Unction of the Myſtical Oyl, and the other χρῖσιν μύρῳ, or χρῖσμα, the Unction of Chriſm. They both agree in this, That the Biſhop only conſecrated them, whether for the Uſe of Baptiſm or Confirmation. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* gives us a Form of Conſecration to be uſed by the Biſhop in ſanctifying Oyl for this Unction before Baptiſm, where he prays [e] to God, That he would ſanctify the Oyl in the Name of the Lord Jeſus, and grant it ſpiritual Grace and efficacious Power, that it might be ſubſervient to the Remiſſion of Sins, and the Preparation of Men to make their Profeſſion in Baptiſm, that ſuch as were anointed therewith, being freed from all Impiety, might become worthy of the Initiation according to the Command of his Only-begotten Son. And this Power of Conſecration is reſerved to the Biſhop in all the Canons of the antient Councils; of which more when we come to ſpeak of Confir-

[p] Sext. Decretal. lib. 4. tit. 3. de Cognat. Spirit. cap. 3. Si plures acceſſerint, Spiritualis Cognatio inde contrahitur, &c. [q] Canon. Conc. Trid. cum Remiſſionibus Barboſæ, Colon. 1621. [r] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 253. Ἱερέρχης ὑπογράφας κελεύῃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον. It. p. 204. καὶ τινὰ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῆς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον κηρύξαι, &c.

[a] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. cap. 41. [b] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 2. n. 3. [c] Dallæ. de Confirmat. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 181. [d] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 7. Exinde egreſſi de Lavacro perunguimur benedicta Unctione de priſtina Diſciplina, qua ungui oleo de cornu in ſacerdotium ſolebant, &c. [e] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. cap. 42.

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mation. In the mean time I obſerve, 1. That theſe two went by different Names. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* calls the firſt [f] Myſtical Oyl, and the other Myſtical Chriſm, and has a diſtinct Form of Conſecration for each of them. And the ſame Diſtinction in Name is obſerved by *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [g] and the Authors under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr* [h], and *Dionyſius* [i]. 2. They differed in the Time of Adminiſtring them. For the one was given before the Party went into the Water, the other after he came out of it again. Which is clear from all the forementioned Authors, and from St. *Ambroſe*, who ſpeaks of an Unction with Oyl [k] before Baptiſm. As alſo the Author of the *Recognitions* under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* [l], who tells Perſons that were to be Baptized, That they were firſt to be anointed with Oyl conſecrated by Prayer. 3. They differed in reſpect to the Perſons concerned in the Adminiſtration. For the Unction before Baptiſm was often done by a Deacon or a Deaconeſs: But that after Baptiſm by the Biſhop himſelf moſt commonly, or at leaſt by a Presbyter in ſome peculiar caſes. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [m] ſpeaking particularly of the Unction before the Baptiſm of Women, orders the Biſhop to anoint the Head, the Deacon the Forehead, and the Deaconeſſes the other parts of the Body. But the Chriſm after Baptiſm is reſerved to the Biſhop only. *Laſtly*, They differed in the Deſign and Intent of them. For the Deſign of the firſt Unction was to prepare them for Baptiſm, and enter them on their Combat with Satan, as Champions of Chriſt; the other was to conſummate and confirm their Baptiſm with the Conſignation or Seal of the holy Spirit.

SECT. III. *The Deſign of this Unction, and the Reaſon of it.*

Cyril of *Jeruſalem* ſpeaking of the former Unction [n] ſays, Men were anointed from Head to Foot with this exorciſed or conſecrated Oyl, and this made them Partakers of the true Olive-tree, Jeſus Chriſt. For they being cut out of a wild Olive-tree, and ingrafted into a good Olive-tree, were made Partakers of the Fatneſs of the good Olive-tree. Therefore that exorciſed Oyl was a Symbol of their partaking of the Fatneſs of Chriſt, and an Indication of the Flight and Deſtruction of the adverſe Power. For as the Inſufflation of the Saints, and Invocation of God, do like a vehement Flame, burn and put the Devils to Flight; ſo this exorciſed Oyl by Prayer and Invocation of God, gains ſuch a Power, as not only to burn up and purge away the Footſteps of Sin, but alſo to repel all the Powers of the inviſible wicked One, the Devil. St. *Ambroſe* compares it to the anointing of Wreſtlers before they enter their Combat, *Thou cameſt to the Font*, ſays he [o], *and waſt anointed as a Champion of* Chriſt, *to fight the Fight of this World.* The Author under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr*, diſtinguiſhing between the two Unctions, ſays [p] Men were firſt anointed with the antient Oyl, that they might be Chriſt's, that is, the Anointed of God; but they were anointed with the precious Ointment (after Baptiſm) in Remembrance of him who reputed the Anointing of himſelf with Ointment to be his Burial. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* likewiſe uſes the ſame Diſtinction: Thou ſhalt firſt of all [q] anoint him with the holy Oil, then baptize him with Water, and afterward ſign him with the Ointment: That the anointing with Oil may be the Participation of the holy Spirit, and the Water may be the Symbol of Death, and the ſigning with Ointment may be the Seal of the Compact made with God. But if there be neither Oil, nor Ointment, Water is ſufficient both for the Unction and the Seal and the Confeſſion of him with whom we die. So that this was only a Ceremony of Baptiſm, which might be omitted without any Detriment to the Subſtance or Eſſential part of it To theſe may be added the Teſtimony of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſays [r], every Perſon before he was baptized, was anointed as Wreſtlers entring the Field: And this is not as the High Prieſt was anointed of old, only on the Head, or right Hand, or Ear, but all over his Body, becauſe he came not only to be taught, but to exerciſe himſelf in a Fight or Combat. This is the Account which they give of this Unction preceding Baptiſm.

SECT. IV. *The Sign of the Croſs frequently uſed in the Ceremonies of Baptiſm. 1. In the Admiſſion of Catechumens. And 2dly, In the Time of Exorciſm.*

DR. *Cave* [s] and ſome other Learned Perſons are of Opinion, That together with this Unction, the Sign of the Croſs was made upon the Forehead of the Party baptized. And there is no queſtion to be made of this, though all the Paſſages they refer to, are not direct Proofs of it. For many of them relate to the Sign of the Croſs in the Unction of Chriſm or Confirmation. As particularly, that Unction which *Tertullian* ſpeaks of, and the Sign of the Croſs accompanying it, was not the Unction before Baptiſm, but that which followed in Confirmation, as I have ſhewed before in the Beginning of this Chapter. Therefore to underſtand this Matter exactly, we are to diſtinguiſh

[f] Conſtit. lib. 7. c. 42. μυρικὸν ἔλαιον. lib. 7. c. 44. μυρικὸν μύρον. Vid. lib. 3. cap. 17. [g] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 2. n. 3. & Catech. 3. n. 3. [h] Juſtin. Reſp. ad Orthod. Q. 137. [i] Dionyſ. de Eccleſ. Hierar. cap. 2. p. 253. [k] Ambroſ. de Sacramentis, lib. 1. c. 2. Venimus ad Fontem—— Unctus es quaſi Athleta Chriſti, quaſi Luctamen hujus ſæculi luctaturus. [l] Clem. Recognit. lib. 3. c. 67. Baptizabitur autem unuſquiſque veſtrum—— perunctus primò Oleo per orationem Sanctificato. [m] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 3. c. 15, & 16. [n] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 2. n. 3. [o] Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 1. c. 2. Venimus ad Fontem—— Unctus es quaſi Athleta Chriſti, quaſi Luctamen hujus ſæculi luctaturus. [p] Juſtin. Reſpon. ad Orthodox. Q. 137. χειόμεθα ὑ πῷ φαλαιῷ ἐλαίῳ, ἵνα γινώμεθα Χειροί. πῷ ὑ μύρῳ, πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τῦ τλὼ χείσιν τε μύρε ἐνλαφιασμὸν ἑαυτὸ λογιζομένε. [q] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 2. cap. 22. Χείσῃς ὑ πρῶτον πῷ ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ ἔπειλα βαπίσῃς ὕδατι, ϗ τελώταῖον σφραγίσῃς μύρῳ, ἵνα τὸ μ̃ χείσμα μετοχὴ ᾖ τῦ ἁγίε πνεύματ⊖, τὸ ὑ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τῦ θανάτε, τὸ ὑ μύρον σφραγὶς τ̃ συνθηκῶν. &c. [r] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in Coloſ. p. 1358. ἀλείφε ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ εἰς σάδιον ἐμβησόμενοι, &c. [s] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Par. I. cap. 10. p. 318.

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at leaſt four ſeveral Times, when the Sign of the Croſs was uſed, during the Preparation or Conſummation of the Ceremonies of Baptiſm. 1. At the Admiſſion of Catechumens to the State of Catechumenſhip and the general Name of Chriſtians. 2. In the time of Exorciſm and Impoſition of Hands, while they were paſſing through the ſeveral Stages of Catechumens. 3. At the Time of this Unction before Baptiſm. 4. And laſtly, At the Unction of Confirmation, which was then uſually the Concluſion of Baptiſm both in adult Perſons and Infants; and many of the Paſſages which ſpeak of the Sign of the Croſs in Baptiſm, do plainly relate to this, as an Apendage of Baptiſm, and cloſely joyned to it as the laſt Ceremony and Conſummation of it. The Uſe of this Sign in the Admiſſion of Catechumens, I have already ſhewed before from St. *Auſtin* and the Life of *Porphyrius* Biſhop of *Gaza* [*t*]. And the frequent Uſe of it in Exorciſm and Impoſition of Hands and Prayer, during their Chatechetical Exerciſes, has alſo been noted [*u*] in treating of them from St. *Auſtin* and St. *Ambroſe*, which I therefore need not here repeat.

SECT. V. *Thirdly, In this Unction before Baptiſm.*

THE third Uſe of it was in this Unction before Baptiſm. For ſo the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* deſcribing the Ceremony of Anointing the Party before the Conſecration of the Water, ſays, The Biſhop begins the Unction by thrice ſigning him [*x*] with the Sign of the Croſs, and then commits him to the Prieſts to be anointed all over the Body, whilſt he goes and conſecrates the Water in the Font. St. *Auſtin* alſo may be underſtood of this, when he ſays [*y*], The Croſs is always joyned with Baptiſm. And by this we may interpret ſeveral Paſſages in *Cyprian*, as where he tells *Demetrian*, They only eſcape who are born again, and ſigned with the Sign of Chriſt. And what that Sign is, and on what part of the Body it is made, the Lord ſignified in another place, ſaying, *Go through the midſt of* Jeruſalem, *and ſet a Mark upon their Foreheads* [*z*]. And ſo again in his Book of the *Unity of the Church* [*a*] ſpeaking of *Uzziah*'s Leproſy, he ſays, He was marked for his Offence againſt the Lord in that part of his Body, where thoſe are ſigned, who obtain his Mercy. Which ſeems plainly to refer to the Sign of the Croſs made in Baptiſm. The Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* is very expreſs in this Matter. For explaining the Meaning of the ſeveral Parts and Ceremonies uſed in Baptiſm, he ſays [*b*], the Water is to repreſent Chriſt's Burial, the Oyl to repreſent the Holy Ghoſt, the Sign of the Croſs to repreſent the Croſs, and the Ointment or Chriſm, the Confirmation of Men's Profeſſions. And not improbably St. *Jerom* might refer to this, though his Words be not ſo reſtrained to this Time of Unction, when he ſays, He was a Chriſtian, born of Chriſtian Parents, and carried the Banner of the Croſs [*c*] in his Forehead. Some add alſo thoſe Words of *Cyprian* [*d*], Let us guard our Foreheads, that we may preſerve the Sign of God without Danger. And thoſe of *Pontius* [*e*] in his Life, where ſpeaking of the Chriſtian Confeſſors who were branded by the Heathen in the Forehead, and ſent as Slaves into the Mines, he ſays, They were marked in the Forehead a ſecond time; alluding to the Sign of the Croſs, which as Chriſtians they had received before. But theſe Paſſages do not neceſſarily relate to Baptiſm, but are only general Expreſſions that may refer to the Uſe of the Sign of the Croſs upon any other Occaſion: It being uſual in thoſe Times, to ſign themſelves upon the Forehead in the commoneſt Actions of their Lives, upon every Motion, as *Tertullian* expreſſes it [*f*], at their going out and coming in, at their going to bath, or to Bed, or to Meals, or whatever their Employment or Occaſions called them to. Yet thus far it may be argued from them, that they who uſed it ſo commonly upon all other Occaſions, would hardly omit it in this ſolemn Unction of Baptiſm. And therefore thoſe Allegations may be allowed to be a ſort of collateral Evidence of the Practice.

SECT. VI. *Fourthly, In the Unction of Confirmation.*

LASTLY, It was always uſed in the Unction of Confirmation. And that being then an Appendage to Baptiſm, what was done in it, was many times ſaid to be done in Baptiſm: And ſo both the Unction and Sign of the Croſs uſed in Confirmation are aſcribed to Baptiſm, and upon that account ſometimes miſtaken for the former Unction and Conſignation preceding Baptiſm. There was no Unction before Baptiſm in the Time of *Tertullian*; but there was one immediately after it, which together with Impoſition of Hands had alſo the Sign of the Croſs joyned with it; and all theſe were properly Ceremonies of Confirmation, which came after Baptiſm, and are not to be confounded with the former. *Ter-*

[*t*] See *Book* X. *Chap.* i. *n.* 3. [*u*] *Book* X. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 8. [*x*] Dionyſ. de Hierar. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 253. ὁ ὑπὲρ χείσεως διὰ τὸ σφραγίσαι τρὶς ἀπαρξάμενος, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα χείσαι παντώμως ἐπιτρέπει. &c. [*y*] Aug. Serm. 101. de Tempore, p. 290. Semper enim Cruci baptiſma jungitur. [*z*] Cyp. ad Demetrian. p. 194. Evadere eos ſolos poſſe, qui renati & Signo Chriſti ſignati fuerint, alio loco Deus loquitur.—— Quod autem ſit hoc Signum & qua in parte Corporis poſitum, manifeſtat alio in loco Deus, dicens: Tranſi per mediam Jeruſalem, & notabis Signum ſuper Frontes virorum, &c. [*a*] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 116. In Fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte Corporis notatus, offenſo Domino, ubi ſignantur qui Dominum promerentur. [*b*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 17. τὸ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἡ σφραγὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας. [*c*] Hieron. Ep. 113. Præfat. in Job, tom. 3. Ego Chriſtianus, & de Parentibus Chriſtianis natus, & Vexillum Crucis in mea Fronte portans. [*d*] Cypr. Ep. 50. al. 58. p. 125. Muniatur frons, ut Signum Dei incolume ſervetur. [*e*] Pontius Vit. Cypr. p. 4. Confeſſores frontium notatarum ſecunda Inſcriptione Signatos. [*f*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Ad omnem progreſſum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad veſtitum, ad calceatum, ad Lavacra, ad Menſas, ad Lumina, ad Cubilia, ad Sedilia, quæcunque nos converſatio exercet, frontem crucis ſignaculo terimus. Vid. Cyril. Catech. 4. n. 10. Catech. 13. n. 18. Chryſoſt. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antioch.

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tullian [*f*] says, The Flesh is washed, that the Soul may be cleansed; the Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be consecrated; the Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be guarded; the Flesh is overshadowed by Imposition of Hands, that the Soul may be illuminated by the Spirit; the Flesh is fed by the Body and Blood of Christ, that the Soul may receive Nourishment or Fatness from God. Here he describes all Things in order as they were done after Baptism to the Eucharist. There was an Unction, and a signing with the Sign of the Cross, and Imposition of Hands, and then the Eucharist. So that this Sign of the Cross plainly relates to the Unction which came after Baptism, and was an usual Ceremony of Imposition of Hands or Confirmation. And thus we are to understand that other Passage of *Tertullian* [*g*] where he says, The Devil apes the Ceremonies of the divine Sacraments in his Idol-Mysteries. He baptizes those that believe in him; he promises them Expiation of Sins in his Laver, as now it is in the Mysteries of *Mithra*; he signs his Soldiers in the Forehead; he celebrates also the Oblation of Bread, *&c.* Where most probably signing in the Forehead relates to the Sign of the Cross in Confirmation, which comes between Baptism and the Eucharist. And so in Pope *Leo* [*h*], All that are regenerated in Christ, the Sign of the Cross makes them Kings, and the Unction of the Spirit consecrates them Priests; meaning in the same Sense as St. *Peter* says, All Christians are a Royal Priesthood. Which Privileges are commonly by the Ancients ascribed to the Unction in Confirmation, as here by *Leo*, who makes the Sign of the Cross an Attendant of this Unction after Baptism. St. *Austin*'s Words are a little [*i*] more general; but yet learned Men think [*k*] they refer to the Sign of the Cross in Confirmation, when he says, Several Sacraments or sacred Rites are received in different ways; some, you know, are received in the Mouth, meaning the Eucharist; others in the whole Body, meaning Baptism, wherein the whole Body is washed with Water; others in the Forehead, as the Sign of the Cross: where because he distinguishes the Sign of the Cross, as a Sacrament in the large Sense of the Word, both from Baptism and the Eucharist, it seems most reasonable to suppose that he intended the Use of it in Confirmation. Which therefore the *Greeks* often call σφραγὶς, the Sign or Seal of the Holy Ghost [*l*]; and sometimes the Sign of the Cross is more distinctly called σταυροῦ σφραγὶς, the Sign made in the Form of the Cross, which was used not only in baptizing and confirming, but also in the Ordination of Priests, as I have had Occasion elsewhere [*m*] to shew out of *Chrysostom* and *Dionysius* [*n*], and in the Consecration of the Waters of Baptism, which is the next Thing that comes in order to be considered.

CHAP. X.

Of the Consecration of the Water in Baptism.

SECT. I. *The Consecration of the Water made by Prayer.*

IMMEDIATELY after the Unction the Minister proceeded to consecrate the Water, or the Bishop if he were present consecrated it, while the Priests were finishing the Unction. For so the Author under the Name of *Dionysius* represents it. While the Priests, says he [*a*], are finishing the Unction, the Bishop comes to the Mother of Adoption (so he calls the Font) and by Invocation sanctifies the Water in it, thrice pouring in some of the holy Chrism in a manner representing the Sign of the Cross. This Invocation or Consecration of the Water by Prayer, is mentioned by *Tertullian*. For he says [*b*], The Waters are made the Sacrament of Sanctification by Invocation of God. The Spirit immediately descends from Heauen, and resting upon them sanctifies them by himself, and they being so sanctified, imbibe the Power of Sanctifying. And *Cyprian* [*c*] declares, That the Water must first be cleansed and sanctified by the Priest, that it may have Power by Baptism to wash away the Sins of Man. And so the whole Council of *Carthage* [*d*] in the time of *Cyprian* says, The Water is sanctified by the Prayer of the Priest to wash away Sin. *Optatus* has respect to this, when speaking of the Name of *Piscis*, ἰχθὺς, the Technical Name that was given to Christ, from the several Initial Letters of his Titles, which signifies a Fish, he says, This is the Fish [*e*], meaning Christ, which is

[*f*] Tertul. de Resur. cap. 8. Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur. Caro unguitur, ut anima consecretur. Caro signatur, ut & anima muniatur. Caro manûs Impositione adumbratur, ut & anima Spiritu illuminetur. Caro Corpore & Sanguine Christi vescitur, ut & anima de Deo saginetur. [*g*] Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 40. Ipsas quoque res Sacramentorum divinorum in Idolorum Mysteriis æmulatur. Tinguit & ipse quosdam, utique Credentes & Fideles suos Expiationem de Lavacro repromittit, & sic adhuc initiat Mithræ. Signat illic in Frontibus milites suos, celebrat & Panis Oblationem. [*h*] Leo Serm. 3. in Anniversario Die suæ Assumptionis, p. 3. Omnes in Christo regeneratos Crucis Signum efficit Reges; Sancti vero Spiritûs Unctio consecrat Sacerdotes. [*i*] Aug. Enarrat. Psal. 141. p. 671. Multa Sacramenta aliter atque aliter accipimus. Quædam, sicut nôstis, ore accipimus, quædam per totum Corpus accipimus. Quia vero in Fronte erubescitur.—— Crucem Christi quam Pagani deridٍent, in loco pudoris nostri constituit. [*k*] Dallæ. de Confirm. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 294. [*l*] Conc. Gen. Constantinop. 1. can. 7. [*m*] *Book* IV. *Chap.* vi. *n.* 12. [*n*] Chrys. Hom. 55. in Matth. p. 475. Dionys de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 5. p. 312, & 314.

[*a*] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 253. αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἔρχεται, καὶ τὸ ταύτης ὕδωρ τῇ ἱερατικῇ ἐπικλήσεσι καθαγιάσας, &c. [*b*] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 4. Sacramentum Sanctificationis consequuntur, invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cœlis, & aquis supereſt, sanctificans eas de semetipso, & ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt. [*c*] Cyprian. Ep. 70. ad Januar. p. 190. Oportet vero mundari & sanctificari aquam prius a Sacerdote, ut possit baptismo sua peccata hominis, qui baptizatur, abluere. [*d*] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. p. 233. Aqua Sacerdotis prece Sanctificata abluit delicta. [*e*] Optat. lib. 3. cont. Parmen. p. 62. Hic est Piscis, qui in baptismate per Invocationem Fontalibus undis inseritur.

brought down upon the Waters of the Font in Baptiſm by Invocation and Prayer. St. *Auſtin* often mentions this Invocation in his Books of Baptiſm. That Water [*f*] is not profane and adulterated, over which the Name of God is invoked, though the Invocation be made by profane and adulterous Men. In another place [*g*] he ſays, This Invocation was uſed both in conſecrating the Waters of Baptiſm, and the Oyl for Unction, and the Euchariſt, and in giving Impoſition of Hands. And the Sacraments were Valid, though it were a Sinner or a Murderer that made the Prayer. And again, anſwering the Objection of the *Cyprianiſts* and *Donatiſts*, That a wicked Man or an Heretick could not ſanctify the Water, he ſays, Every Error [*h*] in the Prayer of Conſecration does not deſtroy the Eſſence of Baptiſm, but only the Want of thoſe Evangelical Words, (he means the Form of baptizing in the Name of the Trinity) inſtituted by Chriſt, without which Baptiſm cannot be conſecrated. For otherwiſe, if the Water were not conſecrated, when the Miniſter uſes any erroneous Words in his Prayer, then not only wicked Men, but many good Brethren in the Church did not ſanctify the Water: For many of their Prayers were daily corrected, when they were rehearſed to thoſe that were more Learned, and many Errors were found in them contrary to the Catholick Faith. Yet they that were baptized when ſuch Prayers were ſaid over the Water, were not baptized again. This is a plain Evidence, that Prayers of Conſecration were then generally uſed both among the *Catholicks* and *Donatiſts*, though neither the Uſe nor the Orthodoxy of them were reckoned to be of abſolute Neceſſity to the very Being and Eſſence of Baptiſm, which might conſiſt with great Errors in ſuch Prayers. It were eaſy to add many other Teſtimonies of this antient Practice out of St. *Ambroſe* [*i*], St. *Baſil* [*k*], *Theodoret* [*l*], *Gregory Nyſſen* [*m*], *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* [*n*], *Victor Uticenſis* [*o*], and ſome others. But I think it needleſs to repeat them all at length, after ſuch full Evidence from St. *Auſtin* and thoſe Writers that came before him.

SECT. II. *An antient Form of this Prayer in the Conſtitutions.*

ONLY I ſhall add two or three Obſervations more concerning this Prayer of Conſecration, which may give a little Light to ſome Uſages, and ſome Doctrines alſo of the Antient Church. And firſt we find, that as they had Forms for other Parts of the Divine Service, ſo they had a Form for this Conſecration-prayer, or Benediction of the Water, though that not ſo univerſal and invariable as the Form of Baptiſm. For St. *Auſtin* obſerves, that the one never varied, but the other was ſubject to ſome Errors and Corruptions, by reaſon of the Liberty that was left to Human Compoſures. One of theſe Forms is now extant in the *Conſtitutions*, which it will not be amiſs here to inſert. It goes under the Title of a Thankſgiving over the Myſtical Water. The Prieſt bleſſes [*p*] and praiſes the Lord God Almighty, the Father of the only-begotten God, giving him Thanks, for that he ſent his Son to be incarnate for us, that he might ſave us; that he took upon him in his Incarnation to be obedient in all Things, to preach the Kingdom of Heaven, the Remiſſion of Sins, and the Reſurrection of the Dead. After this he adores the only-begotten God, and for him gives Thanks to the Father, that he took upon him to die for all Men upon the Croſs, leaving the Baptiſm of Regeneration as a Type or Symbol of it. He farther praiſes God the Lord of all, that in the Name of Chriſt, and by the Holy Spirit, not rejecting Mankind, he ſhewed himſelf at divers times in divers Providences towards them; giving *Adam* an Habitation in a delicious Paradiſe; then laying upon him a Command in his Providence, upon the Tranſgreſſion of which he expelled him in his Juſtice, but in his Goodneſs did not wholly caſt him off, but diſciplined his Poſterity in divers manners, for whom in the End of the World he ſent his Son, to be made Man for the ſake of Men, and to take upon him all the Affections of Men, Sin only excepted. After this Thankſgiving the Prieſt is to call upon God, and ſay, Look down from Heaven, and ſanctify this Water; give it Grace and Power, that he that is baptized therein, according to the Command of Chriſt, may be crucified with him, and die with him, and be buried with him, and riſe again with him to that Adoption which comes by him; that dying unto Sin, he may live unto Righteouſneſs. Any one that will compare the Form in our *Liturgy* with the antient Form, will find a great Reſemblance between them, both in the Thankſgiving, and the particular Prayer of Conſecration.

SECT. III. *The Sign of the Croſs uſed in this Conſecration.*

Secondly, I obſerve, That together with this Prayer, it was uſual to make the Sign of the Croſs alſo; not as before, upon

[*f*] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 3. cap. 10. Non eſt aqua profana & adultera, ſuper quam Nomen invocatur, etiamſi a profanis & adulteris invocetur. [*g*] Id. de Bapt. lib. 5. cap. 20. Si ergo ad hoc valet, quod dictum eſt in Evangelio, Deus peccatorem non audit, ut per peccatorem Sacramenta non celebrentur: Quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel ſuper aquam Baptiſmi, vel ſuper Oleum, vel ſuper Euchariſtiam, vel ſuper Capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen & fiunt & valent etiam per homicidas, &c. [*h*] De Bapt. lib. 6. cap. 25. Si non ſanctificatur aqua, cum aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam precator effundit, multi non ſolum mali, ſed etiam boni fratres in ipſa Eccleſia non ſanctificant aquam. Multorum enim Preces emendantur quotidie, ſi doctioribus fuerint recitatæ, & multa in eis reperiuntur contra Fidem Catholicam. Nunquid ſi manifeſtarentur aliqui baptizati, cum illæ Præces dictæ ſuper aquam fuiſſent, juberentur denuo baptizari? —— Certa illa Evangelica verba, ſine quibus non poteſt Baptiſmus conſecrari, tantum valent, ut per illa ſic evacuentur quæcunque in Prece vitioſa contra Regulam Fidei dicuntur, quemadmodum Dæmonium Chriſti nomine excluditur. [*i*] Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 1. c. 5. lib. 5. c. 2. De Spir. Sancto. lib. 1. c. 7. [*k*] Baſil. in Pſal. 28. It. de Spir. Sancto. c. 27. [*l*] Theodor. in 1 Cor vi. 11. t. 3. p. 144. [*m*] Nyſſen. de Bapt. Chriſt. t. 3. p. 370. It. adv. eos qui Baptiſm. differunt, tom. 2. p. 219. [*n*] Theophil. Ep. Paſchal. 1. Bibl. Patr. tom. 3. p. 87. [*o*] Victor. Utic. de Perſec. Vandal. lib. 2. p. 602. Gelaſ. Cyzicen. & Pſeudo-Athanaſ. de Communi Eſſentia, &c. [*p*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. cap. 43.

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the Perſon to be baptized, but as a Circumſtance of the Conſecration. This we learn not only from *Dionyſius* [q], but from St. *Auſtin* [r], who ſays, The Water of Baptiſm was ſigned with the Croſs of Chriſt. And St. *Chryſoſtom* [s] ſays, They uſed it in all their ſacred Myſteries; when they were regenerated in Baptiſm, when they were fed with the Myſtical Food in the Euchariſt, when they were ordained, that Symbol of Victory was always repreſented in the Action, whatever religious Matter they were concerned in. To which we may add the Author under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [t], who runs over all the ſolemn Conſecrations of the Church, and tells us, the Symbol of the Croſs was uſed in every one, in chatechiſing of new Converts, in conſecrating the Waters of Baptiſm, in giving Impoſition of Hands in Confirmation, in the Dedication of Churches and Altars, in conſecrating the Euchariſt, and in promoting *Prieſts* and *Levites* to holy Orders.

SECT. IV.

The Effects and Change wrought by this Conſecration, the ſame as in the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt.

Thirdly, I obſerve concerning the Effects of this Conſecration, That the very ſame Change was ſuppoſed to be wrought by it in the Waters of Baptiſm, as by the Conſecration of Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt. For they ſuppoſed not only the Preſence of the Spirit, but alſo the Myſtical Preſence of Chriſt's Blood to be here after Conſecration. *Julius Firmicus* [u] ſpeaking of Baptiſm, bids Men here ſeek for the pure Waters, the undefiled Fountain where the Blood of Chriſt after many Spots and Defilements, would whiten them by the Holy Ghoſt. *Gregory Nazianzen* [x] and *Baſil* [y] ſay upon this Account, That a greater than the Temple, a greater than *Solomon*, a greater than *Jonas* is here, meaning Chriſt by his Myſtical Preſence and the Power of his Blood. St. *Auſtin* [z] ſays, Baptiſm or the baptiſmal Water is Red, when once it is conſecrated by the Blood of Chriſt; and this was prefigured by the Waters of the Red Sea. *Proſper* [a] is bold to ſay, That in Baptiſm we are dipped in Blood; and therefore Martyrs are twice dipped in Blood, firſt in the Blood of Chriſt at Baptiſm, and then in their own Blood at Martyrdom. St. *Jerom* [b] uſes the ſame bold Metaphor, explaining theſe Words of *Iſaiah*, *Waſh ye, make ye clean: Be ye baptized in my Blood by the Laver of Regeneration.* And again [c], ſpeaking of the *Ethiopian* Eunuch, he ſays, He was baptized in the Blood of Chriſt, about whom he was reading. After the ſame manner, *Cæſarius* ſays [d], The Soul goes into the living Waters, conſecrated and made Red by the Blood of Chriſt. And *Iſidore* [e] ſays, What is the *Red-Sea*, but Baptiſm conſecrated in the Blood of Chriſt? Others tell us, That we are hereby made Partakers of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and eat his Fleſh, according to what is ſaid in St. *John*'s Goſpel, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* Upon which Words *Fulgentius* [f] founds the Neceſſity of Baptiſm: For as much as it may be perceived by any conſidering Man, that the Fleſh of Chriſt is eaten and his Blood drunk in the Laver of Regeneration. Hence *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſays [g], We are Partakers of the Spiritual Lamb in Baptiſm. And *Chryſoſtom* [h], That we thereby put on Chriſt, not only his Divinity, or only his Humanity, that is, his Fleſh, but both together. And *Nazianzen* [i], That in Baptiſm we are anointed and protected by the precious Blood of Chriſt, as *Iſrael* was by the Blood upon the Door-poſts in the Night. St. *Chryſoſtom* [k] ſays again, That they that are baptiſed, put on a Royal Garment, a Purple dipped in the Blood of the Lord. *Philo-Carpathius* ſays, The Spouſe of Chriſt, his Church, receives in Baptiſm the Seal [l] of Chriſt, being waſhed in the Fountain of his moſt holy Blood. *Optatus* [m], as we have heard before, ſays, Chriſt comes down by the Invocation, and joyns himſelf to the Waters of Baptiſm. Nay, *Chryſoſtom* [n], in one of his bold rhetorical Flights, ſcruples not to tell a Man that is baptized, That he immediately embraces his Lord in his Arms, that he is united to his Body, nay, compounded or conſubſtantiated with that Body which ſits above,

[q] Dionyſ. de Hier. Eccl. c. 2. p. 254. [r] Aug. Hom. 27. ex 50. tom. 10. p. 175. Quia Baptiſmus, id eſt, aqua ſalutis, non eſt ſalutis, niſi Chriſti nomine conſecrata, qui pro nobis ſanguinem fudit, Cruce ipſius aqua ſignatur. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 54. al. 55. in Mat. p. 475. ed. Commelin. πάντα δι' αὐτὸ τελεῖται τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς· κἂν ἀναγεννᾶσθαι δέῃ, σαυτὸν φάγε· κἂν τετροῦσθαι τὸ μυστικὸν ἐκεῖνο τετρῶ· κἂν χειροτονῆσθαι, &c. [t] Aug. Hom. 75. de Diverſis in Append. tom 10. p. 702. Hujus Crucis myſterio rudes catechizentur, eodem myſterio Fons regenerationis conſecratur, ejuſdem crucis ſigno per manûs Impoſitionem baptizati dona gratiarum accipiunt. Cum ejuſdem crucis Charactere Baſilicæ dedicantur, altaria conſecrantur, altaris Sacramenta cum interpoſitione Dominicorum verborum conficiuntur. Sacerdotes & Levitæ per hoc idem ad Sacros Ordines promoventur. [u] Firmic. de Error. Profan. Relig. c. 28. Quære Fontes ingenuos, quære puros liquores, ut illic te poſt multas maculas cum Spiritu Sancto Chriſti ſanguis incandidet. [x] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 657. [y] Baſil. de Bapt. lib. 1. c. 2. tom. 1. p. 558. [z] Aug. Tract. 11. in Joh. p. 41. Significabat mare Rubrum baptiſmum Chriſti. Unde rubet baptiſmus Chriſti, niſi Chriſti ſanguine conſecratus? [a] Proſper. de Promiſſis. lib. 2. cap. 2. In cocco bis tincto Martyria ſancta rutilant, ſemel Baptiſmo Chriſti ſanguine tinguntur, atque ſuo effuſionis cruore denuo retincti. [b] Hieron. in Eſai. 1. 16. Baptizemini in ſanguine meo per Lavacrum regenerationis. [c] Id. in Eſai. 53. 7. Statim baptizatus in agni ſanguine quem legebat, Vir meruit appellari, & Apoſtolus genti Æthiopum miſſus eſt. [d] Cæſar. Arelatenſ. Hom. 6. de Paſchat. Bibl. Patr. tom. 2. p. 276. Ingreditur anima vitales undas velut rubras ſanguine Chriſti conſecratas. [e] Iſidor. Hiſpal. in Exod. 19. Quid eſt mare rubrum, niſi baptiſmum Chriſti ſanguine conſecratum? [f] Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiop. cap. 11. p. 611. Quiſquis ſecundum myſterii veritatem conſiderare poterit, in ipſo lavacro ſanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit. —— Quod etiam ſanctos Patres indubitanter credidiſſe ac docuiſſe cognoſcimus. [g] Cyril in Exod. 12. lib. 2. tom. 1. p. 270. μέτοχοι τῶ νοητῶ προβάτω, &c. [h] Chryſ. Serm. 27. de Cruce. tom. 6. p. 293. [i] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 646. [k] Chryſ. Hom. 60 ad Illuminandos, tom. 1. p. 796. [l] Philo in Cantic. 4. 12. Fons ſignatus ſponſa dicitur, quia in baptiſmate ſignaculum Jeſu Chriſti accepit, ex ejus ſacratiſſimi ſanguinis Fonte perluta. [m] Optat. lib. 3. p. 32. Hic eſt Piſcis, qui in baptiſmate per Invocationem fontalibus undis inſeritur. [n] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in Coloſ. p. 1359. αὐτὸν ἀθέως φιλαμβάνεις τὸν δεσπότην, ἀναπεφυρμένος τῷ σώματι, ἀναφύρῃ, (leg. ἀναφύρῃ) τῷ σώματι τῷ ἄνω κειμένῳ, &c.

whither the Devil has no Acceſs. Some tell us, as *Iſidore*, That the Water of Baptiſm is the Water [o] that flowed out of Chriſt's Side at his Paſſion: And others, as *Laurentius Novarienſis* [p], That it is Water mixed with the ſacred Blood of the Son of God. Others tell us [q], That the Water is tranſmuted or changed in its Nature by the Holy Ghoſt, to a ſort of divine and ineffable Power. So *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who frequently uſes the Word μεταστοιχέωσις, *Tranſelementation*, both when he ſpeaks of the Water in Baptiſm, and the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt, or of any other Changes that are wrought in the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* and *Gregory Nyſſen* have the ſame Obſervation upon the Change that is wrought in the Oyl, after Conſecration, which they make to be the ſame with that of the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt. Beware, ſays *Cyril* [r], that you take not this Ointment to be bare Ointment. For as the Bread in the Euchariſt, after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is not mere Bread, but the Body of Chriſt: So this holy Ointment after Invocation, is not bare or common Ointment, but it is a Gift of God, that makes Chriſt and the Holy Spirit to be preſent in the Action. In like manner, *Gregory Nyſſen* makes the ſame Change to be in the Myſtical Oyl, and in the Altar itſelf, and in the Miniſters by Ordination, and in the Waters of Baptiſm, as in the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt after Conſecration. Do not contemn, ſays he, the divine Laver, nor deſpiſe it as a common Thing, becauſe of the Uſe [s] of Water. For great and wonderful Things are wrought by it. This Altar, before which we ſtand, is but common Stone in its own Nature, differing nothing from other Stones, wherewith our Walls are built; but after it is conſecrated to the Service of God, and has received a Benediction, it is an holy Table, an immaculate Altar, not to be touched by any but the Prieſts, and that with the greateſt Reverence. The Bread alſo is at firſt but common Bread, but when once it is ſanctified by the holy Myſtery, it is made and called the Body of Chriſt. So the Myſtical Oyl, and ſo the Wine, though they be Things of little Value before the Benediction, yet after their Sanctification by the Spirit, they both of them work Wonders. The ſame Power of the Word makes a Prieſt become Honourable and Venerable, when he is ſeparated from the Community of the Vulgar by a new Benediction. For he who before was only one of the common People, is now immediately made a Ruler and Preſident, a Teacher of Piety, and a Miniſter of the ſecret Myſteries: And all theſe things he does without any Change in his Body or Shape; for to all outward Appearance he is the ſame that he was, but the Change is in his inviſible Soul, by an inviſible Power and Grace. Pope *Leo* [t] goes one Step farther, and tells us, That Baptiſm makes a Change not only in the Water, but in the Man that receives it; for thereby Chriſt receives him, and he receives Chriſt, and he is not the ſame after Baptiſm that he was before, but the Body of him that is regenerated is made the Fleſh of him that was crucified. From all which it is eaſy to obſerve, that in all theſe Caſes, the Change which they ſpeak of is not made in the Subſtance of the Things, but in the Qualities only; the Water is not the Blood of Chriſt Subſtantially and Really, but only Symbolically and Myſtically; nor is a Man changed into the Fleſh of Chriſt thereby any other way, than as he is made a living Member of his Myſtical Body, participating of that Spirit whereby he rules and governs his Church, as the Head of it. So that when the Ancients ſpeak of a divine Change or Tranſelementation (for as yet the Word *Tranſubſtantiation* was not known) in the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt, they are to be interpreted, as here we do in Baptiſm, of a Change in Qualities and Powers, and not in Subſtance: Since all the words they uſed to expreſs that Change, are equally verified in the Water of Baptiſm after Conſecration.

SECT. V.
How far theſe Prayers of Conſecration reckoned neceſſary in the Church.

I muſt farther obſerve, to avoid all Miſtakes, that when the Ancients ſpeak of an abſolute Neceſſity of Invocation of God to conſecrate the Waters of Baptiſm, they then do not mean any New Form of Prayer inſtituted by the Church, but the very Form of Baptiſm inſtituted by Chriſt, which they rightly ſuppoſe to be an Invocation of the Holy Trinity; in which Senſe, no Baptiſm can be duly performed without an Invocation to conſecrate the Water, though it may be performed in Times of Exigency, without the additional [u] Prayers of the Church.

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[o] Iſidor. de Offic. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 24. Aqua eſt quæ tempore Paſſionis Chriſti de latere profluxit. [p] Laurent. Novar. Hom. 1. de Pœnitentia. Bibl. Patr. tom. 2. p. 127. Aſperges me aquâ Filii tui ſacro ſanguine mixtâ. —— Abluitur Adam corpore Chriſti, &c.

[q] Cyril in Joh. 3. 5. p. 147. διὰ τῆς πνεύματος ἐνεργείας τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητον ἀνασκευὴν δύναμιν. Vid. Albertinum de Euchariſtia. lib. 2. p. 488. *where he has collected all the Paſſages that ſpeak of this Tranſelementation.* [r] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 3. ὅρα μὴ ἀπονοήσῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἁγιαστικὸς, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ ἔστω τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν, &c. [s] Nyſſen. de Baptiſmo Chriſti, tom. 3. p. 369. [t] Leo. Serm. 14. de Paſſione, p. 62. Suſceptus à Chriſto, Chriſtumque ſuſcipiens, non idem eſt poſt Lavacrum, qui ante Baptiſmum fuit, ſed Corpus regenerati ſit Caro Crucifixi. [u] Vid. Albertin. de Euchariſt. lib. 1. p. 18. v. 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the different Ways of Baptiſing by Immerſion, Trine Immerſion, and Aſperſion in the caſe of Clinick Baptiſm.

SECT. I. *All Perſons anciently diveſted in order to be baptized.*

HAVING thus far conſidered all Things preceding the very Act of baptizing, we are now to enquire into the Manner how that was uſually performed, Whether by Dipping and total Immerſion, or by Aſperſion and Sprinkling, which is now the more general Practice of the Church. There is no Queſtion made but that either of theſe Ways does fully anſwer the primary End of Baptiſm, which is to purify the Soul, and not the Body, by waſhing away Sin. But yet the Ancients thought, that Immerſion or burying under Water did more lively repreſent the Death and Burial, and Reſurrection of Chriſt, as well as our own Death unto Sin, and Riſing again to Righteouſneſs: And the diveſting or uncloathing the Perſon to be baptized, did alſo repreſent the putting off the Body of Sin, in order to put on the New Man, which is created in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs. For which Reaſon they obſerved the way of baptizing all Perſons naked and diveſted, by a total Immerſion under Water, except in ſome particular caſes of great Exigency, wherein they allowed of Sprinkling, as in the caſe of Clinick Baptiſm, or where there was ſcarcity of Water. That Perſons were diveſted in order to be baptized is evident, partly from what has been ſaid before of the Unction, which was adminiſtred not only on the Head, but on other Parts of the Body; partly from expreſs Teſtimonies which affirm it; and alſo from the manner of baptizing by Immerſion, which neceſſarily preſuppoſes it. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of Baptiſm, ſays, Men were as naked as *Adam* in Paradiſe, but with this Difference: *Adam* was naked [*a*] becauſe he had ſinned, but in Baptiſm a Man was naked that he might be freed from Sin; the one was diveſted of his Glory, which he once had, but the other put off the old Man, which he did as eaſily as his Clothes. St. *Ambroſe* [*b*] ſays, Men came as naked to the Font, as they came into the World; and thence he draws an Argument by way of Alluſion, to rich Men, telling them, How abſurd it was, that a Man who was born naked of his Mother, and received naked by the Church, ſhould think of going rich into Heaven. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* takes notice of this Circumſtance [*c*], together with the Reaſons of it, when he thus addreſſes himſelf to Perſons newly baptized: As ſoon as ye came into the inner part of the Baptiſtery, ye put off your Clothes, which is an Emblem of putting off the old Man with his Deeds: And being thus diveſted ye ſtood naked, imitating Chriſt, that was naked upon the Croſs, who by his Nakedneſs ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, publickly triumphing over them in the Croſs. O wonderful Thing! Ye were naked in the Sight of Men, and were not aſhamed; in this truly imitating the firſt Man *Adam*, who was naked in Paradiſe, and was not aſhamed. So alſo *Amphilochius* in the Life of St. *Baſil* [*d*], ſpeaking of his Baptiſm, ſays, he aroſe with Fear and put off his Clothes, and with them the old Man. And *Zeno Veronenſis* [*e*] reminding Perſons of their Baptiſm, bids them rejoice, for they went down naked into the Font, but roſe again cloathed in a white and heavenly Garment, which if they did not defile, they might obtain the Kingdom of Heaven. *Athanaſius* in his Invectives againſt the *Arians*, among other Things lays this to their Charge, that by their Perſuaſions the *Jews* and *Gentiles* broke into the Baptiſtery, and there offered ſuch Abuſes to the Catechumens as they ſtood with their naked Bodies [*f*], as was ſhameful and abominable to relate. And a like Complaint is brought againſt *Peter* Biſhop of *Apamea* in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas* [*g*], that he caſt out the *Neophytes*, or Perſons newly baptized, out of the Baptiſtery, when they were without their Clothes and Shooes. All which are manifeſt Proofs that Perſons were baptized Naked, either in Imitation of *Adam* in *Paradiſe*, or our Saviour upon the Croſs, or to ſignify their putting off the Body of Sin, and the old Man with his Deeds.

SECT. II. *No Exception in this Caſe either with reſpect to Women or Children.*

AND this Practice was then ſo general, that we find no Exception made, either with reſpect to the tenderneſs of Infants, or the baſhfulneſs of the Female Sex, ſave only where the caſe of Sickneſs or Diſability made it neceſſary to vary from the uſual Cuſtom. St. *Chryſoſtom* is an undeniable Evidence in this Matter. For writing about the barbarous Proceedings of his Enemies againſt him on the great Sabbath, or Saturday before *Eaſter*, among other tragical Things which they committed, he

[*a*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in Coloſ. p. 2358. ἐνταῦθα γυμνότης, καὶ γυμνότης· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἁμαρτήσας ἐγυμνώθη, ἐπειδὴ ἥμαρτεν· ἐνταῦθα δέ, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῇ γυμνός, &c. [*b*] Ambroſ. Serm. 10. Nudi in ſæculo naſcimur, nudi etiam accedimus ad Lavacrum. —— Quam autem incongruum ac abſurdum eſt, ut quem nudum mater genuit, nudum ſuſcipit Eccleſia, dives introire velit in cœlum? [*c*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 2. n. 2. [*d*] Amphiloc. Vit. Baſil. cap. 5. [*e*] Zeno Invitat. 2. ad Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. 2. p. 442. Gaudete in Fontem quidem nudi demergitis, ſed ætherea veſte veſtiti, mox candidati inde ſurgitis, quam qui non polluerit, regna cœleſtia poſſidebit. [*f*] Athan. Ep. ad Orthodoxos, Tom. 1. p. 946. [*g*] Conc. Conſtant. Act. 1. p. 53. ed. Crab. Cum eſſemus in Baptiſterio Neophytiſtarum, ſine tunicis & calceamentis exiſtentium, venit Epiſcopus noſter Petrus, & ejecit nos foras unà cum Neophytis, &c.

reports this for one, That they came armed into the Church, and by Violence expelled the Clergy, killing many in the Baptiſtery; with which the Women [*h*], who at that time were diveſted in order to be baptized, were put into ſuch a Terror, that they fled away naked, and could not ſtay in the Fright to put on ſuch Clothes as the Modeſty of their Sex required. And that ſo it was in the caſe of Children alſo, is evident from the Cuſtom of Immerſion which continued in the Church for many Ages; as alſo from what is particularly ſaid of Infants in the *Ordo Romanus* [*i*] and *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, That after the Prieſt has baptized them with three Immerſions, they are to be cloathed, and brought to the Biſhop to be confirmed. For this Cloathing ſuppoſes that they were uncloathed before in order to be baptized.

SECT. III. *Yet Matters were ſo ordered as that no Indecency might be committed.*

BUT yet that no Indecency might appear in ſo ſacred an Action, two things were eſpecially provided for by antient Rules. 1. That Men and Women were baptized apart. To which purpoſe the Baptiſteries were commonly divided into two Apartments, the one for the Men, the other for the Women, as I have had occaſion to ſhew from St. *Auſtin* [*k*], in another place [*l*]. Or elſe the Men were baptized at one time and the Women at another, as *Voſſius* [*m*] obſerves out of the *Ordo Romanus*, *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, *Albinus Flaccus* and other Writers. 2. There was antiently an Order of Deaconeſſes in the Church, and one main part of their Buſineſs was to aſſiſt at the Baptiſm of Women, where for Decency's ſake they were employed to diveſt them, and ſo to order the matter, that the whole Ceremony both of Unction and Baptizing might be performed in ſuch a manner as became the Reverence that was due to ſo ſacred an Action; of all which I have given ſufficient Proofs in a former Book [*n*], which I need not here repeat.

SECT IV. *Baptiſm uſually performed by Immerſion.*

PERSONS thus diveſted or uncloathed were uſually baptized by Immerſion, or Dipping of their whole Bodies under Water, to repreſent the Death and Burial and Reſurrection of Chriſt together; and therewith to ſignify their own dying unto Sin, the deſtruction of its Power, and the Reſurrection to a new Life. There are a great many Paſſages in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, which plainly refer to this Cuſtom, *Rom.* vi. 4. *We are buried with him by Baptiſm, that like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the Glory of the Father, even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of Life.* So again, *Col.* ii. 12. Buried with him in Baptiſm; *wherein ye are alſo riſen with him, through the Faith of the Operation of God, who raiſed him from the Dead.* And as this was the Original Apoſtolical Practice, ſo it continued to be the univerſal Practice of the Church for many Ages, upon the ſame Symbolical Reaſons as it was firſt uſed by the Apoſtles. The Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [*o*] ſays, Baptiſm was given to repreſent the Death of Chriſt, and the Water his Burial. St. *Chryſoſtom* proves the Reſurrection from this Practice: For, ſays he, our being baptized and immerged in the Water [*p*], and our riſing again out of it, is a Symbol of our deſcending into Hell or the Grave, and of our returning from thence. Wherefore St. *Paul* calls Baptiſm our Burial. *For*, ſays he, *we are buried with Chriſt by Baptiſm into Death.* And in another place [*q*], When we dip our Heads in Water as in a Grave, *our Old Man is buried*; and when we riſe up again, *the New Man riſes* therewith. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* makes it an Emblem of the Holy Ghoſt's Effuſion upon the Apoſtles: For as he that goes down into the Water [*r*] and is baptized, and ſurrounded on all Sides by Water; ſo the Apoſtles were baptized all over by the Spirit: The Water ſurrounds the Body externally, but the Spirit incomprehenſibly baptizes the interior Soul. The Fourth Council of *Toledo* keeps to the former Reaſon [*s*], The Immerſion in Water, is as it were the deſcending into the Grave, and the riſing out of the Water a Reſurrection. And ſo St. *Ambroſe* [*t*] explains it, Thou waſt asked, Doſt thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou didſt anſwer, I believe: And then thou waſt immerged in Water, that is, buried. It appears alſo from *Epiphanius* and others, that almoſt all Hereticks, who retained any Baptiſm, retained Immerſion alſo. *Epiphanius* [*u*] ſays, The *Ebionites* received Baptiſm as it was practiſed in the Church, but they added to it a Quotidian Baptiſm, immerging themſelves in Water every Day. So the *Marcionites* were guilty of many Errors in other Reſpects about Baptiſm: They would baptize no Perſons but either Virgins [*x*] or Widows, or unmarried Men; they repeated their Baptiſm three times [*y*]; and introduced ſome other Er-

[*h*] Chryſ. Ep. ad Innocent. p. 680. Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα ἀποδυσάμεναι καθ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, γυμναὶ ἔφυγον ὑπὸ τῶν φόβων τὸ χαλεπότης ταύτης ἐφόδου· οὐδὲ τὴν πρέπουσαν γυναιξὶν, ἀσχημοσυνῶν συγχωρούμεναι ἐνδύσασθαι. Vid. Moſchum Prat. Spir. c. 104. [*i*] Gregor. Sacram. de Bapt. Infant. Baptizat eum Sacerdos ſub trina Merſione, &c. Et veſtitur Infans. It. Ordo Roman. Cap. de Die Sabbati S. Paſchæ. Cum veſtiti fuerint Infantes, Pontifex confirmet eos. Vid. Athanaſ. de Parabolis Evangel. Q. 94. Τὸ γὰρ καταδύσαι τὸ παιδίον, &c. [*k*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. c. 8. [*l*] *Book* VIII. *c.* 7. *n.* 1. [*m*] Voſſ. de Bapt. Diſp. 1. p. 36. [*n*] *Book* II. *Chap.* 22. *n.* 8. [*o*] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 3. c. 17: δεῖ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δίδόμενον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ τάφου. [*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 689. Τὸ γὰρ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι, εἶτα ἀναδύειν, τὸ εἰς ᾅδου καταβάσεως ὄντως σύμβολον, καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀνοδου, &c. [*q*] Chryſ. in Joh. 3. 5. Hom. 25. p. 656. [*r*] Cyril. Catech. 17. n. 8. p. 247. [*s*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 5. In aquis Merſio quaſi ad Infernum deſcenſio eſt: Et rurſus ab aquis emerſio reſurrectio eſt. [*t*] Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 2. cap. 7. Interrogatus es, Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem? dixiſti, Credo, & Merſiſti, hoc eſt, ſepultus es. *Add alſo* Tertul. de Bapt. c. 2. Homo in aquam demiſſus, & inter pauca verba tinctus, non multo vel nihilo mundior reſurgit. Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Severum. Mira Dei pietas; Peccator mergitur undis, &c. Nyſſen. de Bapt. Chriſti. tom. 3. p. 372. Athan. de Parabolis. Q. 94. tom. 2. p. 422. [*u*] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Ebion. n. 2, & 16. [*x*] Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. 1. c. 29. Non tinguitur apud illum caro, niſi virgo, niſi vidua, niſi cœlebs, &c. [*y*] Epiph. Hær. 42. n. 3. ἐ μόνον παρ' αὐτῷ ἓν λουτρὸν δίδοῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕως τριῶν λουτρῶν, &c.

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rors about it: But ſtill the Baptiſms which they adminiſtred, were in this reſpect conformable to thoſe of the Church, that they baptized by a total Immerſion, as *Tertullian* [z] witneſſes of them. Other Hereticks, as the *Valentinians*, to their Baptiſm by Water, added another Baptiſm by Fire [a], which is mentioned by *Tertullian*. But yet we find no Charge brought againſt them for their firſt Baptiſm, as if it were adminiſtred in any other way than by a total Immerſion. The only Hereticks, againſt whom this Charge is brought, were the *Eunomians*, a Branch of the *Arians*, of whom it was reported by *Theodoret* [b], that they baptized only the upper parts of the Body as far as the Breaſt. And this they did in a very prepoſterous way, as *Epiphanius* [c] relates, τὰς πόδας ἄνω, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω, with their Heels upward, and their Head downward. Which ſort of Men are called *Hiſtopedes*, or *Pederecti*. Whence the Learned *Gothofred* [d] conjectures, That in one of the Laws of *Theodoſius*, where it is now read, *Eunomiani Spadones*; it ſhould be *Eunomiani Hiſtopedes*, which ſignifies Men hanged up by the Heels, as he proves from *Pauſanias*, *Pollux*, *Heſychius*, *Harpocration* and others. So that theſe were the only Men among all the Hereticks of the antient Church, that rejected this way of baptizing by a total Immerſion in ordinary caſes.

SECT. V. *Yet Aſperſion or Sprinkling allowed in ſome extraordinary Caſes.*

INDEED the Church was ſo punctual to this Rule, that we never read of any Exception made to it in ordinary Caſes, no not in the Baptiſm of Infants. For it appears from the *Ordo Romanus* and *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, that Infants as well as others were baptized by Immerſion; and the Rules of the Church, except in Caſes of Danger, do ſtill require it. But in two Caſes a Mitigation of this Rule was allowed. 1. In caſe of Sickneſs and extreme Danger of Life. Here that excellent Rule, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, was always allowed to take place. Therefore that which the Ancients called Clinick Baptiſm, that is, Baptiſm by Aſperſion or Sprinkling upon a Sick-bed, was never diſputed againſt as an unlawful or imperfect Baptiſm, though ſome Laws were made to debar Men who were ſo baptized, from aſcending to the Dignities of the Church. For if Men by Neglect deferred their Baptiſm to a Sick-bed, the Church in her Prudence and Diſcipline (becauſe this Delay was a Fault ſhe always declaimed againſt) thought fit to deny ſuch Men the Privilege of Ordination, as I have had Occaſion to ſhew in a more proper [e] place. But yet ſhe did not at any time attempt to annul ſuch Baptiſms, or judge them imperfect as to what concerned the Eſſence or Subſtance of the Action. This very Queſtion was moved by ſome, together with that of Heretical Baptiſm, in the time of *Cyprian*: But *Cyprian*, who determined againſt the Validity of Heretical Baptiſm, makes no Scruple in this caſe, but offers Arguments to prove ſuch Clinick Baptiſm by Aſperſion, to have all the neceſſary Conditions of a true Baptiſm. For though this was the Caſe of *Novatian*, who had not been waſhed, but only ſprinkled upon a Sick-bed; yet *Cyprian* [f] had no Objection againſt his Chriſtianity upon that Account: But declares, That as far as he was able to judge, all ſuch Baptiſms were Perfect, where there was no Defect in the Faith of the Giver or the Receiver: For the Contagion of Sin was not waſhed away, as the Filth of the Body is, by a carnal and ſecular Waſhing. There was no need of a Lake or other ſuch-like Helps to waſh and cleanſe it. The Heart of a Believer was otherwiſe waſhed, the Mind of a Man was cleanſed by the Merit of Faith. In the Sacraments of Salvation, when Neceſſity requires, God grants his Indulgence by a ſhort way of performing them. This Lawfulneſs of Aſperſion in ſuch caſes he proves from thoſe Words of God in *Ezekiel* xxxvi. 25. *I will ſprinkle clean Water upon you, and ye ſhall be clean: From all your Filthineſſes, and from all your Idols will I cleanſe you.* And from ſeveral other Texts, *Numb.* xix. 19. viii. 7. and xix. 9. where the Water of Sprinkling is called the *Water of Purification*. Whence he concludes, That the ſprinkling of Water was as effectual as Waſhing: And what the Church did in this Caſe in compliance with Neceſſity and Mens Infirmities, was neither diſpleaſing to God, nor detrimental to the Party baptized, who received a full and complete Sacrament by the Power of God, and the Truth of his own Faith together. And therefore he blames thoſe who Nicknamed theſe Men, *Clinicks*, inſtead of Chriſtians. It farther appears from the *Canons* which ſpeak of theſe [g], That they were only denied Orders, not the Name of Chriſtians. The Council of *Neo-Cæſarea* allows them in time of great Exigency, or in caſe of great Merit, to be ordained, as *Novatian* was for his pregnant Parts, and the Hopes which the Church had conceived of him, as *Euſebius* [h] out of the Epiſtle of *Cornelius* informs us. The Council of *Laodicea* [i] appoints ſuch, if they recover, to learn the Creed, but

[z] Tertul. Cont. Marc. lib. 1. cap. 28. Carnem mergit exortem Salutis. [a] Tertul. Carmen cont. Marc. lib. 1. cap. 7. Namque Valentino Deus eſt inſanus. —— Bis docuit tingui, tranſducto corpore flamma. Vid. Hieron. in Epheſ. 4. [b] Theod. Hær. Fab. lib. 4. cap. 3. [c] Epiphan. Hær. 76. Anomœorum, p. 992. [d] Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 3. de Hæreticis, Leg. 17. [e] *Book* IV. *Chap.* 3. *n.* 11. [f] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum, p. 185. Quæſiſti etiam, fili chariſſime, quid mihi de illis videatur, qui in infirmitate & languore Gratiam Dei conſequuntur, an habendi ſint legitimi Chriſtiani, eo quod aquâ ſalutari non loti ſint, ſed perfuſi —— Nos quantum concipit mediocritas noſtra, æſtimamus in nullo mutilari & debilitari poſſe beneficia divina, nec minus aliquid illic poſſe contingere, ubi plena & tota fide & dantis & ſumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim ſic in Sacramento ſalutari dilectorum contagia, ut in Lavacro Carnali & Seculari ſordes Cutis & Corporis, abluuntur, &c. Aliter pectus credentis abluitur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur. In Sacramentis Salutaribus, Neceſſitate cogente, & Deo indulgentiam ſuam largiente, totum credentibus conferunt divina Compendia. [g] Conc. Neo-Cæſar. Can. 12. [h] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [i] Conc. Laod. Can. 47.

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ſays not a Word of Re-baptizing them. And it appears from the Council of *Auxerre* [k], that theſe *Clinicks* were allowed to be baptized at any Time when Neceſſity required, without ſtaying for a ſolemn Feſtival. So that many Things were indulged to them, which were not allowed by the ordinary Rules of the Church. 2. Another Caſe in which Sprinkling was accepted inſtead of Immerſion, was in Times of Difficulty, when a ſufficient quantity of Water could not be procured. As when a Martyr was to be baptized in Priſon, or was to baptize any other under ſuch a Confinement. Thus we read in the antient *Acts* of St. *Laurence*, referred to by *Walafridus Strabo* [l], how one *Romanus* a Soldier was baptized by him in a Pitcher of Water. And again, how one *Lucillus* was baptized by the ſame Martyr [m] only by pouring Water upon his Head. But as both theſe were extraordinary Caſes, they only ſhew us, how far the Church could diſpenſe with this Rule upon Reaſons of Neceſſity or Charity, not what was her ſtanding and ordinary Practice. Some learned Perſons [n] think *Tertullian* alludes to the Allowance of Sprinkling in extraordinary Caſes, when ſpeaking of Mens pretending to be baptized without true Repentance, he ſays, No Man would grant ſuch falſe Penitents [o] ſo much as one Aſperſion of Water. And *Gregory Nyſſen* perhaps refers to it alſo in that famous Story, which he tells of one *Archias*, who having neglected his Opportunity of receiving Baptiſm, was at laſt ſuddenly ſurprized with Death at a Seaſon when there was no poſſibility of obtaining it: And then he cried out in that languiſhing Condition, O ye Mountains [p] and Woods, baptize me; O ye Trees, and Rocks and Fountains, give me this Grace: And with theſe Words, being wounded to Death, he expired in the Hands of his Enemies. This Man's Condition he compares to thoſe, who have the ſudden Summons of Death upon a ſick Bed: They then begin to call for a Veſſel of Water, a Prieſt, and Words to prepare them for Baptiſm; but the Violence of their Diſeaſe prevents them from obtaining it. This ſeems to imply, that ſuch a Sprinkling as Men might have upon a ſick Bed, in Caſes of Extremity was reputed a Saving Baptiſm; and it was an Unhappineſs in ſome, that they could not obtain even that at their laſt Hour, which the Church allowed as the laſt Refuge only in ſuch extraordinary Caſes.

SECT. VI. *Trine Immerſion, the general Practice for ſeveral Ages. The Reaſons of this.*

BUT I muſt obſerve farther, That they not only Adminiſtred Baptiſm by Immerſion under Water, but alſo repeated this three Times. *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it as a Ceremony [q] generally uſed in his Time: We Dip not once, but Three times, at the naming every Perſon of the Trinity. The ſame is aſſerted by St. *Baſil* [r], and St. *Jerom* [s], and the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [t], who ſays likewiſe, that it was done at the diſtinct mention of each Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity. St. *Ambroſe* is moſt particular in the Deſcription of this Rite: Thou waſt asked, [u] ſays he, Doſt thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou repliedſt, I believe, and waſt dipped, that is, buried. A ſecond Demand was made, Doſt thou believe in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and in his Croſs? Thou anſweredſt again, I believe, and waſt dipped. Therefore thou waſt buried with Chriſt. For he that is buried with Chriſt, riſes again with Chriſt. A third time the Queſtion was repeated, Doſt thou believe in the Holy Ghoſt? And thy Anſwer was, I believe. Then thou waſt dipped a third Time, that thy triple Confeſſion might abſolve thee from the various Offences of thy former Life. Two Reaſons are commonly aſſigned for this Practice. *1ſt*, That it might repreſent Chriſt's three Days burial, and his Reſurrection on the third Day. We cover ourſelves in the Water, ſays *Gregory Nyſſen* [x], as Chriſt did in the Earth, and this we do three Times, to repreſent the Grace of his Reſurrection performed after three Days. In like manner *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [y] and the Author of *The Queſtions upon the Scripture* [z] under the Name of *Athanaſius*. Thus likewiſe Pope *Leo* among the *Latins* [*], The Trine Immerſion is an Imitation of the three Days burial, and the riſing again out of the Water, is an Image of Chriſt riſing from the Grave. 2. Another Reaſon was, that it might repreſent their Profeſſion of Faith in the Holy Trinity, in whoſe Name they were baptized. St. *Auſtin* [a] joins both Reaſons together, telling us there was a twofold

[k] Conc. Antiſſiodor. Can. 18. Non licet abſque Paſchæ ſolennitate ullo tempore baptizare, niſi illos quibus mors vicina eſt, quos Grabatarios dicunt. [l] Acta Laurentii, ap. Surium, Tom. 4. Unus ex militibus, Romanus nomine, Urceum afferens, cum aqua opportunitatem captavit, qua eam offerret B. Laurentio, ut baptizaretur. Vid. Strabo, de Rebus Eccleſ. cap. 26. [m] Acta, ibid. Cum exſpoliaſſet eum, fudit aquam ſuper caput ejus. [n] Vid. Bevereg. Not. in Can. Apoſt. 50. [o] Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. 6. Quis enim tibi tam inſidiæ pœnitentiæ viro aſperginem unam cujuſlibet aquæ commodabit? [p] Nyſſen. de Bapt. Tom. 2. p. 220. [q] Tertul. Cont. Prax. cap. 26. Nec ſemel, ſed ter, ad ſingula nomina in Perſonas ſingulas tinguimur. Id. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Dehinc ter mergitamur, &c. [r] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27. [s] Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4. [t] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccleſ. cap. 2. [u] Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 2. cap. 7. Interrogatus es, Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? Dixiſti, Credo, & merſiſti, hoc eſt, ſepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, Credis in Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum? Dixiſti, Credo, & merſiſti. Ideo & Chriſto es conſepultus. Qui enim Chriſto conſepelitur, cum Chriſto reſurgit. Tertiò interrogatus es, Credis & in Spiritum Sanctum? Dixiſti, Credo. Tertiò merſiſti, ut multiplicem lapſum ſuperioris ætatis abſolveret trina Confeſſio. [x] Nyſſen. de Bapt. Chriſti, Tom. 3. p. 372. [y] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 2. n. 4. [z] Athan. de parabolis Script. Q. 94. [*] Leo Ep. 4. ad Epiſc. Siculos, cap. 3. Sepulturam triduanam imitatur trina Demerſio, & ab aquis elevatio reſurgentis adinſtar eſt de Sepulchro. [a] Aug. Hom. 3. ap. Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 4. cap. 78. Poſtquam vos credere promiſiſtis, tertiò capita veſtra in Sacro Fonte demerſimus. Qui ordo baptiſmatis duplici myſterii ſignificatione celebratur. Recte enim tertiò merſi eſtis, qui accepiſtis baptiſmum in nomine Trinitatis. Recte tertiò merſi eſtis, qui accepiſtis baptiſmum in nomine Jeſu Chriſti, qui die tertia reſurrexit à mortuis. Illa enim tertiò repetita demerſio Typum Dominicæ exprimit ſepulturæ, &c.

Myſtery ſignified in this way of Baptizing. The Trine Immerſion was both a Symbol of the Holy Trinity, in whoſe Name we are baptized, and alſo a Type of the Lord's Burial, and of his Reſurrection on the third Day from the Dead. For we are buried with Chriſt by Baptiſm, and riſe again with him by Faith. St. *Jerom* [*b*] makes this Ceremony to be a Symbol of the Unity as well as the Trinity. For, ſays he, we are thrice dipped in Water, that the Myſtery of the Trinity may appear to be but one: We are not baptized in the Names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, but in one Name, which is God. And therefore he adds, that though we be thrice put under Water to repreſent the Myſtery of the Trinity, yet it is reputed but one Baptiſm.

SECT. VII. *The Original of this Practice.*

THE Original of this Cuſtom is not exactly agreed upon by the Ancients. Some derive it from Apoſtolical Tradition; others from the firſt Inſtitution of Baptiſm by our Saviour; whilſt others eſteem it only an indifferent Circumſtance or Ceremony, that may be uſed, or omitted, without any Detriment to the Sacrament itſelf, or Breach of any Divine Appointment. *Tertullian* [*c*], St. *Baſil* [*d*], and St. *Jerom* [*e*], put it among thoſe Rites of the Church, which they reckon to be handed down from Apoſtolical Tradition. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſeems rather to make it part of the firſt Inſtitution: For he ſays, Chriſt delivered to his Diſciples [*f*] one Baptiſm in three Immerſions of the Body, when he ſaid to them, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* And *Theodoret* [*g*] was of the ſame Opinion: For he charges *Eunomius* as making an Innovation upon the Original Inſtitution of Baptiſm, delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in that he made a contrary Law, that Men ſhould not be baptized with three Immerſions, nor with Invocation of the Trinity, but only with one Immerſion into the Death of Chriſt. Pope *Pelagius* brought the ſame Charge againſt ſome others in his Time [*h*] who baptized all in the Name of Chriſt, with one Immerſion, which he condemns as contrary to the Goſpel Command given by Chriſt, who appointed every one to be baptized in the Name of the Trinity, and that with three Immerſions, ſaying to his Diſciples, *Go, baptize all Nations, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.* And this was ſo far eſteemed a Divine Obligation by the Author of the *Apoſtolical Canons* [*i*], that they order every Biſhop or Presbyter to be depoſed, who ſhould adminiſter Baptiſm not by three Immerſions, but only one in the Name of Chriſt; becauſe Chriſt ſaid not, baptize into my Death; but, *Go, baptize all Nations in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.* It is plain, all theſe Writers thought this a neceſſary Circumſtance from our Saviour's Inſtitution. And the *Eunomians*, who firſt rejected this, are condemned by *Theodoret* and *Sozomen*, as making a new Law of baptizing, not only againſt the general Practice, but againſt the general Rule and Tradition of the Church.

SECT. VIII. *When firſt the Church allowed of any Alteration in it.*

YET there happened a Circumſtance in the *Spaniſh* Churches in After-ages, which gave a little Turn to this Affair. For the *Arians* in *Spain*, not being of the Sect of the *Eunomians*, continued for many Years to baptize with three Immerſions: But then they abuſed this Ceremony to a perverſe End, to patronize their Error about the Son and Holy Ghoſt's being of a different Nature or Eſſence from the Father. For they made the three Immerſions to denote a Difference, or Degrees of Divinity in the three Divine Perſons. To oppoſe whoſe wicked Doctrine, and that they might not ſeem to Symbolize with them in any Practice that might give Encouragement to it, ſome Catholicks began to leave off the Trine Immerſion, as ſavouring of *Arianiſm*, and took up the ſingle Immerſion in Oppoſition to them. But this was like to prove Matter of Scandal and Schiſm among the Catholicks themſelves. And therefore in the time of *Gregory the Great*, *Leander* Biſhop of *Sevil* wrote to him for his Advice and Reſolution in this Caſe. To which he returned this Anſwer: Concerning the three Immerſions in Baptiſm, you [*k*] have judged very truly already, That different Rites and Cuſtoms do not prejudice the Holy Church, whilſt the Unity of Faith remains entire. The Reaſon why we uſe

[*b*] Hieron. Lib. 2. in Epheſ. 4. p. 222. Ter mergimur, ut Trinitatis unum appareat Sacramentum, & non baptizamur in nominibus Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, ſed in uno nomine, quod intelligitur Deus——Poteſt & unum baptiſma ita dici, quod licet ter baptizemur propter Myſterium Trinitatis, tamen unum baptiſma reputetur. [*c*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. [*d*] Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27. [*e*] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 4. It. Sozomen. Lib. 6. c. 26. [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. de Fide, Tom. 7. p. 290. Edit. Savil. ἐν τρισὶ καταδύσεσι τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐν βάπτισμα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν μαθηταῖς παρεδίδωκε, &c. [*g*] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 236. αὐτὸς γὰρ τὸ ἁγίᾳ βάπτισμα εἰς θάνατον ἀνέπεμψεν καὶ τὸν κυρίᾳ καὶ ἀποστόλων παραδοθέντα θεσμὸν, καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἐνομοθέτησε, μὴ χρῆναι λέγων τρὶς καταδύειν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. &c. [*h*] Pelag. Ep. ad Gaudentium, ap. Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 4. c. 82. Multi ſunt qui in nomine ſolummodo Chriſti, una etiam Merſione ſe aſſerunt baptizare. Evangelicum verò præceptum, ipſo Deo & Domino ſalvatore noſtro Jeſu Chriſto tradente, nos admonet, in nomine Trinitatis trina etiam merſione ſanctum baptiſma unicuique tribuere, dicente Domino diſcipulis ſuis, Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti. [*i*] Canon. Apoſt. Can. 49. al. 50. [*k*] Gregor. Lib. 1. Ep. 41. ad Leand. De trina merſione baptiſmatis nil reſponderi verius poteſt, quam quod ipſi ſenſiſtis, quòd in una fide nil officit ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Conſuetudo diverſa. Nos autem quod tertiò mergimus, triduanæ ſepulturæ Sacramenta ſignamus, ut dum tertiò infans ab aquis educitur, reſurrectio triduani temporis exprimatur. Quod ſi quis forte etiam pro ſummæ Trinitatis veneratione exiſtimet fieri; neque ad hoc aliquid obſiſtit baptizando ſemel in aquis mergere: quia dum in tribus Perſonis una ſubſtantia eſt, reprehenſibile eſſe nullatenus poteſt, infantem in baptiſmate vel ter, vel ſemel immergere; quando & in tribus merſionibus Perſonarum Trinitas, & in una poteſt Divinitatis ſingularitas deſignari. Sed quia nunc hucuſque ab hæreticis infans in baptiſmo tertiò mergebatur, fiendum apud vos eſſe non cenſeo, ne dum merſiones numerant, Divinitatem dividant; dumque quod faciebant faciunt, ſe morem veſtrum viciſſe glorientur.

three Immerſions (at *Rome*) is to ſignify the Myſtery of Chriſt's three Days burial, that whilſt an Infant is thrice lifted up out of the Water, the Reſurrection on the third Day may be expreſſed thereby. But if any one thinks this is rather done in regard to the Holy Trinity; a ſingle Immerſion in Baptiſm does no way prejudice that: For ſo long as the Unity of Subſtance is preſerved in Three Perſons, it is no harm whether a Child be baptized with one Immerſion or three; becauſe three Immerſions may repreſent the Trinity of Perſons, and one Immerſion the Unity of the Godhead. But foraſmuch as Hereticks uſe to baptize their Infants with three Immerſions, I think you ought not to do ſo; leſt this multiplication of Immerſions be interpreted a Diviſion of the Godhead, and give them occaſion to glory, that their Cuſtom has prevailed. Yet this Judgment of Pope *Gregory* did not ſatisfy all Men in the *Spaniſh* Church: For ſtill many kept to the old way of Baptizing by three Immerſions, notwithſtanding this Fear of Symbolizing with the *Arians*. Therefore ſome Time after, about the Year 633, the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, which was a general Council of all *Spain*, was forced to make another Decree to determine this Matter, and ſettle the Peace of the Church. For while ſome Prieſts baptized with three Immerſions, and the others but with one, a Schiſm was raiſed [*l*], endangering the Unity of the Faith. For the contending Parties carried the Matter ſo high, as to pretend, that they who were baptized in a Way contrary to their own, were not baptized at all. To remedy which Evil, the Fathers of this Council firſt repeat the Judgment of Pope *Gregory*, and then immediately conclude upon it, that though both theſe Ways of Baptiſm were juſt and unblameable in themſelves, according to the Opinion of that Great Man; yet as well to avoid the Scandal of Schiſm, as the Uſage of Hereticks, they decree, That only one Immerſion ſhould be uſed in Baptiſm, leſt if any uſed three Immerſions, they might ſeem to approve the Opinion of Hereticks, whilſt they followed their Practice. And that no one might be dubious about the Uſe of a ſingle Immerſion, he might conſider, that the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt were repreſented by it. For the Immerſion in Water was as it were the deſcending into Hell or the Grave, and the Emerſion out of the Water was a Reſurrection. He might alſo obſerve the Unity of the Deity, and the Trinity of Perſons to be ſignified by it. The Unity by a ſingle Immerſion, and the Trinity by giving Baptiſm in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. Some learned Perſons [*m*] find Fault with this Council, for changing this ancient Cuſtom upon ſo ſlight a Reaſon, as that of the *Arians* uſing it: Which, if it were any Reaſon, would hold as well againſt a ſingle Immerſion, becauſe the *Eunomians*, a baſer Sect of the *Arians*, were the firſt Inventors of that Practice. And therefore the Exception made by this *Spaniſh* Council in the Seventh Century, cannot prejudice the more ancient and general Practice of the Church, which, as *Strabo* obſerved, ſtill prevailed after this Council; and if *Voſſius* ſays true, the Trine Immerſion, or what correſponds to it, the Trine Aſperſion, is the general Practice of all Churches upon Earth at this Day. And ſuch a Cuſtom could not well be laid aſide, without ſome Charge of Novelty, and Danger of giving Offence and Scandal to weaker Brethren. I have now gone over the ſeveral Circumſtances and Ceremonies accompanying Baptiſm, ſo far as to make it a complete Sacrament, and the Inſtrument of Salvation to all worthy Receivers, if they happened to die without any farther Conſummation, as ſometimes they did, when Baptiſm was adminiſtred to them with leſs Solemnity, either in Times of Sickneſs, or at ſome Diſtance from the Mother Church; in both which Caſes they had the Subſtance of the Sacrament, but not all the Ceremonies that were appointed to attend it. They were ſuppoſed to be made Partakers of Chriſt's Body, and to eat his Fleſh, and to be waſhed in his Blood, which was drinking it by Faith, in Baptiſm as well as in the Euchariſt. And if they ſurvived, they were alſo admitted immediately to the Symbols of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Euchariſt. But there were ſome other Ceremonies following Baptiſm, as it were to finiſh the Solemnity of it; ſome of which were Introductory and Preparatory to the Euchariſt, as the ſecond Unction accompanying Baptiſm, which we commonly call *Impoſition of Hands* or *Confirmation*. Of which, becauſe it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a little more diſtinctly, I ſhall make *it* and the remaining Ceremonies of Baptiſm the Subject of another Book.

[*l*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 5. De Baptiſmi autem Sacramento, propter quod in Hiſpaniis quidam Sacerdotes trinam, ſimplam quidam merſionem facient, à nonnullis Schiſma eſſe conſpicitur, & unitas fidei ſcindi videtur. Nam dum partes diverſæ in baptizandis aliqua contrario modo agunt, ab aliis non baptizatos eſſe contendunt.——Quapropter, quia de utroque Sacramento, quod fit in ſancto baptiſmo, à tanto viro reddita eſt ratio, quod utrumque rectum, utrumque irreprehenſibile in ſancta Dei Eccleſia habeatur: Propter vitandum autem Schiſmatis ſcandalum, vel hæretici dogmatis uſum, ſimplicem teneamus baptiſmi merſionem; ne videantur apud nos, qui tertiò mergunt, hæreticorum approbare aſſertionem dum ſequuntur & morem. Et ne forte cuiquam ſit dubium hujus ſimpli myſterium Sacramenti, videat in eo mortem & Reſurrectionem Chriſti ſignificari. Nam in aquis merſio, quaſi ad infernum deſcenſio eſt: & rurſus ab aquis emerſio, reſurrectio eſt. Item videat in eo Unitatem Divinitatis, & Trinitatem Perſonarum oſtendi. Unitatem, dum ſemel mergimus: Trinitatem, dum in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti baptizamus. [*m*] Strabo de Offic. Eccl. cap. 26. Voſſius de Bapt. Diſp. 2. Theſ. 4. p. 46.

BOOK XII.

Of CONFIRMATION, and other Ceremonies following BAPTISM, before Men were made Partakers of the EUCHARIST.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time when, and the Perſons to whom Confirmation *was adminiſtred.*

SECT. I. *Confirmation antiently given immediately after Baptiſm, if the Biſhop were preſent.*

IMMEDIATELY after the Perſons came up out of the Water, if the Biſhop was preſent at the Solemnity, they were preſented to him, in order to receive his Benediction, which was a ſolemn Prayer for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon ſuch as were baptized: And to this Prayer there was uſually joined the Ceremony of a ſecond Unction, and Impoſition of Hands, and the Sign of the Croſs; whence the whole Action many times took theſe Names, χρῖσμα, the *Unction*, χειροθεσία, the *Impoſition of Hands*, and σφραγὶς, the *Sign or Seal of the Lord*, which are Names much more common among the Ancients, than that of Confirmation. But by all theſe Names they underſtood one and the ſame Thing, which was the Biſhop's Prayer for the Deſcent of the Spirit upon Perſons newly baptized. This was always adminiſtred together with Baptiſm, if the Biſhop, who was the ordinary Miniſter of it, were preſent at the Action. But if he was abſent, as it uſually happen'd to be in Churches at a Diſtance from the Mother Church, or when Perſons were baptized in haſte upon a Sick-bed, then Confirmation was deferred till the Biſhop could have a convenient Opportunity to viſit them. This we learn from St. *Jerom*, who ſpeaks [a] of it as cuſtomary in the Church, for Biſhops to go and invocate the Holy Spirit by Impoſition of Hands on ſuch as were baptized by Presbyters and Deacons in Villages and Places remote from the Mother-Church. And it many times happened, that ſuch Perſons died before the Biſhop could come to give them Impoſition of Hands. To prevent which Inconvenience, the Canons in ſome places obliged Biſhops to viſit their whole Dioceſes once every Year; and if they were ſo large that they could not do ſo, then they were to divide their Dioceſes and make them leſs, as we find it decreed and practiſed in ſome of the *Spaniſh* [b] Councils. But in caſe Perſons were baptized in the Preſence of the Biſhop, then without any Delay they were immediately confirmed with Impoſition of Hands and the holy Unction. *Tertullian* ſays [c] very plainly, That as ſoon as they came out of the Water, they were anointed with the Oil of Conſecration, and then received Impoſition of Hands, inviting down the Holy Spirit by that Benediction. And ſo *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* repreſents it, when he tells the *Neophytes*, That as ſoon as they come up out of the Waters of the Font [d], they received the Chriſm, or Unction, with the Antitype of which (that is, the Holy Ghoſt,) Chriſt was anointed when he came up out of *Jordan*. In like manner the Au-

[a] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. Non abnuo hanc eſſe Eccleſiarum conſuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati ſunt, Epiſcopus ad Invocationem Sancti Spiritûs manum impoſiturus excurrat. *And a little after*, In villulis aut in Caſtellis, aut in remotioribus locis per Presbyteros aut Diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt, quàm ab Epiſcopis inviſerentur. Vid. Conc. Eliber. can. 77. [b] Conc. Lucenſ. Conc. tom. 5. p. 874.

[c] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 7. Exinde egreſſi de Lavacro perunguimur benedictâ Unctione.—— Cap. 8. Dehinc manus imponitur, per Benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum Sanctum. [d] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 1. ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἀναβεβηκόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῆς ἱερῶν λουμάτων, ἐδόθη χρῖσμα, τὸ ἀντίτυπον τοῦ ἐχρίσθη Χριστὸς· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

thor of the *Conſtitutions* deſcribing the Ceremonies of Baptiſm, orders the Prieſt [e], as ſoon as he has baptized any one, to anoint him with the holy Chriſm, and give him Impoſition of Hands, ſaying a Prayer which is there appointed. Thus we find in the Life of St. *Baſil* [f], how *Maximinus* the Biſhop, who baptized him and *Eubulus* together, immediately clothed them with the white Garments, and anointed them with the holy Chriſm, and gave them the Communion. The ſame may be obſerved in the Deſcription of the Ceremonies of Baptiſm given by the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [g], St. *Ambroſe*, *Optatus*, *Pacian*, and all others amongſt the Ancients, who have made any mention of the Time of adminiſtring Confirmation.

SECT. II.

And this as well to Infants as Adult Perſons. Which is evidenced, 1ſt, From ſome plain Teſtimonies.

NOR was this only true with reſpect to Adult Perſons, but alſo with reſpect to Infants, who were antiently confirmed by Impoſition of Hands and the holy Chriſm or Unction, as ſoon as they were baptized. Which perhaps will ſeem a Paradox to many, who look no farther than to the Practice of later Ages: But it may be undeniably evidenced theſe two ways. 1. From plain Teſtimonies of the Ancients declaring it ſo to be. And, 2. From that known Cuſtom and Uſage of the Church in giving the Euchariſt to Infants, which ordinarily preſuppoſes their Confirmation. Firſt, For the Teſtimonies of the Ancients, nothing can be plainer than thoſe Words of *Gennadius*, If they be Infants that are baptized [h], let thoſe that preſent them to Baptiſm, anſwer for them according to the common way of baptizing: And then let them be confirmed with Impoſition of Hands and Chriſm, and ſo be admitted to partake of the Euchariſt. In like manner Pope *Innocent* in one of his Decrees [i] ſays, Infants are not to be conſigned or confirmed by any but the Biſhop. And in the *Collection of Canons* made by *Martin Bracarenſis* [k] out of thoſe of the *Greek* Church, this is one, That a Presbyter may not conſign Infants in the Preſence of the Biſhop, except he be particularly appointed by the Biſhop to do it. This Practice continued in the Church for many Ages. For it is mentioned by Pope *Gregory* both in his *Sacramentarium* and in his *Epiſtles* [l], and after him by all the Writers in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. *Alcuin* who wrote about the Offices of the Church in the time of *Charles the Great*, ſpeaking of Infant-baptiſm [m] ſays, After an Infant is baptized, he is to be cloathed, and brought to the Biſhop, if he be preſent, who is to confirm him with Chriſm, and give him the Communion: And if the Biſhop be not preſent, the Presbyter ſhall communicate him. The ſame is in the *Ordo Romanus*, a Book written and uſed as a *Liturgy* about the ſame Time: Where after the Biſhop has given the White Garment to Infants, he lifts up his Hand and lays it upon their Heads, [n] praying for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon them, and ſigning them with the Sign of the Croſs in the Forehead, he ſays, I confirm thee in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. *Baluzius* in his Notes upon *Regino* [o] gives us two antient Manuſcript Pontificals of the Ninth Centary, wherein this Order for Confirming Infants is continued. And to theſe he adds [p] an Epiſtle of *Jeſſe* Biſhop of *Amiens* deſcribing the Order of Baptiſm, where the Rule is for the Biſhop, after the Child has been baptized with three Immerſions, to confirm him with Chriſm in the Forehead, and then to confirm him (for ſo it is worded) or communicate him with the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Theſe Teſtimonies are ſo plain and convincing, that all Learned Men, who have exactly conſidered this Matter, as well Papiſts as Proteſtants, are agreed, That this was the antient and general Practice of the Church, to confirm Infants as ſoon as they were baptized. For ſo I find not only *Baluzius*, but *Peter de Marca* [q], *Hugo Menardus* [r], *Maldonat* [s], *Eſtius* [t], *Galenus* [u], among the Papiſts, and Biſhop *Taylor* [x] and *Daillé* [y] among the Proteſtants, readily conſenting. And ſome [z] tell us, the ſame Practice continues among the *Greeks* to this Day. The Learned Reader may add to the former Teſtimonies the Authority of St. *Auſtin*, who witneſſes for this Practice in his own Perſon. For he ſays [a], He himſelf was uſed to give Impoſition of Hands, or Confirmation, to Infants, that they might receive the Holy Spirit.

[e] Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 7. cap. 43, & 44. μὴ τοῦτο βαπτίσας αὐτὸν, χεισάτω μύρῳ, ὁπλέγων, &c. [f] Amphiloc. Vit. Baſil. c. 5. Baptizavit Maximinus Epiſcopus Baſilium & Eubulum, & veſtivit Albis, atque ungens eos Sancto Chriſmate, tradidit eis Communionem. [g] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 2. p. 260. Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 3. c. 2. Optat. lib. 4. p. 81. Pacian. Serm. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. 3. p. 77. [h] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccleſ. cap. 52. Si parvuli ſint —— reſpondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi, & ſic manûs Impoſitione & Chriſmate communiti, Euchariſtiæ myſteriis admittantur. [i] Innoc. Ep. 1. c. 3. De Conſignandis vero Infantibus manifeſtum eſt non ab alio quàm ab Epiſcopo fieri licere. [k] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. cap. 52. Presbyter præſente Epiſcopo non ſignet Infantes, niſi forte ab Epiſcopo fuerit illi præceptum. [l] Gregor. lib. 3. Ep. 9. [m] Alcuin. de Offic. cap. de Sabbato Paſchæ. Bibl. Patr. tom. 10. p. 259. Poſtea veſtiatur Infans veſtimentis ſuis. Si vero Epiſcopus adeſt, ſtatim confirmari eum oportet Chriſmate, & poſtea communicare; Et ſi Epiſcopus deeſt, communicetur à Presbytero. [n] Ordo Roman. cap. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. 10. p. 83. Pontifex, elevatâ & impoſitâ manu ſuper capita omnium, dat Orationem ſuper eos cum invocatione Septiformis gratiæ Spiritûs Sancti. —— Et tincto pollice in Chriſmate faciat crucem in Frontibus ſingulorum, ita dicendo, Confirmo te in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti. [o] Baluz. Not. in Regino, lib. 1. cap. 69. Ex Pontificali Vet. MS. Statim autem confirmetur Infans, & communicetur ab Epiſcopo, ita dicente, Corpus & Sanguis Domini. Item ex altero Pontificali; Si Epiſcopus adeſt, ſtatim confirmari eum opportet Chriſmate, & poſtea communicari. [p] Jeſſe Ambianenſ. Ep. de Ordine Baptiſmi. ap. Baluz. ibid. Poſt trinam merſionem Epiſcopus puerum Chriſmate confirmet in Fronte, noviſſime autem Corpore & Sanguine Chriſti confirmetur ſeu communicetur, ut Chriſti membrum eſſe poſſit. [q] Marca. Not. ad Concil. Claromontan. p. 312. [r] Menard. Not. ad Librum Sacramentor. p. 144. [s] Maldonat. de Confirmat. Q. 2. [t] Eſtius Sentent. lib. 4. Diſt. 7. n. 23. p. 101. [u] Galen. Catechiſm. ap. Dallæ de Confirm. p. 21. [x] Taylor's *Worthy Communicant*, Chap. 3. Sect 2. p. 209. [y] Dallæ de Confirmat. lib. 3. cap. 13. [z] Pet. du Moulin's *Buckler of Faith*, p. 381. [a] Aug. Tract. 6. in 1 Joh. 3. tom. 9. p. 254. Quando impoſuimus manum iſtis Infantibus, attendit unuſquiſque veſtrûm utrum linguis loquerentur? Et cum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverſo corde aliquis veſtrûm fuit, ut diceret, non acceperunt iſti Spiritum Sanctum?

SECT. III.
And Secondly, From the Cuſtom of giving the Euchariſt to Infants for many Ages.

IF this Matter needed farther Proof, we might inſiſt upon that known Practice and Cuſtom in the antient Church, of giving the Euchariſt to Infants, which continued in the Church for ſeveral Ages. It is frequently mentioned in *Cyprian*, *Auſtin*, *Innocentius* and *Gennadius*, Writers from the Third to the Fifth Century. *Maldonat* confeſſes it was in the Church for Six Hundred Years. And ſome of the Authorities juſt now alledged, prove it to have continued two or three Ages more, and to have been the common Practice beyond the Time of *Charles the Great*. Now all Men know, that in the common courſe of Things, Confirmation always preceded the Euchariſt, unleſs there was ſome ſpecial Cauſe, as ſometimes it happened in the caſe of Clinick-baptiſm, or the Biſhop's Abſence, to prevent it. For in theſe two Caſes the Euchariſt was many times given before Confirmation, as now it is in our large Dioceſes, where the Biſhop's Preſence cannot always be had to give Confirmation, in Places at a great Diſtance, before the Communion. But in all other caſes the uſual way was to let Confirmation uſher in the Communion. And therefore ſince it is evident, That the Communion itſelf was given to Infants, and that immediately from the time of their Baptiſm; it would be reaſonable to conclude from hence, were there no other Evidence, That Confirmation alſo was given to Infants together with Baptiſm, becauſe this Rite by all ordinary Rules and Cuſtom was prior and introductory to the Communion.

SECT. IV.
Whence it appears, that Confirmation was not eſteemed a proper Sacrament diſtinct from Baptiſm.

THIS Obſervation may help us to underſtand ſome difficult Paſſages in the Ancients, and anſwer an Objection which the *Romaniſts* draw from them, as if Confirmation were a proper Sacrament diſtinct from Baptiſm. The Ancients, it muſt be owned, ſometimes give it the Name of a Sacrament, and call Baptiſm and Confirmation two Sacraments. But then it is very evident, they take the Word Sacrament in a large Senſe for any ſacred Ceremony, Rite or Myſtery belonging to Baptiſm: In which Senſe they ſuppoſe two Sacraments, or chief myſterious Ceremonies to be in Baptiſm, that is, the Immerſion in Water, and the Unction with the Holy Chriſm, both which are ſpoken of as Sacraments or Ceremonies belonging to Baptiſm. Thus in the Council of *Carthage* under *Cyprian*, *Nemeſianus Tubunenſis* ſays, It was not ſufficient for Men to be regenerated only by Impoſition of Hands, but they ought to be born again [*b*] by both the Sacraments in the Catholick Church; that is, as well by waſhing in Water, as Impoſition of Hands, both which he makes Sacraments, that is, ſacred Rites of the ſame Sacrament of Regeneration. In the ſame Senſe *Cyprian* himſelf [*c*] ſays, Both the Sacraments of Regeneration were required to complete Men's Sanctification. Which plainly ſhews, That by two Sacraments he means no more but two of the principal Ceremonies that belonged to a compleat and perfect Baptiſm, becauſe he ſays, Men were regenerated or born again by them both. In like manner *Optatus* [*d*] makes Impoſition of Hands and Unction to be only Parts and Ceremonies compleating Baptiſm. For ſpeaking of the Baptiſm of Chriſt, he ſays, He went not into the Water, as if any thing in God could need cleanſing; but it was neceſſary the Water ſhould go before the Unction that was to follow after, to initiate and order and compleat the Myſteries or Sacramental Rites of Baptiſm. When he was waſhed by the Hands of *John*, the Order of the Myſtery was ſettled; the Father fulfilled what the Son had asked, and what the Holy Ghoſt had foretold. The Spiritual Oyl immediately deſcended in the Image of a Dove, and ſate upon his Head, and anointed him; from whence he began to be called Chriſt, becauſe he was anointed of God the Father. And that Impoſition of Hands might not ſeem to be wanting, the Voice of God was heard from the Cloud, ſaying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* Here *Optatus* profeſſes to deſcribe the Order, and Parts, and Myſteries of Baptiſm, from the Similitude of the Baptiſm of Chriſt. In each of theſe he makes three Sacraments or principal Myſteries, the Waſhing, the Unction, and Impoſition of Hands; which are not properly three diſtinct Sacraments, but three Parts or Rites of the ſame Sacrament of Baptiſm, which according to *Optatus*, were ordered and ſhadowed, and completed in the Baptiſm of Chriſt. Unleſs we take Sacrament in this large Senſe, we ſhall have three proper Sacraments in Baptiſm, which neither *Optatus* nor any of the Ancients ever thought of, when they ſpeak of the Myſteries of Baptiſm; but they allow both Unction and Impoſition of Hands to be Sacraments, as they are Parts or Rites of the Myſtery of Baptiſm. After this manner *Pacianus* Biſhop of *Barcelona*, makes alſo three Sacraments of the Myſtery of Baptiſm, *viz.* The Laver or Waſhing of Water, the Unction of the Spirit, and the Hand and Mouth of the Prieſt. For he ſays, The Seed of Chriſt, that is, the Spirit of God, brings forth a New Man, by the Hands of the Prieſt, out of the Womb of

[*b*] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. n. 5. p. 231. Malè ſibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant, quod per manûs Impoſitionem Spiritum Sanctum accipiant & ſic recipiantur: Cum manifeſtum ſit utroque Sacramento debere eos renaſci in Eccleſia Catholica. [*c*] Cypr. Ep. 72. ad Stephan. p. 196. Parum eſt eis manum imponere ad recipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, niſi accipiunt & Eccleſiæ Baptiſmum. Tunc enim demum plenè Sanctificari & eſſe Filii Dei poſſint, ſi Sacramento utroque naſcantur. [*d*] Optat lib. 4. p. 81. Deſcendit in aquam, non quia erat quod in Deo mundaretur, ſed venturum Oleum aqua debuit antecedere, ad Myſteria initianda & ordinanda & complenda Baptiſmatis. Lotus cum in Joannis manibus haberetur, ſecutus eſt Ordo Myſterii, & complevit Pater quod rogaverit Filius, & quod nunciaverat Spiritus Sanctûs. Apertum eſt cœlum, Deo Patre ungente. Spiritale Oleum ſtatim in imagine columbæ deſcendit, & inſedit capiti ejus & perfudit eum; unde cœpit dici Chriſtus, quando unctus eſt à Deo Patre. Cui ne manûs Impoſitio defuiſſe videretur, vox audita eſt Dei de nube dicentis, Hic filius eſt meus, &c.

the Church, which is the Font, Faith being the Bride-maid to all this [e]. And without theſe three Sacraments, the Laver, the Chriſm, and the Prieſt, this new Birth is not effected. For by the Laver Sin is purged away, by the Chriſm the Holy Spirit is poured down upon us; and both theſe we obtain by the Hand and Mouth of the Prieſt; and ſo the whole Man is regenerated and renewed in Chriſt. Here we muſt of Neceſſity ſay, Either that the Laver, the Chriſm, and Words and Action of the Prieſt are three Sacraments, or elſe that they are but three Parts or Ceremonies of the ſame Sacrament of Baptiſm; which is what *Pacian* plainly intended; for he is ſpeaking of the Manner how Men are regenerated in Baptiſm, and he makes Chriſm to be one Means of this Regeneration; whence it is evident, he had no other Notion of it, but as of an Integral Part of Baptiſm, though not abſolutely eſſential to it. This is then one plain Reaſon, why the Ancients ſometimes call the Immerſion in the Water, and the Unction of Chriſm, two Sacraments, becauſe they are Parts, or Rites, or Ceremonies of the Myſtery of Baptiſm. And there is nothing more uſual with the Ancients, than this way of ſpeaking, to call every ſacred Rite and Ceremony uſed in the Church, by the name of a Sacrament or Myſtery. As St. *Auſtin* calls Exorciſm [f] a Sacrament. And the Salt that was given to the Catechumens before Baptiſm, is called the Sacrament of the Catechumens, both by St. *Auſtin* [g] and the third Council of *Carthage* [h], as has been obſerved in another place, where I ſpeak particularly of this Sacrament of the Catechumens. *Cyprian* [i] ſpeaks of Sacraments in the *Lord's Prayer*. And to inſiſt no longer upon theſe, it is uſual alſo with the Ancients to divide the proper Sacraments, Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, each of them into two or more, meaning the ſeveral Parts or Rites belonging to them. Thus *Iſidore* ſpeaks of four Sacraments [k] in the Church, which are, Baptiſm, Chriſm, the Body of Chriſt, and the Blood of Chriſt. As therefore the Bread and Wine are called two Sacraments, though they be but two Parts of the ſame Euchariſt; ſo the Waſhing and the Unction are called two Sacraments, though they be but two Rites of the ſame Sacrament of Baptiſm. The like Style is uſed by Pope *Innocent* [l], when he calls the Bread and Wine Sacraments, in the Plural. And *Fulbertus Carnotenſis* [m] is more expreſs, when he ſays, There are two Sacraments of Life, the Body and Blood of Chriſt. No wonder therefore the ſame Author [n] ſhould call the Immerſion in Water and the Unction of Chriſm, conveying the Spirit, by the Name of the two Sacraments of Baptiſm. For nothing can be plainer, than that Immerſion and Chriſm are not properly two Sacraments of Baptiſm, but only two Rites of it: As the Bread and Wine are not ſtrictly two Sacraments of the Euchariſt, but only different Parts of the ſame Communion. It were eaſy to add abundance more of ſuch Expreſſions out of other Authors, many of which the Reader may find collected together by the Learned *Daillé* [o]; I ſhall only add the Words of *Haimo Haberſtatenſis*, where he expreſly makes Confirmation a Rite or Ceremony of Baptiſm, always accompanying, and adminiſtred at the ſame time with it, as the conſummating Act and Perfection of it: The Gift of the Holy Spirit, ſays he [p], is given in Baptiſm by the Impoſition of the Biſhop's Hands. So that when the Ancients call Confirmation a Sacrament, they always mean, that it is a Part or Ceremony of the Sacrament of Baptiſm. In which Senſe they give the Name of Sacraments to many other Things, which were only Parts, or Ceremonies, or Attendants on it, ſuch as Exorciſm, and the Sign of the Croſs, which were Sacraments in the ſame Senſe as Confirmation.

SECT. V.

No not when it was ſeparate from Baptiſm, as in the Caſe of Hereticks who were baptized out of the Church.

BUT it may be ſaid, That Confirmation, Impoſition of Hands, or Unction, was many times given to Men at ſome Years diſtance from Baptiſm, as in the caſe of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, who were baptized in Infancy out of the Church, and were received by Impoſition of Hands, when they returned to the Church afterwards. To which I anſwer, That the Impoſition of Hands which the Church gave in this caſe ſeparate from Baptiſm, was what could not be avoided, becauſe the Church had no Opportunity of adminiſtring it before: And therefore no Argument is to be drawn from what ſhe was forced to do upon ſuch an Exigence, being only an Exception to her ordinary Practice. It is owned, That the Church gave Impoſition of Hands to all Hereticks upon their return to the Church: And this, as I have ſhewed at large in another [q] Diſcourſe, was to ſupply the Deficiencies of that outward Form of Baptiſm, which could not grant them the Graces of the Spirit, whilſt they remained in Hereſy or Schiſm. And there I alſo obſerved, That ſome Hereticks retained the Unction and Impoſition of Hands as well as Baptiſm, and adminiſtred it to Infants together with Baptiſm: Which was the Practice of the *Donatiſts*, and it may be of ſeveral others. But yet the

[e] Pacian. Serm. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. 3. p. 77. Chriſti ſemen, id eſt, Dei Spiritus, novum hominem, alvo matris agitatum, & partu fontis exceptum, manibus Sacerdotis effundit, Fide tamen Pronuba. —— Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, niſi Lavacri, & Chriſmatis, & Antiſtitis Sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur, Chriſmate Sanctus Spiritus ſuperfunditur; utraque vero iſta manu & ore Antiſtitis impetramus; atque ita totus homo renaſcitur & innovatur in Chriſto. [f] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diverſis. Exorciſmi Sacramento quaſi molebamini. [g] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. cap. 26. [h] Conc. Carthag. 3. Can. 5. *See theſe cited, Book X. chap. ii. n. 16.* [i] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 142. [k] Iſidor. Origin. lib. 6. c. 19. Sunt autem Sacramenta Baptiſmus, & Chriſma; Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti. [l] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. cap. 5. Non longe portanda ſunt Sacramenta. [m] Fulbert. Ep. 1. Bibl. Patr. tom. 3. p. 434. Duo Vitæ Sacramenta, id eſt, Dominici Corporis & Sanguinis. [n] Fulbert. ibid. p. 436. Requiritur ſane in Baptiſmatis Sacramentis aqua propter Sepulturam, & Spiritus Sanctus propter vitam æternam. [o] Dallæ. de Confirm. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 150. It. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 386. [p] Haimo. in Hebr. 13. *cited by* Daille. Donum Spiritûs Sancti datur in Baptiſmate per Impoſitionem manûs Epiſcoporum. [q] Scholaſt. *Hiſt. of Lay-Baptiſm*, Chap. i. n. 21.

Church

Church, though she neither repeated the outward Form of Baptism, nor always the Unction of Chrism; especially in the Western Parts, where St. *Austin*, *Optatus*, and *Alcimus Avitus* lived; yet she always gave a new Imposition of Hands with Prayer, to implore the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. And though this was separating Confirmation from Baptism, yet it was only in an extraordinary case, when the Church was not capacitated to do otherwise. In other cases she always joyned these two Ceremonies together, as well in Infants as adult Persons, as I suppose the Allegations and Proofs alledged in this Chapter, do abundantly shew to any candid Reader beyond Possibility of Contradiction.

SECT. VI. *No Necessity of giving Confirmation to Infants now, any more than the Eucharist, from the Example of the Primitive Church.*

BUT some will be apt to object, That if this were the case, then all Churches at present, as well Protestant as Popish, differ from the Practice of the Primitive Church in this Particular, That now they never administer Confirmation to Infants, but only to adult Persons, who can confirm their baptismal Vow in their own Persons. And this Difference is readily owned, as to Practice. But then if the Question be about Right, which is the more suitable and agreeable Practice? and, Whether we ought not to conform in every Circumstance to the Practice of the Primitive Church? I suppose every Church in this case is best Judge for herself, what is most for the Edification of her Children. And as no Church now thinks herself under any Obligation to give the Eucharist to Infants, because the Primitive Church for eight hundred Years did so: So neither does any Church judge herself bound to give Confirmation to Infants from the same Example: Though some Learned Persons have pleaded for both, as Bishop *Bedel* [r] among the Protestants for the Communion of Infants, and *Matthew Galen* [s] among the Papists for giving them Confirmation. Whilst others judge the Modern Practice the more edifying Way, and think there are no sufficient Arguments to engage the Church to make an Alteration.

CHAP. II.

Of the Minister of Confirmation.

SECT. I. *The Consecration of Chrism reserved only to the Office of Bishops by the Canons.*

NEXT to the Persons to whom Confirmation was given, we are to make Enquiry about the Ministry of it, and see by whom it was usually given. And here it will be necessary to distinguish the several Parts and Ceremonies of Confirmation, and Cases ordinary and extraordinary; as also the Consecration of the Chrism from the Use of it, and the Practice and Custom of some Churches from others: For one Rule was not precisely observed in all these. Confirmation consisted of several Acts, as we shall see in the next Chapter: There was first the Consecration of the Chrism, which was always the Bishop's Act: Then there was the Unction itself, or the Use of it, with Consignation or the Sign of the Cross on the Forehead or other Parts of the Body; then Imposition of Hands with Prayer: There were also Cases Ordinary, when the Bishop was present at Baptism, and Cases extraordinary when he was absent, and the Party in danger of Death: There were also different Practices, according to the Rules of different Churches: And according to these Distinctions the Answer must be given to this general Question. The Consecration of the Chrism was generally reserved to the Bishop in all Churches, and so the Use of it was derived from his Authority in all cases whatsoever. The Second Council of *Carthage* [a] forbids Presbyters to have any concern in it, and refers to a former Council, wherein the like Prohibition was made before. The Third Council of *Carthage* allows Presbyters, by the Commission of the Bishop, to consecrate Virgins; but never [b] to consecrate the Chrism. The Fourth Council of *Carthage* [c] obliges Presbyters in Country Churches to go to the Bishop yearly before *Easter*, or else to send their Sacrist to him for the Chrism. In some Churches of *Spain* the Presbyters took upon them to consecrate it themselves, which occasioned the first Council of *Toledo* to renew the Decree against this as an Usurpation [d], forbidding any beside the Bishop to do it from that Day forward, and obliging Presbyters, as before, to go to their own Bishop for it before *Easter*. The like Injunctions are made in the first Council of *Vaison* [e], the Council of *Auxerre* [f], the Council of *Barcelona* [g], the first and second Councils of *Bracara* [h], and in the Collection of *Greek* Canons made by *Martin Bracarensis* [i]; as also in the *Roman* Decrees made by Pope *Inno-*

[r] *See Bishop* Usher's *Letters*, Ep. 163. p. 442. [s] Galen. Catechism. ap. Dallæ. de Confirm. lib. 1. p. 21.

[a] Conc. Carth. 2. can. 3. Memini præterito Concilio Statutum fuisse, ut Chrisma, vel Reconciliatio Pœnitentium, nec non & Puellarum Consecratio a Presbyteris non fiant. [b] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 36. Ut Presbyter inconsulto Episcopo Virgines non consecret, Chrisma vero nunquam conficiat. [c] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 36. Presbyteri, qui per diœceses Ecclesias regunt, non à quibuslibet Episcopis, sed à suis, nec per minorem Clericum, sed omni anno aut per seipsos, aut per illum qui Sacrarium tenet, ante Paschæ solennitatem Chrisma petant. [d] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 20. Quamvis pene ubique custodiatur, ut absque Episcopo Chrisma nemo conficiat, tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel Provinciis, Presbyteri dicuntur Chrisma conficere, placuit, ex hac die nullum alium nisi Episcopum Chrisma conficere, & per Diœcesim destinare, ita ut de singulis Ecclesiis ad Episcopum ante diem Paschæ Diaconi destinentur, aut Subdiaconi, qui confectum Chrisma ab Episcopo destinatum ad diem Paschæ possint ad tempus deferre. [e] Conc. Vacense. 1. can. 3. [f] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 6. [g] Conc. Barcinon. can. 2. [h] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 37. Bracar. 2. can. 4. [i] Martin Bracar. Collect. can. cap. 51.

cent [k], *Leo* [l], and *Gelasius* [m], which I need not repeat at length upon this Occasion. So that by this Means the Bishop's Authority was secured, even in such cases where Presbyters were allowed to have their Share in this holy Unction.

SECT. II. *The Use of the Chrism divided between the Office of Bishops and Presbyters.*

Now this Unction or Consignation in many Churches (particularly in the *Roman* Church) was distinguished into two sorts, the Consignation of the Forehead, and the Consignation of the other Parts of the Body. And the former, in such Churches where this Distinction was made, was generally reserved to the Bishop to be administred with Imposition of Hands; but the latter was given by Presbyters also. All Churches did not allow of this Distinction of Chrism into two sorts, but such as did allow of two, granted Authority to Presbyters to administer the one, but not the other. The double Chrismation was first brought in by Pope *Innocent*, and he thus divides the Office between Bishops and Presbyters. A Presbyter, says he [n], baptizing either in the Bishop's Presence or Absence, may anoint the baptized Party with Chrism, provided it be consecrated before-hand by the Bishop; but he may not sign him in the Forehead with the same Oyl, because it belongs to Bishops only when they give the Holy Ghost. And so it is in the Decrees of *Gelasius* [o] and Pope *Gregory* [p] his Successor in the *Roman* See. But this double Chrismation was not received in *France*, nor in any of the Eastern Churches. In *France* it was the Office of Presbyters, and the Imposition of Hands was only reserved to the Bishop. This is undeniably evident from the Council of *Orange* [q], which orders every Minister, who had received the Office of baptizing, where-ever he went, to have the Chrism with him, because it was agreed, That Chrism should only be once used in Baptism. But if by any Necessity it had been omitted in Baptism, then the Bishop should be put in mind of that Omission in Confirmation. For it was agreed to have only one Chrismation. This Canon is repeated and referred to again in the second Council of *Arles* [r], and *Valesius* adds [s] to them an Inscription in *Gruter*, confirming the same thing, That the Bishop did not minister the Chrism, except it had been omitted by the Presbyter before. In the Eastern Churches they had but one Unction after Baptism, and that performed by the Bishop, except in some particular and extraordinary cases. The Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* makes this the Office [t] of the Bishop to anoint those that were baptized with the holy Chrism. And this, he says, was the Confirmation of the Professions which they had made in Baptism [u]. The Author under the Name of *Dionysius*, says the same [x], That after the Presbyters have baptized a Man, they bring him to the Bishop, and he anoints him with the divine Chrism, and pronounces him capable of partaking of the Holy Eucharist. Now this Episcopal Unction was not only in the Forehead, as was usual in the *Roman* Church, but in all other parts of the Body. For as *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* [y] tells those that were baptized, They were first anointed in the Forehead, to wipe away that Shame which the first Man by his Transgression had contracted; and that they might now with open Face behold the Glory of the Lord. Then they were anointed on the Ears, that they might have Ears to hear the divine Mysteries. After that on the Nose and Breast, that they might be a sweet Savour unto the Lord, and being armed with the Breast-plate of Righteousness, might be able to withstand all the Insults of the Devil. Thus [z] also all such Hereticks as were to be received into the Church without Rebaptization, as having been baptized in due Form before, are appointed to be received by Consignation or Unction of the holy Chrism; first on the Forehead, then on the Eyes, Nose, Mouth and Ears, with this Form of Words; *The Seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit.* But though this whole Ceremony of Unction in the Eastern Church was ordinarily to be perfomed only by the Bishop, and not divided (as in the *Roman*) between the Bishop and Presbyters; yet in some special cases, in some particular Churches this Office devolved upon the Presbyters. For at *Alexandria*, if the Bishop was absent, it was usual for the Presbyters to give this Consignation at the same time that they baptized. As I think the Words of the Author under the Name of St. *Ambrose* [a] are to be understood, when he says, In *Egypt* the Presbyters consign in the Bishop's Absence. And this another Author under the Name of St. *Austin* [b] calls Consecration. Which some learned Persons, I know, take for the Consecration of the Eucharist. But that was nothing singular, but common to all the World, for Presbyters to

[k] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decentium, cap. 3. [l] Leo. Ep. 88. ad Gallos. [m] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episcopos Lucaniæ, cap. 8. [n] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 3. Presbyteris, seu extra Episcopum, seu præsente Episcopo, baptizant, Chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab Episcopo fuerit consecratum; non tamen Frontem ex eodem. Oleo signare, quod solis debetur Episcopis, cum tradant Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum. [o] Gelas. Ep. 9. c. 8. [p] Greg. Ep. 9. lib. 3. [q] Conc. Arausican. 1. Can. 1. Nullus ministrorum, qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine Chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismate chrismari. De eo autem, qui in baptismate, quacunque necessitate faciente, non chrismatus fuerit, in Confirmatione Sacerdos commonebitur. Nam inter nos Chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est. [r] Conc. Arelaten. 2. can. 27. Nullum ministrum, qui baptizandi recepit officium, sine chrismate usquam debere progredi, quia inter nos juxta Synodi constitutionem, placuit semel chrismari. [s] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 135. ex Gruter. p. 1177. de Marca, *has this Distich*;

Tuque Sacerdotes docuisti, Chrismate Sancto
Tangere bis nullum, judice posse Deo.

[t] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 16. μυεῖσθαι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χειέτω τὰς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ. [u] Ibid. cap. 17. τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας. Vid lib. 7. c. 43. [x] Dionys. de Hier. Eccl. c. 2. p. 254. ὁ Ἱεράρχης τῷ μύρῳ τὴν ἀνδρεσφόρα γισάμενος, &c. [y] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 3. c. 3. πρῶτον ἐχρίσθη ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, &c. [z] Conc. Constant. 1. Can. 7. [a] Ambros. in Ephes. 4. 11. Denique apud Ægyptum Presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit Episcopus. [b] Aug. Quæst. in Vet. & Nov. Test. Q. 101. In Alexandria & per totam Ægyptum, si desit Episcopus, consecrat Presbyter.

conſecrate the Euchariſt in the Biſhop's Abſence in all Churches, and therefore needed not to be noted as a peculiar Cuſtom in *Egypt*. Therefore I rather judge it to mean ſome Conſecration, which Presbyters in many other Churches were not allowed in the Abſence of the Biſhop, as the conſecrating or conſigning ſuch as were baptized, with the Chriſm of Confirmation, which a Presbyter might not do in the *Roman* Churches. But in ſome of the Eaſtern Churches this was allowed; for the Author of the *Conſtitutions* ſpeaking of the Celebration of Baptiſm, addreſſes himſelf both to Biſhops and Presbyters, telling them in what Order they ſhould perform it; Thou Biſhop, or Presbyter, ſhalt firſt anoint the Party to be baptized with the Holy Oyl; then thou ſhalt baptize him with Water; and laſt of all [*c*] thou ſhalt ſign him with the Holy Chriſm. Where we ſee not only the Unction preceding Baptiſm, but that which followed after, which was the Unction of Confirmation, is commanded to the Presbyter as well as the Biſhop; which muſt at leaſt be interpreted to mean his doing it in the Abſence of the Biſhop; or in his Preſence, if he has a particular Command and Delegation. So that as to what concerned this firſt Ceremony of Confirmation, the Unction of Chriſm, the Practice of different Churches varied much upon it. Some Churches, as the *Roman*, divided the Office between Biſhops and Presbyters: Others, as thoſe of *France*, committed it wholly to Presbyters, reſerving to the Biſhop only the Conſecration of the Oyl, and Impoſition of Hands in Confirmation: Others, as thoſe of the *Eaſt*, reſerved not only the Conſecration of the Chriſm, but the Uſe of it to the Biſhop entirely, when he was Perſonally preſent, and in all ordinary Caſes; only allowing it to be uſed by Presbyters in his Abſence, or ſome ſuch extraordinary Caſes.

SECT. III. *The other Ceremony of Impoſition of Hands reſerved more ſtrictly to the Office of Biſhops.*

As to the other Ceremony of Impoſition of Hands in Confirmation, we find that more univerſally and ſtrictly reſerved to the Office of Biſhops; yet not ſo abſolutely and entirely, but that the Canons authorized Presbyters to do it in Subordination to their Biſhop in ſome certain Caſes. It is certain *Cyprian* [*d*] ſpeaks of it as the ordinary Office of Biſhops or chief Miniſters of the Church. For mentioning the Impoſition of Hands given by the Apoſtles, to thoſe whom *Philip* had baptized, *Acts* viii. he ſays, The ſame Cuſtom was now obſerved in the Church, that thoſe who were baptized, were preſented to the Governors of the Church, that by their Prayer and Impoſition of Hands they might receive the Holy Ghoſt, and be conſummated with the Seal of the Lord. In like manner, *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who was Cotemporary with *Cyprian*, makes Biſhops the ordinary Miniſters of this Office [*e*], whilſt he draws a Compariſon between St. *Paul* giving Impoſition of Hands to thoſe whom he baptized at *Epheſus*, *Acts* xix. and the Biſhop's giving Impoſition of Hands to ſuch as returned from Hereſy or Schiſm to the Unity of the Catholick Church. So likewiſe the anonymous [*f*] Author who writes of the Baptiſm of Hereticks, at the end of St. *Cyprian*'s Works, makes Impoſition of Hands the Office of Biſhops, in imitation of the Apoſtles giving Impoſition of Hands to thoſe who were baptized by *Philip* the Deacon, *Acts* viii. And in another Place [*g*] he ſays, If Biſhops were preſent at Baptiſm, they gave Impoſition of Hands together with Baptiſm; but if any were baptized by the inferior Clergy, in time of Neceſſity, then the Biſhops ſupplied this afterwards, or elſe the LORD ſupplied it as he ſaw fit. The Council of *Eliberis* not long after, made two Canons to this purpoſe. In one of which [*h*] it is ordered, That if a Layman baptized a Catechumen, when he was dangerouſly ſick at Sea, or where there was no Church near at hand, he ſhould afterward bring him to the Biſhop, that he might perfect his Baptiſm by Impoſition of Hands. And in the other Canon it is alſo ordered, That in caſe a Deacon governing a Country-People [*i*], where there is no Biſhop or Presbyter preſent, ſhall baptize any of them, the Biſhop ſhall afterwards perfect them by his Benediction. Or, if they chanced to die before this could be done, they were to be reputed in a Salvable Condition by the Faith in which they were baptized. We have heard St. *Jerom* [*k*] before teſtifying of this, as the general Practice of the Church, for Biſhops to go about the Country-Villages and remoter Places in their Dioceſes, to give Impoſition of Hands to ſuch as were baptized by Pres-

[*c*] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. cap. 21. Ὦ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε. πρῶτον χείσῃς ἔλαιῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσῃς ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσῃς μύρῳ. [*d*] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 202. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Eccleſia baptizantur, Præpoſitis Eccleſiæ offerantur, & per noſtram Orationem ac manûs Impoſitionem Spiritum Sanctum conſequantur, & ſignaculo Dominico conſummentur. [*e*] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 221. Niſi ſi his Epiſcopis, de quibus nunc, minor fuit Paulus; ut hi quidem poſſint per ſolam manûs Impoſitionem venientibus Hæreticis dare Spiritum Sanctum; Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit, qui à Joanne baptizatis Spiritum Sanctum per manûs Impoſitionem daret, niſi eos prius etiam Eccleſiæ Baptiſmo baptizâſſet. [*f*] Anonym. de Bapt. Hæreticorum. ap. Cypr. p. 23. in Appendice. Per manûs Impoſitionem Epiſcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, ſicut Apoſtoli circa Samaritanos poſt Philippi baptiſma manum eis imponendo fecerunt. [*g*] Id. p. 26. Et ideo cum ſalus noſtra in Baptiſmate Spiritûs, quod plerumque cum baptiſmate aquæ conjunctum, ſit conſtituta, ſi quidem per nos baptiſma tradetur, integre & ſolemniter & per omnia quæ ſcripta ſunt adſignetur, atque ſine ullâ ullius rei ſeparatione tradatur: Aut ſi à Minore Clero per neceſſitatem traditum fuerit, eventum expectemus, ut aut ſuppleatur à nobis, aut à Domino ſupplendum reſervetur. [*h*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 38. Peregre navigantes, aut ſi Eccleſia in proximo non fuerit, poſſe Fidelem, qui Lavacrum ſuum integrum habet, nec ſit Bigamus, baptizare in neceſſitate poſitum Catechumenum: Ita ut ſi ſupervixerit, ad Epiſcopum eum perducat, ut per manûs Impoſitionem perficere poſſit. [*i*] Ibid. Can. 77. Si quis Diaconus regens Plebem, ſine Epiſcopo vel Presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, Epiſcopus eos per Benedictionem perficere debebit. Quod ſi ante de ſeculo receſſerint, ſub fide qua quis crediderit, poterit eſſe juſtus. [*k*] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. *See before*, Chap. 1. n. 1.

byters and Deacons: And ſome of theſe died before the Biſhop could come to them; which implies, not only that it was the Biſhop's Ordinary Office, but that Presbyters and Deacons did not adminiſter Impoſition of Hands, even in ſuch Caſes of Neceſſity; otherwiſe the Party who wanted it, could not have died without it. This was evidently the Practice of the *Roman* Church, where, though the Office of Chriſmation was in part allowed to Presbyters, yet the Conſignation in the Forehead with Impoſition of Hands, was ſtill reſerved to the Biſhop, as his peculiar Office in Confirmation: As we learn from the Letters of Pope *Innocent* [*l*], *Gelaſius* [*m*], and *Gregory the Great* [*n*], which have already been mentioned in the laſt Section. To which we may add the Teſtimony of *Cornelius*, who lived before all theſe in the Time of *Cyprian*, as it is recorded by *Euſebius*. He there, ſpeaking [*o*] of *Novatian*, who was baptized only with Clinick Baptiſm upon a Sick-bed, ſays, When he recovered from his Diſtemper, he never received thoſe Things, which by the Laws of the Church he was obliged to receive, to wit, Conſignation by the Hands of the Biſhops, *&c.* All thoſe Teſtimonies likewiſe, which require Hereticks to have Impoſition of Hands from the Biſhop, in order to obtain the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, are a farther Evidence of this Practice. To which purpoſe we have the Decrees of Pope *Leo* [*p*], and *Siricius* [*q*], who particularly obſerves this to have been the general Practice of the whole Church, both *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, as well as the Church of *Rome*, in the Reception of thoſe who had been baptized in any Hereſy or Schiſm. And as to all Perſons baptized in the Church, St. *Auſtin* is a farther Witneſs, who ſays, That in propriety of Speech, neither the Apoſtles, nor any other Man, but Chriſt alone, as he is God, could give the Holy Ghoſt: For the Apoſtles only [*r*] laid Hands on Men, that the Holy Ghoſt by their Prayers might deſcend upon them; which Cuſtom the Church now obſerved and practiſed by her Biſhops or Governors alſo. In like manner St. *Ambroſe* [*s*] ſays, The Spiritual Seal, or Seal of the Spirit, which was the Completion of Baptiſm, came after the Font, when by the Prayer of the Prieſt, (that is, in his Language, the Biſhop) the Holy Ghoſt was poured upon them. From all which Teſtimonies it is moſt undeniably evident, that the Biſhop in all ordinary Caſes was the only ſtanding and regular Miniſter of this part of Confirmation, which conſiſted in Impoſition of Hands and Prayer, to invocate the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

SECT. II. *Yet in ſome ſpecial Caſes, Presbyters by Commiſſion allowed to miniſter it alſo. As, 1ſt, When Biſhops particularly required their Presbyters to do it, to ſuch as were baptized in the Church.*

YET there were ſome ſpecial and extraordinary Caſes, in which ſome Churches, if not all, granted a Licenſe by Canon to Presbyters, to miniſter this part of Confirmation alſo. As when Biſhops, either in their Preſence or Abſence, appointed a Presbyter by a particular Delegation or Command to do it. This was no Encroachment upon the Biſhop's Authority, nor Infringement of his Privilege and Power, becauſe what was done, was only done in Subordination to him, and in purſuance of his Command. This Licenſe we find ſometimes granted to Presbyters, even in the Biſhop's Preſence: As is clear from that Canon [*t*] in the Collection of *Martin Bracarenſis*, out of the Canons of the *Greek* Church. A Presbyter ſhall not conſign Infants in the Preſence of his Biſhop, unleſs it be particularly enjoyned him by his Biſhop. Here three things are manifeſtly implied; 1. That this Conſignation, or Impoſition of Hands with the Sign of the Croſs and Prayer, was ordinarily the ſole Office of the Biſhop. 2. That by a ſpecial Commiſſion he might authorize Presbyters to do it, even in his Preſence. 3. That in his Abſence they were authorized to do it by a general Commiſſion, rather than Infants or any other baptized Perſons ſhould die without Confirmation. And this agrees very well with what has been ſaid before in the laſt Section, concerning the Practice of the Churches of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*; tho' in the *Weſtern* Churches it was otherwiſe, as is evident from what has been alledged before out of Pope *Innocent* [*u*] and St. *Jerom* [*x*], who tell us, That Presbyters neither in the Preſence of the Biſhop, nor in his Abſence, were allowed to do it, but many Men were forced to die without Confirmation or Impoſition of Hands, becauſe the Biſhop did not come time enough to adminiſter it to them.

SECT. V. *2dly, Presbyters might adminiſter to the Energumens.*

YET alſo in the *Weſtern* Churches there were ſome ſpecial Caſes, in which this Conſignation was allowed to be perfored by Presbyters. Nay, and in one Caſe by Deacons alſo. As it was in the Caſe of Energumens, or Perſons poſſeſſed with evil Spirits after Bap-

[*l*] Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decentium, c. 3. [*m*] Gelaſ. Ep. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucan. cap. 8. [*n*] Gregor. Lib. 3. Ep. 9. [*o*] Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 43. ὑδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε, διαφυγὼν τὸ νόσον, ὃν χρὴ μεταλαμβάιειν καὶ τὰ ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τῶ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶ ἐπισκόπε. [*p*] Leo Ep. 37. ad Leonem Raven. cap. 2. Si ab Hæreticis baptizatum quempiam fuiſſe conſtiterit —— hoc tantum quod ibi defuit, conferatur, ut per Epiſcopalem manûs Impoſitionem virtutem Sancti Spiritûs conſequatur. [*q*] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himerium, cap. 1. Arianos nos cum Novatianis —— per Invocationem ſolam ſeptiformis Spiritûs, Epiſcopalis manûs Impoſitione Catholicorum conventui ſociamus. Quod etiam totus Oriens Occidenſque cuſtodit. [*r*] Aug. de Trin. lib. 15. c. 26. Neque enim aliquis Diſcipulorum ejus dedit Spiritum Sanctum. Orabant quippe ut veniret in eos quibus manum imponebant, non ipſi eum dabant. Quem morem in ſuis Præpoſitis etiam nunc ſervat Eccleſia: [*s*] Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 3. cap. 2. Sequitur Spirituale ſignaculum, quod audiſtis hodie legi, quia poſt Fontem ſupereſt ut Perfectio fiat, quando ad Invocationem Sacerdotis Spiritus Sanctus infunditur. [*t*] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. can. 52. Presbyter, præſente Epiſcopo, non ſignet Infantes, niſi forte ab Epiſcopo fuerit illi præceptum. [*u*] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. cap. 3. [*x*] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 4.

tiſm;

tism; concerning whom Pope *Innocent* makes this Decree, in the same Epistle, where he prohibits Presbyters from consigning in all ordinary Cases: That if any one was seized [y] with an Evil Spirit after Baptism, the Bishop might give Orders to a Presbyter or a Deacon to consign him in that Condition. It was not to be done but by the Bishop's Authority; for he only had the Power of Imposition of Hands: But because an Energumen, who was at a great distance from the Bishop, might have several Chances in his Journey, it was therefore thought more proper for the Bishops to grant a Commission to a Presbyter or Deacon, to give him Imposition of Hands at home, than to venture his falling into his Distemper, by either coming to the Bishop, or returning.

SECT. VI. *3dly, And to such as were baptized in Heresy or Schism, in Case they were in danger of Death.*

ANOTHER extraordinary Case in which this Office of Imposition of Hands was granted to Presbyters, was, when any who had been baptized by Hereticks or Schismaticks, were upon their Return to the Church, seized with a violent Sickness, and in imminent danger of Death, before they could go to the Bishop, or the Bishop come to them, to give them Imposition of Hands, and confirm them with that Grace of the Spirit, which they could not have in Heresy or Schism. In that Case, rather than such Persons should die without this Office, a Commission was granted to Presbyters to administer it. This we find most expressly in the first Council of *Orange* [z], That Hereticks, if they be in Extremity and apparent danger of Death, when they desire to become Catholicks, shall, in the Bishop's Absence, be consigned by the Presbyters with Chrism and Benediction, that is, Imposition of Hands in the Benediction-Prayer. And the like Decree is made in the Council of [a] *Epone*, That if any Hereticks, who lay desperately sick, upon a Death-bed, desired suddenly to be converted, in that Case, for the Salvation of their Souls, which was heartily desired, a Presbyter should be permitted to give them the Consolation of Chrism. Which they that were in Health, were to go to the Bishop for, at their Conversion. Where we may observe, that the Chrismation here spoken of, was not the Chrismation which Presbyters were ordinarily allowed to give in the *Western* Church, but that which was joined with Imposition of Hands, which was peculiarly reserved to the Bishop, except in such Cases of Extremity, when a Presbyter was allowed to give it, rather than a converted Heretick should die without it. And the Reason of this Concession was, because Hereticks, who were baptized out of the Church, were supposed to be without the Grace of the Spirit, till they received it by Imposition of Hands in the Catholick Church. For which Reason, all Hereticks, as well those who used Imposition of Hands at Baptism, as those that did not, received a new Benediction when they returned to the Unity of the Church, as I have shewed from St. *Austin* [b], *Optatus* [c] and *Alcimus Avitus* [d] in another Place. *See* Scholast. *Hist. of* Lay-baptism, Part I. p. 86.

CHAP. III.

Of the Manner of Administring Confirmation, *and the Ceremonies used in the Celebration of it.*

SECT. I. *The first Ceremony of Confirmation, was the Unction of Chrism.*

HAVING thus far considered both the Subject of Confirmation, or Persons to whom it was administred, and the Persons by whom it was administred; we are in the next place to take a View of the Form and Manner of its Administration; in which we may observe four distinct Ceremonies besides the Consecration of the Chrism, which were, the *Unction*, the *Sign of the Cross*, *Imposition of Hands*, and *Prayer*. The *Unction* was commonly first in Order, as we learn from that of *Tertullian* [a], As soon as we are come out of the Water, we are anointed with the blessed Unction. And then we receive Imposition of Hands, invocating the Holy Spirit by a Benediction.

SECT. II. *The Original of this Unction.*

THE first Rise and Original of this Unction in the Church, is not exactly known, and the

[y] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 6. De his vero baptizatis, qui postea à Dæmonio, aut vitio aliquo, aut peccato interveniente, arripiuntur, quæsivit Dilectio tua, si a Presbytero vel Diacono possint aut debeant consignari: Quòd hoc nisi Episcopus concesserit, non licet: Nam eis manus imponenda non est, nisi Episcopus authoritatem dederit id faciendi. Ut autem fiat, Episcopi est imperare, ut manus eis vel à Presbytero, vel à ceteris Clericis imponatur. Nam quomodo id fieri sine magno labore poterit, ut longè constitutus Energumenus ad Episcopum deducatur, cum, si talis Casus ei in itinere acciderit, nec perferri ad Episcopum, nec referri ad sua facile possit? [z] Conc. Arausican. 1. Can. 2. Hæreticas in mortis discrimine positos, si Catholici esse desiderent, si desit Episcopus, à Presbyteris cum Chrismate & Benedictione consignari placet. [a] Conc. Epaunens. Can. 86. Presbytero, propter salutem animarum, quam in cunctis optamus desperatis & in lecto recumbentibus hæreticis, si conversionem subitam petant, Chrismate subvenire permittimus. Quod etiam omnes convertendi, si sani sunt, ab Episcopo noverint expetendum. Vid. Pontifical. Damasi. Vit. Sylvestri. p. 229. ap. Crab. Tom. 1. [b] Aug. de Bapt. Lib. 3. c. 16. [c] Optat. Lib. 7. p. 109. [d] Avitus, Ep. 24. ad Stephanum.

[a] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 7. Exinde egressi de Lavacro perunguimur benedictâ Unctione. — Cap. 8. Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

Sentiments of Learned Men are various about it. The late famous Writer, under the feigned Name of *Petrus Aurelius*, in his Book called *Orthodoxus*, againſt *Sirmond*, takes a great deal of Pains to prove it an Apoſtolical Practice. But *Habertus* [b] calls this a Dream, and a mad Undertaking, againſt the general Stream and Current of learned Men. And *Eſtius* ſays [c], the common Opinion is, that the Apoſtles in the beginning of their Preaching, uſed no Chriſm in the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament, as he calls it. So that what the *Romaniſts* now make the Matter of their New Sacrament, is confeſſed to be without any Foundation in Scripture. Biſhop *Pearſon* [d] is of opinion, that the Uſe of it came into the Church ſhortly after the Time of the Apoſtles. *Baſnage* [e] and *Daille* [f] think not till the third Century, when it is firſt mentioned by *Origen* [g] and *Tertullian*. Some indeed alledge an Author more antient than either of theſe; which is *Theophilus Antiochenus* [h], who ſays, That we are therefore called Chriſtians, becauſe we are anointed with the Oyl of God. But the Unction he ſpeaks of, is a Spiritual and Myſtical Unction; ſuch as, he ſays, the whole Air and Earth under Heaven is anointed with, *viz.* the Unction of Light and the Spirit of God. So that there being no Author before *Tertullian*, who mentions the Material Unction, as uſed in Confirmation, it is moſt probable it was a Ceremony firſt begun about his Time, to repreſent the Unction of the Holy Ghoſt.

SECT. III.

The Form and Manner of adminiſtring it, together with the Effects of it.

BUT when it was once admitted, it was uſually magnified as the Symbol, and ſometimes the Inſtrumental Cauſe of very great Effects. The Conſecration of it was ſuppoſed to work a Myſtical Change in its Nature, anſwerable to the Change wrought in the Waters of Baptiſm, and the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt, which *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* compares together [i]. It was this Unction, as the Completion of Baptiſm, to which they aſcribed the Power of making every Chriſtian in ſome ſenſe Partaker of a Royal Prieſthood. Which is not only ſaid by *Origen* in the Paſſage laſt mentioned, but by Pope *Leo* [k], St. *Jerom* [l], and many others [m]. To it they alſo aſcribed the noble Effects of confirming the Soul with the Strength of all Spiritual Graces on God's part, as well as the Confirmation of the Profeſſions and Covenant made on Man's Part. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* makes it to be on Man's Part βεβαίωσις τ ὁμολογίας, καὶ συνθηκῶν, the Confirmation [n] of the Confeſſions and Compacts made with God in Baptiſm; and on God's Part, the Collation of the Holy Spirit, repreſented by this Ceremony of Anointing. Which is ſo frequently mentioned in every *Greek* Writer upon this Subject, that it is ſuperfluous to refer any learned Reader to them. It will be ſufficient only to hint the Forms of Prayer, which they uſe upon this Occaſion; for theſe will evidently ſhew what Spiritual Effects they expected from this Unction. Now of theſe we have two ancient Forms remaining, a ſhorter and a longer, the one an Expreſs, and the other an Implicit Prayer. The ſhorter Form was conceived in theſe Words, σφραγὶς δωρεᾶς πνεύματος ἁγίου, The Seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit; as we find it in the firſt General Council of *Conſtantinople* [o], where they order ſuch as were baptized by Hereticks, to be confirmed by the Unction of Chriſm in this Form of Words. And ſo again, in the Council of *Trullo* [p] and ſome private [q] Writers. Not to mention now, that this is the Form ſtill in uſe in the *Euchologium* of the preſent *Greek* Church. But beſide this ſhorter Form (which was only an implicit Prayer, as if they had ſaid, Let this Unction be unto thee the Seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit) they had alſo ſome larger Forms, which were more expreſs Prayers; one of which is in the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, under the Title of an εὐχαριστία ἐπὶ τῷ μυστικῷ μύρῳ, a Thankſgiving or Benediction to be uſed in the Unction of the Myſtical Chriſm, where the Biſhop is ordered to anoint the Party baptized, ſaying theſe Words [r], O Lord God, the Unbegotten, who haſt no Lord, who art Lord of all, who madeſt the ſweet Savour of the Knowledge of the Goſpel to go forth among all Nations: Grant now, that this Chriſm may be effectual in this baptized Perſon, that the ſweet Savour of thy Chriſt may remain firm and ſtable in him, and that he being dead with him, may riſe again and live with him. Now this Unction in the *Greek* Church, was not only in the Forehead, but in ſeveral other Parts of the Body, all performed by the Biſhop in one and the ſame Act; but the *Latins* divided the Office in ſome Places between the Biſhop and Presbyters, as has been obſerved before: But whether united or divided, it was all reckoned the Unction of Confirmation. Which is evident from that Canon of the Council of *Barcelona*, which ſpeaking of Presbyters receiving the conſe-

[b] Habert. Archieratic. p. 702. Quod divinare quidam nos volunt, Apoſtolos in Libro Praxapoſtolor, confirmâſſe cum Chriſmate, id rationem fugit. Præfracte id contra ſummos Theologorum perſuadere nititur Petrus Aurelius in Orthodoxo contra Sirmondum. [c] Eſtius in Sent. Lib. 4. Diſt. 7. Sect. 7. Communior ſententia eſt, Apoſtolos initio ſuæ prædicationis non uſos fuiſſe Chriſmate in adminiſtratione hujus Sacramenti. [d] Pearſon. Lect. in Act. 5. n. 6. p. 69. [e] Baſnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 76. [f] Daill. de Confirm. Lib. 2. c. 2. p. 116, &c. [g] Origen. in Levit. Hom. 9. p. 156. Omnes quicunque unguento ſacri Chriſmatis delibuti ſunt, Sacerdotes effecti ſunt, ſicut & Petrus ad omnem dicit Eccleſiam, Vos Regale Sacerdotium. [h] Theophil. ad Autolycum, Lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. G. L. Tom. 1. p. 110. Καλούμεθα χεισιανοὶ, ὅτι χεύμεθα ἔλαιον Θεοῦ. [i] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 3. [k] Leo. Ser. 3. de Aſſumptione ſua, p. 3. [l] Hieron. contra Lucif. cap. 2. [m] Vid. Proſper. Sentent. 342. Ambroſ. de Initiatis, cap. 6. Aug. Ser. 3. poſt 40. à Sirmondo editis, in appendice, Tom. 10. p. 847. [n] Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 3. cap. 17. Lib. 7. c. 22. [o] Conc. Conſtant. 1. can. 7. [p] Conc. Trull. can. 95. [q] Aſterius Amaſen. de Filio Prodigo. apud Photium Cod 271. p. 1499. [r] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 7. c. 44.

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crated Chrism from their Bishops, which they themselves were to use, says expressly [s], that it was for confirming *Neophytes*, or Persons newly baptized. Which is a manifest Proof, that that Part of the Ceremony of Unction, which was committed to Presbyters, was reckoned a Part of Confirmation. And so much of it might be committed to Presbyters, acting in Subordination to their Bishop, as the Rules of every Church allowed. For this part of Confirmation being wholly of Ecclesiastical Institution, it was in the Power of the Church to make Orders in all Things concerning it, both in what Manner, and by what Persons she would have it performed. Which is the true Reason of so much Variety, as we have observed, in different Churches in the administring this first Ceremony of Confirmation.

SECT. IV. *The Second Ceremony of Confirmation was the Sign of the Cross.*

TOGETHER with this Unction they usually joyned the Sign of the Cross. For this Ceremony they used upon all Occasions, and therefore would not omit it in this solemn Act of Confirmation. Of this we have several clear Proofs in *Tertullian*, Pope *Leo*, and others, which, because they have been already recited at large [t], in speaking of the Use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, I will not here repeat them; but only add, that the Name Consignation, which is so often used by the *Latin* Writers to denote Confirmation [u], seems to have had its Rise from this Ceremony and Custom of signing with the Sign of the Cross, when they gave the Unction to Persons baptized. And this in some measure answers to the *Greek* Name σφραγὶς, which many times, though not always, denotes the Sign of the Cross, as used in Baptism or Confirmation, or any other Office of Religion; of which I need not here be more particular.

SECT. V. *The third and most noted Ceremony, Imposition of Hands, and fourthly, Prayer joyned therewith.*

THE most noted Ceremony in this whole Affair, and that which most universally prevailed, was Imposition of Hands; a Ceremony used in all sorts of Benedictions, but more peculiarly applied to Ordination, reconciling of Penitents, and Confirmation. The *Latin* Writers commonly speak of Confirmation under this Title. But some think it was not in Use among the *Greeks*, who, they say, only used Chrism, and not Imposition of Hands in Confirmation. But this is a great Mistake: For the Author of the *Constitutions* [x], in the same Chapter where he rehearses the Prayer of the mystical Chrism, immediately subjoyns, this is the Power of Imposition of Hands necessary for every one: For unless he that is baptized have this Invocation of the Holy Priest, he only goes into the Water as a *Jew*, and puts off the Filth of the Body, but not the Filth of the Soul. Therefore though this Imposition of Hands be not so frequently mentioned in the *Greek* Writers, yet it is always to be understood, as Chrism is in the *Latin* Writers, where only Imposition of Hands is mentioned.

SECT. VI. *The Original of this Ceremony of Imposition of Hands.*

THE Antiquity of this Ceremony is by all antient Writers carried as high as the Apostles, and founded upon their Example and Practice. There are three Passages in Scripture from which they generally deduce it: *Acts* viii. where mention is made of the Apostles laying Hands on those whom *Philip* had baptized. *Acts* xix. where St. *Paul* laid his Hands on those whom he baptized after *John*'s Baptism. And *Heb.* vi. 2. where mention is made of Imposition of Hands among the first Principles of Religion. *Cyprian* derives it from the Practice of the Apostles [y] laying their Hands on those whom *Philip* baptized: For, says he, the same Custom is now observed in the Church, that they who are baptized, are presented to the Governors of the Church, that by their Prayer and Imposition of Hands they may receive the Holy Ghost. And in other Places [z] he refers it in general to Apostolical Institution and Practice. The Anonymous Author of the Book concerning Heretical Baptism, at the End of *Cyprian* [a], deduces it likewise from the same Example of the Apostles laying Hands on the *Samaritans*, whom *Philip* baptized. *Firmilian* compares the Bishop's Imposition of Hands to invocate the Holy Spirit, to that of St. *Paul* [b] upon those whom he baptized at *Ephesus*. St. *Jerom* owns the *Luciferians* Argument to be good, when he derives this Custom [c] from the Acts of the Apostles, and the Case of the *Samaritans* receiving Imposition of Hands after *Philip* had baptized them: Though he thinks the Practice and Tradition of the Church sufficient to authorize such a Custom in this Case, as well as in several other Rites belonging to Baptism and other Things, which had the

[s] Conc. Barcinon. can. 2. Statutum est, ut cum Chrisma Presbyteris Diœcesanis pro Neophytis confirmandis datur, nihil pro liquoris pretio accipiatur, &c. [t] *Book* XI. *Chap.* 6. *n.* 9. [u] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 3. De Consignandis vero Infantibus, &c. Martin. Bracaren. can. 52. Presbyter non signet Infantes, &c. [x] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 44. ἑκάστῳ γὰρ ἡ δύναμις ἡ χειροθεσίας. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἡ ἐπίκλησις γένηται θεοῦ τῷ δόσεβὴς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι, &c. [y] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 202. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, Præpositis Ecclesiæ offerantur, ut per nostram Orationem & manûs Impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur. [z] Cypr. Ep. 72. ad Stephan. p. 196. [a] Anonym de Bapt. Hæretic. ap. Cypr. in Append. p. 23. Per manûs Impositionem Episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, sicut Apostoli circa Samaritanos post Philippi baptisma manum eis imponendo fecerunt. [b] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 221. [c] Hieron. cont. Luciferi. cap. 4. An nescis & jam Ecclesiarum hunc esse morem, ut baptizatis postea manus imponatur, & ita invocetur Spiritus Sanctus? Exigis ubi scriptum sit? In actibus Apostolorum. Etiamsi Scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hac parte consensus instar præcepti obtinet. Nam & multa alia quæ per Traditionem in Ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi Scriptæ legis usurpaverunt; velut in Lavacro ter caput mergitare; deinde egressos Lactis & Mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantiæ Significationem.

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Authority of Laws, though they were no where expreſsly commanded in Scripture; as the triple Immerſion in Baptiſm, and the taſting of Milk and Honey in token of a new Birth. St. *Auſtin* in like manner affirms [*d*] this Obſervation deſcended to the Governors of the Church from the Apoſtles, who prayed over thoſe on whom they laid their Hands, that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt. And becauſe it might be objected, That the Apoſtolical Practice was for a quite different End, to confer on Men the miraculous Gift of the Spirit, impowering them to ſpeak with new Tongues: He is very careful once or twice to anſwer this Objection, and ſhew, That notwithſtanding any ſuch Difference, this Practice of Impoſition of Hands in order to obtain the Holy Spirit, might be ſaid to deſcend from the Apoſtles. For, ſays he [*e*], by the Holy Ghoſt, which is given only in the Catholick Church by Impoſition of Hands, our Forefathers would have us to underſtand that which the Apoſtle ſays, *The Love of God is ſhed abroad in our Hearts by the Holy Ghoſt which is given us.* For that is the Charity, which they have not who are cut off from the Communion of the Catholick Church: And though they ſpeak with the Tongues of Men and Angels, and know all Myſteries, and all Knowledge, it profits them nothing. For they have not the Love of God, who love not the Unity of the Church; upon which account it is rightly ſaid, that the Holy Spirit is not received but only in the Catholick Church. For now the Holy Spirit, which is given by Impoſition of Hands, does not appear with ſenſible and temporal Miracles to atteſt it, as it was heretofore given to recommend the firſt Plantation of Faith, and to dilate the Church in its Infancy. For who now expects that they to whom Impoſition of Hands is given to receive the Holy Spirit, ſhould immediately begin to ſpeak with new Tongues? But the Love of God is ſuppoſed to be inſpired into their Hearts inviſibly and latently by the Bond of Peace, ſo as they may truly ſay, *The Love of God is ſhed abroad in our Hearts by the Holy Ghoſt that is given us.* He gives the ſame Anſwer to this pretended Difficulty in another Place [*f*]. *Hereby*, ſays he, *we know that He dwells in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us.* If thou findeſt in thy Heart the Love of God, thou haſt the Spirit to give thee Knowledge: Which is a very neceſſary Thing. In the firſt Age the Holy Ghoſt fell on them that believed, and they ſpake with Tongues, which they had never learned, as the Spirit gave them Utterance. Theſe were Signs proper for that Time; for then it was neceſſary that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be thus demonſtrated in all kinds of Tongues; becauſe the Goſpel was to run throughout the whole World in all ſorts of Languages. But this Demonſtration once made, it ceaſed. For does any Man now expect to hear them ſpeak with new Tongues, who receive Impoſition of Hands as a Means to obtain the Holy Spirit? Or, when we laid Hands on theſe Infants, did any of you look when they ſhould ſpeak with Tongues? And when they did not ſpeak with Tongues, was any one ſo perverſe in Heart, as to ſay, they have not received the Holy Ghoſt? For if they had received it, they would have ſpoken with Tongues, as was done heretofore. If therefore there be no ſuch Miracles now, to teſtify the Preſence of the Spirit: How knows any Man that he has received the Holy Ghoſt? Let him ask his own Heart: If he loves the Brethren, the Spirit of God abideth in him. Thus St. *Auſtin* derives Impoſition of Hands for conveying the Spirit, from the Practice of the Apoſtles, though there were very different Effects then from what there are now: Though Men had not the Gift of Tongues conferred upon them, as in the Days of the Apoſtles; yet they might have other Graces, ſufficient both to teſtify the Preſence of the Spirit, and to entitle the Act of Impoſition of Hands to the Dignity of an Apoſtolical Inſtitution. From whence alſo we may obſerve, that Charity and Unity, or Stedfaſtneſs in the Love of God and Religion, was a particular Grace of the Spirit given by Impoſition of Hands: Which becauſe Hereticks could not have, who were baptized out of the Church, therefore they always received Impoſition of Hands upon their [*g*] Return to the Church, whether they had received

[*d*] Aug. de Trin lib. 15. c. 26. Orabant ut veniret in eos quibus manus imponebant, non ipſi eum dabant. Quem morem in ſuis Præpoſitis etiam nunc ſervat Eccleſia. [*e*] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 3. cap. 16. Spiritus autem Sanctus, quòd in ſola Catholica per manûs impoſitionem dari dicitur, nimirum hoc intelligi majores noſtri voluerunt, quod Apoſtolus ait, quoniam Caritas Dei diffuſa eſt in cordibus noſtris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus eſt nobis. Ipſa enim eſt Caritas, quam non habent qui ab Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Communione præciſi ſunt; ac per hoc etiamſi linguis hominum loquantur & Angelorum, ſi ſciant omnia Sacramenta & omnem ſcientiam, &c. nihil eis prodeſt. Non autem habent Dei Charitatem, qui Eccleſiæ non diligunt unitatem; ac per hoc recte intelligitur dici, non accipi niſi in Catholica Spiritus Sanctus. Neque enim temporalibus & ſenſibilibus miraculis atteſtantibus per manûs Impoſitionem modò datur Spiritus Sanctus; ſicut antea dabatur ad commendationem rudis fidei, & Eccleſiæ primordia dilatanda. Quis enim nunc hoc expectat, ut ii quibus manus ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum imponitur, repente incipiant linguis loqui? Sed inviſibiliter & latenter intelligitur per vinculum Pacis eorum cordibus divina Caritas inſpirari, ut poſſint dicere, Quoniam Caritas, &c. [*f*] Aug. Tract. 6. in 1 Joan. 3. Tom. 9. p. 254. In hoc cognoſcimus quia manet in nobis, de Spiritu quem dedit nobis. Si enim inveneris te habere Caritatem, habes Spiritum Dei ad intelligendum. Valde enim neceſſaria res eſt. Primis temporibus cadebat ſuper credentes Spiritus Sanctus, & loquebantur linguis quas non didicerant, quomodo Spiritus dabat eis pronunciare. Signa erant tempori opportuna. Oportebat enim ita ſignificari in omnibus linguas Spiritum Sanctum: Quia Evangelium Dei per omnes linguis curſurum erat toto orbe terrarum. Significatum eſt illud, & tranſiit. Nunquid modò quibus imponitur manus ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, hoc exſpectatur, ut linguis loquantur? Aut quando impoſuimus manum iſtis Infantibus, attendit unuſquiſque veſtrum, utrum linguis loquerentur? Et cum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverſo corde aliquis veſtrum fuit, ut diceret, Non acceperunt iſti Spiritum Sanctum? Nam ſi accepiſſent, linguis loquerentur, quemadmodum tunc factum eſt. Si ergo per hæc miracula modò teſtimonium præſentiæ Spiritûs Sancti non fit; Unde cognoſcit quiſque accepiſſe ſe Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget cor ſuum: Si diligit Fratrem, manet Spiritus Dei in illo. [*g*] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 5. cap. 23. Propter Charitatis copulationem, quòd eſt maximum donum Spiritûs Sancti, ſine quo non valeant quæcunque alia ſancta in homine fuerint, manus correctis Hæreticis imponitur.

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it in Pretence among their own Party before or not. For ſome Hereticks gave Impoſition of Hands together with Baptiſm, and others did not: But both of them received Impoſition of Hands again, upon their return to the Catholick Church. There is one Paſſage more, upon which ſome of the Ancients found this Practice, which is, *Heb.* vi. 2. where the Apoſtle joins Impoſition of Hands with Baptiſm. Upon which the Author under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [*h*] notes, that it means the Impoſition of Hands, which is ſuppoſed to confer the Holy Ghoſt, which is ordinarily given by the Chief Prieſts, or Biſhops after Baptiſm, for the Confirmation of Men in the Unity of the Church of Chriſt. Which Expoſition is repeated by *Haymo* [*i*] and ſome later Writers, and allowed as probable by *Grotius* and *Calvin*. There is one Writer more who ſeems to derive it from the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles at the Day of *Pentecoſt*. He goes under the Name of *Euſebius Emiſſenus*; but learned Men ſuppoſe him to be *Eucherius* of *Lyons*, or *Hilary* of *Arles*, or ſome other Writer about the Time of Pope *Leo* in the middle of the fifth Century. Whoever he was, the Account he gives of Confirmation is very particular and inſtructive, and therefore the whole Paſſage may be worth tranſlating. That which Impoſition of Hands, [*k*] ſays he, now gives to every one in confirming *Neophytes*, the ſame did the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt then confer on all Believers. But becauſe we have ſaid, that Impoſition of Hands and Confirmation confers ſomething on him that is born again and regenerated in Chriſt; perhaps ſome one will be ready to think with himſelf, and ſay, What can the Miniſtry of Confirmation profit me after the Myſtery of Baptiſm? If after the Font we want the Addition of a new Office, then we have not received all that was neceſſary from the Font. It is not ſo, Beloved. For, if you obſerve, in the Military Life, when the Emperor has choſen any one to be a Soldier, he does not only ſet his Mark or Character upon him, but furniſhes him with competent Arms for Fighting; ſo it is in a baptized Perſon, the Benediction is his Armour. Thou haſt made him a Soldier, give him alſo the Weapons of Warfare. What doth it profit, though a Father confer a great Eſtate upon his Child, if he do not alſo provide him a Tutor? Now the Holy Ghoſt is the Keeper, and Comforter, and Tutor to thoſe who are regenerated in Chriſt. As the Scripture ſaith, *Except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman waketh but in vain*. Therefore the Holy Ghoſt, which deſcends with his ſaving Preſence on the Waters of Baptiſm, there gives us the Plenitude of Perfection to make us Innocent; but in Confirmation, he gives us an augmentation of Grace. Becauſe in this World we are to live all our Lives among inviſible Enemies, and to walk in the midſt of Dangers; in Baptiſm we are born again to Life, but after Baptiſm we are confirmed to fight; in Baptiſm we are waſhed, but after Baptiſm we are ſtrengthened. And ſo the Benefits of Regeneration are ſufficient for thoſe who preſently leave this World; but to them who are to live in it, the Auxiliary Aids of Confirmation are alſo neceſſary. Regeneration by itſelf alone ſaves thoſe who are preſently received in Peace into a better World; but Confirmation arms and prepares thoſe who are reſerved to fight the Battles and Combats of this World. He that after Baptiſm goes immaculate, with the Innocence which he has acquired, to Death, is confirmed by Death; becauſe he cannot ſin after Death. If here we ſhall ask, what Advantage the Apoſtles had by the coming of the Holy Spirit after the Paſſion and Reſurrection of Chriſt? The Lord himſelf evidently ſhews us, ſaying, *I have many Things to ſay unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: Howbeit, when he the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all Truth.* You ſee, when the Holy Ghoſt is given, the Heart of a Believer is dilated and enlarged with Prudence and Conſtancy. Before the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, the Apoſtles were terrified even to the Denial of Chriſt; but after his Viſitation they were armed with a Contempt of Death, even to ſuffer Martyrdom for his Sake. Thus it is that we have Redemption by Chriſt, but the Holy Ghoſt gives us the Gift of Spiritual Wiſdom, by which we are illuminated, edified, inſtructed and conſummated to Perfection. This is the Account which the Ancients generally give of the Original of Impoſition of Hands: Which Ceremony is now wholly laid aſide and diſuſed in the *Roman* Church, though they pretend to make another Sacrament of Confirmation. But this only by the way.

SECT. VII. *What Opinion the Ancients had of the Neceſſity of Confirmation.*

FROM the Account given by this Author, we clearly learn what the Ancients ſuppoſed Confirmation ſuperadded to the Benefit of Regeneration. The New-birth gave Innocence and pardon of Sins; but the Invocation of the Spirit added Wiſdom and Strength to preſerve and eſtabliſh Men in Innocence to Perfection. He alſo ſhews us, what Opinion the Ancients had of the Neceſſity of Confirmation. It was not abſolutely the ſame as that of Baptiſm. For if Men died immediately after Baptiſm without Impoſition of Hands, they were ſaved by their Innocence which they had acquired in Baptiſm: They needed no other Confirmation but Death, which was a Security againſt all other Dangers. Confirmation was only neceſſary to thoſe, who were to live and fight with the World and Inviſible Powers. And this is the Senſe of all other Writers, who ſpeak the higheſt of the Neceſſity of Confirmation. The Council of *Eliberis* having ſaid [*l*], That it was neceſſary for the Biſhop to conſummate thoſe by his Benediction, who were

[*h*] Ambroſ. in Heb. vi. 2. Impoſitionis manuum per quam Spiritus Sanctus accipi poſſe creditur: Quod poſt Baptiſmum ad Confirmationem Unitatis in Eccleſia Chriſti à Pontificibus fieri ſolet. [*i*] Haymo in Heb. vi. 2. [*k*] Euſeb. Emiſſen. Hom. de Pentecoſt. [*l*] Conc. Elibet. can. 77. Si quis Diaconus regens Plebem, ſine Epiſcopo vel Presbytero, aliquos baptizaverit, Epiſcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit. Quòd ſi ante de ſeculo receſſerint, ſub fide, qua quis crediderit, poterit eſſe juſtus.

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baptized by Deacons; adds, Yet if any one die before this can be done, he is juſtified by the Faith which he profeſſed in Baptiſm. And ſo the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* ſays [m], If there be neither Oyl nor Chriſm, the Water alone is ſufficient both for the Unction of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Seal of the Covenant. By which we are to mollify that other harſh Expreſſion of his in another place [n], where he ſays, That Baptiſm without this Impoſition of Hands, and Prayer of the Prieſt, is only a bodily Waſhing, like that of the *Jews*, purging the Filth of the Body, but not of the Soul. For unleſs ſome very candid Interpretation be put upon this Expreſſion, it will be highly injurious and derogatory to the ſaving Power of Baptiſm, which purges away Sin by a Spiritual Regeneration. And therefore it is but reaſonable to let the harſh Expreſſions of this Author be interpreted by himſelf, when he owns that the Water of Baptiſm is ſufficient to anſwer all the Ends of Chriſm or Confirmation, where that is omitted not by any Contempt, but for want of Opportunity to receive it. And this is plainly St. *Jerom*'s Meaning, when he ſays, That though the Practice of Impoſition of Hands deſcends from the Acts of the Apoſtles [o]; yet in many Places it was obſerved rather for the Honour of the Chief Prieſthood, than for any abſolute Neceſſity of the Thing. For otherwiſe, if the Spirit was only obtained by the Prayer of the Biſhop, thoſe Men muſt be in a deplorable Condition, that were baptized in Villages and Caſtles and remote Places by Presbyters and Deacons, and died before the Biſhop could come to viſit them. All therefore that was neceſſary to Salvation, was conferred in Baptiſm, which miniſtred ſuch a Portion of the Spirit, as was ſufficient to cleanſe Men from Sin, and qualify them for Eternal Life. So that when ſome of the Ancients ſay, That Baptiſm does not miniſter the Spirit, which was only given by Impoſition of Hands in Confirmation; as *Cornelius* pleads in his Letter [p] againſt *Novatian*, and *Tertullian* [q], who ſays, That we do not obtain the Holy Ghoſt in Baptiſm, but are only cleanſed in the Water, and prepared for the Holy Ghoſt: They are to be underſtood, as meaning only that the Holy Ghoſt is not given in that full Meaſure of Baptiſm, as afterward by Impoſition of Hands. They do not deny, that Baptiſm grants Men Remiſſion of Sins by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt; but only that there are ſome farther Effects and Operations of the Holy Spirit, which are not ordinarily conferred on Men but by the ſubſequent Invocation of the Spirit, the Increaſe of which Men were to deſire, and to receive Impoſition of Hands in order to obtain it. In which Senſe it is ſaid in the Goſpel, *That the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe the Apoſtles had not yet received that plentiful Effuſion of it in the Gift of Tongues, which they afterwards had on the Day of* Pentecoſt, though they had before received ſuch a Meaſure of it, as both enabled them to work ſeveral ſorts of Miracles, and alſo qualified them in every reſpect for the Kingdom of Heaven.

SECT. VIII. *How they puniſhed thoſe that neglected it.*

BUT though the Ancients did not think this Impoſition of Hands ſo abſolutely neceſſary, as that the want of it ſhould exclude thoſe who were baptized from the Kingdom of Heaven: yet they thought fit to puniſh the Neglect of it, by ſetting ſome Marks of Diſgrace and publick Cenſure upon ſuch, as voluntarily and careleſly omitted it, when they had Opportunity to receive it. Such Men were ordinarily denied the Privilege of Eccleſiaſtical Promotion and holy Orders. As appears from the Objection made againſt *Novatian*, That he ought not to be ordained, becauſe being baptized privately with Clinick Baptiſm, he had afterward neglected to receive his Conſummation from the Hands of the Biſhop, which [r] he ought to have done by the Laws of the Church. And to this purpoſe the Council of *Neo-Cæſarea* [s] has a Canon, forbidding ſuch to be ordained; which is made part of the Code of the Univerſal Church. The Council of *Eliberis* alſo [t] excludes ſuch, as have not *Lavachrum integrum*, their own Baptiſm completed by Impoſition of Hands, from the Privilege of giving Baptiſm to others, which in caſes of Neceſſity they allowed to all other Laymen. So far they thought fit to diſcountenance the Contempt and Neglect of Confirmation, though they neither eſteemed it a diſtinct Sacrament from Baptiſm, nor of abſolute Neceſſity to Salvation, but only as a proper Means to ſtrengthen Men in their Chriſtian Warfare.

[m] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. c. 22. εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ἦ, μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ, καὶ πρὸς χρῖσιν, καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα. [n] Conſtit. lib. 7. c. 44. [o] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. 4. Quòd ſi obloqueris, Quare in Eccleſia baptizatus niſi per manus Epiſcopi non accipiat Spiritum Sanctum, quem nos aſſerimus in vero baptiſmate tribui; diſce hanc Obſervationem ex ea auctoritate deſcendere, quòd poſt Aſcenſum Domini Spiritus Sanctus deſcendit. Multis in locis id tamen eſſe factum reperimus ad honorem potius Sacerdotii, quàm ad Legis neceſſitatem. Alioquin ſi Epiſcopi tantum Imprecatione Spiritus Sanctus defluit, lugendi ſunt qui in Villulis aut in Caſtellis aut in remotioribus locis per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quàm ab Epiſcopis inviſerentur. [p] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43. τότε μὴ τυχῶν, πῶς ἂν τὸ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔτυχε; [q] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. Non quòd in aqua Spiritum Sanctum conſequamur, ſed in aqua emundati, ſub Angelo Spiritui Sancto præparamur. [r] Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43. [s] Conc. Neo-Cæſar. can. 12. [t] Conc. Eliber. can. 38.

CHAP. IV.

Of the remaining Ceremonies of Baptism *following* Confirmation.

SECT. I. *Persons newly baptized cloathed in White Garments.*

MUCH about the same time as the Unction of Confirmation was administred to Persons newly baptized, they were also cloathed in White Garments. In the *Latin* Church it came immediately before Confirmation; but in the *Greek* Church it seems to have followed after. For *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* speaks of it as following the Unction [*a*]. This was to represent their having *put off the Old Man with his Deeds, and having put on the New Man Christ Jesus*. Hence they were called λαμπρυνθέντες, & *Grex Christi Candidus & Niveus*, the White Flock of Christ [*b*], as we find in *Lactantius* and many others. *Palladius*, in the Life of St. *Chrysostom* [*c*], notes it particularly, as a great piece of Barbarity in *Arcadius*, that when St. *Chrysostom*'s Presbyters in his Exile had baptized three thousand Persons at one Festival, the Emperor sent his Soldiers to disperse them, as they were λαμπρυνθέντες, cloathed in their white Garments. This was otherwise called, the Garment of Christ, and the Mystical Garment. For so *Socrates* [*d*] and *Sozomen* [*e*], speaking of the Ordination of *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, which was immediately given him after his Baptism, say, He was ordained whilst he had his mystical Garment on; meaning this white Robe, which had just before been given him at his Baptism. St. *Jerom* [*f*] also, writing to *Fabiola*, seems to allude to this, when he says, We are to be washed with the Precepts of God, and when we are prepared for the Garment of Christ, putting off our Coats of Skins, we shall put on the Linen Garment, that hath nothing of Death in it, but is all White, that rising out of the Waters of Baptism, we may gird about our Loins with Truth, and cover the former Filthiness of our Breasts. Some also alledge two other Passages of his in his Epistles to Pope *Damasus* [*g*], where he speaks of his having put on the Garment of Christ at *Rome*. But others, who have more exactly [*h*] considered the Time of St. *Jerom*'s Baptism, and the same Phrase as used by him in other places, more probably conclude, that he means the Monastick Habit, which he elsewhere [*i*] calls the Garment of Christ, and not the *Albes* of Baptism. However, not insisting on those dubious Passages of St. *Jerom*, the ancient Custom is sufficiently attested from other Authors.

SECT. II. *These sometimes delivered to them with a solemn Form of Words.*

SOME of which also tell us, That these Garments were wont to be delivered to the *Neophytes* with a solemn Form of Words, in the Nature of a Charge: Such as that in *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium* [*k*], Receive the White and Immaculate Garment, which thou mayst bring forth without Spot before the Tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayst have Eternal Life. *Amen.*

SECT. III. *Worn eight Days, and then laid up in the Church.*

THESE Garments were commonly worn eight Days, and then laid up in the Church. St. *Austin*, or some one under his Name [*l*], speaks of the Sunday after *Easter*, as the Time appointed for this purpose. That was the Conclusion of the Paschal Festival, and then the *Neophytes* changed their Habit; whence that Day is thought to have the Name of *Dominica in Albis*; and *White-Sunday* is said to be so called from this Custom of wearing White Robes after Baptism. These being laid aside, were carefully preserved in the Vestries of the Church, as an Evidence against Men, if afterward they violated those Professions which they had made in Baptism. A remarkable Instance of which we have, related in *Victor Uticensis*, concerning one *Elpidiphorus*, a Citizen of *Carthage*, who having a long time lived in the Communion of the Church, at last turned *Arian*, and became a bitter Enemy to the Orthodox in the *Vandalick* Persecution. Among others, whom he summoned before him as their Judge, was one *Muritta* a Deacon, who had been Sponsor for him at his Baptism. He being ready to be put upon the Rack, produced against him those white Robes with which he had been cloathed at his

[*a*] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 4. n. 2. ἐνδυσάμενοι τὰ πνευματικὰ λευκὰ, χρὴ λαμπρυνθῆναι διαπαντὸς &c. [*b*] Lactant. Carmen de Resur. Dom. Fulgentes animas vestis quoque candida signat, & grege de niveo gaudia Pastor habet. Moschus Prat. Spir. c. 207. ἰδόντες αὐτὴν λαμπροφορῆσαν, &c. Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 145. Unde Parens sacro ducit de Fonte Sacerdos Infantes niveos corpore, corde, habitu. [*c*] Pallad. Vit. Chrysost. cap. 9. [*d*] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 8. [*e*] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 8. τὸ μυστικὸν ἐνδῦναι ἔτι ἡμφιεσμένον. &c. [*f*] Hieron. Ep. 128. ad Fabiol. Præceptis Dei lavandi sumus, & cum parati ad Indumentum Christi, tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur Veste linea, nihil in se mortis habente, sed totâ candidâ, ut de baptismo consurgentes, cingamus lumbos in veritate. [*g*] Id. Ep. 57. ad Damas. Cathedram Petri, & fidem Apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam; inde meæ animæ postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi. It. Ep. 78. ad Damasum. Christi vestem in Romana Urbe suscipiens, nunc barbaro Syriæ limite teneor. [*h*] *See* Wall *of Infant-baptism*, Par. 11. Chap. iii. Sect. 10. [*i*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. & Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. [*k*] Gregor. Sacramen. de Bapt. Infant. Vestitur Infans, dicente Presbytero; Accipe vestem candidam & immaculatam, quam perferas sine macula ante Tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam. *Amen.* Ordo Roman. de S. Sabbato. Bibl. Patr. tom. 10. p. 83. Deportantur ipsi infantes ante eum, & dat singulis Stolam candidam & decem Siliquas & Chrismale, dicens, Accipe vestem candidam, &c. [*l*] Aug. Hom. 86. de Diversis, in Octavis Paschæ, tom. 10. p. 709. Paschalis solennitas hodierna festivitate concluditur, & ideo hodie Neophytorum habitus commutatur; ita tamen, ut candor, qui de Habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur.

Baptiſm; and with Words, [*m*] melting all the whole City into Tears, he thus beſpoke him: Theſe are the Garments, O *Elpidiphorus*, thou Miniſter of Error, which ſhall accuſe thee, when the Majeſty of the great Judge ſhall appear; theſe I will diligently keep as a Teſtimony of thy Ruin, which ſhall depreſs thee to the Bottom of the Lake that burns with Fire and Brimſtone. Theſe are they that were girt about thee, when thou cameſt immaculate out of the holy Font; theſe are they that ſhall bitterly purſue thee, when thou ſhalt begin to take thy Portion in the Flames of Hell; becauſe thou haſt cloathed thy ſelf with Curſing as with a Garment, and haſt caſt off the ſacred Obligation of thy Baptiſm, and the true Faith which thou didſt then profeſs and take upon thee. So that the Deſign of this ſignificant Ceremony was firſt to repreſent that Innocence and Angelical Purity, which every Man obtained by the Remiſſion of his Sins in Baptiſm, and then to remind them of the Obligations and Profeſſions they had entred into, which if they violated, would riſe up as ſo many Accuſers at the Day of Judgment.

SECT. IV. *The Ceremony of Lights and Tapers. What intended by it. And at whoſe Charge both theſe were provided.*

To this Ceremony of wearing White Robes, they added another of the like Nature, which was the carrying of lighted Tapers in their Hands. I cannot ſay this was ſo univerſal a Practice as the former, but it is mentioned by *Gregory Nazianzen* among other Ceremonies following Baptiſm. The Station, ſays he, when immediately after Baptiſm thou ſhalt be placed before the Altar, is an Emblem of the Glory of the Life to come; the Pſalmody with which thou ſhalt be received, is a Foretaſte of thoſe Hymns and Songs of a better Life; and the Lamps [*n*] which thou ſhalt light, are a Figure of thoſe Lamps of Faith, wherewith bright and Virgin Souls ſhall go forth to meet the Bridegroom. Others refer it to another Reaſon, That it might be a Symbol of their own preſent Illumination, and as done in Alluſion to that Saying of our Saviour, *So let your Light ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.* In ſome Baptiſms alſo of great Men, we find theſe Ceremonies enlarged and ſet off with greater Pomp; for not only they themſelves, but all their Retinue and Attendants were cloathed in White Garments, and all carried Lamps in their Hands. As it was in the magnificent Baptiſm of the Younger *Theodoſius*, related in an Epiſtle of *Marcus Gazenſis* [*o*], publiſhed by *Baronius*; where he ſays, The Proceſſion from the Church to the Palace was extremely ſplendid: For the Leaders of the People were all cloathed in White, which made the Company look as if it had been covered with Snow: And all the Senators, and Men of Quality, and Soldiers in their Ranks carried Lamps in their Hands, that one would have thought the Stars had appeared upon Earth. The Expence of theſe Things, eſpecially when ſo very ſumptuous and magnificent, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, was defrayed by every Perſon at his own proper Coſt and Charge. And ſo the Objection, which ſome make in *Gregory Nazianzen* againſt Baptiſm, upon the Account of the Charge attending it, plainly intimates. For they thus object againſt it: Where is the Gift that I ſhall offer at Baptiſm? Where is the Garment [*p*] of Light in which I muſt ſhine? Wherewithal ſhall I entertain my Baptizers? To which *Nazianzen* replies, That in great Things Men ſhould not be concerned about ſuch ſmall Matters as theſe. For the Sacrament itſelf was far above theſe viſible Objects. Therefore offer thyſelf for a Gift, put on Chriſt for a Garment, and let thy Entertainment of me the Miniſter, be an holy Converſation. God requires no great Thing of us, which the Poor cannot give. From whence we may conclude, That either theſe Ceremonies were omitted in the Baptiſm of poor Men, or elſe the Church herſelf was at the Charge of them. Which ſome think may be inferred from the Donations of *Conſtantine*, made to the Baptiſteries of *Rome*, mentioned in the Pontifical in the Life of Pope *Sylveſter*; but it may more certainly be proved from the Epiſtles of Pope *Gregory* [*q*], where he often mentions his giving theſe Garments to the Poor, who could not provide them for themſelves.

SECT. V. *The Kiſs of Peace given to Perſons newly baptized.*

ANOTHER Ceremony uſed to congratulate ſuch as were newly baptized, upon their Admiſſion and Incorporation into the Church, was the Kiſs of Peace. Which was obſerved even towards Infants, as we learn from that Objection raiſed againſt it in *Cyprian:* Where the Opponents pleaded for deferring Baptiſm till the Child was eight Days old, becauſe Children at their Birth were unclean, and every one abhorred to kiſs them, as was neceſſary to be done after Baptiſm, to teſtify their Right of Fraternity upon their Adoption into God's Family. To which *Cyprian* replied, That this was no Impediment to their Baptiſm; for all Things were clean to them that were clean. No one ought to abhor that which God had vouchſafed to make. For though an Infant was but juſt

[*m*] Victor. de Perſec. Vandal. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. tom. 7. p. 613. Hæc ſunt Linteamina, Elpidiphore, miniſter erroris, quæ te accuſabunt, dum majeſtas venerit judicantis, cuſtodiente diligentia mea ad teſtimonium tuæ perditionis, ad demergendum te in abyſſo putei ſulphurantis. Hæc te immaculatum cinxerant de Fonte ſurgentem; hæc te acriter perſequentur, flammantem Gehennam cum cœperis poſſidere, &c. [*n*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 672. [*o*] Ap. Baron. an. 401. tom. 5. p. 134. Baptizato Juniori Theodoſio, & ab Eccleſia egreſſo in Palatium, licebat rurſus intueri decorem eorum qui præerant multitudini, & veſtem eorum refulgentem. Erant enim omnes Candidati, ut exiſtimaretur multitudo eſſe nive repleta. Præcedebant autem Patricii, Illuſtres, & omnis Dignitas cum Ordinibus Militaribus, omnes portantes Cereos, ut putarentur aſtra cerni in terra. [*p*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 655. τῷ ὃ ἐμφώτεῳ ἐσθὴς ἣ λαμπρυνθήσομαι, &c. [*q*] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 24 ad Fauſtin. Quoſcunque ex iis pauperes, & ad veſtem ſibi emendam non ſufficere poſſe cognoſcis: Te eis veſtem quam ad baptiſma habeant, comparare volumus ac præbere. Vid. lib. 4. Ep. 16.

born, yet he was then in ſuch a Condition, as no one ought to abhor [r] in giving him the Grace of Baptiſm, or imparting to him the Kiſs of Peace. This Cuſtom is alſo mentioned by St. *Auſtin* [s], and it ſeems to be founded upon that Apoſtolical Rule, obſerved in the Euchariſt and other holy Offices, of ſaluting one another with an holy Kiſs, in token of their moſt cordial Affection, and acknowledging one another as Brethren. St. *Chryſoſtom* gives another Reaſon why it was called, The Peace, or the Kiſs of Peace, becauſe Men were now reconciled to God by Baptiſm, and reſtored to his Peace and Favour. For elegantly comparing the two Nativities of Man together, the Natural and the Spiritual, he ſays, The firſt Birth is always attended with Tears and Lamentations, Nature as it were preſaging the ſubſequent Sorrows and Miſeries of Life: But in the ſecond Birth it is otherwiſe: Here are no Tears or Mournings, but Salutations, and Kiſſes, and Embracings of the Brethren, who acknowledge the Perſon baptized as one of their own Members, and receive him as one returning from a long Peregrination out of his own Country. For becauſe before his Baptiſm he was an Enemy, but after Baptiſm is made a Friend of our common Lord, we therefore all rejoyce with him: And upon this account the [t] Kiſs has the Name of Peace, that we may learn thereby, that God has ended the War, and received us into Familiarity and Friendſhip with himſelf. Hence it is, that to give the Peace to any one, is the ſame Thing many times in the Writings of the Ancients, as to ſalute him with the Holy Kiſs, in the Phraſe of the Apoſtle.

SECT. VI. *And a Taſte of Honey and Milk, in Token of their new Birth.*

THEY were uſed alſo to give to the newly baptized a little Taſte of Honey and Milk: Which *Salmaſius* and ſome others [u] ſuppoſe to be given them inſtead of the Euchariſt: But that is a Miſtake, for the Euchariſt was given them at the ſame time: The Ancients themſelves give another Reaſon for it. St. *Jerom* [x] and *Tertullian* [y] ſay, It was to ſignify their New Birth, and that they were now as Children adopted into God's Family. *Tertullian* ſays moreover [z], That the *Marcionites* retained the Cuſtom for the ſame Reaſon, as they did many other Uſages of the Church. St. *Jerom* [a] ſays farther, That in ſome of the *Weſtern* Churches the Mixture was made up of Milk and Wine inſtead of Honey, and this in alluſion to thoſe Paſſages of the Apoſtle, *I have fed you with Milk, and not with ſtrong Meat:* And St. *Peter*'s Saying, *As new-born Babes deſire the ſincere Milk of the Word.* For Milk denotes the Innocency of Children. *Clemens Alexandrinus* alſo [b] takes notice of this Cuſtom, ſaying, As ſoon as we are born we are nouriſhed with Milk, which is the Nutriment of the Lord. And when we are born again we are honoured with the Hope of Reſt by the Promiſe of *Jeruſalem* which is above, where it is ſaid to rain Milk and Honey. For by theſe material Things we are aſſured of that ſacred Food. We learn farther from the third Council of *Carthage*, that this Milk and Honey had a peculiar Conſecration diſtinct from that of the Euchariſt. It is there ſaid to be offered at the Altar [c] on a Day moſt ſolemn (which means the Great Sabbath, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter*, which was the moſt ſolemn time of Baptiſm) and there to have its proper Benediction for the Myſtery of Infants, (that is, Perſons newly baptized, who are commonly called Infants in the Myſtical Senſe) that it might be diſtinguiſhed from the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. This part of the Canon indeed is omitted in ſome Collections, but *Labbée* ſays it was in the antient Manuſcripts, and it is now ſo read in the Body of the *African* [d] Code, which puts the Matter beyond all Diſpute. I have given the Canon with a little explanatory Paraphraſe, becauſe ſome Learned Men complain of the Obſcurity of it, and profeſs themſelves to be in the Dark about the Myſtery of Infants, which ſeems to me evidently to refer to this Cuſtom of giving Milk and Honey to the newly-baptized.

SECT. VII. *Then required to ſay the Lord's Prayer.*

WHEN Perſons were thus adopted into God's Family, and acknowledged as Brethren in Chriſt, then they were admitted as Sons to call upon God their Father, and immediately required to do it in the Form of Words taught us by Chriſt. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [e] bids them repeat the *Lord's Prayer* ſtanding upright, becauſe they were now riſen with Chriſt from the Dead: And after that repeat this other ſhort Form: "Almighty God, the Father "of Chriſt, Thy only-begotten Son, give me an "immaculate Body, a pure Heart, a watchful

[r] Cypr. Ep. 59. al. 64. ad Fidum. p. 160. Nam & quòd veſtigium infantis in primis partûs ſui diebus conſtituti, mundum non eſſe dixiſti, quod unuſquiſque noſtrum adhuc horreat exoſculari; nec hoc putamus ad cœleſtem gratiam dandam impedimento eſſe oportere: Scriptum eſt enim, omnia munda ſunt mundis. Nec aliquis noſtrûm id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus eſt facere. Nam etſi adhuc infans à partu novus eſt, non ita eſt tamen, ut quiſquam illum in Gratia danda atque in Pace facienda exoſculari horrere debeat, &c. [s] Aug. cont. Epiſt. Pelag. lib. 4. cap. 8. [t] Chryſ. Serm. 50. de Util. Legendæ Scripturæ, tom. 5. p. 686. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνην καλεῖ, ἵνα μάθωμεν ὅτι πόλεμον κατέλυσεν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείωσιν ἐπανήγαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. [u] Salmaſ. ap. Suicer. Theſaur. [x] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 4. Deinde egreſſos Lactis & Mellis præguſtare concordiam ad Infantiæ ſignificationem. [y] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Inde ſuſcepti Lactis & Mellis præguſtamus concordiam. [z] It. cont. Marcion. lib. 1. cap. 14. Sed & ille uſque nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris, qua ſuos abluit, nec Oleum quo ſuos unxit, nec Mellis & Lactis ſocietatem, qua ſuos infantat, nec Panem, quo ipſum Corpus ſuum repræſentat. [a] Hieron. in Eſai. 55. 1. Lac ſignificat innocentiam parvulorum. Qui mos ac typus in Occidentis Eccleſiis hodie uſque ſervatur, ut renatis in Chriſto vinum lacque tribuatur. De quo lacte dicebat & Paulus, Lac vobis potum dedi, non ſolidum cibum. Et Petrus, Quaſi modo nati parvuli rationale lac deſiderate. [b] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 103. [c] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. Primitiæ vero, ſeu Mel & Lac, quod uno die ſolenniſſimo pro Infantis Myſterio ſolet offerri, quamvis in Altari offeratur, ſuam tamen habet propriam Benedictionem, ut à Sacramento Dominici Corporis aut Sanguinis diſtinguatur. [d] Codex Eccleſ. Afric. Can. 37. ap. Juſtellum. [e] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. c. 44, & 45.

" Soul, an unerring Knowledge, with the in-
" fluence of the Holy Ghoſt, that I may poſſeſs
" and enjoy the Fulneſs of the Truth, through
" Thy Chriſt, by whom all Glory be to Thee
" in the Holy Ghoſt for ever. *Amen.*" St. *Chryſoſtom* [*f*] alſo mentions their repeating the *Lord's Prayer* preſently after their coming up out of the Water; and that ſtandiug alſo, not falling upon their Faces, but looking up to Chriſt, to whoſe Body they are united, as he ſits above in Heaven, where Satan has no acceſs. And this was the firſt time they were allowed to uſe this Prayer. For till Men were baptized, and made Sons of God by Regeneration, they were not allowed to call God their Father. And though they learned the *Lord's Prayer* before Baptiſm, yet they were not permitted till after Baptiſm to uſe it as a Prayer publickly in the Church.

SECT. VIII. *Received with Pſalmody.*

AMONG other Ceremonies after Baptiſm, *Gregory Nazianzen* mentions their Reception with Pſalmody [*g*], which he ſays, was a Præludium or Foretaſte of thoſe Hymns and Praiſes which ſhould be the Employment of the Life to come. But whether this means any particular Pſalms appointed to be ſung at Baptiſm, or the common Pſalmody of the Church, he does not inform us. If I may be allowed to conjecture, I ſhould conclude for the former, becauſe the common Pſalmody of the Church was no more than what Catechumens were allowed to hear before, as being part of the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or firſt Service, at which not only Catechumens, but profeſſed *Jews* and *Heathens* might be preſent. Perhaps they ſung the cxviiith Pſalm, in which are theſe Words, *This is the Day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoyce and be glad in it*, becauſe St. *Auſtin* [*h*] ſpeaking of the *Eaſter*-Feſtival ſeems to refer to it, ſaying, This is the Day which the Lord hath made, higher than all, brighter than all, in which he hath acquired to himſelf a new People by the Spirit of Regeneration, and hath filled our Minds with Joy and Gladneſs. And *Paulinus* [*i*] ſpeaks of ſinging Allelujahs upon this Occaſion. But in doubtful Matters I will not be over poſitive to determine.

SECT. IX. *And admitted immediately to the Communion of the Altar.*

IT is more certain, that as ſoon as the Ceremonies of Baptiſm were finiſhed, Men were admitted to a Participation of the Euchariſt. For this was the τὸ τέλειον, the Perfection or Conſummation of a Chriſtian, to which he was entitled by vertue of his Baptiſm. Therefore all the antient Writers ſpeak of this as the concluding Privilege of Baptiſm, which in thoſe Days was always immediately ſubjoyned to it. And this was obſerved, not only with reſpect to Adult Perſons, but Children alſo. For Proof of which Cuſtom, at preſent it will be ſufficient to alledge the Teſtimony of *Gennadius* [*k*], who joyns the Baptiſm of Infants, and Confirmation, and the Euchariſt all together. And this continued to the ninth Century, as appears from the Rituals of that Age, ſome of which have been produced before [*l*], and many others might be added; but theſe belong to another Place, where it will be more proper to treat of the Communion of Infants among other things that relate to the Subject of the Euchariſt, which, together with the ancient Pſalmody, Reading of the Scriptures, Preaching and Prayers, which make up the whole ordinary Service of the Church, under the Name of *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and *Miſſa Fidelium*, will be the Subject of the next Volume, which is intended to give an Account of the *Liturgy of the Church*.

SECT. X. *Of the Ceremony of Waſhing the Feet retained in ſome Churches.*

THERE was one Ceremony more, uſed in ſome Churches, but rejected by others, which it will not be improper to give ſome Account of here in the Cloſe. That was the Cuſtom of Waſhing the Feet of the Baptized. *Vicecomes* [*m*] thinks, at firſt it was a Ceremony preceding Baptiſm, and uſed on *Maundy-Thurſday*, or the ſame Day that our Saviour (from whoſe Example it was taken) waſhed his Diſciples Feet. And this ſeems to be clear, he ſays, from St. *Auſtin*'s Words, who has Occaſion to mention it in two of his Epiſtles. But in the former Epiſtle [*n*] St. *Auſtin* is ſpeaking of the Cuſtom of bathing the whole Body before *Eaſter*, that the Catechumens who had neglected themſelves in the Obſervation of *Lent*, might not appear offenſive, when they came to be baptized: Therefore *Maundy-Thurſday* was choſen as the Day to cleanſe themſelves by Bathing, from the bodily Filth which they had contracted. And becauſe this was allowed to the Catechumens, many others choſe to bathe themſelves with them on this Day alſo, and relax their Faſt, becauſe Faſting and Bathing would not agree together. So that this Waſhing was not the Waſhing of the Feet, however *Vicecomes* came to miſtake it, but the Bathing of the whole Body; and not uſed as a religious Ceremony, but as a Ceremony of Convenience and civil Decency, that they might not be offenſive

[*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in Coloſ. p. 1359. [*g*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 672. [*h*] Aug. Serm. 163. de Tempore, Tom. 10. p. 332. Hic eſt dies, dilectiſſimi, quem fecit Dominus, celſior cunctis, lucidior univerſis, in quo ſibi novam plebem, ut videtis, Regenerationis Spiritu conquiſivit, &c. [*i*] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 145. Hinc ſenior ſociæ congaudet turba catervæ, Alleluia novis balat ovile choris. [*k*] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogma. cap. 52. Si Parvuli ſint, qui doctrinam non capiant, reſpondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi: Et ſic manûs Impoſitione & Chriſmate communiti, Euchariſtiæ Myſteriis admittantur. [*l*] *Book* XII. *chap.* i. *n.* 2. [*m*] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. Lict. 3. cap. 20. [*n*] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januarium, p. 213. Si autem quæris, cur etiam lavandi mos ortus ſit: nihil mihi de hac re cogitanti probabilius occurrit, niſi quia baptizandorum corpora per obſervationem Quadrageſimæ ſordidata, cum offenſione ſenſus ad Fontem tractarentur, niſi aliquâ die lavarentur. Iſtum autem diem potius ad hoc electum, quo cœna Domini anniverſariè celebratur. Et quia conceſſum eſt hoc baptiſmum accepturis, multi cum his lavare voluerunt, Jejuniumque relaxare.

to the Sênſes of others, when they came to Baptiſm. In the other Epiſtle he ſpeaks particularly of waſhing the Feet, but that was after Baptiſm, on the third Day, or the *Octaves*, or ſuch other Time as thoſe Churches which retained the Ceremony, thought fit to appoint it. For many Churches [o], he ſays, would never admit of this Cuſtom at all, leſt it ſhould ſeem to belong to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, when our Saviour only intended it as a Leſſon of Humility. And other Churches for the ſame Reaſon abrogated the Cuſtom, where it had been received. And others, who retained it, that they might recommend it by fixing it to ſome more ſacred Time, and yet diſtinguiſh it from the Sacrament of Baptiſm, choſe either the third Day of the *Octave*, or the *Octave* after Baptiſm itſelf, as moſt convenient for this Purpoſe. Among the Churches which wholly refuſed, or abrogated this Cuſtom, the *Spaniſh* Church is one, which in the Council of *Eliberis* made a Canon againſt it; forbidding at once, the exacting any Gift or Reward for adminiſtring Baptiſm, leſt the Prieſt ſhould ſeem to ſell what he freely received; (of which I have given a full [p] Account, in ſpeaking of the Revenues of the Church;) and alſo forbidding the Prieſts [q] or any other of the Clergy to waſh the Feet of ſuch as were baptized. Among thoſe Churches which never received this Cuſtom, we may reckon the *Roman* Church; and among thoſe which always received it, the Church of *Milan*, whoſe Practice is oppoſed to the *Roman* by St. *Ambroſe*, or whoever was the Author of the Books *de Sacramentis*, *& de iis qui myſteriis initiantur*, among his Works. He ſays [r], in the Church of *Milan* the Biſhop was uſed to waſh the Feet of the Baptized. But the *Roman* Church had not this Cuſtom: And he thinks they might decline it, becauſe of the Multitude of thoſe that were baptized. But they of the *Roman* Church pleaded, That it was not to be done by way of Myſtery in Baptiſm or Regeneration, but only by way of Humility, as the Cuſtom of waſhing the Feet of Strangers. But on the contrary the Church of *Milan* pleaded, That it was not meerly a Buſineſs of Humility, but of Myſtery and Sanctification, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to *Peter*, *Except I waſh thy Feet, thou haſt no Part with me.* This I urge, ſays our Author, not to reprehend others, but to commend my own Office. For though we deſire to follow the *Roman* Church, yet we are Men that have our Senſes about us. And therefore we obſerve that Practice, which we conceive to be righter in other Churches. He adds farther, That this was not done [s] to obtain Remiſſion of Sins, for what was already done in Baptiſm: But becauſe *Adam* was ſupplanted by the Devil, and the Serpent's Poiſon was caſt upon his Feet, therefore Men were waſhed in that Part for greater Sanctification, that he might have no Power to ſupplant them any farther. Theſe were the Reaſons given by the Church of *Milan*, for their adhering to this Practice: But they were not ſo ſtrong as to prevail with others, and ſo this Cuſtom never got any great Footing in the Chriſtian Church.

SECT. XI.

A General Reflection upon the whole preceding Diſcourſe, with Relation to the Practice of the Preſent Church.

I have now gone over the moſt material Ceremonies and Uſages of the Church, obſerved about the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as well thoſe that went before, as thoſe that accompanied the Action itſelf, and thoſe that followed after; and, as near as I could, delivered them in the ſame Order and Manner as ſhe herſelf obſerved them. And ſhall here cloſe the Diſcourſe only with one general Reflection, which may be of ſome uſe to vindicate the Practice of the preſent Church, and give Satisfaction to ſuch ſober Diſſenters as ſcruple our Office of Baptiſm for the ſake of an innocent ſignificant Ceremony or two retained in it. The candid Reader may obſerve throughout this Diſcourſe, that not only one or two, but many ſignificant Ceremonies were obſerved by the antient Church in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm; particularly the Sign of the Croſs was uſed at leaſt four or five times in the whole Proceſs of the Action. Therefore they who now raiſe Objections againſt the preſent Office, had they lived in the Primitive Times, muſt have had much more Reaſon to complain of the antient Practice. And yet we do not ordinarily find Objections rais'd againſt the Baptiſm of the

[o] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. De lavandis vero pedibus, cum Dominus hoc propter formam humilitatis, propter quam docendam venerat, commendaret, ſicut ipſe conſequenter expoſuit, quæſitum eſt, Quonam tempore potiſſimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, & in illud tempus occurrit, quo ipſa commendatio religioſius inhæreret. Sed ne ad ipſum Sacramentum Baptiſmi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in Conſuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de Conſuetudine auferre non dubitarunt. Aliqui autem, ut hoc Sacratiore tempore commendarent, & à Baptiſmi Sacramento diſtinguerent, vel diem tertium Octavarum, quia ternarius numerus in multis Sacramentis maxime excellit, vel etiam ipſum Octavum, ut hoc facerent, elegerunt. [p] *Book* V. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 14. [q] Conc. Eliber. Can. 48. Emendari placuit, ut hi qui baptizantur (ut fieri ſolet) nummos in Concham non mittant, ne ſacerdos, quod gratis accepit, pretio diſtrahere videatur. Neque pedes eorum lavandi ſunt à Sacerdotibus vel Clericis. [r] Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 3. cap. 1. Succinctus ſummus ſacerdos pedes tibi lavit.——Non ignoramus quòd Eccleſia Romana hanc Conſuetudinem non habeat, cujus Typum in omnibus ſequimur & Formam: hanc tamen conſuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo ne propter multitudinem declinarit. Sunt tamen qui dicant, & excuſare conentur, quia hoc non Myſterio faciendum eſt, non in Baptiſmate, non in Regeneratione: Sed quaſi hoſpiti pedes lavandi ſunt. Aliud eſt Humilitatis, aliud Sanctificationis. Denique audi, quia Myſterium eſt, & Sanctificatio. Niſi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem. Hoc ideo dico, non quòd alios reprehendam, ſed mea Officia ipſe commendem. In omnibus cupio ſequi Eccleſiam Romanam, ſed tamen & nos homines ſenſum habemus. Ideo quod alibi rectius ſervatur, & nos recte cuſtodimus. [s] Ibid. In Baptiſmate omnis culpa diluitur. Recedit ergo culpa; ſed quia Adam ſupplantatus à Diabolo eſt, & venenum ei ſuffuſum eſt ſupra pedes, ideo lavas pedes, ut in eâ parte, in qua inſidiatus eſt Serpens, majus ſubſidium Sanctificationis accedat, quo poſtea te ſupplantare non poſſit. *He repeats this Reaſon in his Book* de Initiatis, *cap.* 6.

Church,

Church, upon the Account of the Ceremonies ſhe uſed therein, no, not even by thoſe who in other things differed her. Which Conſideration, methinks, ſhould a little ſatisfy thoſe, who really value the Peace and Unity of the Church, and be an Argument to them not to diſſent from the Practice of the preſent Church, for thoſe Things which muſt more forcibly have obliged them to have been Diſſenters in all Ages. I know not how far this Conſideration may prevail upon any, but I know how far it ought to prevail upon all that love the Peace, and ſtudy the Quiet of the Church, and therefore I could not but in this Place here ſeaſonably ſuggeſt it.

CHAP. V.

Of the Laws againſt REBAPTIZATION *both in Church and State.*

SECT. I. *But one Baptiſm, properly ſo called, allowed by the Church. And Why?*

TO what has been ſaid about Baptiſm, it will not be improper to add ſomething about the Laws made both in Church and State, againſt the Repetition of it, when once duly perform'd. The Ancients generally determine againſt a Repetition of Baptiſm; tho' *Voſſius* thinks [a] their Reaſons are not always ſtrictly concluſive. Some argued, That Baptiſm was not to be repeated, becauſe we are baptized into the Death of Chriſt, who died but once. So St. *Baſil* [b] and St. *Auſtin* [c]. But *Voſſius* thinks there is no weight in this Argument, becauſe that which is but once done, may be often repreſented: As the Sacrament of the Euchariſt is often repeated, though it alſo be in Remembrance of the Lord's Death till he come. Others prove it from thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Joh.* xiii. 10. *He that is waſhed, needeth not ſave to waſh his Feet, but is clean every whit.* This Argument is uſed by *Optatus*, St. *Auſtin*, *Fulgentius*, *Pacianus*, and St. *Ambroſe*. But *Voſſius* thinks there is as little Force in this Reaſon as the former: Becauſe Men may become polluted and unclean after Baptiſm, and ſo have need of a ſecond Waſhing, if there were no other Reaſon againſt it. Others argued from thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Heb.* vi. 4. *It is impoſſible for thoſe who are once enlightned, if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto Repentance.* The ancient Expoſitors, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, *Primaſius*, *Sedulius*, and *Haimo*, underſtand this as a Prohibition of renewing Men to Repentance again by a ſecond Baptiſm: For they do not deny abſolutely the Poſſibility of a ſecond Repentance or Pardon, but only upon a ſecond Baptiſm. And ſo *Voſſius* ſays it is alſo expounded by *Epiphanius* [d], *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [e], St. *Jerom* [f], St. *Auſtin* [g], and St. *Ambroſe* [h]. But he thinks their Expoſition not ſo agreeable to this Place, as that of others, who interpret the *falling away*, either to mean the Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, or what St. *John* calls *a Sin unto Death*, or a Total Apoſtacy from the Chriſtian Religion, for which there is no Renewal of Repentance. But I will not be ſo poſitive as *Voſſius*, that any of theſe are better Interpretations of that Text, which is ſo unanimouſly urged by the Ancients againſt the *Novatians*, as a Prohibition, not ſimply of a ſecond Repentance, but of a Repentance by a ſecond Baptiſm. Others made uſe of thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Eph.* iv. *One Faith, one Baptiſm.* Which is the Argument urged by *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* and Pope *Leo*, againſt Rebaptization. But this, as *Voſſius* obſerves, probably was not intended as a Prohibition of a ſecond Baptiſm, but only to declare the Community of that Baptiſm, which is received one and the ſame by all, without Exception. As the Apoſtle calls the Euchariſt one Bread, not becauſe it was only once to be received, but becauſe it was that common Bread, of which all were Partakers. The true Reaſon, *Voſſius* thinks, why Baptiſm is not to be repeated, is the Divine Will that ſo appointed it. For there is no Command to reiterate Baptiſm, as there is to repeat the Euchariſt, in the Words of Inſtitution. Neither is there any Example of any Rebaptization in Scripture, though we often read of Men's falling into groſs and ſcandalous Sins after Baptiſm. To which may be added, that Baptiſm ſucceeds in the room of Circumciſion, being the Entrance and Seal of the Covenant, which, on God's Part, is never broken: So that as Circumciſion was never repeated, though the Paſſover was yearly; in like manner, Men enter into the Covenant by Baptiſm, and their Breaches of the Covenant are not to be repaired by repeated Baptiſms, but by Confeſſion and Repentance, which is the Method preſcribed by the Apoſtle for reſtoring fallen Brethren. St. *Jerom* [i] obſerves, That though there were many Hereticks in the Apoſtles Days, as the *Nicolaitans* and others, yet there was no Command given to rebaptize them upon their Repentance. And *Optatus* [k] makes the Unity

[a] Voſſ. de Bapt. Diſp. 17. n. 5. p. 210. [b] Baſil de Spir. Sancto, cap. 15. [c] Aug. de Vera & Falſa Pœnit. cap. 3. [d] Epiphan. Hær. 59. Novatianor. [e] Cyril. Lib. 5. in Joan. 17. [f] Hieron. contra Jovin. Lib. 2. [g] Aug. Com. in Rom. [h] Ambroſ. de Pœnit. contra Novat. Lib. 2. cap. 2. [i] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. cap. 8. De Apocalypſi quoque approbemus, Hæreticis ſine Baptiſmate debere Pœnitentiam concedi. Nunquid dixit, Rebaptizentur, qui in Nicolaitarum fidem baptizati ſunt? [k] Optat. Lib. 1. p. 35. Quid magis dici pro nobis, & noſtrum eſſe poteſt, quàm quod dixiſti, in comparationem baptiſmatis ſemel factum eſſe diluvium? Et ſingularem Circumciſionem ſalubriter profeciſſe populo Judæorum, magis pro nobis, quaſi noſter locutus es.

of Circumciſion a good Argument for the Unity of Baptiſm, in which both the Catholicks and Donatiſts agreed. For though the Donatiſts rebaptized the Catholicks, yet they did it not under the Notion of a ſecond Baptiſm, but as ſuppoſing they had received no true Baptiſm before.

SECT. II. *Only the* Marcionites *allowed Baptiſm to be thrice repeated.*

INDEED among all the antient Hereticks, we find none for a Plurality of Baptiſms, but only the *Marcionites*. Which *Epiphanius* obſerves to have been an Invention of *Marcion* [*l*] their firſt Founder, in regard to his own Converſation: For he having been guilty of deflowering a Virgin, invented a ſecond Baptiſm, aſſerting, That it was lawful to repeat Baptiſm three times for the Remiſſion of Sins. So that if any Man fell, he might receive a ſecond Baptiſm after the firſt, and a third after that, upon his Repentance. Which he pretended to ground upon thoſe Sayings of our Saviour, *I have a Baptiſm to be baptized with, and I have a Cup to drink*; which have no reference to any other Baptiſm in Water, but to his Baptiſm in Blood, that is, his Death and Paſſion. Of which the Ancients ſpeak much, as they do of ſome other Sorts of Baptiſm, which are only metaphorical, as the Baptiſm of Afflictions, the Baptiſm of Tears and Repentance, and the Baptiſm of Fire at the laſt Day. But here the Queſtion is only about proper Baptiſm by Water, which the *Marcionites* affirmed might be repeated three Times in the ſame way, which the Church never allowed of.

SECT. III. *What the Church did in doubtful Caſes, not reckoned a Re-baptization.*

'TIS true indeed, there were ſome doubtful Caſes, in which it might happen accidentally that a Man might be a ſecond time baptized; but theſe were ſuch Caſes only, in which the Party was reputed not to have received any former Baptiſm at all. As when a Man could neither give any Account of his own Baptiſm, nor were there any other credible Witneſſes that could atteſt it. Which often happened to be the Caſe of thoſe who were taken Captives in their Infancy, and made Slaves by the Heathen. When any ſuch were redeemed or recovered by the Chriſtians, the Church made no Scruple to baptize them; becauſe tho' they might perhaps have received a former Baptiſm, yet no Evidence of it appeared. And ſo this was not reputed a Re-baptization. A Decree was made to this purpoſe in the fifth Council of *Carthage* [*m*], upon a Queſtion put by the Biſhops of *Mauritania*, who affirmed that they redeemed many ſuch captive Children from the Hands of the *Barbarians*: The Council ordered, That in this Caſe, as often as it happened that there were no certain Witneſſes found, who could give undoubted Teſtimony of their Baptiſm; nor were they able of themſelves to affirm, by reaſon of their Age, that they ever had received it; they ſhould be baptized without any Scruple, leſt an Heſitation in this Caſe ſhould deprive them of the Purgation of the Sacraments. The like Determination was alſo given in one of the *Roman* Synods under *Leo* upon the ſame Caſe, where it was concluded [*n*], That in ſuch a doubtful Caſe, neither the Baptizer nor the Baptized incurred the Crime of Re-baptization. And *Leo* reſolves the Matter [*o*] himſelf after the ſame manner in other Places. Neither was it reckoned any Crime, though it afterward appeared that the Party had been baptized before, becauſe it was done in Ignorance: But yet, like Clinick-baptiſm, it was a ſort of Blemiſh to him, that deprived him of Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, except in ſome extraordinary Caſe, as we learn from *Theodore*'s [*p*] *Pœnitentiale* cited by *Gratian*.

SECT IV. *Nor when ſhe baptized thoſe who had been unduly baptized before in Hereſy or Schiſm.*

NEITHER was it reckoned properly a ſecond Baptiſm, when the Church baptized any who had before been unduly baptized in Hereſy or Schiſm. For then ſhe did it only on Preſumption that they had received no true Baptiſm before. Some Hereticks corrupted Baptiſm by altering the neceſſary Form, and others corrupted it by changing the Matter of it into ſome other Subſtance of their own appointing: And the Baptiſms of all ſuch were looked upon as no Baptiſms, and therefore the Church ordered all thoſe to be baptized upon their Return to her Communion, in the very ſame manner as *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as ſuppoſing their former Pretence of Baptiſm to be nothing at all, but her own Baptiſm the firſt true Baptiſm that was given them. And even the *Cyprianiſts*, who baptized all that had been baptized in any Hereſy or Schiſm whatſoever without Diſtinction, did it ſtill only upon this Suppoſition, That the Baptiſm which they had received before, was no Baptiſm at all, but a mere Nullity. But if any had been baptized in the Catholick Church, and after that turned Hereticks or Schiſmaticks, or even Apoſtates, *Jews* or *Gentiles*, they never gave ſuch another Baptiſm upon their Return to the Church again.

[*l*] Epiphan. Hær. 42. Marcionit. n. 3. [*m*] Conc. Carthag. 5. Can. 6. Placuit de Infantibus, ut quoties non inveniuntur certiſſimi teſtes, qui eos baptizatos eſſe ſine dubitatione teſtentur, neque ipſi ſint per ætatem idonei de traditis ſibi Sacramentis reſpondere, abſque ullo ſcrupulo eos eſſe baptizandos, ne iſta trepidatio eos faciat Sacramentorum purgatione privari. Hinc enim Legati Maurorum fratres noſtri conſuluerunt, quia multos tales à Barbaris redimunt. Vid. Cod. Eccl. Afric. Can. 75. & Conc. Trull. Can. 84. [*n*] Leo, Ep. 37. ad Leon. Raven. Non poteſt in Iterationis crimen devenire, quod factum eſſe omnino neſcitur. [*o*] Id. Ep. 92. ad Ruſtic. cap. 15. Si nulla exiſtant indicia inter propinquos aut familiares, nulla inter Clericos aut vicinos, quibus hi, de quibus quæritur, baptizati fuiſſe doceantur; Agendum eſt ut renaſcantur, ne manifeſte pereant, in quibus quod non oſtenditur geſtum, ratio non ſinit ut videatur iteratum. [*p*] Theodor. Pœnitent. ap. Gratian. Diſt. 4. de Conſecrat. cap. 117. Qui bis ignorantur baptizati ſunt, non indigent pro eo pœnitere: Niſi quod ſecundum Canones ordinari non poſſunt, niſi magna aliqua neceſſitas cogat.

SECT. V. *Apoſtates never Rebaptized in the Catholick Church.*

FOR the *Cyprianiſts* in this agreed with the reſt of the Catholick Church, That Catholick Baptiſm was never to be repeated in the greateſt Apoſtates. This Doctrine is not only inculcated by St. *Auſtin* [q], but even by *Cyprian* himſelf and his Followers: Where they plead ſo much for baptizing thoſe who had been baptized in any Hereſy or Schiſm, they ſtill except thoſe Hereticks who had originally been baptized in the Catholick Church; though they turned Apoſtates, they were not to be received again by Baptiſm [r], but only by Repentance, as was determined in the Council of *Carthage* over which *Cyprian* preſided. St. *Auſtin* refers us to this very Paſſage, and thence concludes this was a Point agreed upon univerſally in the Catholick Church, That no Lapſe or Crime could make it neceſſary to give a ſecond Baptiſm to any, who had once been truly baptized within the Pale of the Church. A longer Penance indeed was impoſed upon ſuch Deſerters and Apoſtates, as had been baptized in the Church, than upon thoſe who had been baptized among Hereticks originally, as the Rules of Pope *Innocent* inform us [s]; The one were obliged to go through a long Courſe of Penance for their Apoſtacy, but the other was admitted immediately by Impoſition of Hands upon their Recantation: Yet ſtill the Church kept ſtrict to her Rule, That whatever way ſhe admitted them, ſhe would not do it by a ſecond Baptiſm.

SECT. VI. *What Hereticks rebaptized the Catholicks.*

SEVERAL Hereticks pretended to obſerve the ſame Rule: For they rebaptized the *Catholicks*; yet they ſaid this was not a ſecond Baptiſm; becauſe the *Catholicks* were reputed Hereticks with them, and therefore their Baptiſm of no Value in their Account. Upon this ground the *Novatians* rebaptized the *Catholicks*, as we learn from *Cyprian* [t] and the Epiſtle of Pope *Innocent* laſt cited. The *Donatiſts* followed the *Novatians* in this ſacrilegious Practice, as the Charge is often brought againſt them by St. *Auſtin* [u] and many others. And the *Eunomians* not only rebaptized the *Catholicks*, but all others of the *Arian* Sects, that were not of their own particular Faction, as is noted by *Epiphanius* [x] in his Account of them. And the other *Arians*, though they were at firſt averſe to this Practice (as *Papebrochius* [y] and *Pagi* [z] rightly obſerve, in order to refute the Story of *Conſtantine*'s being baptized by Pope *Sylveſter*, and rebaptized by *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*; for at that time the *Arians* had not taken up the Practice of Rebaptizing the *Catholicks*:) Yet afterwards they gave way to it about the Time of St. *Auſtin*. For he charges it upon them more than once [a], That they rebaptized the *Catholicks*. And it appears from *Victor Uticenſis* [b] That they inſiſted ſtifly upon it in the Time of the *Vandalick* Perſecution, and we afterwards meet with the ſame in the Epiſtles of *Vigilius* [c]. *Valeſius* [d] cites the Life of *Fulgentius* and the Author of the *Breviarium Fidei*, publiſhed by *Sirmondus*, to the ſame Purpoſe. By which laſt Author [e] we find, that the *Arians* not only rebaptized the *Catholicks*, but alſo made an Argument of it (as ſome *Romaniſts* in another Caſe have ſince argued againſt the *Proteſtants*) that their Baptiſm was better than the *Catholicks*, becauſe the *Catholicks* never rebaptized thoſe that came over from the *Arians*, but reconciled them only by Impoſition of Hands: But the *Arians*, whenever they could ſeduce any from the *Catholicks*, always gave them a ſecond Baptiſm.

SECT. VII. *What Puniſhments were inflicted on Rebaptizers by the Laws of Church and State.*

NOW to prevent this petulant Humor from ſpreading in the Church, many and ſevere Laws were made againſt it, both by the Eccleſiaſtical and the Secular Power. The Church by her Canons [f] not only cenſured and condemned all ſuch Rebaptizations, as Impious and Sacrilegious, as a crucifying of Chriſt again, a doing Deſpite to the Spirit, as a Mockery to the Divine Myſteries, and Deriſion of Holy Things; but alſo inflicted Penalties on all thoſe who were either actively or paſſively concerned in them. The Council of *Lerida* [g] forbids the Faithful ſo much as to eat with Perſons that ſuffered themſelves to be Rebaptized. The Canons of Pope *Innocent* [h] enjoyn them a long Penance to make

[q] Aug. de Bapt. Lib. 2. cap. 1. Cont. Liter. Petil. Lib. 2. cap. 7. & 48. Cont. Creſcon. Lib. 2. cap. 16. [r] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. n. 8. p. 232. Cenſeo omnes Hæreticos & Schiſmaticos, qui ad Catholicam Eccleſiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, niſi exorciſati & baptizati prius fuerint; exceptis his ſane qui in Eccleſia Catholica fuerint ante baptizati, ita tamen ut per manûs Impoſitionem in Pœnitentiam Eccleſiæ reconcilientur. *See the ſame*, Ibid. n. 22. *And* Cypr. Ep. 71. ad Quintum, p. 194. Ep. 74. ad Pompeium, p. 216. [s] Innoc. Ep. 2. ad Victricium, cap. 8. Ut venientes à Novatianis vel Montenſibus, per manûs tantum impoſitionem ſuſcipiantur. Quia quamvis ab Hæreticis, tamen in Chriſti nomine ſunt baptizati: Præter eos, ſi qui fortè à nobis ad illos tranſeuntes, rebaptizati ſunt: Hi ſi repiſcentes, & ruinam ſuam cogitantes, redire maluerint, ſub longa Pœnitentiæ ſatisfactione admittendi ſunt. [t] Cypr. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 198. Nec nos movet, quod in Literis tuis complexus es Novatianenſes rebaptizare eos, quos à nobis ſollicitant. [u] Aug. cont. Fulgent. cap. 7. Da mihi aliquem Sanctorum poſt Trinitatem rebaptizare, quod facis. It. de Hæreſ. c. 69. Audent etiam rebaptizare Catholicos, &c. Vid. Cod. Theodoſ. Lib. 16. Tit. 6. Ne Sanctum Baptiſma iteretur. Leg. 4. Honorii. [x] Epiphan. Hær. 76. Anomœor. p. 992. [y] Papebroch. Vit. Conſtant. Mai. 21. Tom. 5. p. 17. [z] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 324. n. 12. [a] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 49. Rebaptizari quoque ab his Catholicos novimus, utrum & non Catholicos neſcio. It. de 5. Hæreſ. cap. 7. Baptizato ingerit baptiſmum, &c. [b] Victor. de Perſec. Vandal. Lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 7. p. 590. [c] Vigil. Ep. 2. ad Eleutherium, cap. 3. It. Conc. Tolet 3. Præfat. [d] Valeſ. Not. in Sozomen. Lib. 6. c. 26. [e] Breviar. Fidei adverſus Arianos. Dicere etiam ſolent de baptiſmo, quod in eo melius ſit ipſorum baptiſmum, quam noſtrum; quia qui de illis ad nos convertuntur, non eos rebaptizamus, ſed per manûs impoſitionem reconciliamus. Illi vero, ſi quos de noſtris ſeducere poſſint, inconſideranter rebaptizant. [f] Vid. Cod. Eccleſ. Afric. Can. 52. Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 6. cap. 15. [g] Conc. Ilerdenſ. Can. 14. Cum Rebaptizatis Fideles Religioſi nec in cibo participent. [h] Innoc. Ep. 2. ad Victric. cap. 9. Qui rebaptizati ſunt, ſub longa Pœnitentia & ſatisfactione admittendi ſunt.

Satis-

Satisfaction. And those of Pope *Leo* [*i*] require even those who through Fear or Terror were rebaptized against their Wills, to do Penance at the Discretion of the Bishop, before they were admitted again to Communion. If they were Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons, who thus suffered themselves to be rebaptized, then they were to be degraded, and obliged to do Penance all their Lives, without being suffered to communicate with the Church either in the Prayers of the Faithful, or the Prayers of the Catechumens, and were only to be admitted to Lay-Communion at the Hour of Death, because they had not only denied their Orders, but their Christianity, and openly professed themselves Pagans, by being rebaptized. This we find in the Decrees of *Felix* III. made in a *Roman* Council [*k*] with respect to the *African* Churches, where such Rebaptizations were often practised, by the Power of the *Arians*, who compelled the *Catholicks* to be rebaptized. This was the antient Discipline of the Church toward those, who were only Passive in admitting a second Baptism, after they had once been truly baptized with Catholick Baptism before. Then again for those who were actively concerned in such Rebaptizations, the Canons appointed, that if any Bishop or Presbyter presumed to give a second Baptism after a true one once received [*l*], he should be degraded: And this Penalty was confirmed by the Civil Law; for *Valentinian* put forth an Edict against such Rebaptizers, declaring them unworthy [*m*] of the Priesthood. But because such sort of Penalties did not much affect either the *Donatists* or *Eunomians*, who were already out of the Church, and little regarded her Censures: Therefore *Honorius* reinforced the former Laws by adding a Civil Penalty to them. For in two Laws made against the *Donatists*, who were chiefly concerned in this Crime, he enacted [*n*], that it should be Confiscation of all a Man's Goods, whoever was found to rebaptize another. And *Theodosius* Junior [*o*] laid the same Penalty upon the *Eunomians*, and those that were rebaptized by them, commanding their Goods to be confiscated, and their Persons to be banished. Such was the Care both of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors to preserve the Unity of Baptism in the Catholick Church. But as *Gothofred*, I think, rightly observes, these Laws seem only intended against Hereticks rebaptizing Catholicks. For if Hereticks rebaptized Hereticks, as the *Eunomians* did the other *Arians*, it does not appear that in that Case the Penalties of these Laws affected them, but only were designed to restrain their Insolencies against the Catholick Church. Some *Catholicks* continued still, after the *Cyprianick* Way, to rebaptize all Hereticks and Schismaticks whatsoever, without distinguishing those that were baptized in the Name of the Trinity, from those that were not: And tho' this was contrary to the general Custom and Discipline of the Church, yet I conceive the Penalties of these Laws did not affect them neither. And the same may be said of those, who thought themselves obliged to rebaptize those, who were only baptized by Laymen. For though it was reckoned a Rebaptization by those Churches which practised otherwise, yet it was not that criminal Rebaptization, against which these Laws were chiefly intended: And these being something more of doubtful and disputed Cases, about which good *Catholicks* themselves were divided, a greater Allowance was made in these, so long as Men only observed the Custom and Practice of the Churches, in which they lived, about them: Which was St. *Basil*'s Advice to the Churches of *Asia*, which were divided upon these Questions.

[*i*] Leo Ep. 77. ad Nicetam. c. 6. Qui ad iterandum Baptismum vel metu coacti sunt — non nisi per Pœnitentiæ remedium, & per Impositionem Episcopalis manûs, communionis recipiant unitatem. [*k*] Felix, Ep. 1. cap. 2 Eos quos Episcopos, Presbyteros vel Diaconos fuisse constiterit, & seu optantes forsitan, seu coactos Lavacri illius unici salutarisque claruerit fecisse jacturam; & Christum, quem non solum dono regenerationis, verum etiam gratia percepti honoris induerant, exuisse; cum constet neminem ad secundam tinctionem venire potuisse, nisi se palam Christianum negaverit, & professus fuerit se esse Paganum, — usque ad exitus sui diem, si resipiscunt, jacere conveniet, nec Orationi non modo Fidelium, sed nec Catechumenorum omnimodis interesse, quibus Communio Laica tantum in morte reddenda est. [*l*] Vid. Canon. Apost. Can. 47. [*m*] Theod. lib. 16 Tit. 6. de non iterando Bapt. Leg. Antistitem, qui Sanctitatem Baptisma iterata usurpatione geminaverit, & contra Instituta omnium eam Gratiam iterando contaminaverit, sacerdotio indignum esse censemus. [*n*] Ibid. 4. Quisquis post hæc fuerit rebaptizasse detectus — Facultatum omnium publicatione multatus, inopiæ pœnam expendat. Vid. ibid. Leg. 5. Honorii. [*o*] Ibid. Leg. 7. Theodosii. Nefarios Eunomianorum cœtus, ac funesta Conventicula penitus arceri jubemus eos qui Episcoporum, seu Clericorum, vel Ministrorum nomine usurpato, hujusmodi cœtibus præsunt — cum in hoc fuerint Scelere deprehensi, stilum Proscriptionis incurrere, & Bonorum amissione coerceri. Eos vero qui fide, ut dictum est, imbutos immani furore rebaptizare deteguntur, cum his qui rebaptizantur (arceri jubemus).

ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XIII.

General Obſervations relating to DIVINE WORSHIP in the ANTIENT CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Some neceſſary Remarks upon the Antient Names of Divine Service, which Modern Corruptions have render'd ambiguous.

SECT. I. *The Partition of this Work.*

WE have hitherto ſeen the Method of Introducing Men into the Church, through the various Steps of their Catechumenſhip, and Baptiſm, and Confirmation: We are now to view their Practice in the Worſhip of God after their Admiſſion, and to examine into the Manner of their holding Religious Aſſemblies, and performing there the ſeveral publick Offices of Divine Service. Some things of this kind are General Conſiderations, that run through all Offices, and relate to every Part of Divine Worſhip; ſuch as the Object of their Worſhip, and the Circumſtances of Language, and Forms, and Habits, and Geſture, and Time; and therefore of thoſe General Things I ſhall diſcourſe firſt in this Book. After this I ſhall conſider the ſeveral Parts of their moſt ſolemn Worſhip on the Lord's Day; ſuch as their Pſalmody, and Reading of the Scriptures, and Preaching, and Prayer, and receiving the Communion, which were their ſolemn Acts of Worſhip on every Feſtival. And becauſe ſome of theſe were ſuch as the Catechumens and all others were allowed to be preſent at, for their Benefit and Edification; whilſt other Parts of Divine Service were more reſtrained to Perſons baptized, who were complete and perfect Chriſtians (who were therefore called Communicants, becauſe they had a more peculiar Right to all the Privileges of Chriſtian Communion). I ſhall upon this account ſpeak of their Worſhip under theſe two Heads, according to their own Diſtinction; The *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and the *Miſſa Fidelium*; the Service of the Catechumens, and the Service of the Communicants; or, as we may otherwiſe term them, the Ante-communion Service, and the Communion Service.

SECT. II. *Of the* Miſſa Catechumenorum, *or Firſt Part of Divine Service, to which all Orders of Men were admitted.*

The *Miſſa Catechumenorum* comprehended all that part of the Service, which preceded the common Prayers of the Communicants at the Altar; that is, the Pſalmody, the Reading of the Scriptures, the Sermon, and the particular Prayers that were made over the Catechumens and other Orders of Penitents, Energumens, *&c.* before they were diſmiſſed. For by the antient Rules and Diſcipline of the Church, the Method of Divine Service was ſo ordered that all Perſons, except ſome very ſcandalous Sinners, had Liberty to be preſent at ſome Parts of it. The Pſalms, and Leſſons, and Sermons were for the Inſtruction, not only of Believers, but alſo of Catechumens, and Heathens, *Jews* and Infidels, Unbelievers and Hereticks: And therefore by ſome Canons all theſe had Liberty to ſtay in the Church, till this part of the Service, called *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, was ended. The fourth Council of *Carthage* [a] has a Rule to this purpoſe, That the Biſhop ſhall not prohibit any one to enter the Church, and hear the Word of God, whether he be Gentile, *Jew* or Heretick, till the Service of the Catechumens was ended. A like Canon was made by the firſt

[a] Conc. Carthag. 4. Can. 84. Ut Epiſcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Eccleſiam, & audire Verbum Dei, ſive Gentilem, ſive Hæreticum, ſive Judæum, uſque ad Miſſam Catechumenorum.

Council

Council of *Orange*, That the Catechumens [b] ſhould have the Liberty to ſtay and hear the Goſpels read in all their Churches. The Council of *Valentia* [c] in *Spain* extends the Privilege to Hereticks and Heathens, as well as Catechumens, and therefore orders that the Goſpel ſhould be read before the Oblation was brought forth, in the uſual Order of the Leſſons, ſo that not only the Communicants, but the Catechumens and Penitents, and Gentiles, and Hereticks, who were of the contrary Part, might have Liberty to hear the ſaving Precepts of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Sermons of the Biſhops. For they had learned by Experience, that by the Biſhops preaching many had been brought over to the Faith. And by this we may interpret an obſcure Canon [d] of the Council of *Lerida*, which orders, That inceſtuous Perſons, ſo long as they continued in their Sin, ſhould not be permitted to ſtay any longer in the Church, ſave only during the Service of the Catechumens, that is, to hear the Pſalmody, the Leſſons and the Sermon. St. *Chryſoſtom* abundantly confirms this Obſervation: For in many of his Homilies [e] he ſpeaks not only of Catechumens, but of Hereticks and Heathen being preſent as Part of his Auditory. Particularly in his Homily [f] upon the Forty-fourth *Pſalm*, he wiſhes all the *Jews* and Heathens had been then preſent to have heard him expound that prophetical *Pſalm* of Chriſt. In another Homily [g] upon the Forty-eighth *Pſalm* he brings in an *Heathen* uſing this Form of Complaint againſt Chriſtians: I went into a Chriſtian Church, and there I heard *Paul* ſay to their Women, That they ſhould not adorn themſelves with Gold or Pearl; but I ſaw every Thing contrary in their Practice. And, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, Will not the *Heathen* when he comes into the Church, and ſees the Women thus adorn'd in the Galleries above, and hears *Paul* thus ſpeaking below, be ready to ſay, Our Religion is mere Pageantry and Fable? It is not ſo indeed; but the Heathen is ſcandalized and offended at this Contrariety in our Practice. This plainly implies, that the Heathens had free Liberty to come into the Chriſtian Churches, and hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached. And it is very remarkable, what *Sozomen* [h] obſerves of St. *Chryſoſtom*, That by this Means he brought over many of thoſe who heard him in the Church, to acknowledge the Divinity of Chriſt. Which ſome underſtand of the Scholars of *Libanius*, but *Valeſius*, I think more truly, interprets it of *Heathens* and *Hereticks* in general, who flock'd to St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Church to hear him. There is but one Thing that can be ſaid againſt all this, and that is, That the Council of *Laodicea* has a contrary Canon, which abſolutely forbids [i] the permitting of *Hereticks* to enter into the Houſe of God. But this is only a Local Ordinance; and the Thing being a Matter of pure Diſcipline, there might be prudential Reaſons for denying *Hereticks* in ſome Places the Privilege that was allowed them in others. Or elſe the Canon may be underſtood of not permitting them to come into the Church for Prayers or Communion, which was a Thing forbidden by all Canons whatſoever, till after their Recantation. Some indeed think, that in *Tertullian*'s Time the *Catechumens* were excluded before Sermon, becauſe he objects it to the *Hereticks* [k], That there were ſuch Confuſions in their Aſſemblies, that no one could tell who was a *Catechumen*, and who was a Communicant, becauſe they all met, and heard, and prayed together. And *Heathens*, if they came in among them, were not excluded from the very Myſteries of their Religion. But in this, as *Schelſtrate* [l] has obſerved againſt *Albaſpinæus* and *Chriſtianus Lupus*, *Tertullian* does not object to the *Hereticks*, That they admitted Catechumens to hear their Sermons, but that they made no Diſtinction in their Aſſemblies, as the Church did; but without any Obſervation of Decency or Order, ſuffered their *Catechumens* to mingle themſelves with Communicants, whom the Catholicks always confined to a ſeparate place in the Church, while Hereticks admitted them confuſedly, not only to hear Sermons, but to be preſent at their Prayers and the Oblation of the *Euchariſt* alſo. So that this Paſſage of *Tertullian* rather confirms the Thing aſſerted, That the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or Service of the Catechumens, lasted to the End of the Sermon. After which it was uſual for the Deacon to call to the Heathens, and Hereticks, if there were any preſent, to be gone: μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων: Let none that are only Hearers, none of the Unbelievers be preſent, as the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [m] words it. Then followed the Prayers for the Catechumens of the Order called *Proſtrators*; and after their Diſmiſſion, Prayers for the *Energumens*; and after them, the Prayers for the Candidates of Baptiſm, and laſt of all the Prayers for the Penitents. All which was included in the general Name of *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, the Service of the Catechumens, or Ante-Communion Service.

SECT. III. *Of the* Miſſa Fidelium, *or Communion Service, peculiar to Communicants only.*

AFTER this was ended, it was uſual for the Deacon to make another ſolemn Proclamation to all Orders of Non-communicants to withdraw: οἱ ἀκοινώνητοι προσ-πατήσατε, Ye that cannot com-

[b] Conc. Araſican. 1. Can. 18. Evangelia placuit deinceps Catechumenis legi apud omnes Provinciarum noſtrarum Eccleſias. [c] Conc. Valentin. Can. 1. Ut ſacroſancta Evangelia ante munerum illationem, in Miſſa Catechumenorum in ordine Lectionem poſt legantur, quatenus ſalutaria præcepta Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, vel ſermones ſacerdotis, non ſolum Fideles ſed etiam Catechumeni ac Pœnitentes, & omnes qui è diverſo ſunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim Pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos attractos ad Fidem evidenter ſcimus. [d] Conc. Ilerdenſe. Can. 4. De his qui inceſtus Pollutione ſe commaculant, placuit, ut quouſque in ipſo deteſtando & illicito carnis contubernio perſeverant, uſque ad Miſſam tantum Catechumenorum in Eccleſia admittantur. [e] Chryſ. Hom. 41. de Pelagia. tom. 1. p. 560. Hom. 71. de Phoca. tom. 1. p. 878. Hom. 8. tom. 5. p. 124. Hom. 1. in Mat. p. 5. Hom. 27. in Mat. p. 271. Hom. de Prophet. Obſcuritate. tom. 3. p. 926. Hom. 2. p. 946. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. [f] Hom. in Pſal. 44. tom. 3. p. 206. [g] Chryſ. Hom. in Pſal. 48. al 49. p. 806. [h] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 2. [i] Conc. Laodic. Can. 6. ὡσὶ τοὺς μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ. [k] Tertul. de Præſcript. adverſ. Hæreticos. cap. 41. In primis quis Catechumenus, quis Fidelis, incertum eſt: Pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant: Etiam Ethnici ſi ſupervenerint, ſanctum canibus, & porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt. [l] Schelſtrat. de Concilio Antiocheno. p. 200. [m] Conſtit. lib. 8. c. 5.

municate

municate, walk off and be gone. Let no Catechumen be preſent, no Hearer, no Infidel, no Heterodox or Heretical Perſon, as the Author of the *Conſtitutions* words it [n]. And as St. *Chryſoſtom* acquaints [o] us, he was uſed to add farther, ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, Ye that are Communicants, diſcern and know one another: See that there be no Catechumen, none of thoſe that cannot eat of the Sacrifice, no Spy, no one that cannot ſee the heavenly Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, no one unworthy of the living Sacrifice, no unbaptized Perſon, no one that may not touch the tremendous Myſteries with his polluted Lips. And here began the *Miſſa Fidelium*, or Communion-ſervice, ſo called, becauſe none might be preſent at it but Communicants only, as appears from theſe ſolemn Forms of diſmiſſing all others before it began. This contains all thoſe Prayers which were ſaid at the Altar, and were properly called εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, Prayers of the Faithful or Communicants, in Oppoſition to the Prayers of the Catechumens, which went before: Theſe were the Prayers for the whole State of the Church, and Peace of the World, which preceded the Oblation and Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*; and then the Conſecration Prayers, and Prayers again for all Orders of Men in the Church, with proper Forms of Communicating, and Doxologies, Hymns and Thankſgivings after Reception, of which we diſcourſe particularly in the laſt of theſe Books, under the general Title of *Miſſa Fidelium*, or Communion-Service. This Part of the Service being wholly ſpent in Prayers, and that by the Communicants only, is therefore peculiarly diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, The Prayers of the Faithful, by the Council of *Laodicea* [p], which ſpeaks of them as coming after the Prayers of the Catechumens and their Diſmiſſion. In other Canons they are called the common Prayers of the People, and abſolutely The Prayers, without taking Notice of any other Prayers in the Church. Whence in the Council of *Nice* [q], ſpeaking of Penitents, the Phraſe, Communicating in Prayers with the People without the Oblation, denotes joyning in this Part of the Service of the Church, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Prayers, or Communion-Service, which belonged not to the Catechumens, but the Body of the People, in which the Penitents of the higheſt Claſs, called *Co-ſtanders*, were allowed to joyn, though they might neither make their Oblations, nor partake of the *Euchariſt* with the Faithful. And in the ſame Senſe the Council of *Ancyra* [r] ſpeaks of Penitents, who as they were to be three Years *Subſtrators* among the Catechumens, and bow down under the Biſhop's Hands for Benediction; ſo were they for two Years to communicate in Prayers only without the Oblation. And ſo communicating in Prayers with the People is taken in the Council of *Antioch*, when they ſay, all ſuch as come to Church, and hear the holy Scriptures read, but will not communicate [s] in Prayers with the People, or withdraw themſelves diſorderly from partaking of the *Euchariſt*, ſhall be caſt out of the Church. Where, as Reading of the Scriptures, is put for the whole Service of the Catechumens, which was the firſt Service; ſo Communicating in Prayers and the *Euchariſt* denotes the ſecond part of the Service, peculiar to Communicants, or Perſons baptized; from which, as Catechumens were debarred, ſo others might not withdraw themſelves, under Pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. This was the true Order of the firſt and ſecond Service in the antient Church, and the true Diſtinction between the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and *Miſſa Fidelium*, of which I intend to give a full Account in the two next Books.

SECT. IV.

The true Original and Meaning of the antient Name, Miſſa, *The Maſs, which in its primitive Uſe denotes every Part of Divine Service: but no where an Expiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead.*

AT preſent we may obſerve, how ſhamefully they have abuſed the antient Name *Miſſa*, under the Appellation of *Maſs*, who apply it only to denote the Office of Conſecrating Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and offering that as an Expiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead. For antiently the Name *Miſſa* ſignified no ſuch thing, but was a general Name for every part of Divine Service. It ſignified, as we have ſeen already, the Service of the Catechumens, as well as the Service of the Altar; and is often uſed for the Pſalmody, for the Leſſons, and for the Prayers at Evening, when there was no Communion, as well as for the Prayers uſed in time of Celebration of the *Euchariſt*. Thus *Caſſian* [t] often mentions the *Miſſa Nocturna*, by which he means the Morning Prayers and Pſalmody before Day, when it is certain they had no Communion. The Council of *Agde* [u] ſpeaks of Evening Maſs, as well as Morning, which meant no more but Morning and Evening Prayer without any Communion. For they had no Communion either Morning or Evening at their Daily Prayers, but only on Feſtivals at a diſtinct Hour from both thoſe. So the Emperor *Leo* in his *Tacticks* [x] ſpeaks of the μίσαι ἑσπεριναὶ, a Word plainly borrowed from the *Latin Miſſa*, (for the *Greeks* had originally no ſuch Name) to ſignifie only Evening Prayer. And Biſhop *Uſher* in his *Religion of the antient Iriſh* [y], gives us another ſuch Inſtance

[n] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 12. [o] Chryſ. Hom. 1. cont. Judæos. T. 1. p. 440. & Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo. T. 6. p. 375. [p] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. [q] Conc. Nicen. can. 11. Δύο ὄ ἔτη χωεὶς περσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τ προσευχῶν. [r] Conc. Ancyr. can. 23. ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν πιπ[ί]τωσαν· τεῖα ἔτη ὑποπ[τ]ώσεως. καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχῆς χωεὶς προσφορᾶς. [s] Conc. Antioch. can. 2. Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τ ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας ὄ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἐκτρεπομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας καί τινα ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἐκβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. [t] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 13. lib. 3. cap. 5, & 6. [u] Conc. Agathen. Can. 30. In concluſione Matutinarum vel Veſpertinarum Miſſarum, poſt Hymnos Capitella de Pſalmis dici, &c. [x] Leo Tactic. cap. 11. num. 18. *cited by Biſhop* Uſher. [y] Uſher *Relig. of the antient* Iriſh, chap. 4. p. 26. ex Adamnani Vita Columban. lib. 3. cap. 31.

out

out of *Adamnanus*, who uſes the Name *Veſpertinalis Miſſa* for what is commonly called Evening Prayer. And the late learned *Mabillon* [z] has obſerved out of the Rules of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* and *Aurelian*, that the Word *Miſſa* is ſometimes uſed for the Leſſons alſo. For it is one of *Aurelian*'s Rules, that they ſhould take ſix *Miſſa's*, (that is, Leſſons) out of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Lacite ſex Miſſas de Eſaia Propheta*. And *Mabillon* very judiciouſly remarks farther [a], that the Word *Miſſa* has at leaſt three Significations. It ſometimes ſignifies the Leſſons, ſometimes the Collects or Prayers, and ſometimes the Diſmiſſion of the People. And indeed the third Senſe is the Original Notation of the Word. For *Miſſa* is the ſame as *Miſſio*. And it was the Form uſed in the *Latin* Church, *Ite Miſſa eſt*, which anſwers to the *Greek* ἀπολύεσθε and προέλθετε, the ſolemn Words uſed at the Diſmiſſion of the Catechumens firſt, and then of the whole Aſſembly afterwards, at the End of their reſpective Services. Whence the Services themſelves at laſt took their Names from theſe ſolemn Diſmiſſions, the one being called, *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and the other *Miſſa Fidelium*, neither of which ever ſignify more than the Divine Service, at which the one or the other attended.

In vain therefore do many learned Men labour to deduce its Original from foreign Languages, to make it ſignify ſomething agreeable to the Modern Notion of the *Roman* Maſs, when it is ſo plainly of *Latin* Extraction. *Baronius* [b], after *Reuclin* and *Genebrard*, would have it come from the *Hebrew* Word *Miſſah*, an Oblation: But *Durantus* [c] has a good Reaſon againſt that; becauſe if it had been of *Hebrew* Extraction, the *Greeks* would have retained it in their Language, as they do the Words *Hoſanna*, *Sabbaoth*, *Alleluiah*, and *Amen*: Whereas there is no *Greek* Writer uſes it till the time of *Leo Sapiens*, who firſt borrows it from the *Latin* in his *Tactick*s. *Albaſpinæus* has ſtill a wilder Conjecture; he ſays, the Word *Meſs*, among the Northern Nations, ſignifies a Feſtival, and therefore he imagines, the Name *Miſſa* and *Maſs* might come from that: Which is only to invert the Origination, and make the Daughter to become the Mother; ſince it is evident, the Name *Meſs* comes from *Miſſa*, and not *Miſſa* from that. Cardinal *Bona* [d] takes a great deal of Pains to confute theſe and all other falſe Opinions, and eſtabliſhes the true one with undeniable Evidence from *Alcimus Avitus*, and all the antient Ritualiſts, *Iſidore*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Fiorus Magiſter*, *Remigius Altiſſiodorenſis*, *Alcuinus*, *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, *Hugo Victorinus*, and *Bernoldus*, who all agree in this, that *Miſſa* comes from the Diſmiſſion of the People, and not from any other Original. So that I think it needleſs to trouble my Reader with any of theſe Authorities, ſince the Matter is now cleared beyond all Contradiction by *Mabillon* and *Bona*, two ſuch eminent Writers of the *Roman* Communion.

SECT. V. *In what ſenſe Divine Service antiently called* Sacrificium.

ANOTHER general Name of the antient Service, which in later Ages has met with ſome Abuſe, is *Sacrificium*, *Sacrifice*; a Name borrowed from the *Jewiſh* Carnal Sacrifices, and applied to the Spiritual Sacrifices of Chriſtians, *viz.* their Prayers and Praiſes, and Preaching, and devoting themſelves entirely, Body and Soul, to the Service of Chriſt by the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. Hence every part of Divine Worſhip had the Name of Sacrifice, and not only the Service of the Altar. For they commonly call their Evening Hymns and Prayers by the Name of Evening Sacrifice. Thus St. *Jerom* bids *Læta* accuſtom her Daughter not only to the Morning Hymns, and daily Hours of Prayer, the 3d, the 6th, and the 9th, but alſo when Night comes, and the Lamps are lighted, then in like manner to render to God her Evening [e] Sacrifice. And ſo St. *Hilary* upon thoſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice*, ſays, The Sacrifice of Chriſtians is their Prayers, recommended to God by ſtretching forth their Hands to relieve the Poor. For we, ſays he, upon whom [f] the ends of the World are come, do not ſacrifice to God with Blood or Burnt-offerings: But the Evening Sacrifice, which is pleaſing to God, is that which Chriſt teaches in his Goſpel, *I was an hungry, and ye fed me; thirſty, and ye gave me drink*, &c. this is the Evening Sacrifice, that is, the Sacrifice of the laſt Times. In this we are to lift up our Hands: For by ſuch Prayers the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven is prepared for thoſe that are bleſſed of God, from the Foundation of the World. In the ſame Senſe *Euſebius* calls the Prayers of Chriſtians the rational Sacrifices [g], that are offered without Blood to God. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* [h] ſays, the Sacrifices of Chriſtians are their Prayers and Praiſes, and reading of the Scriptures, and Pſalms and Hymns before Meals, and at their Meals, and at Bed-time, and in the Night. And there are Hundreds of Paſſages in the Ancients, both of publick and private Prayers, to the ſame purpoſe, beſides what is ſaid of the Sacrifice of the *Euchariſt*, or Communion-Service, of which we ſhall have Reaſon to ſay ſomething more upon another Occaſion. Here it is ſufficient to have hinted the Grounds, upon which the Ancients gave the general Name of Sacrifice to all parts of divine Service.

[z] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano. lib. 2. p. 107. [a] Ibid. p. 393. [b] Baron an. 34. n. 59. [c] Durant. de Ritibus. lib. 2. cap. 1. n. 1. *So alſo* Bellarmin *and* Bona *both refute it.* [d] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 1. n. 6. *where he cenſures* Genebrard, *as* nimis addictus Rebus Hebraicis. [e] Hieron. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Accenſa Lucerna reddere ſacrificium Veſpertinum. [f] Hilar. in Pſal. 140. p. 330. Non enim ſanguine & Holocauſtis nos, in quos conſummatio ſæculorum devenit, Sacrificamus Deo: Sed quod Sacrificium Veſpertinum placitum ſit, audiamus Dominum—Hoc Sacrificium Veſpertinum, id eſt, temporum noviſſimorum eſt. In hoc manus elevandæ ſunt: quia iſtiuſmodi Orationibus jam ab initio mundi Benedictis Dei, regni cœleſtis præparata poſſeſſio eſt. [g] Euſeb. de Laud. Conſtan. Orat. p. 659. Τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς διὰ ἐυγῶν. Vid. de Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 45. θυσίας ἀναίμους, &c. [h] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 860. Ed. Oxon. Θυσίαι τῷ Θεῷ, εὐχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς ἐστιάσεως εὐλογίαι διὰ γραφῶν, &c. Vid. Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 3. c. 3. Conc. Aurelian. 3. can. 28. Martin. Bracarenſis Capitul. c. 66.

SECT. VI. *And* Sacramenta.

ANOTHER Name, though neither ſo antient, nor ſo common as the former, is that of *Sacramenta*, which in ſome Authors ſignifies not what we now call Sacraments, but the Order or Manner of performing Divine Offices, and that as well the Prayers and Service in general, as the particular Offices of adminiſtring Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. For the Word *Sacramentum*, anſwering to the *Greek* μυστήριον, is a Word of a large Extent, denoting not only the proper Sacraments, but all ſacred Ceremonies and Uſages of the Church, that have any thing of ſymbolical or ſpiritual Significancy in them, repreſenting ſomething more to the Underſtanding than appears to the outward Senſes; and in a more reſtrained, though not the ſtricteſt Senſe, it denotes the Manner or Method of performing Divine Offices in the Church, whether relating to the Sacraments properly ſo called, or any other Parts of Divine Service, as the Prayers, Hymns, Leſſons, in Morning or Evening Service. In this Senſe, 'tis obſerved by learned Men [*i*] that the Book of Divine Offices compoſed by *Gregory the Great* for the Uſe of the *Roman* Church, bears the Title of *Liber Sacramentorum*, The Book of Sacraments, that is, a Book or Method for performing Divine Offices in the Church. And *Gelaſius* did the ſame thing before him under the Title of *Codex Sacramentarius*, lately publiſhed by *Thomaſius* at *Rome*, 1680. And *Gennadius* [*k*] ſays, *Muſæus* a Presbyter of *Marſeilles* compoſed *Volumen Sacramentorum*, a large Book of Sacraments, that is, Divine Offices, to direct what Leſſons, and Pſalms, and Hymns were to be uſed in the Communion-Service, according to the Seaſons of the Year, and what Prayers and Thankſgivings were to make up the Service of the Church. And it is the Opinion of two very learned Men, *Menardus* and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [*l*], that both St. *Auſtin* and St. *Ambroſe* give the Name of *Sacramenta* to the Books of Liturgic Offices uſed in their Time. And they obſerve that the old *Miſſal* publiſhed by *Illyricus* bears the Name of *Ordo Sacramentorum*, which can mean nothing but the Manner of performing Divine Offices in the Adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt* and other Parts of publick Worſhip.

SECT. VII. *And* Curſus Eccleſiaſticus.

THESE Offices are by other Writers ſtyled *Curſus Eccleſiaſticus*, the Order or Courſe of Divine Offices. For under this Title, *Gregory Turonenſis* is ſaid to have compoſed a Book, *De Curſibus Eccleſiaſticis*, for the Uſe of the *Gallican* Church, which is now loſt; but he himſelf [*m*] mentions it in his Hiſtory. And Biſhop *Uſher* [*n*] cites an antient Manuſcript out of the *Cotton* Library, which ſays, That *Germanus* and *Lupus* brought *Ordinem Curſus Gallorum*, the *Gallican Liturgy*, into *Britain* with them. And this was the *Liturgy* of the *Britiſh* Churches for ſome Ages, till by degrees the *Curſus Romanus* was brought in upon them. *Bede* [*o*] ſays, In the Time of Pope *Agatho*, *Joannes Abbas*, the *Roman* Præcentor, was ſent over to ſettle the *Roman Curſus*, or Pſalmody for the whole Year, according to the Uſage and Way of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*. And the Council of *Calchuth* [*p*] ſome time after *Bede*, ſpeaks of the *Liturgy* under the ſame Title, ordering all Churches at the Canonical Hours, reverently to perform their *Curſus*. And *Mabillon* [*q*] cites the Lives of *Walaricus* and *Senericus*, where there is frequent mention of the *Curſus Gallicanus*.

SECT. VIII. *The Names* Λειτουργία, Ἱερουργία, Ἱερά, *and* μυσταγωγία *moſt uſual in the Greek Church.*

AMONG the *Greek* Writers we ſeldom meet with any of theſe Names, but they uſually ſtile all Holy Offices, and all Parts of Divine Service, by the general Name of Λειτουργία, and Ἱερουργία, Liturgy, and ſacred Service. Though Liturgy in its extended Senſe denotes any publick Office or Miniſtration, as the Apoſtle uſes it, *Phil.* ii. 30. and 2 *Cor.* ix. 12. for the Miniſtration of Charity; and Eccleſiaſtical Writers do the ſame, often applying it both to civil and ſacred Functions, as to the Office of a Magiſtrate or a Biſhop, as *Caſaubon* [*r*] ſhews at large; yet in a more limited Senſe it is put to ſignify thoſe ſacred Offices which make up the ſeveral Parts of Divine Worſhip, as Prayers, Reading, Preaching, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. But it is never uſed, as the Romaniſts would appropriate it, for the buſineſs of Sacrificing only. The Council of *Epheſus* ſpeaks both of Evening [*s*] and Morning Liturgies, which doubtleſs mean Evening and Morning Prayers only. And ſo *Caſaubon* obſerves, that *Juſtinian* [*t*] takes it for the Office of reading the Scripture as well as adminiſtring the *Euchariſt*, when he ſays of a certain Monaſtery, that the Divine *Liturgy* was performed in it, as it was uſed to be in the Churches, both by reading the Holy Scriptures, and receiving the Holy Communion. And *Antiochus* [*u*] applies the Name of *Liturgy*, not only to Morning Prayer, but alſo to the Service of their Midnight Aſſemblies.

[*i*] Menard. Not. in Sacramentarium Gregor. p. 1. & Stillingfleet Orig. Britan. p. 225. [*k*] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Compoſuit Sacramentorum egregium & non parvum Volumen, per membra quidem pro opportunitate Officiorum & Temporum pro Lectionum textu, Pſalmorumque ſerie & decantatione diſcretum, &c. Id. cap. 78. de Voconio. Compoſuit Sacramentorum Volumen. [*l*] Menard. ibid. Stillingfl. ubi ſupra. [*m*] Greg. Turon. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. ult. De Curſibus Eccleſiaſticis unum Librum condidi. [*n*] Uſſer. de Primord. Eccleſ. p. 185. [*o*] Bede, Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 18. Quatenus in Monaſterio ſuo Curſum canendi annum, ſicut ad Sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret. [*p*] Conc. Calchuthens. can. 7. Cone. Tom. 6. p. 1865. Ut omnes Eccleſiæ publicæ Canonicis Horis Curſum ſuum cum reverentia habeant. [*q*] Mabil. de Curſu Gallican. p. 420. [*r*] Caſaub. Exercit. in Baron. 16. n. 41. p. 471. [*s*] Conc. Epheſ. Epiſt. Synod. ad Imperat. ap. Caſaubon. Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἢ τὰς ἑωθινὰς λειτουργίας. [*t*] Juſtin. Novel. 7. Ἱερὰ γέγονε λειτουργία—ᾗ τε θείων ἀναγινωσκομένων γραφῶν, τῆς τε ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀῤῥήτου μεταδιδομένης κοινωνίας. [*u*] Antioch. Hom. 19. Bibl. Patr. G. L. Tom. 1. p. 1056. Ἐξέγειρον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἑωθινὰς λειτουργίας.

Neither of which was in his Time the ordinary Hours of the Communion-Service. So that *Erasmus* and others are governed more by Prejudice than Reason, who would have that Passage of *Acts* xiii. 2. Λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν, to be render'd *Sacrificantibus illis*, as if there were no Divine Service without Sacrifice in their Notion of it; when yet the vulgar Translation renders it Ministring, and the old *Syriack* and *Arabick*, as *Beza* observes, have it Praying; which is agreeable to the Notion of *Liturgy* for Divine Service. Yet when the Epithet of *Mystica* was added to *Liturgia*, then it commonly signified the Communion-Service. As when *Theodoret* says that the Salutation of St. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14. *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. is the Beginning of the Mystical *Liturgy* [x], he means the Communion Office, where this Form of Salutation was always used. And so in the *Clementina Epitome* [y], the sacred *Liturgy*, denotes the Service of the Altar, which came after the ἐυχὴν ἢ ἱερῶν ὕμνων, Prayers used in Psalmody, or the Service of the Catechumens. And it is *Bona*'s Observation [z] out of *Vincentius Riccardus* [a], That except the Words Sacred, or Mystical, be added to the Name *Liturgy*, it is never to be taken for the Sacrifice of the Altar, but for some other Part of Divine Service: Though, I think, this is more than can be fairly proved. As on the other hand, when the Epithet of Mystical is added, it does not always, but only for the most part, as I said before, mean the Eucharistical Service. For the Service of Baptism was ever esteem'd a Mystical Service, as well as that of the *Eucharist*. And the Name μυσαγωγία, Communion in the sacred Mysteries, is upon that account frequently given by St. *Chrysostom* [b], *Theodoret* [c] and others, to Baptism, as well as the Lord's Supper; as may be seen at large in *Suicerus*'s [d] Collections upon that Subject. It is certain the Author under the Name of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, uses the Title of *Mystagogia*, as well when he is describing the Ceremonies and Service of Baptism, as the *Eucharist*: And *Cyril*'s *Mystagogical Catechisms* are equally an Exposition of the Rites observed in administring Baptism and Confirmation, as of those of the other Sacrament; these being the two great Mystical Services of the Christian Church. The Names ἱερὰ, ἱερουργία and θυσία are all Words of the same Importance: They most commonly signify the Communion-Service, or the Sacrifice of Prayers at the Altar. But sometimes they denote the Offices of Baptism, Preaching, Reading the Scripture, and Psalmody: These being the spiritual Sacrifices of Christians. It is certain the Apostle calls Preaching the Gospel by the Name of ἱερουργία, *Rom.* xv. 16. and the Conversion of the *Gentiles* thereby, the offering them up or sacrificing them to God. Upon which Words *Chrysostom* [e] observes, That the Apostle does not call this Service barely λατρεία, but λειτουργία and ἱερουργία, Sacrifice, or sacred Service. For this is my Priesthood, to preach and publish the Gospel: This the Sacrifice that I offer to God. And St. *Basil* [f] gives the same Names of ἱερουργία and θυσία to the Duty of Praise and Thanksgiving. *I will offer unto Thee the Sacrifice of Praise.* And we have seen before (*n.* 5.) how the Evening Prayer is commonly styled *Sacrificium Vespertinum*, Evening Sacrifice, by the *Latin* Writers.

SECT. IX. Liturgy *sometimes taken for set Forms of Prayer.*

IT is farther to be observed, that as the *Latins* by the Names *Missa*, *Cursus*, *Ordo* and *Officium*, mean not only the Divine Worship it self, but also the Books containing the Method and Prescriptions for the Regular Performance of it, which we usually call set Forms of Prayer: So the *Greeks* sometimes understand the same Thing by the Name of *Liturgy*; and that not only when they speak of the Forms of administring the Sacraments, but of any other parts of Divine Service. 'Tis plain the Author of the *Constitutions* [g] takes the Word in this Sense, when he applies it to the Forms of Prayer then made for the Catechumens. And *Casaubon* observes [h], That all those Forms of Worship which go under the Names of *Peter*, *James*, *Andrew*, *Chrysostom*, and *Basil*, bear the Name of *Liturgies*, which the *Latins* call *Ordo* and *Officium*, and the modern *Greeks*, ἀκολουθία. These were sometimes also among the antient *Greek* Writers termed ἐυχῶν διαλάξεις, The Order of Prayers; which is the Name that *Nazianzen* gives the *Liturgy* of St. *Basil* [i], composed by him by the Direction of his Bishop, whilst he was Presbyter of *Cæsarea*, and those Forms and Orders of Divine Worship collected by the Author of the *Constitutions*, bear the same Title διατάξεις. In *Chrysostom* they are styl'd νόμοι, The Rules or Appointments of the Church; and the Prayers particularly are distinguished into two sorts of Forms, both by him [k], and the Council of *Laodicea* [l], the one called ἐυχαὶ καθηχεμένων, The Prayers of the Catechumens, and the other, ἐυχαὶ πιστῶν, The Prayers of the Faithful or Believers. But I shall say no more of *Liturgies* here, considered as set Forms or Prescriptions of Worship, because they will come to be discoursed of more fully hereafter in their proper Place.

[x] Theod. Ep. 146. p. 1032. Ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς λειτουργίας προοίμιον. [y] Clementina Epitome de Gestis Petri, ap. Coteler. Tom. 1. p. 796. Τὸ πατεάρχε τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκτελέσαν[τ]α λειτουργίαν. [z] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 3. n. 3. [a] Riccard. Comment. in Proclum de Tradit. Missæ. [b] Chrys. Hom. 21. t. 1. p. 273. [c] Theod. in cap. 1. Canticorum. [d] Suicer. Thesaur. voce μυσαγωγία. [e] Chrys. Hom. 29. in Rom. p. 302. ὃχ ἁπλῶς λατρείαν λέγων, ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν. αὕτη γὰρ μοι ἱερωσύνη, τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν. τάυτην προσφέρω τὴν θυσίαν. [f] Basil. in Psal. 115. p. 275. Ἱερούργησόν σοι τὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως θυσίαν. [g] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 6. Ἡ θεία λειτουργία, ἐν ᾗ προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν καθηχεμένων. [h] Casaubon. Exerc. ib. in Baron. n. 41. p. 472. [i] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 340. [k] Chrys. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. [l] Conc. Laodic. can. 19.

SECT. X. *Of* Litanies. *This at first a general Name for Prayers. How and when it came to be appropriated to certain particular Forms of Worship, called* Rogations.

THERE is one general Name more, which the first Writers use to denote all sorts of publick Prayers, but the middle Ages have appropriated it to a particular Form of Worship, that is, *Litanies*, in *Greek* called λιτανεία, and λίτα, in *Latin Supplicationes* and *Rogationes*. These Words in their original Signification are but another Name for Prayers in general, of whatever kind, that either were made publickly in the Church, or by any private Person. *Eusebius* speaking of *Constantine*'s Custom of making his solemn Addresses to God in his Tent, before he went out to Battle, says, He endeavoured to render God propitious to him by Supplications and *Litanies* [m], that he might obtain his Favour, Assistance and Direction in his Enterprizes. And again, he says, [n] a little before his Death he spent some time in the House of Prayer, making Supplications and *Litanies* to God. In which places *Litany* seems to be a general Name, and not to intend any particular sort of Prayers: So *Chrysostom* also uses the Word *Litany*, when he says [o] to his People, To-morrow I shall go forth with you to make our *Litany*, that is, the publick Service. And again [p] speaking of the solemn Form of Words, *Pax vobis*, Peace be with you, he says, the Bishop used it in all Offices when he first enter'd the Church, when he made the Prayers and *Litanies*, and when he preached. And *Arcadius* in one of his Laws [q] made against Hereticks about the same time, takes *Litany* in the same Sense for Prayers in general, when he forbids Hereticks to hold profane Assemblies in the City, either by Night or by Day, to make their *Litany*. Where it is plain, his Intent was, not to prohibit Hereticks from making any particular sort of Prayers, but all Prayers in general within the City, and to cut off all Opportunities of meeting either by Night or by Day for that purpose: And so *Gothofred* understands him: For this Law was made with a direct View to the *Arian* Assemblies for Psalmody in their Night Stations, which had occasion'd some Tumults and Murder in the City, as *Socrates* [r] and *Sozomen* inform us. So that the Morning Hymns and Psalmody and Prayers then came all under the general Name of *Litany*, and the *Arians* were forbidden in this Sense to make any *Litanies* within the City by this Law of *Arcadius*. What *Hamond Lestrange* [s] alledges out of St. *Austin*, *Cyprian* and *Tertullian*, proves nothing, but that there were always Prayers made in the Church to implore God's Mercy and Favours; which no one ever denied: Neither is the Name *Litany* used by any of them. It is more to the purpose what St. *Basil* [t] says to the Church of *Neocæsarea*, where *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was Bishop; that though in *Gregory*'s time they had no *Litanies*, yet afterward before St. *Basil*'s time they had admitted the Use of them. By which Argument he defends the nocturnal Prayers and Psalmody and Vigils against those, who objected that they were not used in St. *Gregory*'s time. For neither were *Litanies* used in his Time, and yet now they were in Use, and no one objected Novelty against them. This shews, that St. *Basil* takes *Litanies* for a peculiar sort of Prayers lately set up in the Church. For it cannot be doubted, but that they had Prayers before, though not of this particular Kind.

Some think, that *Litanies* in this new limited Sense were first introduced by *Mamercus* Bishop of *Vienna* in *France*, about the Year 450. But St. *Basil*'s Testimony proves them to be earlier in the *East*: And it is a Mistake in those who assert *Mamercus* to be the first Author of them in the *West*: For *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who lived in the time of *Mamercus*, and wrote some Epistles to him, says expressly, that he was not the first Inventor of them, but only of the *Rogation* Fast Days before *Ascension*, to which he applied the Use of these *Litanies*, which were in being long before, though not observed with such Solemnity, nor fixed to any stated Times, but only used as exigencies required, to deprecate any impending Judgment. This he declares at large in an Epistle to *Mamercus* [u] himself, stiling him the Author of the *Rogation* Days, and shewing both the Reasons of their Institution, and the Manner of observing them, with ardent Supplications and Fastings, in Imitation of the *Ninevites*, to avert the threatning Judgments of Fire, or Earthquakes, or Inundations, or hostile Invasions. But that we may not think *Mamercus* was the first Author of *Litanies*, because he applied their Use particularly to the *Rogation* Days, he speaks more expressly in another Epistle [x], where he says, that *Mamercus* indeed first brought in the Observation of the *Rogation* Solemnities, which spread by his Example: But Supplications or *Litanies* were in Use before,

[m] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 1. cap. 14. Τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετηρίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἱλεούμενος, &c. [n] Id. lib. 4. cap. 61. Εὐκτηρίῳ ἐνδιατρίβας οἴκῳ, ἱκετηρίας ἐυχάς τε καὶ λιτανείας ἀνέπεμπε τῷ Θεῷ. [o] Chrys. Hom. antequam iret in Exilium Tom. 4. p. 965. Ἄυριον εἰς λιτανεῖον ἐξελεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν. [p] Hom. 3. in Colos. p. 1338. Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰσήνυον, ἐν ταῖς ἐυχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, &c. [q] Cod Theod. lib. 16. tit. 5. De Hæreticis. leg. 30. Interdicatur his omnibus, ad Litaniam faciendam intra civitatem noctu vel interdiu profanis coire conventibus. [r] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 8. [s] Lestrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, cap. 4. p. 100. [t] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæs. Ἀλλ' εἰδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἐπὶ Γρηγορίου, ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε. [u] Sidon. lib. 7. Ep. 1. ad Mamercum. Solo tamen invectarum, Te auctore, Rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis, instituendisque Populus Arvernus cæpit initiari, &c. [x] Id. lib. 5. Ep. 14. Rogationum nobis solennitatem primus Mamercus Pater & Pontifex, reverentissimo exemplo, utilissimo Experimento, invenit, instituit, invexit. Erant quidem prius (quod salva fidei pace sic dictum) vagæ, tepentes, infrequentesque, utque sit dixerim, oscitabundæ supplicationes, quæ sæpe interpellantium prandiorum obicibus habetabantur, maxime aut imbres aut serenitatem deprecaturæ: —— In his autem, quos suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis & protulit pariter & contulit, jejunatur, oratur, psallitur, fletur.

when Men had occaſion to pray againſt exceſſive Rains or Droughts; though they were obſerved but in a cold and diſorderly manner, without Faſting or full Aſſemblies: But thoſe which he inſtituted, were obſerved with Faſting, and Praying, and Singing, and Weeping. What *Sidonius* ſays here, proves that *Mamercus* was the Author of the *Rogation* Faſt in *France*; but *Litanies* were in Uſe before: And if *Savaro* judge right [*y*] of one of St. *Auſtin*'s Homilies, the *Rogation* Faſt muſt have been obſerved long before in the *African* Churches. For among his Homilies *de Tempore* there is one upon the Vigil of the Aſcenſion, where he ſpeaks of a Faſt [*z*] obſerved for three Days before Aſcenſion Day, adviſing all Men to keep thoſe Days with Faſting, Prayer, and Pſalmody. However from the Time of *Mamercus* we are ſure theſe *Rogation* Days and *Litanies* were celebrated with great Solemnity in the Church, being frequently mentioned by *Alcimus Avitus* [*a*], *Cæſareus Arelatenſis* [*b*], *Eucherius Lugdunenſis* junior [*c*], and *Gregory* of *Tours* [*d*], to name no later Writers. The firſt Council of *Orleance*, *an.* 511, eſtabliſhed them [*e*] by a Decree, ordering the three Days before Aſcenſion to be kept a Faſt with Abſtinence after the manner of *Lent*, and with *Rogations* or *Litanies*, and that on theſe Days Servants ſhould reſt from their Labours. In the *Spaniſh* Churches they deferred theſe *Rogations* to the Week after *Pentecoſt*: For they kept to the old Rule of the antient Church, not to have any Faſt during the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*; Therefore as *Walafridus Strabo* obſerves of them [*f*], they would not obſerve the *Rogation* Faſt in the time that the Bridegroom was with them. But by an Order of the Council of *Girone* [*g*] theſe *Litanies* and this Faſt was put off to the Week after *Whitſontide*. And they ordered a ſecond *Litany* to be uſed on the firſt Day of *November*. The fifth Council of *Toledo* [*h*] appointed another ſuch *Litany* and Faſt to be celebrated yearly for three Days, commencing on the thirteenth Day of *December*. The ſixth Council of *Toledo* [*i*] confirmed this Decree about two Years after, *an.* 638, and made it a general Rule for all the Churches of *Spain* and *Gallicia*, and *Gallia Narbonenſis*, which was at this time under the Government of the *Gothick* King *Chintillan*. And in the ſeventeenth Council of *Toledo* [*k*], *an.* 694, under King *Egicanes*, a more general Decree was made, That ſuch *Litanies* ſhould be uſed in every Month throughout the Year. And ſo by Degrees theſe ſolemn Supplications came to be uſed weekly, on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, the antient ſtationary Days, in all Churches.

SECT. XI. *Of the Diſtinction between greater and leſſer* Litanies.

IN the mean time *Gregory the Great* inſtituted ſome ſuch *Rogations* at *Rome*, and one particularly on the twenty fifth Day of *April*, which goes by the Name of *Litania Septiformis*, becauſe he ordered the Church to go in Proceſſion in ſeven diſtinct Claſſes; firſt the Clergy, then the Laymen, next the Monks, after them the Virgins, then the married Women, next the Widows, and laſt of all the Poor and the Children. This is mentioned both by *Gregory* [*l*] himſelf and *Walafridus Strabo* [*m*], who give it the Name of *Litania major*: Whence ſome have been led into a Miſtake, to think the *Roman Litanies* were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the greater *Litanies* from thoſe of *Mamercus*, which they call the leſs. So *Hamond Leſtrange*, and others [*n*], in their Accounts of theſe Things. But the *French* Writers do not allow of this Diſtinction. *Cellotius* [*o*] ſays, The *Rogation* or *Litania* of *Mamercus* was always dignified with the Title of *Litania major* by their old Writers, as well as that of *Gregory*, and that *Gregory*'s *Litany* was of little Uſe among them. It is certain, the Council of *Mentz* [*p*] and the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* [*q*], which repeat the Words of that Council, apply'd the Name of *Litania major* to their own *Rogations* before *Aſcenſion*. And *Cellotius* ſays, *Gualterus Aurelianenſis* and *Strabo* both give it the ſame Title. But ſtill he does not tell us what they mean by the *Litania minor*, the leſſer *Litany*, in Contradiſtinction to the greater. If the Reader will take my Conjecture, it is no more but the known Form, *Kyrie Eleiſon*, as the *Latins* read it, from the *Greek*, κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, or *Lord, have mercy upon them*, if they were praying for others. As this was the conſtant *Reſponſe* made by the People to each Petition of their larger Supplications

[*y*] Savaro Not. in Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 14. p. 354. [*z*] Aug. Hom. 173. de Temp. t. 10. p. 338. Sine dubio peccatorum ſuorum vulnera diligit, qui in iſtis tribus diebus, jejunando, orando, & pſallendo medicamenta ſibi ſpiritualia non requirit. [*a*] Avitus Hom. de Rogationibus. [*b*] Cæſar. Hom. 37. [*c*] Eucher. Hom. de Litaniis. [*d*] Greg. Turon. lib. 2. cap. 34. [*e*] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 29. Rogationes, id eſt, Litanias, ante Aſcenſionem Domini placuit celebrari, ita ut præmiſſum triduanum Jejunium in Dominicæ Aſcenſionis ſolennitate ſolvatur, &c. [*f*] Strabo de Offic. Eccleſ. cap. 28. Hiſpani autem, propter hoc quod ſcriptum, non poſſunt filii Sponſi lugere, quamdiu cum illis eſt ſponſus, infra Quinquageſimam Paſchæ recuſantes jejunare, Litanias ſuas poſt Pentecoſten poſuerunt. [*g*] Conc. Gerunden. can. 2. Ut Litaniæ poſt Pentecoſten a quinta Feria uſque in Sabbatum celebrentur. *So it is in the Title of the Canon: and in the Body of it,* Ut per hoc triduum Abſtinentia celebretur. Ibid. can. 3. Item ſecunda Litania facienda eſt Kalendis Novembris. [*h*] Conc. Tolet. 5. can. 1. Ut a die Iduum Decembrium Litania triduo ubique annua ſucceſſione peragatur, &c. [*i*] Conc. Tolet. 6. can. 2. Univerſalis authoritate cenſemus Concilij, ut hi dies Litanarium, quæ in Synodo præmiſſa ſunt inſtituti, annuo recurſu omni obſervatione habeantur celeberrimi. [*k*] Conc. Tolet. 17. can. 6. Quando priſcorum Patrum inſtitutio, per totum annum, per ſingulorum menſium curſum, Litaniarum vota decreverit perſolvendum —— decernimus, ut deinceps per totum annum, in cunctis duodecim menſibus, per univerſas Hiſpaniæ & Galliarum provincias pro Statu Eccleſiæ Dei, pro incolumitate Principis noſtri, atque Salvatione populi, & indulgentia totius peccati, & a cunctorum fidelium cordibus expulſione Diaboli, Exomologeſes votis gliſcentibus celebrentur. [*l*] Greg. lib. 11. Ep. 2. [*m*] Strabo de Offic. Eccleſ. cap. 28. [*n*] Leſtrange *Alliance*, cap. 4. p. 100. [*o*] Cellot. Not. in Capitula Gualteri Aurelianenſis. Conc. tom. 8. p. 649. [*p*] Conc. Moguntin. an. 813. cap. 33. [*q*] Carol. Capitular. lib. 5. c. 85.

for the Catechumens and others (as we ſhall ſee hereafter); ſo it was uſed ſometimes by it ſelf, in all their Offices, as a ſhorter Form of Supplication: And then it had the nature of a *Litany* by it ſelf, and was not a part of a larger Prayer. This is evident from the Order made in the Council of *Vaiſon* [r] for introducing the Uſe of it into the *French* Churches: Whereas, ſay they, it is a very uſeful and agreeable Cuſtom in the *Roman* Church, and all the Provinces of *Italy* and the *Eaſt*, to uſe the frequent Repetition of the *Kyrie Eleiſon*, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, with great Affection and Contrition; we therefore decree, that the ſame holy Cuſtom be introduced into all our Churches, both at Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Communion-Service. The *Greeks* uſually ſaid, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, without adding the other part, *Chriſt, have mercy upon us*: But the *Latins* uſed both Clauſes, and repeated them alternately, as we now do, firſt the Miniſter, and then the People; whereas by the *Greeks* the Supplication was made by the common Voice of all together. This Difference is noted by *Gregory* [s] *the Great*; but it does not detract from our Obſervation, but rather confirms it, that this was a ſhort Form of Supplication uſed one way or other in all Churches, and that as a part of all their daily Offices; whence it borrowed the Name of the leſſer *Litany*, in oppoſition to the greater *Litanies*, which were diſtinct, complete, and ſolemn Services, adapted to particular Times, or extraordinary Occaſions. I muſt note farther, that the greater *Litanies* are ſometimes termed *Exomologeſes*, Confeſſions [t]; becauſe Faſting, and Weeping, and Mourning, and Confeſſion of Sins, was uſually joyn'd with Supplication to avert God's Wrath, and reconcile him to a ſinful People.

SECT. XII. *Of their Proceſſions.*

SOMETIMES to theſe ſolemn Supplications they added Proceſſions, which at firſt had nothing of Harm or Superſtition in them: For they were only of the ſame nature with their Proceſſions at a Funeral, when they carry'd a Corps with the Solemnity of Pſalmody to its Interment. They ſometimes made their Proceſſions, and ſometimes their Litanies, as Occaſion required, in the open Field: But here was no Pomp of Relicks, nor expoſing of the *Euchariſt* to Adoration, in ſuch Solemnities; they only carry'd the Croſs, as they did alſo in ſome of their Night Proceſſions for Pſalmody, as the Badge of their Profeſſion, before them. Of this indeed there are ſome Inſtances as early as *Chryſoſtom*: For 'tis noted in his Life by *Palladius* [u], that his Enemies trampled under foot the Sign of the Croſs, which the People carry'd on their Shoulders as they made their *Litanies* in the Field. And in thoſe *Vigils* which he ſet up at *Conſtantinople* in oppoſition to the *Arians*; the Hiſtorians [x] ſay, they had ſilver Croſſes given them by the Empreſs for this purpoſe. And the Laws of *Juſtinian* [y] expreſly provided, that as theſe *Litanies* ſhould not be celebrated without the Biſhop or the Clergy; ſo the Croſſes to be uſed in theſe Solemnities ſhould not be repoſited in any places but the Churches, nor be carry'd by any but ſuch as were appointed. And becauſe in theſe ſolemn Proceſſions ſome were inclined to appear in Pomp unſuitable to the Occaſion, with gay Cloathing, and on Horſe-back; therefore both theſe Things were particularly forbidden. *Sidonius* [z] notes it as a great Abſurdity for Men to appear, *Caſtorinati ad Litanias*, dreſſed up in their rich Beaver Cloaths at a *Litany*, becauſe Sackcloth and Aſhes were more becoming ſuch Solemnities, which were intended for Faſting, and Mourning, and Supplication, and Humiliation, and Confeſſion of Sins, after the Example of the *Ninevites*, in their ſolemn Addreſſes to God. And for this Reaſon the Canons [a] forbad any one to appear on Horſe-back, or in rich Apparel at the *Rogation* Solemnities, but rather diſcalceat in Sackcloth and Aſhes, unleſs he had the Excuſe of Infirmity to hinder him. For theſe *Rogations* were intended to implore God's Mercy in the moſt humble manner, and with the moſt ardent Affections of Soul to beſeech him to avert all Sickneſſes, and Plagues, and Tribulations; to repel the Evils of Peſtilence, War, Hail and Drought; to compoſe the Temper of the Air, ſo that it may be for the Health of Mens Bodies, and Fertility of the Earth; that he would keep all the Elements in due Order and Harmony, and grant Men peaceable Times; as *Eucherius* [b] relates the chief Heads of them in his Sermon upon this Subject. Whereas yet we may obſerve, no Prayers or Interceſſions were made to Saints or Angels, as in the modern *Litanies* of the Romiſh Church, but to God only, as ſhall be ſhewed at large in the following Chapters.

[r] Conc. Vaſenſ. 2. can. 3. Quia tam in ſede Apoſtolica, quam etiam per totas Orientis atque Italiæ provincias, dulcis & nimium ſalubris conſuetudo intromiſſa eſt, ut Kyrie eleiſon frequentius cum grandi affectu ac compunctione dicatur: placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus Eccleſiis noſtris iſta Conſuetudo ſancta, & ad Matutinum, & ad Miſſas, & ad Veſperam, Deo propiciante, intromittatur. [s] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 64. ad Joan. Syracuſan. [t] Vid. Conc. Moguntin. can. 32. [u] Palladius Vit. Chryſoſt. cap. 15. p. 27. in appendice. tom. 2. Crucis ſignum venerabile, quod illi ferentes in humeris, Litanias in campo agebant, pedibus ſuis conculcantes. [x] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozomen, lib. 8. cap. 8. [y] Juſtin. Novel. 123. cap. 32. Omnibus Laicis interdicimus Litanias facere ſine ſanctis Epiſcopis, & qui ſub eis ſunt reverendiſſimis Clericis, —— ſed & ipſas honorandas cruces (cum quibus & in Litaniis ingrediuntur) non alibi niſi in venerabilibus locis reponi, &c. [z] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 7. ad Thaumaſtum. p. 327. Libentur incedunt armati ad epulas, albati ad Exequias, pelliti ad Eccleſias, pullati ad Nuptias, Caſtorinati ad Lætanias. [a] Conc. Mogunt. Can. 33. Sicut ſancti Patres noſtri inſtituerunt, non equitando, nec precioſis veſtibus induti, ſed diſcalceati, cinere & cilicio induti, niſi infirmitas impedierit. Vide Burchard. lib. 13. cap. 7. [b] Eucher. Hom. de Lætaniis.

CHAP. II.

That the Devotions of the antient Church were paid to every Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity.

SECT. I. *Proofs of the Worſhip of Chriſt, as the Son of God, or the Second Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity in the firſt Century.*

HAVING thus diſtinguiſhed the Ambiguity of the Names of the antient Worſhip, and ſettled the true meaning of them, our next Enquiry muſt be into the Object of the Chriſtian Worſhip, to ſee what Perſons they were, to whom they paid their Devotion. That which makes this Enquiry neceſſary, which otherwiſe might have been omitted, is the Prevalency of two contrary Errors, too much reigning in theſe latter Ages; one of which aſſerts, that the Father alone was the ſole Object of true divine Worſhip, and not the Son or Holy Ghoſt; and the other, that Saints and Angels had alſo a ſhare in it. To ſhew the Falſeneſs of both which Pretences, I ſhall a little detain the Reader with the Proofs and Evidences of the contrary Aſſertions. And firſt to ſhew, that Chriſt as the Son of God and the ſecond Perſon of the ever-bleſſed Trinity, was the Object of divine Worſhip, in all Ages, we will begin with the Original of Chriſtian Worſhip, and carry the Enquiry through the three firſt Centuries. For the firſt Age, the Scripture is ſufficient Evidence of the Chriſtians Practice. For not to inſiſt on the Precept of honouring the Son, as they honoured the Father; or the Form of Baptiſm, in which they are commanded to join the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt in one Act of Worſhip; or the Injunction to believe in the Son, as they believed in the Father; with many other Acts of internal Worſhip peculiar to God alone: I only argue from their Example and Practice. St. *Stephen* the Protomartyr, when he was ſealing his Confeſſion with his Blood, breathed out his laſt in a Prayer to Chriſt, *Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit:* And, *Lord, lay not this Sin to their Charge.* Acts vii. 59. St. *Paul* profeſſes he never baptized any but in the Name of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* i. 13. And his common Forms of Bleſſing were with Invocation of the Name of Chriſt. *Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* And, *The Grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all:* As the ſolemn Forms run almoſt in all his Epiſtles, both in the Beginning and the Concluſion of them. Nay, ſo common was this practice, that among other Titles of the Believers, at their firſt Riſe and Appearance in the World, they were diſtinguiſhed by the Character of thoſe that called on the Name of Chriſt. *Acts.* ix. 14. 21. 1 *Cor.* i. 2. 2 *Tim.* ii. 22. Some Criticks, I know, would have the Phraſe, ἐπικαλούμενον τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ, to be taken paſſively only for thoſe who were named by the Name of Chriſt, that is, Chriſtians; but this Criticiſm is of no weight: For they were called Invokers, or Worſhippers of Chriſt, before the Name *Chriſtian* was known in the World: For this Name was not uſed till ſome time after St. *Paul*'s Converſion, when, as St. *Luke* ſays expreſly, *Acts* xi. 26. the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians in *Antioch.* But they were Worſhippers of him before, and therefore were diſtinguiſhed by the Character of the Men that called upon his Name. Many other ſuch like Evidences are obvious to any one that reads the *New Teſtament*: I only add that of the *Revelations*, v. 8. where the Church in Heaven and Earth together is repreſented as offering both Prayers and Hymns to Chriſt: *When he had taken the Book, the four Beaſts and four and twenty Elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them Harps, and golden Vials full of Odours, which are the Prayers of Saints. And they ſung a new Song, ſaying, Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the Seals thereof: For Thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to God by thy Blood out of every Kindred, and Tongue, and People, and Nation; and haſt made us unto our God Kings and Prieſts: And we ſhall reign on the Earth. And I beheld, and I heard the Voice of many Angels round about the Throne, and the Beaſts and the Elders: And the Number of them was ten thouſand times ten thouſand, and thouſand of thouſands; ſaying with a loud Voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wiſdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory, and Bleſſing. And every Creature which is in Heaven, and on the Earth, and under the Earth, and ſuch as are in the Sea, and all that are in them, heard I, ſaying, Bleſſing, and Honour, and Glory, and Power be unto him that ſitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.*

SECT. II. *Proofs of the ſame in the* 2d *Century.*

WE have here ſeen the Model of the Worſhip of Chriſt, as begun and ſettled in the Practice of the Church in the firſt Age. And we ſhall find it continued in the ſame manner in thoſe that follow'd immediately after. For *Pliny*, who lived in the Beginning of the ſecond Century, and as a Judge under *Trajan*, took the Confeſſions of ſome revolting Chriſtians, ſays, They declared to him they were [a] uſed to meet on a certain Day before it was light, and among other parts of their

[a] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Affirmabant, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die antè lucem convenire: Carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem.

Worſhip, ſing an Hymn to Chriſt, as to their God. Which is a plain Indication of their Worſhip of Chriſt on the Lord's Day. Not long after this, lived *Polycarp*, who [*b*] joyns God the Father and the Son together in his Prayers for Grace and Benediction upon Men: *The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, the Eternal High-Prieſt, the Son of God, build you up in Faith and Truth, and in all Meekneſs, to live without Anger, in Patience, in Long-ſuffering and Forbearance, and give you a Lot and Part among the Saints, and to us with you, and to all them that are under Heaven, who ſhall believe in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and in his Father, who raiſed him from the Dead.* And ſo he begins his Epiſtle, *Mercy and Peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be multiplied unto you.* And when he came to his Martyrdom, he made a Prayer to God at the Stake, before he was burnt, concluding it with this *Doxology* to the whole Trinity: [*c*] *I bleſs thee, I praiſe thee, I glorify thee for all things, together with the eternal and heavenly Jeſus Chriſt, thy beloved Son, with whom unto thee, and the Holy Spirit, be Glory both now and for ever, World without End.* Amen. When *Polycarp* was dead, the Church of *Smyrna* wrote a circular Epiſtle to other Churches, to give an Account of his Sufferings, wherein they relate this remarkable Occurrence, That as ſoon as he was dead, the *Jews* ſuggeſted to the Heathen Judge, that he ſhould not ſuffer the Chriſtians to take *Polycarp*'s Body and bury it, leſt they ſhould [*d*] leave their crucified Maſter, and begin to worſhip this other. Not conſidering, ſays the Epiſtle, that we can never either forſake the Worſhip of Chriſt, who ſuffered for the Salvation of all thoſe who are ſaved in the whole World, the Juſt for the Unjuſt; or worſhip any other. For we worſhip him as being the Son of God; but the Martyrs we only love, as they deſerve, for their great Affection to their King and Maſter, and as being Diſciples and Followers of their Lord, whoſe Partners and Fellow-Diſciples we deſire to be. This is an unanſwerable Teſtimony, to prove both the divine Worſhip of Chriſt, as the true Son of God, and that no Martyr or other Saint was worſhipped in thoſe Days. Not long after this lived *Juſtin Martyr*, who in his ſecond Apology, to wipe off the Charge off *Atheiſm*, brought againſt them by the Heathens, who objected to them, That they had caſt off the Worſhip of God; anſwers, That they worſhipped and adored ſtill [*e*] the God of Righteouſneſs, and his Son (that came from him, and taught both them and the Hoſt of good Angels, who followed him, and were made like unto him) as alſo the Holy Spirit of Prophecy: To theſe they paid a rational and true Honour, as they always frankly owned to all ſuch as were diſpoſed to learn. *Bellarmin* [*f*] very fraudulently urges this Place, to prove the Worſhip of Angels: As if *Juſtin* had ſaid, That they worſhipped the Father, the Son, the Angels, and the Holy Spirit; whereas he ſays nothing of the Worſhip of Angels, but that the Angels were taught by the Son, and that the Son together with the Father and Holy Spirit, were the Object of Chriſtian Worſhip. Which he repeats again in his foreſaid Apology [*g*], ſaying, in anſwer to the ſame Objection, that they could demonſtrate, that as they worſhipped God the Creator of all things, ſo with equal Reaſon they worſhipped Jeſus Chriſt in the ſecond place, and the Holy Spirit of Prophecy in the third, knowing Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of the true God. For whereas the Heathens objected farther, that it was madneſs in them, next to the immutable and true God, Maker of all things, to give the ſecond place to a crucified Man, he tells them, They underſtood not the Myſtery of this Practice. Which ſhews, that as they worſhipped Chriſt, ſo they worſhipped him as the true Son of God, and not as a Creature: For he tells the Emperors a little after [*h*], they held it unlawful to worſhip any but God alone. Therefore in their Practice they alſo ſhewed their Belief of his true Divinity; ſince they worſhipped him only upon this Foundation and Suppoſition, that he was truly God, and not a mere Man; and to have done it upon any other Suppoſition, had been groſs Idolatry by their own Confeſſion. Which I wiſh were duly conſidered by thoſe who now write againſt the Divinity of Chriſt, and abſurdly pretend that all the Fathers of the three firſt Ages were of their Opinion. For this is only to make them guilty of the groſſeſt Idolatry, and involve them in a monſtrous Contradiction; whilſt they pretended to worſhip none but God alone, and yet gave di-

[*b*] Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. n. 12. Deus autem & Pater Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti; & ipſe ſempiternus Pontifex, Dei Filius, Chriſtus Jeſus, ædificet vos in Fide & veritate, & in omni Manſuetudine, &c. Et det vobis ſortem & partem inter ſanctos ſuos, & nobis vobiſcum, & omnibus qui ſunt ſub cœlo, qui crediturі ſunt in Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum & in ipſius Patrem. [*c*] Martyrium Polycarpi, ap. Coteler. Patr. Apoſtol. T. 2. p. 199. Περὶ πάντων αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σοῦ παιδὶ, μεθ' οὗ σοι καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 15. ex Epiſt. Eccleſiæ Smyrnenſis, *reads this with a little variation of the Particles,* Διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς· δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα. &c. *But this makes no Alteration in the Senſe: for ſtill it concludes with a Doxology to the three divine Perſons: By whom and with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit be Glory for ever and ever.* Amen. [*d*] Smyrn. Eccleſ. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 15. & ap. Coteler. p. 200. Μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι.—— ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι ἔστε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτὲ καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβεσθαι. τοῦτον γὰρ, ὢν ὄντα, τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν. τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως. &c. [*e*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 56. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν, σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν. &c. [*f*] Bellarm. de Beatitud. Sanctor. lib. 1. cap. 13. Tom. 1. p. 1957. [*g*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 60. Τὸν δημιουργὸν—— καὶ Ἰησοῦν, ὑὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει, ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, σεβόμεθα. It. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 302. *He ſtyles him* Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν, *the Mighty* GOD *that was to be adored.* [*h*] Ibid. p. 64. Θεὸν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, &c.

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vine Honour to one, whom (if our modern Repreſenters ſay true) they did not believe to be truly God by Nature, but only a Creature.

But to go on with the Enquiry, as to what concerns the Object of their Worſhip in Practice. *Athenagoras* anſwers the Charge of *Atheiſm*, after the ſame manner as *Juſtin Martyr* had done before him: We are [*i*] no *Atheiſts*, who worſhip the Creator in all things, and his Word that proceedeth from him. *Minucius Felix*, to another Objection, That they worſhipped a crucified Man, anſwers, That they were miſtaken in the Charge; for he whom [*k*] they worſhipped, was God, and not a mere mortal Man: Miſerable is he, whoſe Hope is only in Man; for his Help is at an End, when the Life of Man is extinct. About this time lived *Lucian* the Heathen, who in one of his *Dialogues* takes notice of the Chriſtian Worſhip. For bringing in a Chriſtian inſtructing a Catechumen [*l*], he makes the Catechumen ask this Queſtion, By whom ſhall I ſwear? And he that perſonates the Chriſtian, anſwers, By the God that reigns on high, the Great, Immortal, Heavenly God, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One in Three, and Three in One. Take theſe for your *Jupiter*, imagine this to be your God. Which evidently ſhews, That *Lucian* had learned this from the Chriſtian Inſtitutions, That the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, were the Object of their divine Worſhip. And he elſewhere objects to them the Worſhip of their crucified [*m*] Impoſtor, as he blaſphemouſly terms our bleſſed Lord. Not long after *Irenæus*, ſpeaking of the Miracles which the Church wrought in his Time, particularly in caſting out Devils, ſays, ſhe did this [†] not by Invocation of Angels, nor by Inchantments, nor by any other wicked piece of Curioſity, but by directing her Prayers, clean, and pure, and openly to the God over all; and by invocating the Name of Jeſus Chriſt ſhe works Miracles for the Benefit of Men, and not for their Seduction. And that this was ſo, appears farther from ſome of the Forms of Prayer uſed then in the Church for the Energumens in the publick Service, one of which is recorded by the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [‡] directed perſonally to Chriſt, under the Title of the only-begotten God, who binds the ſtrong one, that is, the Devil: which Prayer I need not repeat here, becauſe the Reader may find it at length hereafter [*n*] in the Service of the Catechumens.

About the ſame Time with *Irenæus* lived *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who though he does not expreſly mention the worſhip of Chriſt, yet he acknowledges him to be God of God [*o*], and ſays the World was made by him: For when the Father ſaid, *Let us make Man in our own Image*, he ſpake this to no other [*p*], but to his own Word, and his own Wiſdom, that is, the Son and Holy Spirit; whom he expreſly ſtyles by the Name of Trinity [*q*] in the Godhead; and ſays elſewhere, that God is to be worſhipped, and nothing [*r*] elſe beſides him, who is the true God, the Ordainer of Kings; who may be honoured, but not worſhipped, becauſe they are only Men, and not God. From all which it is eaſy to infer, that *Theophilus* thought Chriſt the Object of divine Worſhip, as the living and true God, and that it would be Idolatry to give divine Worſhip to Chriſt, upon any other Suppoſition, than that he is true God as well as Man.

In the ſame Age *Clemens Alexandrinus* is an illuſtrious Witneſs of this Practice. For in his Exhortation [*s*] to the Gentiles, he ſtyles him the Living God, that was then worſhipped and adored: Believe, ſays he, O Man, in him who is both Man and God: Believe, O Man, in him who ſuffered Death, and yet is adored as the Living God. In the End of his *Pædagogue*, he himſelf addreſſes his Prayers to the Son joyntly with the Father, in theſe Words: *Be merciful to thy Children, O Maſter, O Father, Thou Ruler of* Iſrael, *O Son, and Father, who are both One, our Lord*, [*t*]. And in the Concluſion of the Book, he has this *Doxology* to the whole Trinity: *Let us give Thanks* [*u*] *to the only Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son our Teacher and Maſter, with the Holy Spirit; one in all Reſpects; in whom are all things; by whom all things are one; by whom is eternal Exiſtence; whoſe Members we are; whoſe is the Glory and the Ages; Who is the perfect Good, the perfect Beauty, allwiſe, and all-juſt: To whom be Glory both now and for ever.* Amen.

[*i*] Athenag. Legat. pro Chriſtianis. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 1. p. 76. ἐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι, ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τῆδε τῆ παντὸς, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτῆ λόγον. [*k*] Minuc. Dial. p. 88. Quod Religioni noſtræ hominem noxium & crucem ejus adſcribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis Deum credi aut meruiſſe noxium, aut potuiſſe terrenum. Næ ille miſerabilis, cujus in homine mortali ſpes omnis innititur, totum enim ejus auxilium cum extincto homine finitur. [*l*] Lucian. Philopatris prope finem. ὑψιμέδοντα Θεὸν, μέγαν, ἀμβρόσιον, ἐφαίνοντα, υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ δὲ ἑνὸς τρία. ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τὸν δ' ἡγῆ Θεὸν. [*m*] Lucian in Proteo. p. 764. τὸν ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν προσκυνεῖν. [†] Iren. lib. 2. cap. 57. Nec Invocationibus Angelicis facit, nec Incantationibus, nec aliqua prava Curioſitate, ſed munde & pure & manifeſte orationes dirigens ad Dominum, qui omnia fecit, & nomen Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti invocans, Virtutes ſecundum utilitates hominum, ſed non ad ſeductionem perficit. [‡] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 6. [*n*] Book 14. cap. 5. n. 7. [*o*] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. p. 130. Θεὸς ὢν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐκ Θεῆ πεφυκὼς. [*p*] Ibid. lib. 2. p. 114. ἐκ ἄλλῳ τῳ τινι εἴρηκε, ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἑαυτῆ λόγῳ, καὶ τῇ ἑαυτῆ σοφίᾳ. [*q*] Ibid. lib. 2. p. 106. Τύποι τριάδος τῆ Θεῆ, καὶ τῆ λόγῳ αὐτῆ καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτῆ. [*r*] Lib. 1. p. 30. Θεῷ τῷ πάντως Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνᾶ, &c. [*s*] Clem. Protreptic. p. 84. Edit. Oxon. Πίστευσον ἄνθρωπε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ. πίστευσον ἀνθρωπε τῷ παθόντι, καὶ προσκυνομένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι. [*t*] Id. Pædagog. lib. 3. ch. 12. p. 311. Ἵλαθι τοῖς σοῖς, παιδαγωγέ, πάτερ, ἡνίοχε ἰσραὴλ, υἱὲ καὶ πατὲρ, ἓν ἄμφω, κύριε. [*u*] Ibid. p. eadem. Τῷ μόνῳ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ, καὶ διδασκάλῳ υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, πάντα τῷ ἑνὶ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, &c. ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνας. ἀμὴν. Vid. Strom. lib. 7. cap. 7. p. 851. Σέβειν ἐγκελευόμεθα τὸν λόγον, &c.

Cotemporary

Cotemporary with *Clemens* was *Athenogenes* the Martyr, who ſuffered about the Year 196. St. *Baſil* [x] ſays, he compoſed a ſacred Hymn, ſetting forth the Glory of the Holy Ghoſt. From whence we may collect, that it did the ſame for Chriſt as the Son of God. The learned Doctor *Cave* [y], by a little Miſtake of what St. *Baſil* ſays, ſuppoſes *Athenogenes* to have been the Author of thoſe two antient Hymns, called the *Morning* and *Evening Hymns*, which the Reader will find related at length [*] hereafter under the Titles of the great *Doxology*, *Glory be to God on high*, &c. and the *Hymnus Lucernalis*. But 'tis plain from St. *Baſil*, that the Hymn of *Athenogenes* was diſtinct from theſe. For he makes no mention of the Morning Hymn, and ſays expreſsly of the Evening Hymn, that he knew not who was the Author of it. However it was an Hymn of antient Uſe in the Church, addreſſed immediately to Chriſt, and containing this *Doxology* to the whole Trinity, ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, we laud the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of God. Which St. *Baſil* urges, as we do here, as a diſtinct Teſtimony from that of *Athenogenes*, and as a farther Inſtance of the Church's antient Practice in giving divine Honour and Worſhip, not only to the Father, but to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.

About the ſame time ſuffered *Andronicus* the Martyr, in the Acts of whoſe Paſſion it is objected to him by the Heathen Judge [z], that Chriſt, whom he invocated and worſhipped, was a Man that had ſuffered under the Government of *Pontius Pilate*, and that the Acts of his Paſſion were then extant. Their Worſhip of Chriſt was ſo well known to the Heathens, that at every turn, we ſee, it was objected to them. And their Anſwer was always the ſame, That they worſhipped him indeed, but not as a mere Man, but God, the Son of God by Nature, and of the ſame Subſtance with the Father. Which is the Anſwer that *Tertullian* (who is the laſt Writer of the ſecond Age) makes to this Objection. For whereas it was objected [a], that they were Worſhippers of a Man, whom all the World knew to be a Man, and the *Jews* had condemned as a Man: To this he anſwers [b], not by denying that they worſhipped him, but by explaining the Reaſons and Foundation of their Worſhip, becauſe they knew him to be the true natural Son of God, by a ſpiritual Generation, and therefore called God, and the Son of God, becauſe he was of one and the ſame Eſſence or Subſtance. For God was a Spirit: and the Son was Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is of Light. In that manner he was begotten of God, ſo as to be God and the Son of God, and they were both one. In another Place diſſuading Chriſtian Women from marrying with Unbelievers, among other Arguments, he uſes this [c], that in ſuch a Family there could be no mention of God, no Invocation of Chriſt, no cheriſhing of Faith by their joint reading of the Scripture. At the ſame time he tells us [d] a Chriſtian could pray to no other but the Eternal, the Living and True God: He could not ask ſuch Things, as they were wont to ask in Prayer, of any other but him, from whom he knew he could obtain them, and who alone was able to give them. Now this had been abſurd and ridiculous arguing to the Heathens, had not Chriſtians believed Chriſt to be the Eternal, Living and True God. Their Arguments might eaſily have been retorted, and charged with Contradiction; and they would have ſtood ſelf-condemned by their own Practice, if whilſt they were arguing againſt the Heathen Idols upon this foot, that nothing was to be worſhipped but the Eternal, Living and True God, they themſelves had worſhipped one who fell ſhort of that Character. Therefore we muſt conclude, that as it is plain from the foregoing Teſtimonies, that Chriſtians did give divine Worſhip to Chriſt in this Age, ſo they did it only upon this Suppoſition, that he was the Eternal, Living, and True God, as the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father; and that however they differed, as far as it was neceſſary for a Father and Son to be diſtinct, yet they were but one Creator and one God.

SECT. III. *Proofs of the Worſhip of Chriſt in the third Century.*

WE are now come to the third Century, where we have firſt an illuſtrious Teſtimony for the Worſhip of Chriſt, as God, in the Fragments of *Caius*, a *Roman* Presbyter, preſerv'd by *Euſebius*, out of his Book called *The Labyrinth*, written againſt *Artemon*, one of the firſt that appeared againſt the Divinity of our Saviour. Here, among many other Things, ſhewing the Novelty of that Hereſy, he obſerves [e] there were antiently many Pſalms and Hymns compoſed by the Brethren, and tranſcribed by the Faithful, ſetting forth the Praiſes of Chriſt as the Word of God, and aſcribing Divinity to him. And that ſuch ſort of Hymns were uſed in the Service of the Church, we learn from another Paſſage in the ſame *Euſebius*, taken out of the Council of *Antioch* againſt *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, the heretical Biſhop of *Antioch*,

[x] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 29. T. 2. p. 359. [y] Cav. Hiſt. Litter. Vol. 1. p. 60. [*] See Chap. 10. n. 9. Chap. 11. n. 5. [z] Acta Andronici ap. Baron. an. 190. n. 26. Non ſcis, quem invocas Chriſtum, hominem quendam factum, ſub cuſtodia Pontij Pilati punitum; cujus extant Acta Paſſionis. [a] Tertul. Apol. cap. 21. Sed & vulgus jam ſcit Chriſtum, ut aliquem hominum, qualem Judæi judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos homines Cultores exiſtimaverit. [b] Ibid. Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, & prolatione generatum, & idcirco Filium Dei & Deum dictum ex unitate ſubſtantiæ: nam & Deus ſpiritus.—Item, De Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus, ut Lumen de Lumine accenſum.—ita quod de Deo profectum eſt, Deus eſt & Dei Filius, & Unus ambo. [c] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 6. Quæ Dei mentio? Quæ Chriſti Invocatio? Ubi fomenta fidei de Scripturarum interlectione? [d] Id. Apol. cap. 30. Nos pro Salute Imperatoris Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, &c. Hæc ab alio orare non poſſum, quam a quo me ſcio conſecuturum, quoniam & ipſe eſt qui ſolus præſtat. [e] Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 28. Ψαλμοὶ γ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γεγράφησαν, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.

about the middle of this Century. For there he is charged as giving Orders [*f*] to forbid the Uſe of ſuch Pſalms or Hymns as were uſed to be ſung in the Church to the Honour of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under Pretence that they were only the novel Compoſitions of late and modern Authors. Whilſt in the mean time he ſuborned Women on the great Day of the Lord's Paſſion (or the Reſurrection, for *Paſcha* will ſignify both) to ſing Hymns compoſed to his own Honour; where among other Things, he that would not allow Chriſt any other but an earthly Original, was not aſhamed to hear himſelf blaſphemouſly extolled as an Angel come down from Heaven; which, as thoſe holy Fathers obſerve, was enough to make an Hearer tremble. And for this inſolent Attempt againſt the Divinity and Worſhip of Chriſt, that heretical Biſhop was anathematized and depoſed.

A little before this Time *Nepos* an *Egyptian* Biſhop compoſed Pſalms and Hymns for the Uſe of the Church, which are commended by *Dionyſius* [*g*] Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as an uſeful Work for the Edification of the Brethren. And probably they might be ſome of thoſe Hymns, which *Paulus Samoſatenſis* diſcarded as novel Inventions of modern Authors, though Hymns of the like Nature had been in uſe from the firſt Foundation of the Church. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* was one of thoſe who oppoſed the Practice of *Paulus Samoſatenſis* by his Letters, tho' he was not preſent in the Council; and he is commended by St. *Baſil* [*h*] as one that always uſed this Form of *Doxology: To God the Father, and the Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Holy Spirit, be Glory and Dominion now and for ever, World without End.* Amen. But we have more pregnant Teſtimonies from the Works of *Origen* in the Beginning of this Century. In his fifth Book againſt *Celſus*, he tells us, That they could not lawfully worſhip Angels, but they might and did worſhip the Son of God. All Prayers, ſays he, and Supplications [*i*], and Interceſſions, and Thankſgivings, are to be ſent up to God the Lord of all, by the High Prieſt who is above all Angels, being the living Word and God. And we can alſo pray to the Word himſelf, and make Interceſſions to him, and give Thanks, and make Supplications to him, if we rightly underſtand how Prayer is to be taken in Propriety of Speech, or with ſome Reſtriction. He means, that Prayers offered to the Son of God, conſidered as a Son, redound to the Father, as the Fountain of the Deity: As Biſhop *Bull* [*k*] judiciouſly explains, and vindicates this Paſſage from the unjuſt Exceptions which *Hue-tius* makes againſt it. As he does alſo another Paſſage in the eighth Book, where *Origen* more largely aſſerts the Worſhip of Chriſt againſt the common Objection renewed by *Celſus*, That the Chriſtians worſhipped one that had but lately appeared in the World. *Celſus* had thus formed the Objection with all the Art and Force he was able: If the Chriſtians, ſays he, worſhipped no other but one God [*l*] their Arguments might be of ſome Weight and Force againſt others: But now they give immenſe Honour and Worſhip to this new Upſtart, who ſo lately made his Appearance in the World, and yet think they commit no Offence againſt God, though they give divine Worſhip to his Servant. To this *Origen* replies, not by diſſembling, or denying, or diminiſhing the Worſhip of Chriſt, but by aſſerting it upon ſuch Grounds and Principles as ſhew that Father and Son can be but one God: and that to worſhip two Perſons under ſuch Relation and OEconomy of real Father and Son, cannot be to worſhip two Gods. If *Celſus*, ſays he, had underſtood the Meaning of this, *I and the Father are one*; or what the Son of God ſays in his Prayer, *As I and Thou are one*; he would never have imagined, that we worſhip any but the God who is over all. For he ſaith, *The Father is in me, and I in the Father.* But that no one may think, that in ſaying this, we run over to thoſe who deny the Father and Son to be two *Hypoſtaſes* or Perſons, (meaning the *Sabellians*) let him conſider that which is ſaid, *All they that believed, were of one Heart and one Soul*, that he may underſtand this, *I and the Father are one.* We therefore worſhip one God, as I have ſhewed, the Father and the Son; and our Reaſoning ſtands ſtill in full Force againſt others; neither do we give divine Honour to an upſtart Being, as if he had no Exiſtence before. For we believe him, when he ſays, *Before* Abraham *was, I am*; and again, *I am the Truth.* Neither is any of us of ſo mean and ſervile Underſtanding, as to imagine, that the Subſtance of Truth had not a Being before the Appearance of Chriſt in the Fleſh. Therefore we worſhip the Father of Truth, and the Son, who is the Truth, two Things in perſonal Subſiſtence, but one in Agreement, and Conſent, and Identity of Will. Ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος: So that whoever ſees the Son, who is the Brightneſs of the Glory of God, and the expreſs Image of his Perſon, ſees God in him, as being the true Image of God. Now *Celſus* imagines, that becauſe together with God we worſhip his Son, it follows upon our own Princi-

[*f*] Conc. Antioch. Epiſt. Synod. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πᾶσας, ὡς δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα. &c.

[*g*] Dionyſ. de Promiſſion. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 24. Ἀγαπῶ Νέποτα---τῆς τε ψαλμῳδίας. ᾗ μεχρὶ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμοῦνται. [*h*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 90.

[*i*] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 5. p. 233. Πᾶσαν μὲν δὴ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ. δηεσόμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τε λόγου, καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσευξόμεθα ᾧ, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα καταλαβεῖν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως. ἀγγέλοις δὲ καλέσαι ——— οὐκ εὔλογον.

[*k*] Bull. Defenſ. Fid. Nicen. Sect. 2. cap. 9. n. 15. p. 199.

[*l*] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 385. Celſi verba. Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐθεράπευον ἕτοι πλὴν ἕνα Θεὸν, ἦν ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενὴς λόγος. νυνὶ δὲ τὸν ἐναρχῶς φανέντα τοῦτον ὑπερσέβονται. &c. Vid. Orig. περὶ εὐχῆς. n. 49. *and* 50. *And Bp.* Fell's *Note upon it.*

ples,

ples, that we may not only worſhip God, but his Miniſters and Servants. And indeed if he meant the true Servants of God, after his Only-begotten Son, ſuch as *Michael* and *Gabriel*, and the reſt of the Angels and Archangels, and ſtood up for the Worſhip of theſe; perhaps taking Worſhip, and the Acts of the Worſhippers in a ſound and qualified Senſe (he means the common Reſpect of Love and Honour, which is due to good Angels) we might ſay ſomething proper upon this Head: But now when he underſtands by the Servants of God, only the Devils whom the Gentiles worſhip, he does not oblige us by any juſt Conſequence to worſhip ſuch as theſe, whom the Scripture aſſures us to be only Servants of the wicked one, the Prince of this World, and the Author of Apoſtaſie from God. We refuſe to worſhip all ſuch, as knowing them to be no Servants of God; for had they been Servants, we ſhould not have called them Devils; but we worſhip one God, and his only Son, and Word, and Image, with Supplications and Prayers to the utmoſt of our Power, offering our Prayers to God over all by his Only-begotten Son; to whom we firſt preſent them; beſeeching him, who is the Propitiation for our Sins, as our High-Prieſt, to offer our Prayers, and Sacrifices, and Interceſſions to God the Lord of all Things. Therefore our Faith relies only upon God, by his Son who confirms it in us. And therefore *Celſus* has no Reaſon or Colour for his Charge of Sedition, or departing from God upon the account of his Son: For we worſhip the Father, whilſt we admire and adore the Son; who is his Word, and Wiſdom, and Truth, and Righteouſneſs, and whatever elſe we are taught to believe of the Son of God, begotten of ſuch a Father.

I have recited this Paſſage at length, not only becauſe it is ſuch a full Proof of the Matter of Fact, that the Chriſtians did give divine Honour and Worſhip to the Son; but alſo becauſe it ſhews us upon what Principle and Foundation they did it; *viz.* as being the true Son of God, and one God with the Father. For though *Huetius* has excepted againſt ſome Words in this Paſſage, as derogatory to the Son; and the modern *Arians* have abuſed it to patronize their Hereſy; and the *Romaniſts* would fain draw it into a Proof for the Worſhip of Angels; yet I dare be bold to ſay, there is not a Tittle in it, when rightly underſtood, to countenance any of their Suggeſtions: But as it is a ſolid Proof of the Matter of Fact, ſo it is an illuſtrious Evidence of *Origen*'s Belief, and clear Explication of the Unity of the Godhead. For excepting that ſort of Unity, which *Origen* and all Catholick Writers reject as inconſiſtent with a real Trinity, that is, the Unity of *Hypoſtaſes*, or Perſons, which none but *Sabellians* and their Followers maintain; he aſſerts all other Kinds of Unity, in oppoſition to *Arians*, who denied the Unity of Eſſence or Nature, and made the Son to be of a different Subſtance from the Father, as a created Being; in Oppoſition to the *Marcionites*, and ſuch other Hereticks, as maintained contrary Principles, one Good, and another Evil, in the Godhead; in Oppoſition to the *Tritheites*, who brought in the proper Doctrine of three Gods, by denying the Subordination and Relation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and aſſerting three Co-ordinate and Independent Principles, and baptizing in the Name of three ſuch ἄναρχοι, ἀναίτιοι, and ἀγέννητοι (as the Apoſtolical Canons [*m*] call them) three unoriginated and unbegotten Principles, wholly independent of one another; in Oppoſition to *Hieracas* and the *Triformians*, who abſurdly divided the Trinity into three parts of one whole; and finally in Oppoſition to all that ſwarm of Hereticks, who diſtinguiſhed with the *Cerdonians* between the God of Juſtice, and the God of Goodneſs, ſtiling the one the God of the Law and the Prophets, and the other the Father of Chriſt and God of the Goſpel. *Origen*, I ſay, in Oppoſition to all theſe aſſerts every ſort of Unity, except the Jewiſh and *Sabellian* Notion of Unity, which confines the divine Nature to one Perſon. For in ſaying firſt that the Son is the expreſs and true Image of God the Father, he aſſerts the Identity of Nature, againſt *Arius*; and ſo could not believe him to be a Creature of a different Subſtance or Nature, but as a true Son, of the ſame Eſſence with his Father, and equal to him in all infinite and divine Perfections. 2. In ſaying that he was a Son, deriving his Original from the Father, and not another independent Being, he maintains the Unity of Principle, and reſerves to the Father the Privilege of being the Fountain of the Deity; and conſequently oppoſes the Hereſy of the *Tritheites*, who maintain three co-ordinate and independent Principles, and deſtroy the Monarchy, and make three Creators inſtead of one, by deſtroying the due Subordination and Relation of the Son to the Father. 3. In ſaying, that the Father and Son are one in Agreement and Conſent and Identity of Will, he aſſerts the Unity of Operation, Creation and Government: Which deſtroys the Hereſy of thoſe, who maintained contrary Principles in the Godhead. 4. In ſaying, that the Son was equal to the Father in all infinite Perfections, he rejects the Abſurdity of thoſe who dreamed of three parts in the Divine Nature. 5. In aſſerting Chriſt to be the Son of the Creator and God of the *Old Teſtament*, he maintains the Unity of Providence, and refutes the Hereſy of thoſe, who maintained, that the Creator and God of the *Old Teſtament* was a different God from the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. So that he maintains all ſorts of Unity, except perſonal Unity, which cannot conſiſt with a real Trinity in the Godhead. And upon this foot he anſwers the Objection of *Celſus*, who charged the Chriſtians with *Polytheiſm* for giving divine Honour to Jeſus Chriſt.

Having made this ſhort and uſeful Digreſſion upon this celebrated Paſſage of *Origen*, to vindicate it from the Abuſes of the modern *Arians*, I now return to the Hiſtory of Fact, to ſhew

[*m*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 49.

that divine Worſhip was given to Chriſt as the Son of God. And of this there is farther Evidence in *Origen:* For this is not the only Place in which he is put to vindicate the Worſhip of Chriſt from the Charge of *Polytheiſm*, which is frequently repeated by *Celſus*. In the third Book [*n*] *Celſus* objects, that they worſhipped one, who was apprehended and put to Death; in which reſpect they were no better than the *Getæ* who worſhipped *Zamolxis*, and the *Cilicians Mopſus*, and the *Acarnanes Amphilochus*, and the *Thebans Amphiaraus*, and the *Lebadians Trophonius*. In replying to which, *Origen* ſays, they offered their Prayers to Chriſt, as Mediator between God and Men, who conferred the Bleſſings of the Father upon Men, and preſented their Prayers as High-Prieſt to the God over all. Not long after *Celſus* [*o*] repeats the Charge again, that they who ridiculed the Heathens for worſhipping *Jupiter*, whoſe Sepulchre the *Cretians* could ſhew, did themſelves worſhip one that was laid in the Grave. In the ſeventh Book he renews the Impeachment three times, bidding the Chriſtians [*p*] not be ſo ridiculous, as to revile the Heathen Gods as Idols, whilſt they worſhipped a God of their own more wretched than any Idol, and not ſo much as an Idol, for that he was truly dead. If they had a Mind to innovate in worſhipping a dead Man [*q*], they might with more Reaſon, he thinks, have choſen *Hercules*, or *Æſculapius*, or *Orpheus*, or *Anaxarchus*, or *Epictetus*, or *Sibylla*, rather than have made a God of one, who lived an infamous Life, and died a miſerable Death. Yea, they might have choſen among their own Prophets, *Jonas* under the Gourd, or *Daniel* in the Lion's Den, as more worthy of this Honour. He whom they worſhipped, he crys again [*r*], is no *Dæmon*, but a dead Man. Thus from the Charges of *Celſus*, and *Origen*'s Replies, we may collect what Worſhip was given to Chriſt as the Son of God, and alſo as Mediator between God and Men.

It is farther obſervable, That *Origen* in his firſt Book [*s*] ſpeaking of the wiſe Men who came to worſhip Chriſt, by the leading of a Star, ſays, they offered Gifts to Him ſuited to his different Qualities, who was compounded, as one might ſay, of God and mortal Man: They therefore preſented Him with Gold, as a King; with Myrrhe, as a mortal Man that ſhould die; and with Frankincenſe, as a God. And *Origen* himſelf in his other Works frequently ſpeaks of his own Prayers offered to Chriſt. In one of his Homilies [*t*] he addreſſes him in theſe Words, *O Lord Jeſus, grant that I may be found worthy to have ſome Monument of me in Thy Tabernacle. I could wiſh to offer Gold, or Silver, or precious Stones, with the Princes of the People: But becauſe theſe Things are above me, let me at leaſt be thought worthy to have Goats Hair in the Tabernacle of God, only that I may not in all Things be found empty and unfruitful.* In another Homily [*u*], We muſt pray to the Lord Jeſus and the Holy Spirit, that He would take away that Miſt and Darkneſs, which is contracted by the Filth of our Sins, and dimms the Sight of our Souls. And again [*x*], I muſt pray to the Lord Jeſus, that when I ſeek, He would grant me to find, and open to me, when I knock. And in another Homily [*y*], Let us pray from our Hearts to the Word of God, who is the only-begotten of the Father, that reveals Him to whom he will, that he would vouchſafe to reveal theſe Things unto us. And he has many the like Prayers in his other [*z*] Diſcourſes. But eſpecially that Paſſage in his Comment on the Epiſtle to the *Romans* is moſt remarkable, where he proves Chriſt to be God, from his being called upon in Prayer: The Apoſtle, he ſays, in thoſe Words, 1 *Cor.* i. 2. *With all that call on the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, declares him to be God [*a*], whoſe Name was called upon. And if to call upon the Name of the Lord, and to adore God, be one and the ſelf-ſame Thing; then as Chriſt is called upon, ſo is he to be adored: And as we offer to God the Father, firſt of all Prayers, ſo muſt we alſo to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and as we offer Supplications to the Father, ſo do we alſo to the Son; and as we offer Thankſgivings to God, ſo do we offer Thankſgivings to our Saviour. For the holy Scripture teaches us, That the ſame Honour is to be given to both, that is, to God the Father and the Son, when it ſays, *That they may honour the Son, as they honour the Father.*

Not long after *Origen*, lived *Novatian* at *Rome*, and *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, who both ſpeak of the Prayers of the Church, as offered up to Chriſt together with the Father. *Novatian* [*b*] makes it an Argument of his Divinity, That he is preſent in all Places to them that call upon him; which belongs not to the Nature of Man, but God. And he argues farther from the Church's praying to Him as Mediator; which kind of Prayers would be of no uſe, if he were a mere Man: And from our Obligations to fix our Hope on him, which would be a Curſe rather than a

[*n*] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 3. p. 131. [*o*] Ibid. lib. 3. p. 136. [*p*] Celſus lib. 7. p. 358. [*q*] Lib. 7. p. 368. [*r*] Lib. 7. p. 376. [*s*] Lib. 1. p. 46. [*t*] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. 25. tom. 1. p. 102. Domine Jeſu, præſta mihi, ut aliquid monumenti habere merear in Tabernaculo tuo, &c. [*u*] Hom. 1. in Levit. p. 106. Ipſe nobis Dominus, ipſe ſanctus Spiritus deprecandus eſt, ut omnem nebulam, omnemque caliginem, quæ peccatorum ſordibus concreta, viſum noſtri cordis obſcurat, auferre dignetur, &c. [*x*] Hom. 5. in Levit. p. 126. Dominum meum Jeſum invocare me oportet, ut quærentem me faciat invenire, & pulſanti aperiat, &c. [*y*] Hom. 26. in Numer. p. 271. Nos autem oremus ex corde Verbum Dei, qui eſt Unigenitus ejus, & qui revelat Patrem quibus vult, ut & nobis hæc revelare dignetur. [*z*] Orig. Hom. 3. in Ezek. p. 627. Præſta mihi, Chriſte, ut diſrumpam cervicalia in animarum conſuta luxuriam. It. Tom. 32. in Joan. p. 404. Utinam nobis adſit Columna illa lucidæ nubis Jeſu, &c. [*a*] Orig. Com. in Rom. 10. lib. 8. p. 587. [*b*] Novat. de Trin. cap. 14. Si homo tantummodo Chriſtus; quomodo adeſt ubique invocatus, cum hæc hominis natura non ſit, ſed Dei, ut adeſſe omni loco poſſit? Si homo tantummodo Chriſtus; cur homo in Orationibus Mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad præſtandam ſalutem inefficax judicetur? Si homo tantum modo Chriſtus: cur ſpes in illum ponitur, cum ſpes in homine maledicta referatur?

Bleſſing, if he were not God, as well as Man. For *curſed is the Hope that is placed* only *in Man.* St. *Cyprian* in like manner ſpeaks of his being worſhipped in many Places. In his Book of *The Advantage of Patience*, he ſtiles him [*] the Lord God of Hoſts, the God of the Chriſtians: And particularly tells us, That God the Father has commanded his Son to be worſhipped; and in regard to that Command, the Apoſtle *Paul* ſays, *That God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name above every Name; that at the Name of Jeſus every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth:* And in the *Revelations*, when St. *John* would have worſhipped the Angel, the Angel oppoſed it, and ſaid, *I am thy Fellow-ſervant, and of thy Brethren: Worſhip the Lord Jeſus.* So *Cyprian* reads it, *Jeſum Dominum adora.* And he uſes this as an Argument to perſuade Men to Patience, That the Lord Jeſus, who is worſhipped in Heaven, bears with many Indignities on Earth, and does not avenge himſelf till his ſecond Coming in Glory. Again, in one of his Epiſtles he ſpeaks of their offering Prayers to him as Mediator [c] firſt, and then by him to God the Father; and that upon this double Foundation, That he was their Advocate and Interceſſor, and alſo their Lord and their God. In another Place [d] writing to *Lucius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who had been a Confeſſor for Chriſt, he tells him, They would not ceaſe in their Sacrifices and Prayers, to give thanks for him to God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt his Son, and alſo make Supplications and Prayers for him, that he who was the Author of all Perfection, would keep and conſummate in him the glorious Crown of his Confeſſion. Not long after *Cyprian*, *Arnobius* wrote in vindication of the Chriſtian Worſhip, and here again he brings in the Heathens forming their uſual Charge againſt the Worſhip of Chriſt. Our Gods [e], ſay they, are not diſpleaſed with you for worſhipping the Almighty God, but that ye make a God of one that was born a Man, and put to death by the Puniſhment of the Croſs (an infamous Puniſhment, only inflicted on vile Men) and becauſe ye believe him to be yet alive, and make daily Supplications unto him. To this he anſwers, firſt upon their own Principles, That admitting it were ſo, that Chriſt were only a Man, yet he might with more reaſon deſerve to be worſhipped for his good Deeds to Mankind, than either their *Bacchus*, or *Ceres*, or *Æſculapius*, or *Minerva*, or *Triptolemus*, or *Hercules*, becauſe there was no compariſon between their Actions and his for the Benefit of the World. But ſecondly, he anſwers more cloſely upon true Chriſtian Principles, That the Reaſon of their worſhiping Chriſt [f] was indeed their certain Knowledge that he was the true God, whom they could not but worſhip and honour as the Head of their Body. And though an angry Heathen would rave at his being called God, yet they muſt anſwer plainly, that he was God, and God too of the interior Powers of the Soul; that is, *the Searcher of the Hearts and Reins*, which is the peculiar Property of God. The ſame Objection is once more propoſed [g], and anſwered by *Lactantius.* They are wont, ſays he, to object to us his Paſſion, by way of reproach, that we worſhip a Man, and one that was put to a notorious Death by Men. In replying to which, after having largely ſet forth the Reaſons of his Incarnation and Sufferings, he at laſt anſwers that part of the Objection which concerns their Worſhiping him, and pleads, that they worſhipped him as one God with the Father. For, ſays he, when we ſpeak of God the Father and God [h] the Son, we do not ſpeak of diverſe Natures, or ſeperate the One from the Other; for neither can He be a Father without a Son, nor the Son be divided from the Father: For as much as He cannot be called a Father without a Son, nor the Son be begotten without a Father. Seeing therefore a Father makes a Son, and a Son makes a Father, they have both one Mind, and one Spirit, and one Subſtance: But the Father as the Fountain and Original; and the Son as the Stream flowing from the Fountain. A little after he explains their [i] Unity by this Similitude: When any one hath a Son, who is his dearly-beloved, as long as he is in his Father's Houſe and under his Hand, although he allow him the Name and Power of Lord, yet it is called but one Houſe, and one Lord. So this World is one Houſe of God; and both the Son and the Father, who unanimouſly dwell therein, are but one God: Becauſe the One is as Two, and the Two as One. Meaning two Perſons, and one God. Nothing

[*] Cypr. de Bono Patientiæ, p. 220. [c] Cypr. Ep. 8. al. 11. p. 25. Primo ipſum Dominum rogare, tum deinde per ipſum Deo Patri ſatisfacere debemus. Habemus Advocatum & Deprecatorem pro peccatis noſtris Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum & Deum noſtrum. [d] Cypr. Ep. 58. al. 61. p. 145. Hic quoque in Sacrificiis atque in Orationibus noſtris non ceſſantes Deo Patri & Chriſto Filio ejus gratias agere, & orare pariter ac petere, ut qui perfectus eſt atque perficiens, cuſtodiat & perficiat in vobis Confeſſionis veſtræ glorioſam coronam. [e] Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. 1. p. 30. Sed non (inquitis) idcirco Dii vobis infeſti ſunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum: Sed quòd hominem natum, & (quod perſonis infame eſt vilibus) crucis ſupplicio interemptum, & Deum fuiſſe contenditis, & ſupereſſe adhuc creditis, & quotidianis ſupplicationibus adoratis. [f] Arnob. ibid. p. 36. Cum verò Deus ſit re vera, & ſine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos eſſe, quàm maxime illum à nobis coli, & Præſidem noſtri corporis nuncupari? Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens—— Deus ille eſt Chriſtus? Deus, reſpondebimus: Et interiorum Potentiarum Deus. [g] Lact. lib. 4. cap. 16. Venio nunc ad ipſam Paſſionem, quæ velut opprobium nobis objectari ſolet, quod & hominem, & ab hominibus inſigni ſupplicio affectum & excruciatum colamus. [h] Lact. lib. 4. cap. 29. De Mortalitate jam diximus, nunc de Unitate doceamus. Cum dicimus Deum Patrem, & Deum Filium, non diverſum dicimus, nec utrumque ſecernimus: Quia nec Pater eſſe ſine Filio poteſt; nec Filius à Patre ſecerni: Siquidem nec Pater nuncupari ſine Filio, nec Filius poteſt ſine Patre generari. Cum igitur & Pater Filium faciat, & Filius Patrem: Una utrique mens, unus Spiritus, una Subſtantia; ſed ille quaſi exuberans Fons eſt, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus. [i] Ibid. Propiore exemplo uti libet: Cum quis habet filium, quem unice diligit, qui tamen ſit in domo, & in manu Patris, licet ei nomen Domini poteſtatemque concedat, civili tamen jure & domus una & unus Dominus nominatur. Sic hic mundus una Dei domus eſt: Et Filius ac Pater, qui unanimes incolunt mundum, Deus unus eſt; quia & unus tanquam duo, & duo tanquam unus.

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can be plainer than these two Things, from the Words of *Lactantius*; *First*, That Christians gave Divine Worship to Christ: *Secondly*, That they gave him this Worship, as one God with the Father: And there was no other way to avoid the Charge of *Polytheism*, which they objected to the Heathens, and the Heathens were so desirous to recharge and throw back upon them.

There is one Thing more may be observed as very remarkable in this Age, which was an Age of great Persecution: That is, that the Martyrs, who suffered in it, commonly directed their last Prayers, as St. *Stephen* did, personally to Christ, in whose Cause they laid down their Lives, and into whose Hands they resigned their Spirit, commending their Souls to him, as unto a faithful Creator and Redeemer. Thus *Eusebius* observes of a whole City in *Phrygia* in the time of the *Diocletian* Persecution, that being all met together in the Church, Men, Women and Children, Magistrates and People (for the City was entirely Christian) they were surpriz'd by their Enemies, and barbarously burnt all together in the Church, as they were at their Devotions, calling [*k*] upon Christ, the God over all, τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοωμένους. So in a former Persecution in *France* under *Antoninus*, *Blandina* one of the Martyrs, when she was put into a Net, to be tossed by a wild Bull, is said not to have been sensible of any Pain, whilst she made her Prayers to Christ, διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν [*l*]. And *Eusebius* himself, who gives us these particular Relations, makes a more general Observation concerning the Worship of Christ, that the highest Powers on Earth confessed and adored him [*m*], not as a common King, made by Men, but as the true Son of the supreme God, as the true and very God; who had preserved his Church against all the Opposition of so many fierce Persecutions; there being nothing that was able to withstand the Will of that Word, who was the universal King and Prince of all Things, and very God [*n*] himself. We see, in the Opinion of *Eusebius*, the Ground of their Worship was no other than his being the living and true God, and the great King of all the Earth. Which is the Title that is given him in *the Acts of St.* Felix, an *African* Bishop, who suffer'd in the *Diocletian* Persecution: *O Lord God of Heaven and Earth, Jesus Christ, I bow my Neck* [*o*] *to thee as a Sacrifice, who livest to all Eternity: To whom belongs Honour and Power for ever and ever.* Amen. And in *the Acts of* Thelica, [*p*] *I give Thanks to the God of all Kingdoms. Lord Jesus Christ, we serve thee. Thou art our Hope: Thou art the Hope of Christians: Most holy God, most high God, God Almighty, we give thanks to thee for thy great Name.* So again in *the Acts of* [*q*] Emeritus: *I beseech thee, O Christ: I give thanks to thee: Deliver me, O Christ. In thy Name I suffer, I suffer for a Moment, I suffer willingly: Let me not be confounded, O Christ.* The curious Reader may find many other Prayers in the like Terms in *the Passions of Glycerius* [*r*], *Olympius* [*s*], *Ampelius* [*t*], *Euplius* [*u*], *Dativus* [*x*], *Saturninus* [*y*] *Senior* and *Junior*, recorded in *Baronius*, which I need not here transcribe. I only add two farther Instances out of *Eusebius* and St. *Ambrose*. *Eusebius* [*z*] speaking of the Passion of *Porphyrius*, a *Palestine* Martyr, and one of the Scholars of *Pamphilus*, says, when he was surrounded with Flames, he called upon Jesus the Son of God to be his Helper, and with those Words he gave up the Ghost. And St. *Ambrose* [*a*] tells us, *Vitalis* the Martyr made this his last Prayer: *O Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour and my God, command that my Spirit may be received; for I desire to obtain the Crown which thy holy Angel hath shewed me.*

It were easy to add many other Testimonies of the like nature, but these are abundantly sufficient to shew, what was the Practice of the Church, in reference to the Worship of Christ, during the three first Ages, before *Arianism* appeared in the World, or any of those difficult Questions were raised, which afterwards perplexed Men with unintelligible Subtilties, occasioned by the restless Endeavours and Sophistry of the *Arian* Party. The Christians of the three first Ages, we see, in their Disputes with the Heathens, always with a great deal of honest Plainness and Simplicity freely owned that they worshipped Christ as their Creator and their God; not as a Creature, but as the true and living God; equal to the Father in all divine Perfections, as a Genuine Son; who as a Son, could not be another God, but only one God with the Father. For they declared, that so long as he was owned to be a true Son, he could neither be a Creature, nor another God, which would imply another co-ordinate and independent Being, which was inconsistent with his being the Son of God. They declared at the same time, that it was unlawful and Idolatry to give divine Worship to any Creature, or any Being, how excellent soever, that was not the living and true God; as we shall see more fully in the next Chapter: And that is

[*k*] Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11. [*l*] Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 164. ex Epist. Eccles. Lugdun. & Vien. [*m*] Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 4. p. 375. ἐχ οἷα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα γενόμενον ὁμολογοῦντες, ἀλλ' οἷα τὸν καθόλου Θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον, καὶ αὐτοθεὸν προσκυνοῦντες. &c. [*n*] Euseb. ibid. p. 376. Τίγας καὶ ἔμελλε τῶν παμβασιλέως καὶ παντεπόπτου καὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ λόγια ἐνστήσεσθαι πρὸ νεύματι. [*o*] Acta Felic. ap. Baron. an. 302. n. 124. Domine Deus cœli & terræ, Jesu Christe, tibi cervicem meam ad victimam flecto, qui permanes in æternum: Cui est claritas & magnificentia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

[*p*] Acta Thelicæ, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 41. Gratias ago Deo regnorum. Domine Jesu Christe, tibi servimus. Tu es spes nostra: Tu es spes Christianorum, Deus Sanctissime, Deus Altissime, Deus Omnipotens, tibi laudes pro nomine tuo agimus. [*q*] Acta Emeriti, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 50. Rogo Christe: Tibi Laudes: Libera me Christe. In nomine tuo patior, breviter patior, libenter patior: Christe non confundar. [*r*] Acta Glycerii, ap. Baron. an. 301. n. 28. [*s*] Acta Olympii, ap. Baron. an. 259. n. 30. [*t*] Acta Ampelii, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 52. [*u*] Acta Euplii, Ibid. n. 148. [*x*] Acta Dativi, Ibid. n. 44, 45. [*y*] Acta Saturnin. Ibid. n. 48. & 54. [*z*] Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 11. p. 339. τὸν ὑὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν βοηθὸν ἐπιβοώμενον. [*a*] Ambr. exhort. ad Virgines. T. 1. p. 105. Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator meus, & Deus meus, jube suscipi Spiritum meum; quia jam desidero ut accipiam coronam, quam Angelus tuus sanctus mihi ostendit.

ſuch a ſenſible and intelligible Argument of their believing the Son to be the living and true God, as any one of the meaneſt Capacity may underſtand: And it is ſuch an Argument of his Divinity, as all the Art and Sophiſtry in the World cannot evade, without charging thoſe holy Men with the groſſeſt Idolatry, and Self-condemnation, and a flat Contradiction of their Principles in their Practice, if they gave divine Honour to one, whom they did not believe to be by Nature the living and true God. And for this Reaſon I have inſiſted a little the longer upon this plain way of proving their Belief of the Divinity of our bleſſed Lord, from their conſtant and univerſal Practice in giving divine Worſhip to him as their God. And as to thoſe Diſtinctions between abſolute, relative, and mediatorial Worſhip; or thoſe of *Latria*, *Dulia* and *Hyperdulia* (hard Words invented to ſolve the Idolatry of later Ages) whatever ſhelter modern Idolaters may think to find in them; the Ancients had no occaſion to lay the ſtreſs of their Cauſe upon any ſuch Subtilties and Diſtinctions. For they knew no diſtinction between *Latria*, *Dulia* and *Hyperdulia*, when they ſpake of religious Worſhip, but plainly ſaid all religious Worſhip was ſolely due to God: And though they diſtinguiſhed between abſolute, relative and mediatorial Worſhip, yet they gave all theſe to the Son; worſhipping him with mediatorial Worſhip, as the only proper Mediator in both Natures between God and Man; beſeeching him by his own Merits, as their great High-prieſt, to preſent their Prayers to the Father; and with relative Worſhip, as the Son of God, whoſe Honour redounds to the Father; and with abſolute Worſhip, as their Creator and Author of their Being; declaring it to be Idolatry to give any ſuch Honour to any mere Creature. So that either they believed Chriſt to be the living and true God, or elſe it is impoſſible to underſtand Men by their Words or Practice.

SECT. IV. *Proofs of the Worſhip of the Holy Ghoſt.*

WE are now to ſee whether they gave the ſame divine Honour to the Holy Ghoſt. And for this the Reader only needs to look back into the former Proofs: For many of the preceding Allegations join the Son and Holy Ghoſt together. *Polycarp*'s *Doxology* [*b*] is to the whole Trinity: *To thee (the Father) with him (the Son) and the Holy Spirit, be Glory now and for ever.* Amen. *Juſtin Martyr* [*c*] declares alſo to the Heathen, that the Object of their Worſhip was the whole Trinity: We worſhip and adore the God of Righteouſneſs, and his Son, and the Holy Spirit of Prophecy. And again [*d*] he proves, that Chriſtians were no *Atheiſts*, as the Heathens objected, becauſe they worſhipped the Creator of all Things, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt in the ſecond Place, and the Holy Spirit of Prophecy in the third Place: Only obſerving the natural Order of the Perſons, not diſtinguiſhing them into one God and two Creatures; for then it had been unlawful to worſhip them upon their Principles, which denied divine Worſhip to any Thing that by Nature was not God. We have heard *Lucian* before, repreſenting [*e*] the Chriſtian Worſhip, as the Worſhip of the great God of Heaven, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, three of one, and one of three. *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch* expreſsly mentions the Trinity [*f*], under the Title of the Father, his Word, and his Wiſdom; and ſays farther, that it was his Word and his Wiſdom, to whom he ſaid [*g*] in the Begining, *Let us make Man.* So that if the Holy Ghoſt was the Creator of Man, there can be no Diſpute but that he was worſhipped as his Creator together with the Father and Son. We have heard *Clemens Alexandrinus* concluding his *Pædagogue* [*h*] with this *Doxology*, *To the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit be Glory now and for ever.* Amen. We have heard St. *Baſil* teſtifying of *Athenogenes* the Martyr [*i*], that he compoſed an Hymn to the Glory of the Holy Ghoſt; and that the Church, Time out of Mind, uſed that known *Doxology* in her Evening Hymn at ſetting up Lights, *we laud the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit of God.* Which Hymn was ſo antient, that St. *Baſil* profeſſes, he knew not who was the Author of it. He teſtifies farther in the ſame Place, that *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was always wont to uſe this Form of *Doxology*; *to God the Father, and the Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Holy Ghoſt, be Glory and Dominion now and for ever.* Amen. We have heard *Origen* [*k*] ſaying, that we are to pray to the Lord, to the Holy Spirit; that he would vouchſafe to take away that Miſt and Darkneſs, which is contracted in our Hearts by the Defilement of Sin, and dims the Sight of our Minds. They that ſaid ſuch Things as theſe, did certainly own and practiſe the religious Adoration and Worſhip of the Holy Ghoſt. And all this we have ſeen proved in the former Allegations. To which we may here add that plain Teſtimony of *Origen* upon the firſt Chapter to the *Romans*, where he compares the Practice of the Heathens and Chriſtians [*l*]. It is the Property of thoſe only to diſhonour their Bodies, ſays he, who ſerve Idols; and of them only, to worſhip the Creature, who have forſaken the Creator. As for us, who worſhip and adore no Creature, but the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, as we do not err in our Worſhip, ſo neither let us offend in our Actions and Converſation: But looking to what the Apoſtle ſays, *Know ye not, that your Bodies are the Members of Chriſt?* And again, *That your Bodies*

[*b*] Polycarp. Martyr. ap. Coteler. T. 2. p. 199. [*c*] Juſtin. Apol. 1. p. 56. [*d*] Juſtin. Apol. 1. p. 60. [*e*] Lucian Philopatris. [*f*] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. p. 106. [*g*] Ibid. p. 114. [*h*] Clem. Pædagog. lib. 3. [*i*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 29. [*k*] Orig. Hom. 1. in Levit. p. 106. [*l*] Orig. in Rom. 1. lib. 1. p. 468. Eorum eſt contumeliis afficere corpora ſua, qui deſerviunt Simulacris; & eorum colere Creaturam, qui dereliquerunt Creatorem. Nos autem qui nullam creaturam, ſed Patrem, Filium & Spiritum Sanctum colimus & adoramus, ſicut non erramus in Cultu, ita nec in actibus quidem & converſatione peccemus, &c.

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are the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt? Let us keep our Bodies in all Holineſs and Purity, as Members of Chriſt, and as Temples of the Holy Spirit. St. *Baſil*, who wrote in Defence of the Worſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, cites another Paſſage of *Origen* out of his Commentaries [*m*] upon St. *John*, wherein he ſpeaks of the Woſhip of the whole Trinity in the Celebration of Baptiſm, ſaying, Baptiſm by vertue of the Invocations there made, is the Fountain and Spring of ſpiritual Graces to every one that dedicates himſelf to the divine Majeſty of the adorable Trinity. In which Words *Origen* by Invocations ſeems to refer to two Things: Firſt the Conſecration of Water to a myſtical Uſe, which was always performed by Prayer (as I have ſhewed at large in another [*] Place) and Secondly the Form of Baptiſm, which was always adminiſtred in the Name of the Holy Trinity: In like manner as Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated by Invocation of the three divine Perſons. Which is expreſsly ſaid by St. *Cyril* [*n*], that before Invocation of the adorable Trinity it is common Bread and Wine, but after Invocation it is made the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Where he uſes the ſame Expreſſion about the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, as *Origen* does about Baptiſm, ſaying, that it was done by Invocation of the adorable Trinity. And this is what *Juſtin Martyr* [*o*] means, when he ſays, that the Miniſter in conſecrating the *Euchariſt*, ſent up praiſe and glory to the Father of all by the Name of his Son and Holy Spirit. *Optatus* [†] ſpeaking of the Sacrilege of the *Donatiſts*, ſays, they had broken down the Altars, where God Almighty was wont to be invocated, and the Holy Ghoſt prayed to, that he might come down and ſanctify the Oblation. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* ſays in like manner [*p*], that the Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated by the Invocation and Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. And we are told, that in the old *Gallican Liturgy* the Oblation-prayer [*q*] was conceived in this Form: *Receive, O holy Trinity, this Oblation, which we offer unto thee, in Memory of the Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion.* And probably, *Origen* might have reſpect to ſome ſuch Invocation of the holy Trinity in the Conſecration of the Waters of Baptiſm. However, the Form of adminiſtring Baptiſm in the *Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt*, was ever eſteemed an act of Adoration of the Trinity, both as a Profeſſion of Faith in three Divine Perſons, and as a Dedication of the Party to the Service of the holy Trinity, and as a ſolemn Invocation of their Benediction. The antient Author of *the Recognitions*, who lived before *Origen*, ſays expreſsly [*r*], that Baptiſm was antiently given by Invocation of the Name of the bleſſed Trinity. By which we can underſtand nothing but joining the Holy Ghoſt as God with the Father and the Son in the ſame act of Adoration, expreſſed either in the Prayers or Form of Baptiſm. And hence the Ancients were uſed to prove the Holy Ghoſt [*s*] to be God, becauſe he was join'd in the ſame divine Worſhip with the Father and the Son in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. And that Baptiſm was generally eſteemed null and void, which was given to any Perſon without mentioning the Holy Ghoſt, as well as Father and Son, as I have fully ſhewed [*] in another Place.

It is farther obſervable, that in *Tertullian*'s time, the Worſhip of the Holy Ghoſt was ſo common in the Church, that *Praxeas* and other *Unitarians* were ready to charge the *Catholicks* with *Tritheiſm*, or the Worſhip of three Gods, upon this account. They boaſted, that [*t*] they were the only Perſons who truly worſhipped one God, and preſerved the divine Monarchy entire; whilſt all other Chriſtians, by worſhipping three Perſons, introduced the Worſhip of three Gods: As if, ſays *Tertullian*, the Unity abſurdly collected, might make an Hereſy; and a Trinity rationally conceived, might not conſiſt with Unity. He there explains how theſe Three are one God [*u*] by Unity of Original, by Unity of Subſtance, Condition and Power. And he adds, that as the Father was God, ſo the Son [*x*] was God, and the Holy Ghoſt God. And ſays in another Place [*y*], that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, was a Trinity in One Godhead or Divine Nature. So that it is plain, the Difference then between the *Praxean* Hereticks and the *Catholicks* was, that the *Praxeans* worſhipped but one Perſon as God; but the *Catholicks* worſhipped three Perſons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, under the Title and Appellation of one God. And *Eraſmus* was wonderfully miſtaken, when he aſſerted, that the Name, God, was never given to the Holy Ghoſt before the time of St. *Hilary*, in the middle of the fourth Century:

[*m*] Orig. Tom. 6. in Joan. ap. Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29. τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ Θεότητι τῆς προσκυνητῆς τειάδος, διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἐπικλησιῶν, χαρισμάτων ἀρχὴν ἔχειν καὶ πήγην. [*] Book 11. chap. 10. [*n*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 1. n. 4. Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς τειάδος ἁγίου ἣν καὶ οἴνου λιτὸς. &c. It. Catech. 3. n. 3. Μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τὸ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἁπλοῦ λιτοῦς. [*o*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. Αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει. [†] Optat. lib. 6. p. 93. Quid tam ſacrilegum, quam altaria Dei frangere, que Deus omnipotens invocatus ſit, quo poſtulatus deſcendit Spiritus Sanctus? [*p*] Theophil. Ep. Paſchal. 1. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 3. p. 87. Panem Dominicum —— per Invocationem & adventum S. Spiritus conſecrari. [*q*] Microlog. de Obſervat. Eccleſ. cap. 11. Suſcipe Sancta Trinitas hanc Oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam Paſſionis, Reſurrectionis, Aſcenſionis. [*r*] Clemen. Recognit. lib. 3. cap. 67. Baptizabitur unuſquiſque veſtrum in aquis perennibus, nomine Trinæ Beatitudinis invocat ſuper ſe. [*s*] Vid. Idacium lib. 3. contra Varimundum. Bibl. Patr. tom. 4. p. 300. Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29. [*] Book 11. chap. 3. n. 2. [*t*] Tertul. contr. Prax. cap. 3. Duos & tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, ſe vero Unius Dei cultores præſumunt: Quaſi non & Unitas inrationaliter collecta, hæreſin faciat: & Trinitas rationaliter expenſa veritatem conſtituet. [*u*] Ibid. cap. 2. Tres ſunt unius ſubſtantiæ, & unius ſtatus, & unius poteſtatis: quia unus Deus, ex quo (tres) in nomine Patris & Filij & Spiritus Sancti deputantur [*x*] Ibid. c. 13. Et Pater Deus, & Filius Deus, & Spiritus Sanctus Deus, & Deus unuſquiſque. [*y*] Tertul. de Pudicitia, cap. 21. Trinitas & unius Divinitatis, Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus.

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When it is ſo evident he had both the Name and Worſhip of God given him in the time of *Tertullian*, and in effect by all Chriſtians in former Ages, whilſt they joined him in all Acts of Divine Worſhip and Glorification with the Father and Son as one God.

Cyprian expreſsly ſtiles him God, when diſputing againſt the Validity of heretical Baptiſm, he uſes this Argument: [z] If a Man can be baptized by Hereticks, he may obtain Remiſſion of Sins: If he may obtain Remiſſion of Sins, he may be ſanctified, and be made the Temple of God. I ask, of what God? If it be ſaid the Creator; he cannot be his Temple, who believes not in him. If Chriſt; neither can he be his Temple, who believes not Chriſt to be God. If the Holy Ghoſt; ſeeing the Three are One, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an Enemy to the Father or the Son? As the Holy Ghoſt is here plainly ſtiled God, ſo every true Chriſtian is ſaid to be the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt, as God: And Temples being for the Worſhip of God, it may be concluded, that according to *Cyprian*, the Holy Ghoſt was then worſhipped in all his living Temples as God.

At the ſame time with *Cyprian* lived thoſe two ſhining Lights of the *Aſiatick* Church, *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Gregory* of *Neo-Cæſarea*, from his Power in working Miracles ſirnamed *Thaumaturgus*. Of both theſe St. *Baſil* [a] teſtifies, that in their Prayers and Books, they were always wont to uſe this *Doxology*, *To God the Father, and his Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Holy Ghoſt, be Glory and Dominion for ever and ever.*

And this is the *Doxology* that moſt commonly occurs in the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, which though I do not with a late Author take for an inſpired Writing, nor for the genuine Work of *Clemens Romanus*, yet I believe it to be a very good Collection of the Rituals and Liturgy of the antient Church, for the three firſt Ages, and not infected with thoſe pernicious Principles of *Arianiſm*, which ſome would fain father upon him, who pervert his Words, as they do the other *Ante-Nicene* Writers, from their proper Meaning to an heretical Senſe. This Author, I ſay, commonly uſes that *Doxology*, which is ſo much commended by St. *Baſil*, as expreſſing the true Worſhip of the Holy Trinity. Of which I ſhall give a few Inſtances out of his eighth Book, which is a Collection of the Forms of Prayer uſed in the antient Service. In the 12th Chapter of that Book the Oblation Prayer is thus concluded: *We beſeech thee to gather us into the Kingdom of thy Chriſt, the God of the whole Nature of Things both Viſible and Inviſible, and our King: For to thee belongs all Glory, and Worſhip, and Thankſgiving, and Honour, and Adoration, the Father, and the Son; and the Holy Ghoſt, now and for ever, throughout all Ages World without End.* In the 13th Chapter, the Prayer after Conſecration ends in the ſame manner: *By thy Chriſt, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be Glory, Honour, and Praiſe, Doxology and Thankſgiving for ever and ever.* In the ſame Chapter all the People ſing this Hymn to Chriſt: *There is one Holy, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Bleſſed for ever, to the Glory of God the Father. Glory be to God on High, and on Earth, Peace, Good-will towards Men. Hoſanna to the Son of* David: *Bleſſed be God the Lord, who came in the Name of the Lord, and was manifeſted unto us: Hoſanna in the higheſt.* In the 14th Chapter, after the Communion the Deacon ſays, προσευξώμεθα, *Let us commend ourſelves to God, the only unbegotten God, and to his Chriſt.* Now the προσευχὰς or Commendations, were one ſort of Prayers, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [*]. Then the Biſhop makes a Thankſgiving in the 15th Chapter, which he concludes in theſe Words: *By Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt be Glory, Honour and Adoration, now and for ever.* Amen. And in his Invocation in the ſame Chapter, he ſays, *To thee and thy Son Jeſus, thy Chriſt, our Lord, and God, and King, and to the Holy Ghoſt, be Glory, Praiſe, Majeſty, Worſhip and Adoration, now and for ever, World without End.* Amen. There are many other ſuch *Doxologies* in other Prayers [b] throughout this Book, which I need not here repeat. For if theſe be not plain Inſtances of the Worſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, together with the Father and the Son, it is hard to ſay, what Words can expreſs it.

SECT. V. *In what Senſe all Prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father.*

Now then, by all this we may interpret the Meaning of that *African* Canon, which orders all Prayers at the Altar to be directed to the Father [c]. For that was not intended to exclude the Worſhip of the Son and Holy Ghoſt together with the Father; for the Hymns and *Doxologies* beforementioned, which were uſed at the Altar, plainly ſhew the contrary: But it was deſigned, that when the Sacrifice of Chriſt was commemorated, he ſhould be conſidered as the great Mediator, by whoſe Sacrifice we apply to the Father, and have Acceſs by his Merits and Interceſſion to the Throne of Grace and Mercy. And therefore all Prayers at the Altar are ordered to be directed to the Father in his Name: Which very Application was a Worſhip of the Son as Mediator, and an Honour peculiar to him, and incommunicable to any Creature. In other Prayers direct Applications were made to the Son, as we have ſeen before in that of the *Conſtitutions* [d] for the Diſpoſſeſſing of Devils: And in theſe

[z] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 203. Si baptizari quis apud Hæreticos potuit, utique & remiſſam peccatorum conſequi potuit. Si peccatorum remiſſam conſecutus eſt, & ſanctificatus eſt, & templum Dei factus eſt. Quæro, Cujus Dei? Si Creatoris; non potuit qui in eum non credidit. Si Chriſti; nec hujus fieri poteſt templum, qui negat Deum Chriſtum. Si Spiritus Sancti; cum tres unum ſint, quomodo Spiritus S. placatus ei eſſe poteſt, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus eſt? [a] Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29.
[*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* III. *n.* 29. [b] Vid. Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 29, 37, 38, 39, 41. [c] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 23. [d] Conſt. lib. 8. cap.

Prayers at the Altar, the Glorification was in common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. Whence *Fulgentius*, who was an *African* Biſhop, and therefore may be preſumed to underſtand the Meaning of the *African* Canons, tells us [e], that all Worſhip and Adoration of Honour and Sacrifice was equally given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, that is, to the Holy Trinity, by the Catholick Church; and that it was no Prejudice to the Son or the Holy Ghoſt, that the Miniſter at the Altar directed the Prayers to the Perſon of the Father. For in the End of them, the Names of the Son and Holy Spirit were always expreſſed; and that ſhewed, that there was no Difference in the Holy Trinity: Becauſe when the Words were only directed to the Perſon of the Father, yet the whole Trinity was honoured by the Faith of the true Believer; and whilſt the Intention of the Sacrifice was more peculiarly fixed upon the Father, the Sacrifice it ſelf was by one and the ſame Act offered to the whole Trinity. From all which it is evident to a Demonſtration, that the Three Perſons of the Holy Trinity were always the Object of Divine Adoration from the firſt Foundation of the Chriſtian Church, and that the giving of Divine Honour to the Son and Holy Ghoſt, as God, was not the Invention or Addition of any later Ages.

CHAP. III.

That in the antient Church religious Worſhip was given to no Creature, Saint or Angel, but to God alone.

SECT. I.

This Poſition proved firſt from their general Declarations againſt giving Religious Worſhip to any Creature.

IT has been obſerved in the foregoing Chapter, that the Worſhip of Chriſt in the Primitive Church was eſteemed a good Argument of his Divinity, becauſe it was then an undoubted Principle, that no Creature, how excellent ſoever, was to be worſhipped with Religious Worſhip, but only the living and true God. And an *Arian* or a *Socinian* can never anſwer or evade this Argument from Antiquity, ſo long as both theſe Aſſertions ſtand good, that Chriſt was worſhipped with Religious Worſhip, and that nothing is to be worſhipped with Religious Worſhip but only the living and true God. The Force of this Argument has been much weakened and indeed wholly enervated and deſtroyed by the Writers of the *Romiſh* Church, in whoſe Mouths the Argument ſignifies nothing to an *Arian* or *Socinian*, becauſe their own Practice, in giving Religious Worſhip to Saints and Angels, is a ſufficient Anſwer to it. For upon Suppoſition that Saints and Angels may be worſhipped, the Worſhip of Chriſt can be no Argument of his Divinity, no more than it is of the Divinity of Saints or Angels, becauſe they are worſhipped in the *Romiſh* Church. But upon the Principles of the Primitive Church the Argument is unanſwerable: For at the ſame time that they aſſerted the Worſhip of Chriſt, they aſſerted likewiſe, that Religious Worſhip was not to be given to any Creature, but to God alone: And in this View, the Argument for Chriſt's Divinity was very Rational and Solid. As therefore we have ſeen the Truth of the firſt Poſition, That Chriſt was religiouſly worſhipped in the Primitive Church, made good from their undeniable Aſſertions and Practice: So now we will a little examine the Truth of the ſecond, That nothing is to be religiouſly worſhipped but only the living and true God. Which Poſition is deſigned to be handled here, only as an Illuſtration and Confirmation of the Argument for the Divinity of Chriſt, drawn from the Practice of the Primitive Church in giving religious Adoration to him. And the Truth of this Propoſition I ſhall confirm briefly theſe three Ways. 1. By ſhewing in general, that the Ancients declare univerſally againſt giving religious Worſhip or Adoration to any Creature, or Being, which by Nature is not God. 2. That in particular they rejected the Worſhip of Saints and Angels as Idolatry and Unlawful. 3. That there is no mention made of it but in the Practice either of Hereticks or Heathens, whoſe Idolatry is aggravated upon the account of this Practice. In the firſt Place it is obſervable, that the Ancients in general declare againſt giving religious Worſhip to any Creature, or Being, which by Nature is not God. It would fill a whole Volume to cite all that is ſaid by the Ancients upon this Head, therefore I ſhall content my ſelf to ſelect a few plain Paſſages out of an infinite Number that might be alledged to this purpoſe. *Juſtin Martyr* [a] often tells the Emperors in his Apology, that Chriſtians could worſhip none but God alone: And that Chriſt had taught them ſo, in ſaying, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and*

[e] Fulgent. ad Monimum, lib. 2. cap. 5. Omne cujuſlibet Honorificentiæ & ſacrificii ſalutaris obſequium, & Patri & Filio & Spiritui Sancto, hoc eſt, Sanctæ Trinitati ab Eccleſia Catholica pariter exhiberi.——Neque enim præjudicium Filio vel Sancto Spiritui comparatur, dum ad Patris Perſonam precatio ab offerente dirigitur. Cujus conſummatio dum Filii & Spiritus Sancti complectitur nomen, oſtendet nullum eſſe in Trinitate diſcrimen. Quia dum ad ſolius Patris Perſonam ſermo dirigitur, bene credentis fide tota Trinitas honoratur: & cum ad Patrem litantis deſtinatur intentio, Sacrificii munus omni Trinitati uno eodemque offertur Litantis officio.

[a] Juſt. Apol. 2. p. 63. τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, &c. It. p. 64. Ὅτιν Θεὸν μόνον προσκυνεῖμεν, &c.

him only ſhalt thou ſerve with all thy Heart and with all thy Strength, the Lord God that made thee; and again in ſaying, *Render to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's, *and to* God *the things that are* God's. Therefore we worſhip God alone, but in all other Things we chearfully ſerve you. In like manner *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*: I will Honour the King, ſays he, not by worſhipping him, but praying for him. But I will worſhip God, the living and true God, knowing, that by him the King is ordained. You will ſay then, why do you not worſhip the King? Becauſe he is not made to be worſhipped, but to be honoured with lawful Honour. For he is not a God, but a Man. And as he will not ſuffer any other to aſſume the Title of King but himſelf; ſo neither is it lawful [b] to worſhip any other but God alone. In another Place [c] he ſays, God's Laws forbid not only the worſhip of Idols, but all other Creatures, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, Heaven Earth, and Sea; and command the worſhip of the true God alone, who is the Creator of all Things. After the ſame manner *Tertullian* ſpeaking of the Chriſtians Prayers for the Emperors and the Peace of the World [d], ſays, they asked theſe Things of the living and true God, and they could ask them of no other but him, of whom they were ſure to obtain them, becauſe he alone was able to give them. And he repeats the ſame in ſeveral [e] other Places of his Writings. This was the Anſwer which the Martyrs commonly gave to the perſecuting Judges, when they ſollicited them to worſhip other Gods. When *Fructuoſus* (a *Spaniſh* Biſhop and Martyr, who ſuffered at *Tarragone* about the Year 262.) was commanded to ſacrifice, he replied, I only worſhip one God [f] the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things that are therein. And ſo *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* anſwered *Æmylian* the Prefect, as he himſelf tells us in an Epiſtle recorded by *Euſebius* [g], I have publickly teſtified, ſays he, that I worſhip none but the true God alone, neither can I ever depart from this Practice, or ceaſe to be a Chriſtian. And when *Æmylian* urged him farther to worſhip the Gods of the Empire together with his own God, his Anſwer was ſtill the ſame, We worſhip him and no other. There are many the like Expreſſions in *Irenæus* [h], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [i], *Origen* [k], *Cyprian* [l], *Lactantius* [m], the Author of the Recognitions under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* [n], *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, and others: Which becauſe the learned Reader may have recourſe to himſelf, or read them collected together in one View in that excellent Book of Mr. *Daille* [o] againſt the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, I ſhall here omit them, and proceed

SECT. II.

Secondly, From their denying the Worſhip of Saints and Angels in particular, and condemning it as Idolatry.

To the ſecond Obſervation; which is, that the Ancients not only in general reject the Worſhip of any Creature, but reject the Worſhip of Saints and Angels in particular, as Idolatry and unlawful. And of this we cannot have a plainer Proof, than was given in the Anſwer of the Church of *Smyrna* to the Suggeſtion of the *Jews*, when at the Martyrdom of *Polycarp* the *Jews* deſired the Heathen Judge, that he would not permit the Chriſtians to carry off the Body of *Polycarp*, leſt they ſhould leave their crucified Maſter, and begin to worſhip this Man in his ſtead: This Suggeſtion, ſays the Anſwer, proceeded purely from Ignorance, that we could neither forſake Chriſt, nor worſhip any [p] other. For we worſhip him, as being the Son of God: But the Martyrs, as the Diſciples and Followers of the Lord, we love with a due Affection, for their great Love of their own King and Maſter; with whom we deſire to be Partners and Fellow-Diſciples. A like Anſwer was given at the Martyrdom of *Fructuoſus* in *Spain*. For when the Judge asked *Eulogius* his Deacon, whether he would not worſhip *Fructuoſus?* as thinking, that he who refuſed to worſhip the Heathen Idols, might yet perhaps be inclined to worſhip a Chriſtian Martyr: To this *Eulogius* plainly replied, I do not worſhip [q] *Fructuoſus*, but I worſhip him whom *Fructuoſus* worſhips. We are beholden to *Baronius* himſelf for this Teſtimony: And we cannot deſire a clearer Evidence, that in thoſe early times the Chriſtians did not worſhip the Martyrs, but only the God of the Martyrs, to whom the Martyrs offered their own Bodies in Sacrifice, whilſt they died for his Name, and ſealed their Confeſſion with their Blood. Before this, *Origen* in his Anſwers to *Celſus* poſitively denies that ever the *Jews* or Chriſtians gave any religious Worſhip to Angels. He ſays they are miniſtring Spirits, that bring the Gifts of God to us, but there is no Command in Scripture to worſhip [r] or adore them. For all Prayers, Supplications, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks are to be ſent up to God by the great High-Prieſt, the living Word of God, who is ſuperi-

[b] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 1. p. 30. οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἀξίον ὄντι προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ Θεῷ. [c] Id. lib. 2. p. 173. Μοιῶ τοῦ ὅλως Θεῷ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων χρὴ λατρεύειν. [d] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. Nos pro ſalute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum.——Hæc ab alio orare non poſſum, quàm a quo me ſcio conſecuturum, quoniam & ipſe eſt qui ſolus præſtat. &c. [e] Tertul. Scorpiac. cap. 4. Præſcribitur mihi, ne quem alium adorem, aut quoquomodo venerer, præter unicum illum, qui ita mandat. Vid. Apol. cap. 17. & ad Scapulam, cap. 2. [f] Acta Fructuoſi. ap. Baron. an. 262. n. 60. Ego Unum Deum colo, qui fecit cœlum & terram, & omnia quæ in eis ſunt. [g] Dionyſ. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 11. τὸν Θεὸν ὅτι τὰ μόνον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον σέβω. [h] Iren. lib. 5. cap. 22. [i] Clem. Strom. 6. p. 825. [k] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 2. p. 10. lib. 8. p. 395. & paſſim. [l] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 68. It. ad Demetrian. p. 187. [m] Lactant. lib. 2. cap. 1. lib. c. 6. lib. 4. c. 14. [n] Recognit. lib. 5. n. 16. [o] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Religioſi. lib. 1. cap. 2, 3, 4. [p] Martyr. Polycarp. ap. Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 134. [q] Acta Fructuoſi ap. Baron. an. 262. n. 62. Ego Fructuoſum non colo, ſed ipſum colo, quem & Fructuoſus. Vid. Aug. Serm. 101. de Diverſis, p. 571. [r] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 5. p. 233. οὐκ ὥσε προστάσεσθαι ἡμῖν τοὺς διακονοῦντας —— σέβειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, &c.

or to all Angels. He ſays again [*s*] allowing what *Celſus* pleaded to be true, that the Angels were God's Heralds and heavenly Meſſengers: Yet ſtill the Heralds and Meſſengers were not to be worſhipped, but he whoſe Heralds and Meſſengers they were. He repeats this frequently in his eighth Book in ſeveral Places [*t*], which for Brevity's ſake I here omit, only reciting one Paſſage more, becauſe it ſo handſomly meets with that common Pretence of the *Romaniſts*, that we are to worſhip Angels, becauſe they are the Friends of God. We muſt endeavour, ſays he [*u*], to pleaſe God alone, who is above all Things, and labour to have him propitious unto us, procuring his Good-will with Piety and all kind of Virtue. And if *Celſus* will yet have us to procure the Good-will of any others, after him that is God over all: Let him conſider, that as when the Body is moved, the Shadow follows its Motion; ſo in like manner, when we have God, who is over all, favourable unto us, it follows, that we ſhall have all his Friends, both Angels, and Souls, and Spirits favourable unto us alſo. For they have a Fellow-feeling with them, that are thought worthy to find Favour from God. Neither are they only favourable to ſuch as are thus worthy, but they labour with them alſo that are willing to worſhip God over all, and are friendly to them, and ſympathize with them, and pray with them. So that we may be bold to ſay, that when Men, who with Reſolution propoſe unto themſelves the beſt Things, do pray unto God, many thouſands of the ſacred Powers pray together with them unſpoken to, ἀκλήτοις, without any Invocation. A like Anſwer is given to the ſame Pretence by the Author under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*. Men are wont, ſays he [*x*], when they are aſhamed of their neglecting of God, to uſe this miſerable Excuſe; that by theſe they might go to God, as by Officers we go to the King. To which he anſwers, Is any Man ſo mad, or ſo unmindful of his Salvation, as to give the King's Honour to an Officer; when if any ſhall be found but to treat of ſuch a Matter, they will be juſtly condemned as guilty of High Treaſon? And yet theſe Men think themſelves not guilty, who give the Honour of God's Name to a Creature, and forſaking the Lord adore their Fellow-ſervants; as though there were any Thing more that could be reſerved to God. For therefore Men go to the King by Tribunes or Officers, becauſe the King is but a Man, and knows not with whom he may entruſt the Affairs of the Commonwealth. But to obtain the Favour of God, (from whom nothing is hid, for he knows the Merits of all Men) we have no need of an Advocate or Spokeſ-man, but only a devout Mind. For whereſoever ſuch an one ſhall ſpeak unto him, he will anſwer him. We have heard before out of *Irenæus* [*y*], that the Church in his time, though ſhe wrought many Miracles for the Benefit of Men, yet did nothing by Invocation of Angels, but only by Prayer to God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And that thus it continued to be in the time of *Athanaſius*, appears plainly from his way of diſputing with the *Arians*, when he proves the Unity of the Father and Son from the Apoſtle's joining them together in Prayer, 1 *Theſſ.* iii. 11. *God himſelf and our Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt direct our way unto you.* No Man, ſays he [*z*], would pray to receive any thing from the Father and the Angels, or from any other of the Creatures: Neither would any Man ſay, God and the Angel give me this. And whereas the *Arian* might have ſaid, that *Jacob* joined God and the Angel together in Prayer, *Gen.* xlviii. 16. *Athanaſius* obviates this Exception, by ſaying, he did not join one of the created Angels, who are Angels by Nature, with God who was their Creator; neither did he, omitting God that fed him, deſire a Bleſſing from an Angel upon his Children: But in ſaying, The Angel which redeemed me from all Evil, he ſhew'd that it was not any of the created Angels, but the Word of God, whom he joined with the Father and prayed unto him. There had been no Force in this Argument, had the Church uſed Invocation of Angels in her Prayers in the time of *Athanaſius:* The *Arian* might eaſily have replied, that his Argument was refuted by Experience in the Church's daily Practice. But that neither Men nor Angels were the Object of religious Adoration in his time, appears farther from another Diſcourſe of his againſt [*a*] the *Arians*, where he argues thus: *Peter* the Apoſtle did forbid *Cornelius*, when he would have worſhipped him, ſaying, *I my ſelf am alſo a Man*, Acts x. 26. And the Angel likewiſe did forbid *John*, when he would have worſhipped him in the *Revelations*, ſaying, *See thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-ſervant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them who keep the Sayings of this Book: Worſhip God.* Rev. xxii. 9. Wherefore it belongs to God only to be worſhipped. And this the Angels very well know, that though they excel others in Glory, yet they are all but Creatures, and not in the Number of thoſe that are to be worſhipped, but of thoſe that worſhip the Lord. We cannot have clearer Evidences than theſe either of the Church's Doctrine or Practice: Both which are equally atteſted by St. *Auſtin* in his Book of true

[*s*] Orig. ibid. p. 239. [*t*] Lib. 8. p. 400. 416.

[*u*] Orig. lib. 8. p. 420. [*x*] Ambroſ. in Rom. 1. Solent tamen pudorem paſſi neglecti Dei, miſera uti excuſatione, dicentes, per iſtos poſſe ire ad Deum, ſicut per Comites pervenitur ad Regem. Age, nunquid tam demens eſt aliquis, aut ſalutis ſuæ immemor, ut honorificentiam Regis vindicet Comiti; cum de hac re ſi qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur Majeſtatis? Et iſti ſe non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt Creaturæ, & relicto Domino conſervos adorant; quaſi ſit aliquid plus quod ſervetur Deo. Nam & ideo ad Regem per Tribunos aut Comites itur, quia Homo utique eſt Rex, & neſciat quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum (ante quem nihil latet, omnium enim merita novit) promerendum ſuffragatore non opus eſt, ſed mente devota. [*y*] Iren. lib. 2. c. 57. Nec invocationibus Angelicis facit, nec Incantationibus, &c.

[*z*] Athan. Orat. 4. cont. Arian. T. 1. p. 464. [*a*] Athan. Orat. 3. cont. Arian. p. 394.

Religion: Where he makes it a diſtinguiſhing Character and Property of true Religion to worſhip no ſort of Creature, particularly neither Angels, nor Saints after Death, but the Sovereign Majeſty of God alone. Let not our Religion [b], ſays he, conſiſt in the worſhip of dead Men: Becauſe if they lived piouſly, they are not eſteemed ſuch as would deſire that kind of Honour; but would have Him to be worſhipped by us, by whoſe Illumination they rejoice to have us Partners with them in their Merit. They are therefore to be honoured for Imitation, not to be worſhipped for Religion. A little after he ſays, that which the higheſt Angel worſhips, the ſame is to be worſhipped by the meaneſt Man. And this we are to believe, that the very greateſt of Angels, and moſt excellent Miniſters of God, would have us worſhip one God with them. And therefore we honour Angels with Love, not with religious Service: Neither do we build Temples to them; for they deſire not to be ſo honoured by us; becauſe they know, that we our ſelves, when we are good, are the Temples of the Moſt High God. And therefore it is well recorded, that the Angel forbad the Man to worſhip him, and bid him worſhip God, under whom he was his Fellow-ſervant, *Rev.* xxii. 9.

'Tis true indeed the *Manichees* about this time began to charge the *Catholicks* with worſhipping their Martyrs: *Fauſtus* objected to them, that they had only exchanged the Heathen Idols for Martyrs, whom they worſhipped with the ſame Devotions, offering Sacrifice of Wine and Meats to the Ghoſts and Shades of dead Men. Had this been a true Charge, tho' it could not have affected the Argument, as drawn from the Practice of the Church in former Ages, yet it would have proved the Corruption of Saint-worſhip to have crept a little earlier into the Church, than will now be allowed. But the truth of the Matter is, it was a mere Calumny of *Fauſtus*'s own inventing; and St. *Auſtin* rejects it with the utmoſt Scorn and Indignation. Therefore he ſays [c] in anſwer to it, that the Chriſtian People did celebrate the Memories of the Martyrs with religious Solemnity, both to excite themſelves to their Imitation, and to be Partners in their Merits, and to have the Benefit of their Prayers: Yet ſo, as that we never offer any Sacrifice to a Martyr, but to the God of Martyrs, although we erect Altars in the Memories of the Martyrs, meaning Churches called by their Names. For what Prieſt, ſtanding at the Altar in the Places where the holy Bodies lie, ever ſaid, we offer unto thee, *Peter*, or *Paul*, or *Cyprian?* But whatever is offered, is offered unto God that crowned the Martyrs, at the Memories of thoſe whom he crowned, that by the very Admonition of the Places our Affection may riſe higher, to quicken our Love both toward them, whom we may imitate, and toward him who enables us to imitate them. Therefore we worſhip the Martyrs with that worſhip of Love and Society, wherewith we worſhip holy Men of God in this Life, whoſe Heart we perceive to be prepared to ſuffer in like manner for the Goſpel-Truth. But with that Worſhip, which the *Greeks* call *Latria*, and the *Latins* cannot expreſs by one Word, being a Service proper to God, we neither worſhip, nor teach any one to worſhip any other but God alone. And whereas the offering of Sacrifice appertains to this kind of Worſhip, whence it is called Idolatry in thoſe that give it to Idols; we neither offer, nor teach any to offer ſuch Worſhip, either to any Martyr, or any holy Soul, or any Angel; but whoever falls into this Error, is rebuked by ſound Doctrine, either to correct him, or condemn him, or to make him be avoided by others.

It is plain from this Anſwer of St. *Auſtin*'s, that the Charge of giving religious Worſhip to Saints and Angels was falſe, and a mere Calumny upon the Church in thoſe Days; and that the only Perſons then guilty of it, were ſuch as were diſowned and diſcarded by the Church. Which brings me to the third and laſt Conſideration propoſed to confirm this Poſition, That the antient Church did not give religious Worſhip either to Saints or Angels, becauſe ſhe condemned the Practice both in Heathens and Hereticks, and aggravated their Idolatry upon this Account.

SECT. III. *Thirdly, From their charging the Practice of it upon Hereticks and Heathens only.*

ST. *Auſtin* in another Place makes a ſevere Remark upon all ſuch as ſought to Angels by Prayer for their Aſſiſtance: He ſays they were diſtracted with ſtrange Curioſities and Illuſions. Take it in his own Words, as he delivers it in a

[b] Aug. de Vera Relig. cap. 55. tom. 1. p. 317. Non ſit nobis Religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia ſi pie vixerunt, non ſic habentur, ut tales quærant honores: ſed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti ſui nos eſſe conſortes. Honorandi ſunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter Religionem. —— Quod colit ſummus Angelus, id colendum eſt etiam ab homine ultimo. ——— Hoc etiam ipſos optimos Angelos, & excellentiſſima Dei miniſteria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipſis colamus Deum. —— Quare honoramus eos Charitate, non ſervitute. Nec eis templa conſtruimus: Nolunt enim ſe ſic honorari a nobis, &c. [c] Aug. cont. Fauſt. lib. 21. cap. 20. tom. 6. p. 156. Populus Chriſtianus Memorias Martyrum religioſa ſolennitate concelebrat, & ad excitandam imitationem, & ut meritis eorum conſocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: Ita tamen ut nulli Martyrum, ſed ipſi Deo Martyrum Sacrificemus, quamvis in Memoriis (al. in Memorias) Martyrum conſtituamus altaria. Quis enim Antiſtitum in locis ſanctorum corporum aſſiſtens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane? Sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, &c. Colimus ergo Martyres eo cultu Dilectionis & Societatis, quo & in hac vita coluntur ſancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro Evangelica veritate Paſſionem paratum eſſe ſentimus. ——— At vero illo Cultu, quæ Græce Latria dicitur, Latine uno verbo dici non poteſt, cum ſit quædam proprie Divinitati debita ſervitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus niſi unum Deum. Cum autem ad hunc cultum pertineat oblatio Sacrificii, unde Idololatria dicitur eorum, qui hoc etiam Idolis exhibent: Nullo modo tale aliquid offeremus, aut offerendum præcipimus, vel cuiquam Martyri, vel cuiquam ſanctæ animæ, vel cuiquam Angelo; & quiſquis in hunc errorem delabitur, corripitur per ſanam doctrinam, ſive ut corrigatur, ſive ut condemnetur, ſive ut caveatur.

pious

pious Reflection upon his own Happineſs in eſcaping the Snare at his own Converſion, and a thankful Acknowledgment of God's Mercy in delivering him from ſuch a Deluſion. Whom, ſays he, ſhould I have found, that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone unto [*d*] the Angels? With what Prayer? With what Sacraments? Many endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it by themſelves, as I hear, have tried theſe Things; and have faln into the deſire of curious Viſions, and were accounted worthy of Illuſions. St. *Chryſoſtom* has a more ſevere Reflexion on this ſort of Men: For he not only ſays [*e*], that no Creature is to be worſhipped by Man, neither of Things above, nor Things below, whether Man, or Demons, or Angels, or Archangels, or any other ſupernal Powers, put only God the Lord of all: And that the Apoſtle in the ſecond Chapter of his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* diſcourſes againſt ſuch as taught, that Man was to come to God by Angels, and not by Chriſt; for that was too great for him [*f*]: But he adds, in purſuance of the ſame Matter, that it was the Devil [*g*] which introduced this having Recourſe to Angels, whilſt he envyed the Honour of Man. Theſe be the Enchantments of Devils. Tho' it be an Angel, tho' an Archangel, tho' they be Cherubims; endure it not. For neither will theſe Powers themſelves receive it, but reject it, when they ſee their Lord diſhonoured. *I have honoured thee*, ſaid God, *and bid thee call upon me*. And doſt thou then diſhonour him? Where we ſee plainly, that Invocation of God and Invocation of Angels are oppoſed to one another; and as the one is made the Character of true Religion, ſo the other is ſaid to be the Doctrine of Devils.

The Perſons here reflected on by *Chryſoſtom*, were probably the ſame as had been known in the Church, and condemned from the Apoſtles Days as Hereticks, under the Name of *Angelici*, or Angel-worſhippers. For ſo St. *Auſtin* [*h*] deſcribes them, calling them *Angelici*, from their Inclination to worſhip Angels. And ſo *Iſidore* [*i*] after him. *Irenæus* [*k*] ſeems to inſinuate that Hereticks were wont to invocate Angels, when he oppoſes the Church's Practice to them, telling them, that many Miracles were wrought in the Church, not by Invocation of Angels, but by Prayer to God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And *Tertullian* [*l*] ſays expreſly of the Followers of *Simon Magus*, That they worſhipped Angels in the exerciſe of their Magical Art, which Idolatry was condemned by St. *Peter* in their firſt Founder. Now there being ſuch Foot-ſteps of Angel-worſhip in the Practice of ſo many Hereſies; and it being a Thing that ſome were fond of, becauſe it had a ſhew of Humility in it: The Council of *Laodicea*, to prevent the growing Malady, made a ſevere Canon under the Denunciation of *Anathema* to reſtrain it. Chriſtians, ſay they [*m*], ought not to forſake the Church of God, and go aſide, and hold Conventicles, to invocate or call upon the Names of Angels. Which Things are forbidden. If any one therefore be found to exerciſe himſelf in this private Idolatry, *Let him be accurſed*; becauſe he hath forſaken our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, and gone over to Idolatry. The firſt Publiſhers of this Canon in the *Latin* Editions, changed the Word *Angelos* into *Angulos*, Corners inſtead of Angels: But the *Greek* admits of no ſuch Corruption, and therefore the Fraud is eaſily diſcovered; and nothing but the ſhame of ſeeing their Practice ſo plainly condemned in this Canon, could have induced any Men to have attempted ſuch a childiſh Corruption. *Theodoret* in his *Comment* upon the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* has Occaſion twice to mention this Canon. Where he ſays, That becauſe ſome in the Apoſtles Days commanded Men to worſhip Angels, therefore the Apoſtle enjoined [*n*] the contrary, that they ſhould adorn their Words and Deeds with the Commemoration of the Lord Chriſt, and ſend up Thankſgiving to God and the Father by him, and not by the Angels. And that the Synod of *Laodicea* following this Rule, and deſiring to heal that old Diſeaſe, made a Law that Men ſhould not pray to Angels, nor forſake our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And again [*o*], This Vice continued in *Phrygia* and *Piſidia* for a long time, for which Cauſe alſo the Synod aſſembled in *Laodicea*, the chief City in *Phrygia*, made a Law to prohibit praying to Angels. But yet even to this Day among them and their Neighbours there are Oratories of St. *Michael* to be ſeen. Cardinal *Perron* uſes a great deal of Art and Sophiſtry to pervert the Senſe of the Apoſtle and this Canon together, which the Reader may find ſufficiently expoſed and refuted by the learned *Daille* [*p*], with the falſe Gloſſes of *Petavius* and others, with which I ſhall not trouble this Diſcourſe. I only obſerve farther, that as the Church condemned Hereticks as guilty of Idolatry for worſhipping of Angels, ſo did ſhe likewiſe for worſhipping of their Leaders and Martyrs. *Apollonius*, who wrote againſt the *Montaniſts*, objects it to them, that they worſhipped one *Alexander* a Martyr among them [*q*]. And St. *Auſtin* reckons it among the Errors of

[*d*] Aug. Confeſs. lib. 10. cap. 42. Quem invenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundem mihi fuit ad Angelos? Qua prece? Quibus Sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per ſeipſos valentes, ſicut audio, tentaverunt hæc; & inciderunt in deſiderium curioſarum Viſionum, & digni habiti ſunt illuſionibus.

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 5. in Coloſ. p. 1348. [*f*] Hom. 7. in Col. p. 1360. [*g*] Hom. 9. in Col. p. 1381. Ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισήγαγε, βασκαίνων ἡμῖν τῆς τιμῆς. τῶν δαιμόνων τοιοῦτα αἱ ἐπῳδαί, &c.

[*h*] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 39. Angelici, in Angelorum cultu inclinati. [*i*] Iſidor. Origin. lib. 8. cap. 5. Angelici vocati, quia Angelos colunt. [*k*] Iren. lib. 2. cap. 57. [*l*] Tertul. de Præſcrip. cap. 33. Simonianæ autem Magiæ diſciplina Angelis ſerviens, utique & ipſa inter Idololatrias deputabatur, & a Petro Apoſtolo in ipſo Simone damnabatur. [*m*] Conc. Laodic. can. 35. ὁ δεῖ Χριστιανὸς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν, καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν, &c. [*n*] Theod. in Col. 3. [*o*] Theod. in Col. 2. [*p*] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. relig. lib. 3. cap. 31. [*q*] Apollon. ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 18.

Simon

Simon Magus, [r] that he left his own Image and the Image of his Harlot *Selene* to his Disciples, to be worshipped by them. They objected the same to the Heathen, that they worshipped such Gods as were only Men, and dead Men: As may be seen in all the Apologies made by *Minucius Felix* [s], *Tertullian* [t], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [u], *Arnobius* [x], *Cyprian* [y], and the rest that wrote against them: Which had been a very weak Argument, and easily retorted, had Christians worshipped their Martyrs, whom they could not deny to be mortal Men. The Heathens farther pretended, that their Demons, or Gods whom they worshipped, were good Angels, and worshipped only as the Ministers of the Supreme God, and Attendants of the Court of Heaven. Notwithstanding which Pretence, they charge them with Idolatry, as giving the Worship of God to the Creature. He that would see this Argument managed to just Advantage, may consult the learned Discourses of Mr. *Dalle* [z] and Bishop *Stillingfleet* [a], where he will find the Pretences of the Heathen, and the Answers of the Christians collected and set in their proper Light. I shall only detain my Reader with one Citation out of St. *Austin*, as a Specimen of all the rest, where he introduces the Heathen making this Apology for themselves; We do not worship wicked Devils, say they; 'tis the Angels you speak of, that we worship [b], the Powers of the great God, the Ministers of the great God. To which St. *Austin* answers, I wish you would worship them, for they would quickly teach you, that they are not to be worshipped. Hear the Instruction of an Angel. He taught a certain Disciple of Christ, and shewed him many Miracles in the *Revelations* of St. *John*. Who having seen a certain Miracle in a Vision, was astonished, and cast himself down at the Feet of the Angel. But the Angel, who sought nothing but the Glory of his Lord, said, Arise, What dost thou? Worship God: For I am thy Fellow-servant, and of thy Brethren. How is it then, my Brethren? Let no one say, I fear lest the Angel should be angry at me, if I do not worship him for my God. He is then only angry at thee, when thou art inclined to worship him. For he is good and loves God: And as the Devils are angry, if they be not worshipped; so the Angels are highly displeased, if they be worshipped instead of God. At last he concludes with this Admonition to the *Pagans:* Let the *Pagans* learn to adore God. They have a Mind to adore Angels: Let them imitate Angels, and adore him whom the Angels adore [c]. And with these Words I shall conclude this whole Discourse of Religious Worship, knowing no better Admonition that can be given to the Angel-worshippers of the present Age, than to advise them to imitate the Angelical Practice of the Primitive Church, who had God, and only God, for the Object of their Adoration.

CHAP. IV.

That antiently Divine Service was always performed in the Vulgar Tongue, understood by the People.

SECT. I. *This proved 1st from plain Testimonies of the Ancients asserting it.*

HAVING thus considered the Nature and Object of Christian Worship, I come now to speak of the Circumstances and Manner of performing Divine Service. And here it will be proper to examine in what Language the Ancients performed their Worship; and to enquire into the Use and Original of what we commonly call *Liturgies*, or set Forms of Prayer; and to take Notice of the Habits and Modes, and Gestures, and different Rites and Ceremonies observed without any Breach of Faith or Christian Unity in different Churches; together with the solemn Times of Prayer and religious Assemblies, whether weekly or daily, generally observed and set a-part for the Exercise of publick Devotion.

As to the first of these, there is nothing more certain in History, than that the Service of the antient Church was always performed in the vulgar or common Language of every Country, that is, such as was either commonly spoken, or at least commonly understood. And so it continued for above a thousand Years in the Church. And it is even monstrous to think, that in so inquisitive an Age as the present is, there should

[r] Aug. de Hæres. cap. 1. Imagineſque & ſuam & ejuſdem Meretricis diſcipulis ſuis præbebat adorandas. [s] Minuc. Dial. p. 88. [t] Tertul. Apol. cap. 10, 12, 29. [u] Clem. Protreptic. p. 26. [x] Arnob. lib. 1. p. 32. [y] Cyprian. de Idol. Vanit. p. 11. [z] Dallæ. de Cultu Relig. lib. 3. cap. 25. [a] Stilling. *Defence of the Discourse of Idol.* Part. 1. cap. 1. [b] Aug. in Pſalm. 96. t. 8. p. 445. Reſpondent: Non colimus mala Dæmonia; Angelos quos dicitis, ipſos & nos colimus, Virtutes Dei magni, & Miniſteria Dei magni. Utinam ipſos colere velletis, facile ab ipſis diſceretis non illos colere. Audite Angelum Doctorem. Docebat quendam Diſcipulum Chriſti, & oſtendebat illi multa miracula in Apocalypſi Joannis. Ille autem quodam ſibi demonſtrato miraculo Viſionis expavit, & miſit ſe ad pedes Angeli. Et ille Angelus, qui non quærebat niſi gloriam Domini ſui, Surge, quid facis, inquit, illum adora: Nam & ego Conſervus tuus ſum, & fratrum tuorum. Quid ergo fratres mei? Nemo dicat, Timeo ne iraſcatur mihi Angelus, ſi non illum colo pro Deo meo. Tunc tibi iraſcitur, quando ipſum colere volueris. Bonus eſt enim, & Deum amat. Quomodo enim Dæmones iraſcuntur, ſi non colantur: Sic Angeli indignantur, ſi pro Deo colantur. [c] Ibid. Diſcant Pagani adorare Deum. Angelos volunt adorare: Angelos imitentur, & illum adorent qui ab Angelis adoratur.

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be any Men of Learning to defend, or whole Nations ſo tamely to ſubmit to, the Impoſition and Tyranny of the contrary Practice; ſo abſurd and unreaſonable in it ſelf; ſo prejudicial to Devotion; ſo contrary to the Uſe of Speech, whoſe End is Edification; ſo reproachful to human Nature, as if Men were Aſſes indeed, as *Thomas Aquinas* once made the Compariſon; ſo derogatory to the Chriſtians Birth-right; ſo flatly contradictory to the Apoſtle's Reaſoning; and ſo diametrically oppoſite to the univerſal Practice of the Church for ſo many Ages. But I ſhall not think my ſelf obliged to diſpute againſt it upon all theſe Topicks, nor to ſay all that might be ſaid in an hiſtorical Way againſt it. He that pleaſes may ſee that done already in an excellent Book [*a*] of Biſhop *Uſher*'s, publiſhed by Mr. *Wharton*. I ſhall content my ſelf to ſuggeſt a few Things agreeable to the Deſign of treating Matters ſuccinctly, which will be ſufficient to ſatisfy any candid Reader as to the Senſe and Practice of the Primitive Church.

And firſt I obſerve, that the Ancients declare unanimouſly, That Divine Service was performed in the vulgar Tongue of every Nation. The *Grecians*, ſays *Origen* [*b*], uſe the *Greek* Language in their Prayers, and the *Romans* the *Roman*, and ſo every one in his own Dialect prays to God, and gives Thanks as he is able: And the God of all Languages hears them that pray in all Dialects, underſtanding their different Languages as well as if they all ſpake with one Tongue. This he ſays in anſwer to an Objection of *Celſus*, who charged them with uſing of barbarous and unintelligible Names and Words in their Prayers. *Juſtin Martyr* ſays [*c*], The Scriptures were firſt read in their Aſſemblies to the People, and then the Preſident made a Diſcourſe to them, exhorting them to obſerve and follow the good Inſtructions they had heard out of the Prophets and Apoſtles. Which had been an abſurd Admonition, had not the Leſſons been read in a Language which they underſtood. St. *Jerom* tells us [*d*], That at the Funeral of the famous Lady *Paula*, the Pſalms were ſung in *Syriack*, *Greek* and *Latin*, becauſe there were Men of each Language preſent at the Solemnity. And for the ſame Reaſon *Cæſarius* Biſhop of *Arles* is ſaid [*e*] to have appointed the People to ſing the Pſalms and Hymns, ſome in *Greek*, and ſome in *Latin*: No doubt, that the Divine Service might be underſtood by Men of different Languages then preſent in the Aſſembly. *Aurelius Caſſidore* writing upon thoſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *She ſhall be brought unto the King in Raiment of divers Colours*, ſays, this Variety ſignified [*f*] that Diverſity of Tongues, wherewith every Nation ſang to God in the Church, according to the Difference of their own Country Language. And it being then the way of the Church, that all Offices ſhould be performed with the Underſtanding and Edification of the People, *Juſtinian* provided for this in one of his Laws, obliging all Biſhops [*g*] and Presbyters to repeat the Prayers uſed in the Communion and Baptiſmal Service, not in ſecret, but with an audible Voice, ſo as the Minds of the Hearers might be raiſed to greater Devotion, and ſtirred up to glorifie the Lord God. For ſo the holy Apoſtle directs in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſaying, *If thou bleſſeſt only with the Spirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned, ſay the holy Amen to God at thy giving of Thanks? For he knoweth not what thou ſayeſt. For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.* It is plain by this, that *Juſtinian* thought all Prayers which the People either could not hear, or could not underſtand, were equally blamed by the Apoſtle, as not contributing to Edification; and therefore as he made a Law againſt private Muttering of Prayers, which ought to be publick; ſo he would no doubt have been as ſevere againſt Praying in an unknown Tongue, had there then been any Occaſion (as there was not) for the like Prohibition in the *Liturgy* of the Church. Which may be collected from another of his Laws, which was made upon Occaſion of a Diſpute, which in his Time aroſe among the *Jews*. Some of them, who were ſuperſtitiouſly inclined, were for having the Law read only in *Hebrew*, though not underſtood by the People: Others were for having it read in *Greek*, or any Language which the People underſtood. The Matter at laſt was brought before *Juſtinian*, and he determined in Favour of the latter, that it ſhould be read in *Greek*, or any other Language [*h*], which the Place where they lived had made more uſeful and known to the People. Hitherto therefore we are aſſured, this Corruption had made no Attempt to gain Admittance in the Service of the Chriſtian Church, ſince it was corrected by the Civil Magiſtrate as ſoon as it was obſerved to be creeping into the Jewiſh Synagogue.

SECT. II. *Secondly, From the Peoples joyning in Pſalmody and Prayer, and making their Reſponſes.*

SECONDLY, As a farther Evidence of this Matter, we may obſerve, that all the People antiently were allowed to join in Pſalmody and Prayers, and make their proper Reſponſes. The Learned and Unlearned, nay, even Women,

[*a*] Uſſerij Hiſtoria Dogmatica de Scripturis & Sacris Vernaculis, cum Auctario H. Wharton. Lond. 1690. 4to. [*b*] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 402. Ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οἱ μὲν ἕλληνες ἑλληνικοῖς χρῶνται, οἱ δὲ ῥωμαῖοι ῥωμαϊκοῖς. &c.

[*c*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [*d*] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Græco, Latino, Syroque Sermone Pſalmi in ordine perſonabant.

[*e*] Cyprian. Vit. Cæſar. Arelat. apud Surium. Aug. 27. p. 947. Compulit Laicos & populares homines Pſalmos & Hymnos promere, altaque & modulata voce, inſtar Clericorum, alios Græce, alios Latine, Proſas & Antiphonas decantare, &c. [*f*] Caſſiodor. in Pſal. 44. al. 45. Hic Varietatem aut Linguas multiplices ſignificat; quia omnis Gens ſecundum ſuam Patriam in Eccleſia pſallit Auctori; aut virtutum pulcherrimam diverſitatem.

[*g*] Juſtin. Novel. 137. cap. 6. Jubemus omnes Epiſcopos & Presbyteros, non in Secreto, ſed cum ea voce quæ a fideliſſimo populo exaudiatur, Divinam Oblationem, & Præcationem quæ fit in Sancto Baptiſmate, facere; ut inde audientium animi in majorem devotionem, & Dei Laudationem & Benedictionem efferantur. &c. [*h*] Juſtin. Novel. 146.

young

young Virgins, and Children, in thoſe Times, bear a Part in the publick Service of the Church. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*i*] and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*k*], ſpeak of Children praying with the reſt of the Congregation for the Catechumens and the Faithful alſo. And St. *Jerom* [*l*] ſpeaks of young Virgins ſinging the Pſalter at Morning and Evening, at the third, and ſixth, and ninth Hours, and at Midnight in their Courſe: And ſays, they were obliged to learn the Pſalms, and ſome Portion of Scripture every Day. St. *Baſil* [*m*] and many others (as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we ſpeak of Pſalmody) ſay, all the People ſung the Pſalms alternately: And *Baſil* particularly takes notice [*n*] of Children performing this Office in common with the reſt of the People. And we ſhall meet with the Peoples Prayers and Reſponſes almoſt in every Part of the *Liturgy*, ſuch as the κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord, have mercy*, ſubjoined to every Petition of the Deacon's Prayers; and in thoſe mutual Prayers of Miniſter and People, *The Lord be with you, And with thy Spirit: Lift up your Hearts, We lift them up unto the Lord*; with abundance more that need not here be mentioned. All which ſuppoſe the Service to be in the vulgar and known Language; elſe it were abſurd to think, that the People ſhould know how and when to make their Reſponſes; or that Children and young Virgins ſhould learn the Pſalms and Scripture by Heart, and joyn in Pſalmody and other parts of the Service of the Church.

SECT. III.
Thirdly, From the frequent Exhortations of the Fathers to the People to hear and read and pray with Underſtanding.

Thirdly, THERE is nothing more common among the Ancients in their Diſcourſes to the People, than to admoniſh and exhort them both to hear, and read, and pray with Underſtanding, Attention, and Fervency of Spirit. Which had been very incongruous Admonitions, obliging them to impracticable Rules, had the Leſſons and Prayers been in an unknown Tongue. St. *Baſil* thus exhorts his People [*o*], Thou haſt the Pſalms, thou haſt the Prophets, the Precepts of the Goſpel, the Preachings of the Apoſtles; Let thy Tongue ſing, and thy Mind ſearch the Meaning of what is ſpoken; that thou may'ſt ſing with the Spirit, and ſing with Underſtanding alſo. In another Homily [*p*] he tells them, that the divine Oracles were God's Gifts to the Church, to be read in every Aſſembly, as the Food which the Spirit afforded us for the Nouriſhment of our Souls. And in another Place [*q*] putting the Queſtion, How a Man prays with the Spirit, whilſt his Underſtanding is unfruitful? He anſwers, that this was ſpoken of thoſe that prayed in a Tongue unknown to the Hearers. For the Apoſtle ſays, *If I pray in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit indeed prayeth, but my Underſtanding is unfruitful.* For when the Words of the Prayer are not known to them that are preſent, the Underſtanding of him that prayeth is unfruitful, becauſe his Prayer is of no Uſe or Advantage: But when they that are preſent underſtand the Prayer, which is of Advantage to the Hearers; then he that prays, reaps the Fruit of it, namely, the Edification of thoſe who receive Benefit by it. And we are to conceive in like manner of all Utterance of the Words of God. For it is written, if any be uſeful for Edification in the Faith. By all this it is evident, the Scriptures and Pſalms and Prayers were read in a known Tongue: For otherwiſe it were in vain to exhort Men to give Diligence and Attention to underſtand what they heard, if every Thing was ſpoken in a Language, which they did not, or could not underſtand.

SECT. IV.
Fourthly, From the References made by the Fathers to the Prayers and Leſſons in the Service of the Church.

Fourthly, THE Fathers in their Sermons frequently refer to the Prayers of the Church, and to the Leſſons read before, as things the People were perfectly well acquainted with. They often argue from Matters contained in the Prayers, as *Chryſoſtom* does commonly from all Parts of the *Liturgy:* And their Sermons for the moſt part were upon ſuch Portions of Scripture, as had juſt been read before, as I ſhall ſhew, when I come to the Office of Preaching. Now this ſuppoſes, that both the Prayers and Leſſons of Scripture were in a known Tongue; elſe it were abſurd for the Preachers to appeal to their Auditors as well acquainted with them, or draw Arguments from thence, as Motives grounded upon their own Experience, if yet indeed they had no Knowledge of them.

SECT. V.
Fifthly, From the Scriptures being tranſlated into all Languages from the firſt Foundation of Churches.

Fifthly, THIS is evident from that pious Care, which the Church took to have the Bible tranſlated into all Languages: And as ſoon as any Nation was converted, that ſpake an uncommon Tongue, immediately to procure a new Verſion of the Scriptures into their Language. *Euſebius* [*r*] ſays, they were tranſlated into all Languages both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* throughout the World, and ſtudied by all Nations as the Oracles of God. *Chryſoſtom* aſſures us, that the *Syrians* [*s*], the *Egyptians*, the *Indians*, the *Perſians*, the *Ethiopians*, and a Multitude of other Nations tranſlated them into their own Tongues, whereby *Barbarians*

[*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. in Mat. p. 624. [*k*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 6. [*l*] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Mane, hora tertia, ſexta, nona, Veſpere, Noctis medio, per ordinem Pſalterium cantabant. Nec licebat cuiquam Sororum ignorare Pſalmos, & non de ſcripturis Sanctis quotidie aliquid diſcere. [*m*] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſarienſes. [*n*] Baſil. Procem. in Pſalmos. Venant. Fortunat. lib. 2. Poem. in Laud. Cleri Pariſiaci. Pontificis monitis Clerus, Plebs, pſallit & Infans. [*o*] Baſil. Hom. in Pſal. 28. Serm. 1. t. 1. p. 154. [*p*] Baſil. Hom. in Pſal. 59. p. 253. [*q*] Regul. Brev. Qu. 278. [*r*] Euſeb. de Præpar. Evang. lib. 12. cap. 1. Præſertim de Laud. Conſtant. cap. 17. p. 662. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. in Joan. al. 2. Edit. Savil. t. 2. p. 561.

learned to be Philoſophers, and Women and Children with the greateſt eaſe imbibed the Doctrine of the Goſpel. *Theodoret* [*t*] ſays the ſame, that every Nation under Heaven had the Scripture in their own Tongue: The *Hebrew* Books were not only tranſlated into *Greek*, but into the *Roman*, *Egyptian*, *Perſian*, *Indian*, *Armenian*, *Scythian* and *Sauromatick* Languages, and in a word into all Tongues uſed by all Nations in his Time. The like is atteſted by St. *Jerom* [*u*] and St. *Auſtin* [*x*] and many others. *Ulphilas* is ſaid by all the Hiſtorians [*y*] to have tranſlated the whole Bible into the *Gothick* Tongue. St. *Jerom* tranſlated it into the *Dalmatick*, as he himſelf [*z*] ſeems to intimate, when he calls it his own Tongue; as *Scaliger* and moſt others underſtand him; though Biſhop *Uſher* [*a*] thinks he meant the *Latin* rather by his own Tongue. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*] ſometimes mentions the *Syriack* Tranſlation; and he is ſaid by the Author of his Life [*c*] to have procured, during his Exile at *Cucuſus* in *Armenia*, a Tranſlation of the Pſalms and New Teſtament for the Uſe of the *Armenian* Churches. Not to mention that of *Methodius* or *Cyril* into the *Slavonian* Tongue, or any others of later Ages. Of which the curious Reader may find exact Accounts in Biſhop *Uſher* [*d*], Biſhop *Walton*, [*e*] Dr. *Milles* [*f*], and *Hottinger* [*g*] and others upon this peculiar Subject of the Scripture Verſions.

SECT. VI. *Sixthly, From the Uſe of the Order of Interpreters in the Church.*

As to the antient Practice, it may be evidenced farther and confirmed from the Uſe of Interpreters in the Church; whoſe Office, as has been ſhewed in another Place [*] out of *Epiphanius* [*h*] and other Writers, was to render one Language into another, as there was Occaſion, both in reading the Scriptures, and in the Homilies that were made to the People. For it happened ſometimes that there were Men of different Languages in the ſame Church: As in the Churches of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſome underſtood *Syriack* only, and others *Greek*; and in the *African* Churches, ſome ſpake *Latin* and others *Punick*: In which caſes whatever was ſaid in one Language, was immeately render'd into the other by the Interpreter for the Benefit of the People. In confirmation of which Cuſtom, to what has been ſaid before, I ſhall here add the Obſervation of *Theodoret* [*i*] upon the Practice of *Chryſoſtom*, who by the help of ſuch an Interpreter often preached to the *Arian Goths* in *Conſtantinople*, whom by that means he reduced to the Catholick Faith.

SECT. VII. *Seventhly, From the Cuſtom of having Bibles laid in Churches for the People to read in private.*

ANOTHER Cuſtom obſerved in the antient Church, was to have Bibles in the vulgar Tongue laid in a convenient part of the Church, for the People at their Leiſure to employ themſelves, as they were piouſly inclined, in reading of the Scriptures before or after the times of Divine Service. Of which Cuſtom thoſe Verſes of *Paulinus* [*k*], which he wrote upon the Wall of the *Secretarium* of the Church of *Nola*, are an infallible Proof, which were in theſe Words: *Si quem ſancta tenet meditandi in Lege voluntas; Hic poterit reſidens ſacris intendere Libris.* If any one is piouſly diſpoſed to meditate in God's Law; here he may ſit, and employ himſelf in reading the holy Books. Thus *Conſtantine* himſelf, as is obſerved by *Euſebius* [*l*], was wont to employ himſelf in the Church, partly by joyning in the publick Prayers with the People, and partly by taking the Books of the Divine Oracles into his Hands, and exerciſing his Mind in the Contemplation of them. And probably for this Reaſon he ordered *Euſebius* to prepare fifty Copies of the Bible for the Uſe of the Church of *Conſtantinople* [*m*], as his Letter to *Euſebius* witneſſes: For 'tis obſerved and ſpoken to his Praiſe by *Euſebius* in another Place [*n*], that by his means innumerable Multitudes both of Men and Women exchanged the Food of their Bodies for that of their Souls, that rational Food which was ſo agreeable to rational Minds, and which they obtained by reading the Holy Scriptures. This muſt neceſſarily relate either to their reading the Scriptures by the Help and Benefit of his Copies in the Church; or elſe will argue that they were encouraged by him to read them at home in their private Houſes; which had been denied them under pain of Baniſhment or Death before, in the preceding Reigns of the perſecuting Princes.

SECT. VIII. *Eighthly, From the general Allowance granted to all Men to have and read the Scriptures in their Mother-Tongue. Which Privilege was never infringed by any but the Heathen Perſecutors.*

AND this leads us to another plain Evidence of the primitive Practice: Which was the Privilege and Encouragement all Chriſtians had to read the Scriptures at home, for the Exerciſe of themſelves and Families in private Devotion, and better Preparation for the publick. None ever deny'd them this Privilege but thoſe perſecuting Tyrants, who intended to deſtroy the Name and Faith of Chriſtians, together with their Bibles, out of the World: For which Reaſon they made the ſtricteſt Search after them, and uſed all imaginable Art and Force to make them deliver them up to be burnt: Which they who did, were branded by the infamous Name of *Traditores*,

[*t*] Theod. de Curand. Græcor. Affect. Serm. 5. t. 4. p. 555. [*u*] Hieron. Præfat. in 4 Evangel. [*x*] Aug. Ep. 48. ad Vincent. [*y*] Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 33. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 37. [*z*] Hieron. Ep. 134. ad Sophronium. [*a*] Uſſer. de Sacris Vernac. p. 221. [*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in 2 Cor. p. 754. [*c*] Georg. Alexandrin. Vit. Chryſ. n. 59. tom. 8. Edit. Savil. [*d*] Uſſer. de Script. Vernac. p. 210. [*e*] Walton. Prolegom. cap. 5. [*f*] Milles Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. [*g*] Hottinger. de Tranſlat. Biblior. Heidelberg. 1660. [*] *Book* III. *Chap.* xiii. *n.* 4. [*h*] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 21. [*i*] Theod. lib. 5. cap. 30. [*k*] Paulin. Ep. 12 ad Severum. [*l*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 17. [*m*] Ap. Euſeb. Ibid lib. 4. cap. 36. & ap. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 16. & Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 6. [*n*] Euſeb. Orat. de Laudibus Conſtant. cap. 17. p. 661.

Traytors,

Traytors, and Betrayers of their Religion. A certain Argument, that then private Chriſtians had the Uſe of the Scriptures; elſe they could not have been impeached for delivering them up to the Enemy. It cannot be pleaded here, That the Scriptures were then only in the Hands of the Biſhops, and Readers, and others of the Clergy: For *Baronius* himſelf has publiſhed the Acts of ſeveral Martyrs, where not only private Men, but Women confeſs to the Inquiſitors that they had the Holy Scriptures in their Houſes with them. I will give a ſingle Inſtance out of the Acts of *Agape* and *Irene* [o] and their Companions. Where the grand Inquiſitor asks this Queſtion of *Irene*, Who adviſed you to keep thoſe Parchments and Scriptures to this Time? To which *Irene* anſwered, God Almighty, who has commanded us to love him unto the Death; for which Cauſe we durſt not betray him; but had rather be burnt alive, or ſuffer any other things that may befal us, than treacherouſly deliver up thoſe Writings. 'Tis plain from this, that private Chriſtians, both Men and Women, then enjoy'd the Scriptures as their Birthright, and none pretended to raviſh them from them but only the perſecuting Heathens. The Fathers of the Church were ſo far from doing this, that on the contrary they uſed all manner of Arguments to induce Men to read and ſtudy them; exhorting them not only to hear them with Attention in the Church, but to read them privately at home with their Wives and Families; commending thoſe that ſtudied them, and reproving thoſe that neglected them; making large Encomiums upon the Uſe and Excellency of them, and requiring Men to peruſe them privately, as the beſt Preparation for the publick Service and Inſtruction; anſwering all Objections and Pretences that Men could make to the contrary; as that they were ignorant and unlearned, and that the Scriptures were difficult and hard to be underſtood; that they were only for the uſe of Monks and Religious, and not for ſecular Men, and Men of Buſineſs; aſſuring them that the Scriptures were for the Uſe of all Men, and that it was the Neglect of them that was the Cauſe of all Ignorance, Hereſies, Errors, and Irreligion. Theſe were the general Topicks, upon which the Fathers then preſſed the common People to read the Scriptures, which are diametrically oppoſite to the Arguments uſed in later Ages to diſſuade and deter Men from the Uſe of them. A Man cannot look into the Fathers, but he will ſee ſuch Arguments every where running through their Writings. So that it is needleſs here to inſiſt upon them: The Reader that pleaſes, may ſee them collected together from firſt to laſt by Biſhop *Uſher* and Mr. *Wharton*. I ſhall only relate one Paſſage of *Chryſoſtom* out of his famous Sermons upon *Lazarus*, where he at once propoſes the ſeveral Arguments, and anſwers the ſeveral Objections I have now mentioned. For this Reaſon, ſays he [p], we often acquaint you many Days before-hand with the Subject of our Diſcourſe, that taking the Bible into your Hands in the mean time, and running over the whole Paſſage, you may have your Minds better prepared to hear what is to be ſpoken. And this is the thing I have always adviſed, and ſhall ſtill continue to exhort you to, that you ſhould not only hear what is ſaid in this Place, but ſpend your Time at home continually in reading the Holy Scriptures. And here let no one uſe thoſe frigid and vain Excuſes, I am a Man engaged in the Buſineſs of the Law, I am taken up with Civil Affairs, I am a Tradeſman, I have a Wife, and Children to breed up, I have the Care of a Family, I am a ſecular Man: It belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to thoſe that have bid adieu to the World, and retired into the Mountains, and have nothing elſe to do but to exerciſe themſelves in ſuch a way of living. What ſay'ſt thou, O Man? Is it not thy Buſineſs to read the Scriptures, becauſe thou art diſtracted with a Multitude of other Cares? Yes, certainly, it belongs to thee more than them. For they have not ſo much need of the help of the holy Scriptures, as you have, who are toſſed in the Waves of the Multiplicity of Buſineſs. Then enumerating what Sins and Temptations ſecular Men are expoſed to, he infers, That they have perpetual need of divine Remedies, as well to cure the Wounds they have already received, as to ward off thoſe they are in danger of receiving: To quench the Darts of the Devil, whilſt they are at a diſtance, and drive them away by continual reading of the Holy Scriptures. For it is impoſſible that a Man ſhould attain Salvation without perpetual Exerciſe in reading ſpiritual things. But ſome again will ſay, What if we cannot underſtand the things that are contained therein? Why, ſays he [q], even in that caſe, though you do not underſtand every thing that is contained therein, yet by reading you ſhall obtain much Sanctification. For it is impoſſible that you ſhould be equally ignorant of all things in thoſe Books. For the Grace of the Spirit ſo ordered it, that they ſhould originally be compoſed and written by Publicans, and Fiſhers, and Tentmakers, and Shepherds, and private and illiterate Men, that none of the moſt ignorant and unlearned might have this Excuſe of Difficulty to fly to; that the things there ſpoken, might be eaſy to be looked into by all Men; that the Handycraftſman, the Servant, the Widow, the moſt illiterate and unlearned among Men might reap Benefit and Advantage by hearing them read. The Apoſtles and Prophets, he ſays, wrote not like the Philoſophers of the Gentiles, in obſcure Terms, but made things plain to the Under-

[o] Acta Agapes & Sociarum ap. Baron. an. 304. n. 44. Quiſnam tibi autor fuit, ut membranas iſtas atque Scripturas in hodiernum uſque diem cuſtodires? Irene inquit, Deus omnipotens, qui juſſit nos ad mortem uſque ipſum diligere, qua de cauſa non auſi ſumus eum prodere, ſed maluimus aut viventes comburi, aut quæcunque alia nobis acciderint, perpeti, quam talia Scripta prodere.

[p] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Lazar. T. 5. p. 59. [q] Ibid. pag. 62.

ſtandings of all Men, as being the common Teachers of the World, that every Man by himſelf might learn by reading alone the things that were ſpoken. To whom are not all things in the Goſpel manifeſt and plain? Who is there, that hearing thoſe Sayings, *Bleſſed are the Meek*, *Bleſſed are the Merciful*, *Bleſſed are the pure in Heart*, and the like, would deſire a Teacher, to underſtand the meaning of them? Moreover, the Signs, and Miracles, and Hiſtories, are they not all intelligible and plain to any ordinary Reader? This therefore is only a Pretence, and Excuſe, and Cloak for Idleneſs. Thou doſt not underſtand the things contained in the Scripture. How ſhouldſt thou underſtand them, when thou wilt not ſo much as look into them? Take the Book into thy Hands, read the whole Hiſtory, and remember thoſe things that are intelligible and eaſy; and thoſe things that are more obſcure and dark, read over and over again: And if thou canſt not by frequent reading dive into the meaning of what is ſaid, go to a wiſer Perſon, betake thy ſelf to a Teacher, and confer with him about any ſuch Paſſage; ſhew thy Diligence and Deſire to be informed. And when God ſees thy Willingneſs and Readineſs of Mind, He will not deſpiſe thy Vigilance and Care. But though Man inform thee not in the things about which thou makeſt Enquiry, he himſelf will certainly reveal it unto thee. Remember the Eunuch of the *Ethiopian* Queen, who though he was a Barbarian, and immerſed in a Multitude of Cares and Buſineſs, and underſtood not what he read, yet he read for all that, ſitting in his Chariot. And if he ſhew'd ſo great Diligence by the way, conſider how he behaved himſelf at home. If he would not omit reading in the time of a Journey, much leſs would he omit it, when he ſat quietly in his own Houſe. If when he underſtood nothing of it, he ſtill continu'd to read; much more would he do it, when he came to underſtand it. Wherefore becauſe he read when he had no Guide, he quickly found a Guide. God knew the Willingneſs of his Mind, and accepted his Diligence, and preſently ſent him a Teacher. But *Philip*, you'll ſay, does not now ſtand by us. No: But the Spirit that moved *Philip*, is ſtill by us. Let us not neglect our own Salvation, Beloved. Theſe things were written for our Salvation, upon whom the Ends of the World are come. The reading of the Scriptures is our great Guard againſt Sin. Our Ignorance of them is a dangerous Precipice, and a deep Gulph: It is an abſolute betraying of our Salvation, to know nothing of the divine Law. It is this that has brought forth ſo many Hereſies; this, that has brought ſo much Corruption into our Lives; this, that has turned all things into Confuſion.

One would think St. *Chryſoſtom* had foreſeen all the little Pleas and Sophiſtry of the *Romiſh* Church, and was here diſputing and inveighing againſt them. So appoſite is every Word to refute their trifling pretences; That Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion; That the Scriptures are obſcure; That there is need of an infallible Guide on Earth, beſides the Spirit, to underſtand them; That the promiſcuous Uſe of them is the Cauſe of all Errors and Hereſies; That Laymen and ſecular Men are not fit to be entruſted with them: Each of which Poſitions is as plainly combated by St. *Chryſoſtom*, as if he had been directly diſputing againſt the inſufferable Tyranny and frivolous Pleas of the preſent Church of *Rome*: And his whole Diſcourſe, with ſome hundreds of the like Paſſages that might be alledged out of him and other Writers, do irrefragably ſhew, That it was as much the Care and Concern of the Primitive Church to have the Service of God and the Scriptures to be underſtood by all, as now it is the Concern of the *Roman* Church to have them concealed from their Knowledge, and locked up in a Language which the Unlearned do not underſtand.

SECT. IX.

Ninthly, From the Liberty granted to Children and Catechumens to joyn in the publick Payers and read the Scriptures.

FOR it is very obſervable farther, That in the primitive Church not only Men and Women, but Children were encouraged and trained up from their Infancy to the reading of the holy Scriptures: And the Catechumens were not only admitted to ſome of the Prayers of the Church peculiarly appropriated to their Condition, but alſo obliged to learn the Scriptures, as part of their Diſcipline and Inſtruction. Of their Obligation to learn the Scriptures, we have treated before [*] in ſpeaking of the Method of training them up for Baptiſm: And of their Admiſſion to certain Prayers of the Church, we ſhall ſee more hereafter in that part of the Worſhip called *The Service* [†] *of the Catechumens*. All then that is farther here to be ſhewed, is, That Children were trained up to the Uſe of the holy Scriptures. And of this we have undoubted Evidence from many eminent Inſtances of their Practice. *Euſebius* [*r*] remarks of the great Care of *Leonides* the Martyr, and Father of *Origen*, in the Education of his Son, that he made him learn the Scriptures, before he ſet him to the Study of the liberal Arts and polite Learning. And *Socrates* [*s*] makes the like Obſervation upon the Education of *Euſebius* ſirnamed *Emiſenus*, who was born of noble Parentage at *Edeſſa* a City of *Oſroene* in *Meſopotamia*, that he was firſt taught the holy Scriptures from his Infancy, and then human Learning: And *Sozomen* [*t*] in relating the ſame Story, ſays, this was done κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος, according to the Cuſtom of the Country; which ſhews that it was no ſingular Inſtance, but a general Practice to bring Children up from their Infancy to the Uſe of the holy Scriptures. *Gregory Nyſſen* [*u*] notes

[*] *Book* X. *chap.* i. *n.* 6. [†] *Book* XIV. *chap.* v. [*r*] Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 2. [*s*] Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 9. [*t*] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6. [*u*] Nyſſen. Vit. Macrin. T. 2. p. 179.

it in the Life of his Sister *Macrina*, That the first Part of her Instruction in her Infancy was to be taught the easy Portions of Scripture, that were most suitable to her Age: And he says also [x], she did the same for her younger Brother *Peter*, taking him from his Mother's Breasts, and instructing him in the Scriptures, that he might have no Time to spend upon vain Studies. 'Tis noted by *Sozomen* [y] and *Palladius*, of *Marcus* the Hermit, that he was so expert in the Scriptures when he was but a Youth, that he could repeat all the *Old* and *New Testament* without Book. And it is observable, that as there were many Catechetick Schools in those Times for explaining the Scriptures to the Catechumens; so there were also Schools appointed in many Churches to instruct the Youth in the Knowledge of the Scriptures. When *Gregory*, the Apostle of the *Armenians*, first converted that Nation, it is said in his Life [z], that he set up Schools in every City, and Masters over them by the King's Command, to teach the *Armenian* Children to read the Bible. And *Theodoret* [a] relates a remarkable Story of *Protogenes* the Scribe, That when *Valens* the *Arian* Emperor banish'd him to *Antinoe* in *Thebais*, in the utmost Parts of *Ægypt*, he finding the greatest part of the City to be Heathens, set up a Charity-school among them, and taught them the holy Scriptures; dictating to them in Writing Short-hand *David*'s *Psalms*, and making them learn such Doctrines of the Apostolical Writings, as were proper for them to understand; by which means he brought many both of the Children and Parents over to the Christian Faith. And it has been observed before [*], that by the Canons of some Councils such sort of Charity-schools were appointed to be set up in Cathedrals and other Churches, where no doubt, according to the Custom of those Days, Children were taught to read the Scriptures [b]. These Rules were renewed in several Councils under *Charles the Great* and the following Princes. Particularly in the second Council of *Chalons* [c] *An.* 813, it was appointed, That according to the Order of *Charles* the Emperor, Bishops should set up Schools to teach both *Grammar* and the Knowledge of the Scriptures. And in the Council of *Toul* or *Savonieres* [d] in *Lorrain*, the Decree was renewed, That Schools of the holy Scripture and human Learning should be erected; for as much, as by the Care of the religious Emperors in former Days, by this means both Ecclesiastical Knowledge and human Learning had made a considerable Progress in the World. And Mr. *Wharton* [e] will furnish the inquisitive Reader with many other Rules and Canons made about the same Time to promote and encourage the Learning of the Scriptures.

SECT. X. *Lastly. From the Form and Tenour of the Ordination of Readers in the Church.*

I only observe one thing more, that the very Form and Tenour of the Ordination of Readers antiently did manifestly imply, that the Service of the antient Church was always performed in a known Tongue. For they were sometimes ordained with Prayer to God for his Holy Spirit, to qualify them to read his Word to the Instruction and Edification of the People. The Form of their Ordination in the Book of the *Constitutions*, prays, that God [f] would give the Reader Wisdom, as he did to *Esdras*, to read his Laws to the People. Now it is well known how *Esdras* read the Law to them, by causing them to understand the Reading. *Neh.* viii. 7, 8. *They read in the Book, in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the Sense, and caused them to understand the Reading.* And if all Readers read as *Esdras* did, they certainly either read, or interpreted the Reading, in a known Tongue. For he rendred that which was written in the *Hebrew* Tongue, into the *Chaldee* or *Syriack*, which was, after the Captivity, the common Language of the People. *Cyprian* twice or thrice speaks of the Ordination and Office of Readers, and he plainly intimates, that the People understood what they read out of the Gospel to them. In one Place speaking of *Celerinus*, the Confessor, whom he had ordained a Reader, he says, It was very fitting he should read the Gospel [g], who had so courageously and faithfully observed it; and that the same Tongue which had confessed the Lord, should be daily heard to repeat what the Lord hath spoken: Since there was nothing wherein a Confessor could more advantage his Brethren, than to have them hear the Gospel read by the Mouth of such a Confessor and Reader, whose Faith was so brave an Example. In another Epistle [h] speaking of *Aurelius* the Confessor, whom he also ordained a Reader, he says, There was nothing more agreeable, than that that Voice, which had so gloriously confessed the Lord, should sound forth in reading the Lessons of the Lord: And after those lofty Words, whereby he proclaimed the Martyrdom of Christ, he should read the Gospel of Christ, which makes Martyrs. The Gospel was then so read

[x] Ibid. p. 185. [y] Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 29. Pallad. Hist. Lausiaca. cap. 21. [z] Acta Gregorij ap. Simeon. Metaphrast. Sept. 30. *cited by Bishop* Usher. [a] Theod. lib. 4. cap. 16. [*] See *Book* VIII. *chap.* vii. *n.* 12.

[b] Conc. 6. General. Can. 4, & 5. [c] Conc. Cabillon. 2. Can. 3. Oportet etiam, ut sicut Dominus Imperator Carolus præcepit, Episcopi Scholas constituant, in quibus & literaria solertia disciplinæ, & S. Scripturæ documenta discantur. [d] Conc. Tullense, al. Ad Saponarias. Can. 10. Statuimus ut Scholæ sanctarum Scripturarum, & humanæ quoque Literaturæ, &c. constituantur. [e] Wharton. Auctarium ad Usserij Hist. Dogmat. cap. 4. p. 346. [f] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 22. [g] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 77. Legat præcepta & Evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur; Vox Dominum confessa, in his quotidie, quæ Dominus locutus est, audiatur.—— Nihil est in quo magis Confessor fratribus prosit, quam ut dum Evangelica Lectio de ore ejus auditur, Lectoris fidem quisquis audierit, imitetur. [h] Id. Ep. 38. al. 33. p. 75. Nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis Lectionibus personare: Post verba sublimia quæ Christi Martyrium prolocuta sunt, Evangelium Christi legere, unde Martyres fiunt.

that

that the Hearers might reap Advantage by it, whilſt they underſtood the Doctrines and Precepts that were read to them out of it. And ſuch was the Advantage which ſome Hearers in thoſe Days reaped from the Benefit of having the Scriptures read in their own Tongue, that it is very remarkable what is related of one or two of them, that being Men of good Memories, they got the Scriptures by Heart, without any Knowledge of Letters, only by hearing them conſtantly read in the Church or elſewhere. St. *Auſtin* [*i*] remarks this of St. *Antony* the famous *Egyptian* Monk, that without being able to read himſelf, he made ſuch a Proficiency in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, as both by hearing them read, to be able to repeat them, and by his own prudent Meditation to underſtand them. And *Gregory* the Great [*k*] gives a like Inſtance in one *Servulus*, a poor Man at *Rome*, who though he knew not a Letter in the Book, yet purchaſing a Bible, and entertaining religious Men, he prevailed with them to read it continually to him, by which means he perfectly learned the Holy Scriptures. 'Tis a yet more aſtoniſhing Inſtance, which *Euſebius* [*l*] gives in one of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, a blind Man, called *John*, who had ſo happy a Memory, that he could repeat any Part of the Bible as readily as others could read it. And he ſometimes ſupplied the Office of a Reader in the Church: And he did this to ſo great Perfection, that *Euſebius* ſays, when he firſt heard him, he was perfectly amazed, and thought he had heard one reading out of a Book, till he came a little more curiouſly to examine him, and found that he did it only by the Eyes of his Underſtanding, having the Scriptures written not in Books or Tables of Stone, but in the fleſhly Tables of his Heart. Theſe and ſuch like Examples, of which there are many [*m*] in antient Story, are enough to raiſe in a Man another ſort of Aſtoniſhment than that which *Euſebius* ſpeaks of: I mean it would amaze a Man to think, that there ſhould be a Church in the World pretending to the Height of Purity and Devotion, which yet runs counter to this indiſputable Practice of the antient Church, whoſe publick Readers never once pretended to read any Part of Scripture in an unknown Tongue: That being as much againſt the Deſign of their Ordination, as it is againſt the Deſign of the Scripture it ſelf: For the one was written, and the other ordained to read what was written, for Mens Learning and Inſtruction. Yea, the very Form of ordaining Readers, as it ſtands ſtill in the *Roman Pontifical*, ſhews as much: For it is much antienter than the Corruption that is now crept into their Service, and only ſtands there as a Monument of their Reproach, who oblige their Readers to act directly contrary to the Deſign of their Office, and the very Inſtructions that are given them in their Ordination. For there the Biſhop ſtill, in conferring the Order of Readers, uſes this Form: Study to pronounce [*n*] the Word of God, that is, the ſacred Leſſons, diſtinctly and plainly to the Underſtanding and Edification of the Faithful, without any Error or Falſhood; that ye may teach your Hearers both by Word and Example. This was a very proper Form of Exhortation to be given to Readers at their Ordination, while the antient Cuſtom continued of reading in a known Tongue: But now it is no better than Mockery, to tell Men they are obliged by the Vow of their Ordination to read the Scriptures to the Underſtanding, and Inſtruction, and Edification of the People; and at the ſame time tye up their Mouths, that they ſhall not read a Word that may be underſtood, but it muſt all be in an unknown Tongue. This monſtrous Contradiction in their own Practice, one would think, might bring Men to ſee their Error, and (what ſome in their Communion [*o*] have been ſo long pleading for) oblige them to return to the uſeful and edifying Practice of the Primitive Church.

CHAP. V.

Of the Original and Uſe of Liturgies, in ſtated and ſet Forms of Prayer, in the Primitive Church.

SECT. I. *Every Biſhop at Liberty in the firſt Ages to order the Form of Divine Service in his own Church.*

THE next Enquiry is concerning the antient manner of performing Divine Service: Whether they did it by ſtated *Liturgies*, which we uſually call ſet Forms of Prayer, or by unlimited Liberty of propheſying and *extempore* Conceptions? The Queſtion about ſet Forms of Worſhip has more diſturbed the preſent Church than any other: And yet after all there can be no publick Prayer, but it will be a ſet Form, at leaſt to the Congregation. For though we

[*i*] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſtiana in Prolog. tom. 3. p. 3. Sine ulla ſcientia literarum Scripturas Divinas, & memoriter audiendo tenuiſſe, & prudenter cogitando intellexiſſe prædicatur.

[*k*] Greg. Hom. 15. in Evangelia, tom. 3. p. 40. Nequaquam Literas noverat, ſed ſcripturæ ſacræ ſibimet codices emerat; & religioſos quoſque in hoſpitalitatem ſuſcipiens, hos coram ſe legere ſine intermiſſione faciebat. Factumque eſt, ut quantum ad menſuram propriam attinet, plene ſacram Scripturam diſceret; cum ſicut dixi, literas funditus ignoraret. [*l*] Euſeb. de Martyr. Paleſtin. cap. 13. p. 344. [*m*] Vide Palladium Vit. Chryſoſt. cap. 17. Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 22. [*n*] Pontifical. Roman. Cap. de Ordinat. Lectorum. Studete verba Dei, videlicet Lectiones ſacras, diſtincte & aperte ad intelligentiam & ædificationem fidelium abſque omni mendacio falſitatis proferre. —— Quatenus auditores veſtros verbo pariter & exemplo docere poſſitis. [*o*] Vid. Frediric. Furius Ceriolanus de Libris ſacris in Vernaculam Linguam convertendis.

ſuppoſe the Miniſter to pray *extempore*, and vary the Method, the Form and the Phraſe every time he prays; yet to make it Common Prayer to a Congregation, it will be a Form to them, though a new Form every time, in ſpite of all Contradiction. And I have often wondred, that diſcerning Men ſhould not obſerve this, before they charged all Forms of Prayer as void of the Spirit, or a ſtinting of the Spirit: Since if they were ſo, *Extemporary* Forms would be as much ſtinting the Spirit of the Congregation as any other: And perhaps in ſome meaſure more ſo; ſince in ſtated Forms, which every one knows beforehand, Men may be ſuppoſed to make them their own hearty Prayers by preceding Meditation; whereas in *extemporary* Forms every Man muſt wait till he hears what is ſaid, and then join in that Form, or elſe not pray at all, but only privately by himſelf, not in any publick or common Prayer jointly with the reſt of the Congregation For which Reaſon I ſhall not here enquire ſimply, whether the publick Worſhip of the Ancients was by a Form or no: Since it is impoſſible there ſhould be any publick Worſhip of a Congregation, as a Congregation, joining in common Prayer to God, without having a common Form dictated to them ſome way or other for all to join in: But the Queſtion ſhall only be, whether they uſed ſtated Forms of Worſhip, or new *extempore* Forms in every Church Aſſembly? And here we muſt diſtinguiſh firſt, between Divine Forms, and Forms of Human Inſtitution. 2. Between Ordinary and Extraordinary Occaſions. 3. Between the Times of Extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, and the Times when thoſe miraculous Gifts abated. Now there is no doubt to be made, but that the Forms of Divine Inſtitution were always uſed in the Church without any Variation. As the Form of Baptiſm, the Lord's Prayer, the ſinging of *David*'s Pſalms, the Forms of Benediction, ſuch as, *The Lord be with you*, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. The conſtant Uſe of the Form of Baptiſm has been demonſtrated [*] already. The Uſe of the Lord's Prayer and the reſt ſhall be ſhewed hereafter [†]. As to Forms of Human Inſtitution, they were added by the Biſhops and Governors of the Church according to their Wiſdom and Diſcretion. And this with relation to the ordinary Service. For ſtill they were at Liberty to compoſe new Forms for extraordinary Emergencies and Occaſions. And whilſt the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit continued, there is little doubt to be made, but that Prayers and Hymns immediately dictated by the Spirit, made up a Part of the ordinary Service, ſtill retaining ſuch Forms as were antecedently of divine Appointment. When the extraordinary Spirit of Propheſy ceaſed, then the Rulers of the Church ſupplied this Want by proper Forms of their own Compoſition, according to Chriſtian Prudence and Diſcretion. And this ſeems to have been the true Original of *Liturgies*, or ſtated Forms of Divine Service. But why then have we none of theſe *Liturgies* remaining entire and perfect to this Day? I anſwer, there may be ſeveral Reaſons aſſigned for this. One is, that the Biſhops at firſt made every one their own *Liturgy* for the private Uſe, as we may call it, of their own particular Churches. And therefore the Uſe of them not extending farther than the Precincts of their own Dioceſes, there was little Knowledge of them beyond the Bounds of thoſe Churches, and not much Care to preſerve them but only for the Uſe of ſuch Churches, for which they were particularly deſigned. That every Biſhop had at firſt this Power and Privilege to compoſe and order the Form of Divine Service for his own Church, I have ſhewed [‡] in another Place, where I had Occaſion to diſcourſe of the Independency of Biſhops, and their abſolute Power in their own Church: Where among other things, I obſerved, that as they had the Privilege to word their own Creeds, ſo they had the Privilege to frame their own *Liturgy*; which Privilege they retained for ſeveral Ages. As may be confirmed by this farther and moſt certain Obſervation, that when any new Epiſcopal Church was taken and erected out of another, the new-erected Church was not obliged to follow the Model and Preſcriptions of the old Church, but might frame to herſelf a Form of Divine Service agreeable to her own Circumſtances and Condition. Of which *Sozomen* [*a*] gives a clear Evidence in the Inſtance of *Maiuma*, a City raiſed from a Village in *Paleſtine*, and once belonging to the Dioceſe of *Gaza*: For as ſoon as it was erected into a diſtinct Epiſcopal See, it was no longer obliged to obſerve preciſely the Rules and Forms of the Church of *Gaza*, but had, as he particularly remarks, a *Kalendar* for the Feſtivals of its own Martyrs, and Commemorations of their own Biſhops and Presbyters that had lived among them. Which is the ſame thing, as to ſay, they had a *Liturgy* and Service of their own, Independent of the Church out of which they were taken.

SECT. II.

In After-ages the Churches of a whole Province by Conſent conformed to the Liturgy *of the Metropolitan.*

IN After-ages Biſhops agreed by Conſent to conform their *Liturgy* to the Model of the Metropolitical Church of the Province to which they belonged. And then it was enacted into a Law by ſeveral Councils, that the ſame Order and Uniformity ſhould be obſerved in all Churches. The Rudiments of this Diſcipline were firſt laid in the *French* Churches. For in the Council of *Agde* [*b*] a Canon was made about the Year 506, that one and the ſame Order ſhould be equally obſerved in all Churches

[*] *Book* II. *Chap.* iii.
[‡] *Book* II. *Chap.* vi. *n.* 2.
[*b*] Conc. Agathens. Can. 30.
[†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* vii.
[*a*] Sozomen. lib. 5. cap. 3. Quia convenit ordinem Eccleſiæ ab omnibus æqualiter obſervari, ſtudendum eſt ubique (ſicut fit) & poſt Antiphonas, Collectiones per ordinem ab Epiſcopis vel Presbyteris dici, &c.

of the Province in all Parts of Divine Service. And in the Council of *Epone* [c] it is more expreſsly ſaid, that in celebrating Divine Offices, the Provincial Biſhop ſhould obſerve the ſame Order as was obſerved by the Metropolitan. And before theſe, the Council of *Vannes* in *Bretany* in the Province of *Tours*, made a like Order for that whole Province, that one and the ſame [d] Cuſtom in celebrating Divine Service, and the ſame Order for Pſalmody, ſhould be kept in all Churches; that as they held one Faith and Confeſſion of the Holy Trinity, ſo they ſhould keep to one Rule of Divine Offices; leſt if they varied in their Obſervations, that Variation ſhould be interpreted as a Diſagreement in ſome Point or other. And the ſame Rule was made and concerted in the *Spaniſh* Churches. For in the Council of *Girone*, *An.* 517, a like Decree was made for the whole Province of *Tarragone* or *Catalonia*, that the ſame [e] Order of *Maſs*, and Cuſtom in Pſalmody, and other Miniſtrations, ſhould be obſerved in all Churches of the Province, as was obſerved in the Metropolitical Church. The fourth Council of *Toledo* enlarged the Order for Uniformity in all the Churches of *Spain* and *Gallicia* [f], obliging all Prieſts to perform Divine Offices in the ſame manner, that there might be no Diverſity among them, and that ſuch Difference might neither offend the Weak, nor look like a Schiſm in the Church to ignorant and carnal Men. Therefore they appointed, that one Order ſhould be obſerved in Praying and Singing, and the ſame Method be kept in the Morning and Evening Service, becauſe they were all of the ſame Faith, and the ſame Kingdom. And the firſt Council of *Braga* has four or five Canons to the ſame Purpoſe [g], appointing the ſame Order of Pſalmody, and Leſſons, and Salutations, and the ſame Forms of celebrating Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt* to be obſerved in all Churches. So that though every Biſhop at firſt had Liberty to frame a *Liturgy* for the Uſe of his own Church; yet in proceſs of Time they agreed by Conſent to take the *Liturgy* of the Metropolitical Church as a Standard for the whole Province: And when the *Roman* Empire began to cantonized and divided into different Kingdoms, then came in the Uſe of National *Liturgies*, whoſe Uſe was commenſurate to the Bounds and Limits of their reſpective Nations and Kingdoms.

SECT. III. *Why none of the antient Liturgies are now remaining, as they were at firſt compoſed for the Uſe of particular Churches? I anſwer, Several Reaſons may be aſſigned for this.* 1. *The very Liberty which every Biſhop had to frame the Liturgy of his own Church, was one Reaſon why none of theſe are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were at firſt compoſed for the Uſe of ſuch a particular Church. For the Deſign of them being only for the Uſe of ſuch a particular Church, there was no great Reaſon to be very ſollicitous, either to communicate and diffuſe the Knowledge of them to other Churches, or to preſerve them entire to Poſterity, who were not preciſely tyed up to the Uſe of them, but might frame others at their own Diſcretion.* 2. *It is not improbable, but that as a late learned French Writer* [h] *has obſerved, the antient Liturgies were for ſome Ages only certain Forms of Worſhip committed to Memory, and known by Practice, rather than committed to Writing, which is the only certain Way of preſerving ſuch ſort of Monuments to late Poſterity. This ſeems very probable, becauſe in the Perſecutions under Diocletian and his Aſſociates, though a ſtrict Enquiry was made after the Books of Scripture, and other Things belonging to the Church, which were often delivered up by the Traditores to be burnt, yet we never read of any Ritual Books, or Books of Divine Service, delivered up among them. Which is an Argument, that their Forms of Worſhip and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, were not then generally committed to Writing, or at leaſt not compiled in Books diſtinct from the Pſalms or other Books of Scripture: Otherwiſe, it is very probable, that as the Scriptures, with other Utenſils and Treaſures of the Church, were often found by the Heathens, or betrayed by apoſtatizing Chriſtians, and delivered up to be burnt; ſo we ſhould have heard ſomething of their Books of Divine Worſhip undergoing the ſame Fate: Since they who were ſo curious in enquiring after the Cups, and Lamps, and Torches, and Veſtments, and other Utenſils and Veſſels of the Church, (as in ſome of their Kalendars and Breviats we find they were) would hardly have omitted their Books of Worſhip, as being more proper Objects of their Spite and Malice, had they found any ſuch in the Chriſtian Churches. Mr. Daille* [i] *argues well upon this foot againſt the Uſe of Images in the antient Church, becauſe no ſuch Thing was ever found or betrayed to the Heathen in the times*

antient Liturgies are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were in their firſt Original.

[c] Conc. Epaunens. Can. 27. Ad celebrandum divina Officia, Ordinem, quem Metropolitani tenent, Provinciales obſervare debebunt. [d] Conc. Veneticum, Can. 15. Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra Provinciam noſtram ſacrorum Ordo, & Pſallendi una ſit Conſuetudo; ut ſicut unam cum Trinitatis confeſſione fidem tenemus, unam & Officiorum Regulam teneamus: Ne, variata Obſervatione, in aliquo Obſervatio noſtra diſcrepare videatur. [e] Conc. Gerundenſe. Can. 1. Ut Inſtitutio Miſſarum, ſicut in Metropolitana Eccleſia agitur, ita in Dei nomine in omni Tarraconenſi Provincia tam ipſius Miſſæ ordo, quàm pſallendo vel miniſtrando, conſuetudo ſervetur. [f] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 2. Placuit omnes ſacerdotes, qui Catholicæ Fidei unitatem complectimur, ut nihil ultra diverſum aut diſſonum in eccleſiaſticis Sacramentis agamus, ne quælibet noſtra diverſitas apud ignotos ſeu carnales ſchiſmatis errorem videatur oſtendere, & multis extet in ſcandalum varietas Eccleſiarum. Unus ergo Orandi atque Pſallendi ordo à nobis per omnem Hiſpaniam atque Galliciam conſervetur: Unus modus in Miſſarum ſolennitatibus, unus in Veſpertinis Officiis: Nec diverſa ſit ultra in nobis eccleſiaſtica conſuetudo, quia in una Fide continemur & Regno. [g] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 19. Placuit ut unus atque idem Pſallendi ordo in Matutinis vel Veſpertinis Officiis teneatur, *&c.* Vid. Can. 20, 21, 22, 23. ibid.

[h] Renaudotius. Collectio Liturgiar. Oriental. Diſſertat. 1. p. 9. tom. 1. Par. 1716. [i] Dallæ. de Cultu Relig. lib. 1. cap. 25.

of their moſt furious Inquiſition after any Thing that related to the Chriſtian Church or Religion: And I think the Argument will hold as well againſt having their *Liturgies* compiled into Books and Volumes, ſince it is ſcarce poſſible that ſuch Things in difficult Times ſhould have wholly eſcaped the Notice and Fury of their Enemies. We are not hence to conclude (as ſome weak Men might perhaps be inclined to do) that therefore they had no *Liturgies* or ſet Forms of Divine Worſhip in theſe perſecuting Ages of the Church; becauſe there are undeniable Evidences to the contrary, as we ſhall ſee by and by: But we are only to conclude, that they did not ſo generally compile them in Books as in After-ages, but uſed them by Memory, and made them familiar to the People by known and conſtant Practice, as many now uſe Forms of Prayer at this Day without committing them to Writing. And this is another Reaſon, why none of thoſe antient *Liturgies* are come to our Hands perfect and entire, but only in ſcattered Fragments, as the Fathers had occaſion to mention them incidentally in their Writings. Nor need we wonder at this, ſince even thoſe *Liturgies* which were moſt certainly compiled in Books in the following Ages, are now in a great meaſure loſt alſo by the Injuries of Time, as the old *Gallican*, *Spaniſh*, *African*, and *Roman Liturgies*, of which there is nothing but Fragments and diſmembered Parcels now remaining. Which is a third Reaſon, why none of thoſe antient *Liturgies* are extant at this Day. The fourth and laſt Reaſon, is the Interpolations and Additions made to the antient *Liturgies* in future Ages. For though thoſe antient *Liturgies* which go under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil* might originally have ſomething of their Compoſition in them, yet ſo many Additions and Alterations have been made in them by the *Greek* Church in following Ages, that it is not eaſy to diſcern, after they have paſſed through ſo many Hands, and ſo much new modelling, what was the genuine Compoſition of the firſt Authors. And therefore I have made little Uſe of them in this Work, but rather choſen to collect the Fragments of the antient *Liturgy* from the ſcattered Remains in the genuine Writings of the Fathers; joining with them ſuch Forms as we find in the antient Book, called *The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions:* Which though it be not ſo antient as the Title pretends, nor of ſo venerable Authority as Mr. *Whiſton* contends for, who would have it to be truly Apoſtolical, yet it is owned to be a good Collection of the *Liturgy* and Rituals of the Church in the third and fourth Centuries, and leſs corrupted than any other *Liturgy* that bears the Name of an antient Writer: The true Reaſon of which was, becauſe it never being of that Eſteem as to be uſed as a ſtanding *Liturgy* in any Church, the Book came down to us with leſs Alterations than other *Liturgies*, which were new modelled, according to the different Taſte and Sentiments of the Ages they paſſed through, as all Things of this kind are commonly reviſed and altered by ſeveral Hands, when they are in conſtant Uſe and Practice. For Proof of which we need go no farther than the Example of our own *Liturgy*, which has received many Reviews, Alterations and Additions from the Time it was firſt compiled the Days of King *Edward*. Upon this ſcore thoſe *Liturgies*, which bear the Names of antient Authors, are not to be depended on, as the genuine, unmixed *Liturgies* of thoſe Authors, having undergone ſo many Alterations, Interpolations, and Additions by paſſing through various Hands in ſucceeding Ages. For as much therefore as we have now no antient *Liturgies* perfect and entire, as they were firſt compoſed, we muſt take our Accounts and Eſtimate of them from other Fountains: And by the Providence of God there is ſo much of them remaining in the genuine Writings of the antient Fathers, as both to ſhew us in general that the Church made uſe of ſtated Forms of Worſhip, and alſo what was the particular Order and Method of her Worſhip in the moſt conſiderable Parts of her ſacred Service and Devotions. We will therefore firſt give ſome Account of the Uſe of *Liturgies* and ſacred Rites in general, and then proceed to explain in Order the ſeveral Parts of the antient Service in the ſame natural Method as we find it was performed, at ſeveral times, either in the Daily or Weekly Aſſemblies for that Purpoſe.

SECT. IV.

What Forms were uſed in the Apoſtles Days. Where of the antient Forms uſed in the Jewiſh Worſhip, and of the new Forms introduced into the Chriſtian Service.

As to the Uſe of *Liturgies* in general, I ſhall begin with the Apoſtolical Times, and carry the Hiſtory through the four firſt Ages. The Apoſtolical Practice may be conſidered in a double reſpect; firſt in their Compliance with the ſtated Forms ſettled among the *Jews*, and ſecondly, in the new Forms introduced into the Chriſtian Service. As to the former, there ſeems to be nothing more unconteſted among learned Men, than that the *Jews* had ſet Forms of Worſhip in all Parts of Divine Service, and that the Apoſtles freely uſed theſe in all Inſtances, in which they thought it neceſſary or becoming to join with them. Their Ordinary Service was of two ſorts, the Service of the Temple, and the Service of the Synagogue. Theſe differed in many reſpects; but both agreed in this, that the publick Prayers in both were offered up in a certain conſtant Form of Words. For their private Prayers, which every Man made particularly by himſelf, (which were like thoſe ſilent Prayers we ſhall hereafter [*] meet with in the Chriſtian Church) a late learned Writer [*k*] tells us, they had no publick Forms to pray by, nor any publick Miniſters to officiate to them herein; but all prayed in private Conceptions: But

[*] *See Book* XV. *Chap.* i.

[*k*] Prideaux *Connection of Scripture Hiſtory*, Part I. Chap. 6. p. 382.

their publick Prayers were directed by publick Forms both in the Service of the Temple and the Synagogue. The Temple-Service is very accurately described by Dr. *Lightfoot*, as it stood in the time of our Saviour: The Sum of his Description is this [*l*]. First, before the Offering of the Sacrifice, the President called upon them to go to Prayers, which they began with this Form: *Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with an everlasting Love, with great and abundant Compassion hast thou had Mercy on us, O our Father, our King, for our Fathers Sakes, who trusted in Thee, and Thou taughtest them Statutes of Life. So be gracious to us also, O our Father, O most merciful Father, O Thou Compassionate One, pity us: And put into our Hearts to know, understand, obey, learn, teach, observe, do and perform all the Words of the Doctrine of thy Law in Love, and enlighten our Eyes by thy Law, and cause our Hearts to cleave to thy Commandments, and unite our Hearts to love and to fear thy Name*, &c. After this Prayer they rehearsed the Ten Commandments, and after the Ten Commandments they said over their *Phylacteries*, in *Hebrew* called *Tephillin*, which contained four Portions of the Law written in four Parchments. The first out of *Exodus* xiii. *from ver.* 3 to 10. The second out of *Exodus* xiii. *from ver.* 11 to 16. The third out of *Deut.* vi. *from ver.* 4. to 9. The fourth out of *Deut.* xi. *from ver.* 13. to 21. After this Prayer and Rehearsal of the Decalogue and of their *Phylacteries*, at the time of offering Incense, they had three or four Prayers more; the first of which there was in this Form, referring to their *Phylacteries: Truth and Stability, and firm and sure, and upright and faithful, and beloved and lovely and delightful, and fair and terrible and glorious, and ordered and acceptable, and good and beautiful is this Word for us for ever and ever. The Truth of the everlasting God our King, the Rock of* Jacob, *the Shield of our Salvation, for ever and ever. He is sure, and his Name sure, and his Throne settled, and his Kingdom and Truth established for evermore*, &c.

The second Prayer was in this Form: *Be pleased, O Lord our God, with thy People* Israel, *and with their Prayer, and restore the Service to the Oracle of thy House, and accept the Burnt-Offering of* Israel, *and their Prayer in Love and Complacency; and let the Service of thy People* Israel *be continually well-pleasing unto Thee.* And they concluded thus: *We praise Thee, who art the Lord our God, and the God of our Fathers, the God of all Flesh, our Creator and the God of all Creatures: Glory and Praise be to Thy great and holy Name, because thou hast preserved and kept us; so preserve and keep us, and bring back our Captivity to the Courts of thy Holiness*, &c.

A third Prayer ran thus: *Appoint Peace, Goodness and Blessing, Grace, Mercy and Compassion for us, and for all* Israel *thy People. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us as one Man, with the Light of thy Countenance; for in the Light of thy Countenance Thou, O Lord our God, hast given us the Law of Life, and Loving-mercy and Righteousness, and Blessing and Compassion, and Life and Peace: Let it please Thee to bless thy People* Israel *at all Times. Let us and all thy People the House of* Israel *be remembered and written before Thee in the Book of Life, with Blessing and Peace*, &c.

A Fourth Prayer was used on the Sabbath as a Blessing, by the Course that went out of their Service, upon those that came in to do the Service of the following Week, in these Words: *He that caused his Name to dwell in this House, cause Love and Brotherhood and Peace and Friendship to dwell among you.*

After these Things the Priests lifted up their Hands and blessed the People in that Form of Words, which is in *Numb.* vi. 24. *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his Face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his Countenance upon thee, and give thee Peace.* To which the People answered, *Blessed be the Lord God, the God of* Israel, *from Everlasting to Everlasting.*

After this Blessing, the Meat-offering, and the Drink-offering was offered, and then began the singing of Psalms and the Musick. The constant and ordinary Psalms which they sung, were these:

On the first Day of the Week, the xxivth *Psalm, The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fullness thereof*, &c.

On the second Day, *Psalm* xlviii. *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the City of God*, &c.

On the third Day, the lxxxiid *Psalm, God standeth in the Congregation of the Mighty, and judgeth among Gods*, &c.

On the fourth Day, the xcivth *Psalm, O Lord God, to whom Vengeance belongeth*, &c.

On the fifth Day, *Psalm* lxxxi. *Sing aloud unto God our Strength, make a joyful Noise unto the God of* Jacob.

On the sixth Day, *Psalm* xciii. *The Lord reigneth, He is clothed with Majesty.*

On the Sabbath Day they sang *Psalm* xcii, which bears the Title of *A Psalm or Song for the Sabbath Day*, both in the *Hebrew* Bibles, and the Translation of the *Septuagint.*

These were the known, and constant, and fixed *Psalms* for the several Days of the Week throughout the Year [*m*]. But upon some certain Days they had additional Psalms and Hymns. For on the Sabbath, as there was an additional Sacrifice appointed, *Numb.* xxviii. 9. so at the Time of this additional Sacrifice, the *Levites* sang the Song of *Moses*, Deut. xxxii. *Hear, O Heavens, and I will speak:* Which they divided into six Sabbaths for the Morning Service: and at the Evening Service they sang that other Song of *Moses*, Exod. xv. *I will sing unto the Lord, for he triumphed gloriously: The Horse and his Rider hath he thrown into the Sea*, &c. By which Custom of singing the Songs of *Moses* upon the Sabbath, Dr. *Lightfoot* observes [*n*], that that

[*l*] Lighfoot, *Temple-Service*, Chap. ix. Sect. 4. p. 108. [*m*] Lightfoot *Temple-Service*, Chap. vii. p. 59. [*n*] Ibid. p. 61.

Passage

Paſſage in *Rev.* xv. 3. may be illuſtrated, where the Saints are ſaid to *ſing the Song of* Moſes, *the Servant of God:* Becauſe they were now come to their everlaſting Sabbath, having gotten the Victory over the Beaſt, and over his Image, and over his Mark, and over the Number of his Name, and having the Harps of God in their Hands. Which Alluſion to the Sabbath Service in the time of St. *John*, is a good Argument for the Antiquity of the Practice.

Beſides this, there was an additional Sacrifice appointed on the firſt Day of the Year, called the *Feaſt of Trumpets*, Numb. xxix. 1. and at this time they ſang the eighty firſt *Pſalm*, *Sing aloud unto God our Strength*, &c. And at the Evening Service of this Day, the twenty ninth *Pſalm*, *The Voice of the Lord ſhaketh the Wilderneſs*, &c.

Alſo at the *Paſſover*, beſides many other Forms, they were uſed to ſing the Hymn, called, the *Egyptian Hallel*, becauſe it was ſung in Remembrance of their Delivery out of *Egypt:* Which conſiſted of the cxiii, cxiv, cxv, cxvi, cxvii, and cxviii *Pſalms.* And this, as ſome [*o*] obſerve, was ſung alſo at the Beginning of every Month, and on the *Feaſt of Dedication*, and the *Feaſt of Weeks*, and the *Feaſt of Tabernacles.* And the later Part of it is generally ſuppoſed to be the Hymn which our Saviour ſung with his Diſciples at the Concluſion of his laſt Supper.

This is the Sum of the Jewiſh Temple Service, as it ſtood in our Saviour's Time; with which, notwithſtanding its ſtated Forms, both he and his Diſciples comply'd, whenever they had Occaſion upon any ſuch Solemnities to frequent the Temple.

The Service of the Synagogue was ſomething different from that of the Temple. For here were no Sacrifices, but only theſe three Things: 1. Prayers. 2. Reading of the Scriptures. 3. Preaching and Expounding upon them. Their publick Prayers, like thoſe of the Temple, were all by ſtated Forms. Among theſe the moſt antient and ſolemn were thoſe which are called *Shemoneh Eſhreh*, that is, the eighteen Prayers, which are ſaid to have been appointed by *Ezra*, and the great Synagogue from the Time of the Captivity. Theſe have been lately tranſlated and publiſhed by Dr. *Prideaux* in his *Connection of Scripture-Hiſtory* [*p*], which becauſe it is a Work that deſerves to be in every one's Hands, I ſhall not here tranſcribe, but refer the Reader thither for the Knowledge of them. Only whereas he obſerves rightly, that another Prayer, called the nineteenth, was added a little before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, againſt the Chriſtians, who are therein meant under the Names of Apoſtates and Hereticks; I ſhall confirm his Obſervation from a Paſſage in *Epiphanius* [*q*], who tells us, that the *Jews* in their Synagogues were uſed to pray againſt the Chriſtians in this Form: καθαράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὺς ναζαραίυς, *O God, curſe the* Nazarenes. And the ſame thing is intimated by *Juſtin Martyr* [*r*], who ſays, immediately after our Saviour's Reſurrection the *Jews* ſent forth their choſen Emiſſaries to all the Synagogues in the World, to tell them, that there was a certain impious, lawleſs Sect riſen up under one *Jeſus* a *Galilean* Impoſtor, whom they had crucified, but his Diſciples came by Night, and ſtole him away out of the Grave, and deceived Men by ſaying, He was riſen from the Dead, and aſcended into Heaven: And he adds, that after their City was demoliſhed, they repented not, but even dared καθαράσθαι αὐτὸν, to curſe him, and all that believed on him. Which plainly refers to this additional Prayer inſerted into their *Liturgy* againſt the Chriſtians. But excepting this Prayer, which was of later Date, all the other ſeem to have been in Uſe in the Time of our Saviour and his Apoſtles. And as we are ſure they frequented the Synagogues, ſo there is no doubt to be made, but that they join'd in theſe uſual Forms of Prayer, which were one Part of the Synagogue Service.

The other Parts of this Service, were the Reading of the Law and the Prophets, and expounding of them to the People. Which was alſo done by a certain Rule and Order. For the five Books of *Moſes* were divided into as many Sections or Leſſons, as there are Weeks in the Year, one of which was read every Sabbath, and half of the ſame every *Monday* and *Thurſday*, which were their Days of Aſſembly for the Synagogue Service. At theſe our Saviour was uſually preſent, and ſometimes aſſiſted and officiated in Reading, according to Cuſtom, as a Member of the Synagogue, as is expreſly ſaid of him, *Luke* iv. 16. and at other Times taught in their Synagogues, *Mark* i. 39. *Luke* iv. 15, 44. which is alſo noted of St. *Paul*, *Acts* xiii. 15. and xvi. 13. and xvii. 2. and xviii. 4. that it was his Manner on the Sabbath Days to go into the Synagogues, where Prayer was wont to be made, and there, after the Reading of the Law and the Prophets, to preach to the People, and diſpute or reaſon with them. So that notwithſtanding the publick Service of the Synagogue was all performed by Order and Form, yet this was no Reaſon to the Apoſtles to refrain from it, as a Thing ſimply ſinful or unlawful; but they comply'd with it for ſome time, probably to gain upon the *Jews* the better, and make them lay aſide their Prejudices againſt the Chriſtian Doctrine.

But beſides their Compliance with the ſtated Forms of the Jewiſh *Liturgy* and Worſhip, they had ſome Forms of their own in conſtant Uſe among themſelves. Among which we may ſafely venture to reckon, 1. The Lord's Prayer, as a Form appointed by Chriſt to be uſed by all his Diſciples; of which the Primitive Chriſtians never made any Diſpute, as we ſhall ſee more fully hereafter. 2. The Form of Baptiſm, conſtantly uſed without any Variation, as has been ſhewed in a former [*] Book. 3. The Forms of profeſſing their Faith in Baptiſm, or the

[*o*] Otho. Lexicon. Rabbin. p. 236. [*p*] Part I Book vi. p. 375. [*q*] Epiphan. Hær. 29. Nazareor. in fine. [*r*] Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 335 [*] *Book* XI. *Chap.* iii.

Forms of ſound Words ſettled in every Church. 4. The Forms of Renouncing Satan, and Covenanting with Chriſt in Baptiſm. 5. The Forms of Scripture Hymns and Pſalms, and Glorifications of God. To which the Ancients ſeem to add ſixthly, the Forms of Benediction, ſuch as, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. And laſtly, the Repetition of the Hiſtory of Chriſt's Inſtitution of the laſt Supper, as a neceſſary part of Conſecration, which, together with the Uſe of the Lord's Prayer in the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, is generally thought to deſcend from Apoſtolical Practice. Theſe Things are ſufficient to ſhew, that even the Apoſtles themſelves, notwithſtanding the extraordinary Gift of inſpired Prayer, whether in Matter, or Method, or Words, or Languages, ſometimes confined themſelves to Forms, without any Reflection on their Gifts, or ſtinting of the Spirit, or want of Edification to their Hearers. If theſe Things be rightly conſidered, ſome of them at leaſt will evince, That the Uſe of well-choſen and well-appointed Forms, are no ways diſagreeable to Apoſtolical Practice, ſince the Apoſtles themſelves both comply'd with the Forms in Uſe in the Jewiſh Temple and Synagogue, and uſed ſome others of Chriſtian Inſtitution. I now proceed to carry this Enquiry through the three or four following Ages of the Church.

And here firſt we may add what *Joſephus* ſays of the *Eſſenes* [*s*], that they were uſed to riſe before the Sun was up, and offer unto God πατρίους τινας εὐχὰς, certain Prayers according to the Cuſtom of their Forefathers, or ſuch as they had received from them: And what *Philo* ſays [*t*] of the *Therapeutæ* of *Alexandria*, the *Aſceticks*, whether *Jews* or Chriſtians, that lived there in his Time, that the Preſident among them, after he had made a Sermon, firſt began to ſing an Hymn to the Praiſe of God, either ſuch as he had compoſed himſelf, or one taken out of the antient Prophets, in the Cloſe of which they all both Men and Women joined in Conſort with him. Again in their Vigils [*u*] they divided themſelves into two Quires, the one of Men, the other of Women, each of which had their Precentor, and ſo they ſang Hymns to the Glory of God, compoſed in divers ſorts of Metre, ſometimes one Side ſinging and ſometimes the other, in Imitation of the Children of *Iſrael*, under the Conduct of *Moſes* and *Miriam*, their Precentors, at the *Red-Sea*. This was ſo much a Reſemblance of the antient Chriſtian way of Pſalmody, that *Euſebius* [*x*], who tranſcribes a great many Things out of this curious Tract of *Philo*, was clearly of Opinion, that it was a Deſcription of the Worſhip of ſuch *Jews* as had embraced the Chriſtian Religion: In which Opinion he is followed not only by St. *Jerom* [*y*], but by many learned Writers of this laſt Age alſo. I ſhall not need to determine this Queſtion, whether they were *Jews* or Chriſtians: It is ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe, that their Way of Worſhipping God by certain Forms of Praiſe, and thoſe of human Compoſition, was the ſame, or ſo much alike, that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh the one from the other.

SECT. V. *What Evidence there is of the Uſe of ſet Forms in the ſecond Century.*

In the Beginning of the ſecond Century lived *Pliny*, a *Roman* Proconſul in *Bithynia*, who giving *Trajan* the Emperor an Account of the Chriſtian Way of Worſhip, which he had from the Mouth of ſome Apoſtates, ſays, They were uſed to meet on a certain Day before it was light, and ſing an Hymn alternately to Chriſt as God, binding themſelves by an Oath or Sacrament (not to any wicked Thing, but) that they would not ſteal, nor rob, nor commit Adultery, nor break their Faith, nor with-hold the Pledge [*z*]. The Word, *Carmen dicere*, which *Pliny* uſes, will ſignify a ſolemn Form of Prayer, as well as Praiſes, as *Voſſius* [*a*] and *Briſſonius* [*b*] have obſerved out of the *Roman* Writers: And then it will denote, that their whole Divine Service was by a ſtated Form. However in the moſt reſtrained Senſe it implies, that they uſed certain Forms in ſome part of their Service in their alternate Hymnody, which could not otherwiſe be performed but by Compoſition and Preſcription. And that makes it probable, that the reſt of their Service was then of the ſame Nature and Order.

In the Beginning of the ſame Century *Ignatius* is ſaid by the antient Hiſtorians to have brought in the Way of Alternate Singing [*c*] into the Church of *Antioch*; that is, Hymns ſung alternately to the Praiſe of the Holy Trinity. For they ſpeak not of the alternate ſinging of *David*'s Pſalms, as introduced by *Ignatius*, but of Hymns compoſed by him to ſet forth the Divinity of Chriſt: Which appears to have been a very antient Practice, not only from what has been already obſerved out of the Account given by *Pliny*, but from what is ſaid by that antient Author in *Euſebius* [*d*], who wrote againſt the Hereſy of *Artemon* in the latter end of the ſecond Century; where among other Arguments which he brings for the Church's conſtant Belief of our Saviour's Divinity, he urges this for one, that from the Beginning there were Pſalms and Hymns compoſed by the Brethren, and written by the faithful, ſetting forth the Praiſes of Chriſt as the Word of God, and declaring the Divinity of his Perſon. Among theſe Hymns we may reckon thoſe of *Ignatius*, compoſed for the Service of the Church of *Antioch*, which probably might continue in Uſe till *Paulus Samoſatenſis* removed them out of the Church, and introduced others in their room, as the Fathers of the

[*s*] Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12. [*t*] Philo de Vita Contemplativa tom. 2. p. 1214. [*u*] Philo ibid. p. 1215. [*x*] Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 17. [*y*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 21. [*z*] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. [*a*] Voſs. Comment. in loc. p. 97. [*b*] Briſſon. de Formulis p. 97. [*c*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Hiſt. Tripartita. lib. 10. cap. 9. [*d*] Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 28. *See this cited before*, Chap. ii. n. 3.

Council of *Antioch*, mentioned in *Eusebius* [e], object against him.

'Tis not improbable likewise, but that *Ignatius*, as he made Hymns, so might compose a whole Form of Prayers for the Use of his own Church, as was customary for Bishops to do in those Days. To which Custom he seems to refer in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, when he bids them do nothing without the Bishops and the Presbyters; nor attempt any thing seemingly agreeable to their private Fancies: But when they met [f] together, to have one Prayer and one Supplication. Which not only forbids them to break out and divide into Schisms and separate Assemblies, but also to conform to the Order of Prayers agreed upon by the Bishop and Presbytery of the Church.

Not long after *Ignatius*, we meet with the Collateral Evidence of *Lucian* the Heathen, who had some Knowledge of the Christian Service. For in one of his Dialogues, describing his coming into a religious Assembly, he says, he there heard that Prayer which began with the Father, and ended with the Hymn of many Names [g]. 'Tis more than probable, that by the Prayer beginning with the Father, he means the Lord's Prayer, which was of known and general Use in the Eucharistical Service: But it is not so clear what he means by the Hymn of many Names, that came after it. Bishop *Wettenhal* [h] takes it for the lesser or common *Doxology*, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*: Dr. *Smith* [i] and others, for the great *Doxology*, *Glory be to God on high*; which I think more probable: Though it is not necessary in our present Enquiry, to determine what Hymn it was: It being sufficient to our Purpose, that he speaks of some Prayers and Hymns then of such common and vulgar Use in the Christian Worship, as that they were known to the very Heathens.

Justin Martyr's Authority is commonly alledged on both Sides, both for and against *Liturgies*. The Defenders of prescribed Forms urge his mentioning κοιναὶς εὐχαὶς, Common Prayers [k]: The Opposers with great Vehemence argue for *extempore* Prayer, because he says, the Bishop offered Prayers and Thanksgivings ὅση δύναμις, with all his Might and Power [l]. Now to speak freely, I think there is no Demonstration in either of these Expressions: For they are both ambiguous. Common Prayer does not always imply, that the Minister prayed by a prescribed Form: For inspired Prayer was doubtless common Prayer, when offered in a publick Congregation: And though it was then a Form prescribed to the People, yet it was not so to the Minister; but conceived by immediate Inspiration. Therefore we cannot argue barely from the mentioning of common Prayer, that the Minister prayed by a prescribed Form, unless it be added, as usually it is in *Chrysostom*, that the Congregation prayed μιᾷ φωνῇ, with one Voice, joining vocally in the whole Prayer, or alternately by way of Responses, with the Minister. For that implies, that the People understood beforehand the Words of their common Prayers, before they were uttered by the Minister. On the other hand there is no Solidity in the Argument brought against *Liturgies*, from *Justin*'s saying, that the Bishop prayed and gave Thanks, ὅση δύναμις, with all his Ability or Power. For this may not at all relate to the Invention of Words, but to the Ardency and Intenseness of Devotion, which may be in the Use of prescribed Forms as well as those of immediate Conception. And so it is plain the very same Phrase is used by *Nazianzen*, when he exhorts the Christians to sing ὅση δύναμις, with all their Might, that triumphal Hymn [m] upon the Death of *Julian*, which the Children of *Israel* sang when the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red Sea*. Which was not an *extempore* Hymn, but a Form composed by *Moses*, and appointed to be sung alternately by the Congregation of *Israel*, Exod. xv. So that after all the Pains that has been taken by some late Writers to draw an Argument against *Liturgies* out of this Passage of *Justin*, there is no Reason for such a Conclusion: And yet this is the only Passage that is brought against them. But it is more material to consider, that *Justin* lived among the *Jews*, who certainly used set Forms of Prayer, one of which he condemns, as I have shewed before, as an Execration inserted against the Christians, but says nothing against the other, which yet doubtless he would have done, had he believed the Use of *Liturgies* to have been only a piece of *Jewish* Superstition, unbecoming the Spirit of a Christian. But he too well understood the Practice of our Saviour and his Apostles, in complying with the Forms of the *Jewish* Service, to put any such Mark or Brand of Infamy upon them. And therefore this is of more Weight with me, to persuade that *Justin* believed the known Forms both of the Jewish and Christian Service to be lawful, than any ambiguous Expressions are to persuade the contrary.

Not long after *Justin* lived *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*. And he takes Notice of a certain Form used in the Christian Worship, so well known to the *Valentinian* Hereticks, that they made Use of it as an Argument to prove their own fabulous Doctrine of the *Æones*: For, said they, You your selves of the Church in your Thanksgivings, say, *For Ages of Ages*, [n] *or* Æones *of* Æones; *thereby intimating the* Æones

[e] Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 24. [f] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnesian. n. 7. Μηδὲ προσέχητε ἑνωλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδία ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσοχὴ, μία δέησις. [g] Lucian. Philopatris. p. 1128. Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρξάμενον, καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ὠδὴν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθεὶς.
[h] Wettenhal. *Gift of Singing*. chap. 2. p. 273. [i] Smith. *Account of the Greek Church*, p. 226. Comber. *Orig. of Liturgies*. chap. 2. p. 30. *takes it for the* Trisagion. [k] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [l] Justin. ibid. p. 98. [m] Naz. Orat. 3. quæ est 1. Invectiv. cont. Julian. t. 1. p. 54.
[n] Iren. lib. 1. c. 1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς αἰῶνας συμαίνειν.

which

which we contend for. This plainly refers to ſome Form of Thankſgiving then of known Uſe in the Church. Dr. *Comber* and ſome others take it for the *Gloria Patri*, becauſe it ends as that in *Irenæus* did, with the Words, *World without End. Amen.* But I rather conceive with Dr. *Grabe* [*o*], that it was the Concluſion of the great Thankſgiving in the *Euchariſt*; where the Glorification of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, ends with the Words εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας τ῀ αἰώνων, *World without End*; to which the People always anſwered, *Amen*, as appears from the Form remaining in the *Conſtitutions* [*p*], of which more in its proper Place.

About the ſame time lived *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who ſpeaking of the Church, ſays, It was the Congregation of thoſe who proſtrated themſelves in Prayers, having as it were φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν, one common voice [*q*]. Which implies That their Prayers were ſuch as that they could join vocally in them, either by repeating the whole, or at leaſt by alternate Reſponſes. He alſo mentions a Form of Prayer uſed over the Penitents by the *Valentinians* Impoſition of Hands, in the cloſe of which were theſe Words [*r*], That they may obtain Angelical Abſolution. Not to mention that common Form of *Doxology*, which he uſes at the End of his *Pædagogue*, *To whom be Glory both now and for ever, World without End.* Amen.

Next after him *Tertullian* often tells us, That they uſed the Lord's Prayer as a Form enjoyned by divine Command; of which I ſhall ſay more in a following Chapter [*]. He alſo ſays [*s*], That the Form of Baptiſm was appointed and preſcribed by Chriſt to be always in the *Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* And not only ſo, but to this the Church added ſeveral other Ceremonies and Obſervations, which were not enjoyned expreſly in ſo many Words by Chriſt. As the Form of renounncing the Devil [*t*], and his Pomp, and his Angels; the trine Immerſion; the Interrogatories and Reſponſes, which were made in a certain Form to the Articles of the Creed; the giving of Milk and Honey to the newly baptized; the Obligation to abſtain from bathing for a whole Week after. All which Obſervations were only of Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution and Preſcription. So again their receiving the *Euchariſt* in their Morning [*u*] Aſſemblies before Day, which Chriſt inſtituted after Supper; their annual Oblations and Commemorations for the dead, their avoiding Faſting, and refuſing to pray kneeling on the Lord's Day, and the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*; their ſigning themſelves with the ſign of the Croſs upon all Occaſions; and their appointing of Occaſional Faſts [*x*], together with the Faſt of *Lent* and ſtationary Days. None of which were of expreſs Divine Command, but were inſtituted by the Church, with many other Obſervations of the like nature, for the Edification of her Children, as her Rules of Diſcipline, and Pſalmody, and ſinging a particular Pſalm at the *Euchariſt*, which is mentioned by our Author [*y*]. Again he intimates [*z*] that in all their Aſſemblies they had not only Sermons and Prayers, but alſo the Scriptures read, and Pſalms ſung to the Glory of God. Which muſt be allowed to be Forms of Praiſe and Glorification. Nor would it be material to ſuggeſt, that *Tertullian*, when he wrote this, was a *Montaniſt*: For both the Church and Hereticks commonly agreed in ſinging of *David*'s Pſalms, and even vied in Hymns of their own Compoſition and Preſcription. *Tertullian* indeed does not expreſly ſay, that their Prayers, like their Pſalms, were offered in a certain Form of Words: But he ſays what may incline a Man reaſonably to believe it. For as a Proof of the Chriſtians Loyalty, he ſays, [*a*] they met together, and as if they were drawn up in a Battle, did jointly ſet upon God with their Prayers, which Violence was acceptable to him. They prayed for the Emperors, for their Officers and Powers, for the State of the World, for the Peace of their Government, and for the Continuance of their Empire. And again he ſays, They prayed conſtantly for all the Emperors, that they might have a long Life and quiet Reign; that their Family might be ſafe, their Armies valiant, their Senate faithful, their People virtuous, and that the whole World might be in Peace. Now theſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, were known Parts of the Church's *Liturgy*; and if they had not been of conſtant Uſe, they had been but poor Arguments of the Chriſtians Loyalty, for which *Tertullian* here produces them. In another Place he expreſly mentions the ſame *Doxology* as *Irenæus* does before him; for ſpeaking againſt Chriſtians frequenting the *Roman* Theaters, he asks them, with what Face they could go [*b*] from the Church of God into the Church of the Devil? And with that Mouth, wherewith they had ſaid *Amen* at the Conſecration or Reception of the *Euchariſt*, give Teſtimony to a Gladiator? or ſay, *World without End*, to any beſides God and Chriſt, or to any beſides Chriſt their God? I do not take this, with ſome learned Men, to

[*o*] Grabe Not. in loc. Irenæi. [*p*] Conſtit. Apoſtol. lib. 8. cap. 12. [*q*] Clem. Strom. 7. cap. 6. p. 848. Edit. Oxon. [*r*] Clem. Epitome. p. 974. ἐν τ῀ χειροθεσία λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλει, εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν.

[*] Chap. 7. [*s*] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 13. Lex tinguendi impoſita eſt, & Forma præſcripta. Ite, &c. [*t*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. & 13. It. de Bapt. cap. 6. [*u*] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 3. [*x*] Tertul. de Jejun. cap. 13.

[*y*] Tertul. ibid. [*z*] Tertul. de Anima. cap. 9. Jam vero prout ſcripturæ leguntur, aut Pſalmi canuntur, aut Adlocutiones proferuntur, ut Petitiones delegantur: Ita inde materiæ viſionibus ſubminiſtrantur. [*a*] Id. Apol. cap. 39. Coimus in Cœtum & Congregationem, ut ad Deum, quaſi manu facta, Precationibus ambiamus orantes. Hæc vis Deo grata eſt. Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Miniſtris eorum & Poteſtatibus, pro ſtatu ſæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. It. cap. 30. Precantes ſumus ſemper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, *&c.*

[*b*] Tertul. de ſpectat. cap. 25. Quale eſt enim de Eccleſia Dei in Diaboli Eccleſiam tendere?—Ex ore illo, quo Amen in ſanctum protuleris, gladiatori teſtimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere niſi Deo Chriſto? *Or as other Copies have it,* niſi Deo & Chriſto.

mean

mean that common Form of *Doxology*, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. at the End of the *Pſalms*, but the Concluſion of the Conſecration-Prayer in the Communion-Service, which, as I noted before, always ended with thoſe Words, εἰς αἰῶνας, *World without End*, to which the People ſubjoyn'd their *Amen*. And then it is an evident Proof that the *African* Churches had a certain Form of Prayer for conſecrating the *Euchariſt*, the known Words of which *Tertullian* could alledge to the People, as an Argument to diſſuade them from frequenting the Heathen Theaters. He alſo intimates, that they ſang Pſalms and Hymns alternately in private [c]; for to diſſuade Chriſtian Women from marrying Heathen Husbands, he uſes this Argument, What will ſuch an Husband ſing to his Wife, or the Wife to her Husband? But if they married Chriſtian Husbands, then they would ſing Pſalms and Hymns between themſelves, and mutually provoke one another, and ſtrive [d] who ſhould make the ſweeteſt Melody to their God. And there is no doubt to be made, but that this private Pſalmody was an Imitation of the publick Pſalmody of the Church. So when he ſays, That at their Feaſts of Charity, after the Communion was ended, in the cloſe of all, when they had waſhed their Hands, and brought in Lights [e], every one was excited either to ſing ſomething out of Scripture, or ſome Hymn of his own compoſing: This as plainly argues, that they made uſe of Forms in this Part of their private Devotions. For the Pſalms of Scripture are undoubtedly Forms: And Hymns of private Compoſition are no leſs ſo, unleſs we will ſuppoſe every one that ſings, has Words ſuggeſted to him by immediate Inſpiration; which ſtill will be a Form to the Congregation that hears it, though not to the Perſon who is ſo extraordinarily inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt.

But there is one Expreſſion in *Tertullian*, which the Oppoſers of *Liturgies* lay great Streſs upon, becauſe he ſays, The Chriſtians prayed for the Emperor [f] *ſine Monitore, quia de Pectore*, without any Monitor, becauſe they prayed from their Heart: Which they expound praying *Extempore*. But if this be interpreted rigidly, it will prove much more than the Objectors deſign. For if they prayed ſimply without any Monitor, then it will exclude even the Miniſter's dictating to them his own Conceptions; becauſe theſe will be an Admonition or Direction to the People: and ſo all publick Prayer muſt ceaſe, and all Devotion be reſolved into the private Prayers of the People. Which is ſuch an Abſurdity, as neither *Tertullian* ever thought of, nor the Objectors themſelves will allow. Whatever therefore be meant by this Phraſe, Praying from the Heart without a Monitor; it cannot mean, that the People's Prayers were ſimply their own Conceptions. Among the many Interpretations which are put upon theſe Words by learned Men (which may be ſeen in Dr. *Faulkner* [g] or Dr. *Comber*) I take theſe two to be the moſt natural; Either firſt, That they prayed *Memoriter*, ſaying their Prayers by Heart, and needing no Prompter, as the Heathens did; which is the Senſe that *Rigaltius* [h] and Biſhop *Fell* [i] put upon it: In which Senſe it is an Argument for *Liturgies*, and not againſt them: Or ſecondly, That they prayed ſincerely from the Heart, and freely out of the Loyaly of their own Heart without Compulſion, as *Hamond Leſtrange* and Dr. *Comber* [k] interpret it. Which ſeems to be the trueſt Senſe: For the Heathens were neither ſincere, nor hearty, nor zealous in their Prayers for the Emperor; but the Chriſtians offered their Prayers with all thoſe due Qualifications, as became the Character of truly pious Votaries, and loyal Subjects. The Senſe of this dark Paſſage being thus cleared, it remains no Argument againſt *Liturgies*, unleſs a Man will ſay, there can be no ſuch thing as Sincerity and Heartineſs in a Form of Prayer. Which would be to condemn the whole Catholick Church in the time of *Tertullian*, from whoſe Teſtimonies it is evident, that Forms were generally uſed in moſt Parts of divine Service.

I have nothing farther to add in this Century, but only one or two ſmall Obſervations out of *The Acts of St.* Perpetua *and* Felicitas, two *African* Martyrs, who ſuffered in the latter End of this Age. There it is remarked of *Perpetua* [l] That ſeeming in a Viſion to receive the *Euchariſt* into her Hands and eat it, all that ſtood round her ſaid, *Amen*. Alluding to the Cuſtom of ſaying *Amen* at the Reception of it from the Hands of the Miniſter in the Church. There is a like Alluſion to the Uſe of the *Triſagion*, *Holy, Holy, Holy* [m], which the Angels uſed in Heaven. And a farther Intimation of the ſolemn Cuſtom of giving the Peace, and the Kiſs of Peace in the Communion. For 'tis ſaid [n], That *Perpetua* and her Brother *Saturus* ſaluted one another with a Kiſs before they ſuffered, that they might conſummate their Martyrdom by the ſolemn Rites of giving the Peace.

SECT. VI.
What Evidence there is for the Uſe of ſet Forms in the third Century.

IN the Beginning of the third Century, about the Year two hundred twenty, lived *Hippolytus* the Martyr, and Biſhop of *Adana* or *Portus Romanus* in *Arabia*. Among other learned Works, he wrote a Book

[c] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 6. Quid maritus ſuus illi, vel marito quid illa cantabit? [d] Ibid. cap. 9. Sonant inter duos Pſalmi & Hymni, & mutuo provocant, quis melius Deo ſuo canet. [e] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Ut quiſque de Scripturis ſanctis, vel de proprio ingenio poteſt, provocatur in medium Deo canere. [f] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. [g] Faulkner. Libertas Eccleſ. Book 1. Chap. 4. Sect. 2. Comber. Orig. of Liturgies, Chap. 2. p. 47. [h] Rigalt. in Tertul. cap. 30.

[i] Fell. Not. in Cypr. de Orat. p. 152. [k] Leſtrange, Smectymniomaſtix. p. 5. Comber of Liturgies. p. 49.

[l] Paſſio Perpetuæ. ad calcem Lactant. de Mort. Perſec. p. 10. Ego accepi junctis manibus, & manducavi: & univerſi circumſtantes dixerunt, Amen. [m] Ibid. p. 23. Introivimus & audivimus vocem unitam, Agios, Agios, Agios, ſine ceſſatione. [n] Ibid. p. 35. Ante jam oſculati invicem, ut Martyrium per ſolennia Pacis conſummarent.

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called Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις περὶ χαρισμάτων, *The Apostolical Tradition concerning Ecclesiastical Offices.* Which, according to the general Opinion of the most learned Criticks, Dr. *Bernard*, Dr. *Gale* and others [o], is no other than the eighth Book of those called *The Apostolical Constitutions*, which they think were compiled and published at *Rome* by this Author. And if so, there can be question what his Opinion was about the use of Forms in Divine Service: For that Book is nothing else but a Collection of such Forms, as either were in use, or made in Imitation of those that were then in use in the Church. I will not alledge any of them here, because I do it in every Part of this Work, and it would be very needless and superfluous here to repeat them.

Besides this, *Hippolytus* wrote a Book of Odes or Hymns upon several Parts of Scripture, some of which most probably were of use in the publick Service. For in another Treatise of the *Consummation of the World and Antichrist* [p], he commends the use of Doxologies, and Psalms, and spiritual Odes; and makes it one of the Signs of the Reign of Anti-christ, that Liturgy shall be extinguished, Psalmody shall cease, and Reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard. 'Tis true indeed, some Learned Men, Bishop *Usher* [q], *Combefis*, and *Du Pin*, reject this as a spurious Tract, composed by some modern *Greeks:* But as Learned Criticks, *Labbè* [r] and Bishop *Bull* [†], have undertaken to defend it, and answer all the Arguments that are produced against it. I will not enter into this Debate, but only say, that as there is nothing in this Passage now alledged dissonant to the Sense of *Hippolytus*'s other Works, we may be allowed to cite it in this Cause, till some clearer Evidence can be produced against it. *Hippolytus* wrote also a Book, called, *Canon Paschalis*, which *Scaliger* [s] and *Gothofred* [t] take to be a *Kalendar*, shewing what Lessons were to be read on several Festivals; as the first of St. *Matthew*, called Γένεσις, the Generation of Christ, on the Vigil of Christ's Nativity; and the Πάθος, or the History of his Sufferings out of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, on the Day of his Crucifixion: And it is certain from many Passages in St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Austin*, and others, that such *Kalendars* were used in the Church, as shall be shewed in another Place [u], when I come to speak of the antient Method of reading the holy Scriptures by a certain Rule and Order in Divine Service. But because *Ægidius Bucherius*, who has since republished this *Paschal Cycle*, and Dr. *Cave* [x] give another Interpretation of it, I will lay no greater Stress upon it than it will bear, contenting my self in so critical a Point to have suggested the Sense of learned Men, and leave the Matter to the farther Disquisition of the curious Reader; having otherwise given sufficient Evidence, that the Church in the time of *Hippolytus* used stated Forms of Prayer and Praises in her publick Service.

Not long after *Hippolitus* lived *Origen*, who was one of his Scholars, and took some of his Opinions from him. Now this Writer in of his *Homilies* upon *Jeremy* [y] expresly mentions one of the Prayers of constant Use in the Church: We frequently say in our Prayers, says he, *Grant us, O Almighty God, grant us a Part with Thy Prophets; grant us a Part with the Apostles of Thy Christ; Grant that we may be found at the Feet of Thy only Begotten Son.* Which is a Testimony so clear, that the *Centuriators* [z] made no Scruple to conclude hence, that Forms of Prayer were undoubtedly used in the Church in the Time of *Origen.* He elsewhere [a] says, the Christians used the ordered or prescribed Prayers, as became them continually Night and Day, whereby they were preserved against the Power of Magick and the Devil. For *Celsus* in his spiteful way had advanced an egregious Calumny against the Christians, pretending that he had seen in the Hands of some of their Presbyters certain barbarous Books, containing the Names of the Devils and their Impostors; hereby insinuating, that the Prayers which the Christian Presbyters had in their Books, were only magical Enchantments: Which Calumny *Origen* not only rejects with scorn, appealing to the Experience of the World, which knew it to be a Fiction; but also tells his Adversary farther, that the Prayers which they used by Order and Appointment, were such as render'd them invincible and Proof against all the Force of Magick and Power of the Devils. Now considering that the Objection of *Celsus* lay against the Service Books of the Christian Presbyters, 'tis reasonable to conclude, that *Origen*'s Answer relates to the same: For *Origen* does not deny that they had any such Books, but only says, their Prayers, which they were ordered to use, were of a different nature from what the Adversary had represented them.

To this we may add what *Origen* says in his *Comments* upon *Job*, that by antient Custom of the Church [b] the Book of *Job* was always read in *Lent*, and particularly in the Passion Week, as most properly adapted to that Occasion. The Reader may find this Passage at length hereafter [*], and therefore it is sufficient to hint in this Place, that the Scriptures in his Time were methodized and brought under Rule, being read by some certain Order and Prescription.

[o] Vid. Cave. Hist. Literar. Vol. 2. p. 45. [p] Hippol. de Consummat. Mundi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. 2. p. 357, & 362. [q] Usser. Biblioth. Theol. ap. Cave. Hist. Liter. t. 1. p. 70. Combefis. Auctarium Bibl. Patr. p. 51. Du Pin. Biblioth. Vol. 1. p. 104. [r] Labbè de Scriptor. Eccl. p. 471. [†] Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. Sect. 3. Chap. 8. p. 369. [s] Scaliger. de emendat. Temp. lib. 7. p. 726. [t] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theodos. lib. 15. tit. 5. de Spectaculis. leg. 5. p. 356. [u] *Book* XIV. *Chap.* iii. *n.* 3. [x] Vid. Cave Hist. Literar. Vol. 2. p. 47. [y] Orig. Hom. 11. in Jerem. p. 606. Frequenter in Oratione dicimus, Da Omnipotens, da nobis partem cum Prophetis; da cum Apostolis Christi tui; tribue ut inveniamur ad vestigia Unigeniti tui. [z] Centur. Magdeburg. Cent. 3. cap. 6. p. 94. [a] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 6. p. 302. Ταῖς προσαχθείσαις ἐυγαῖς συνεχέστερον ἢ δεύτερος νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας γρώμενοι. &c. [b] Origen. in Job. lib. 1. p. 366. [*] *Book* XIV. *Chap.* iii. *n.* 3.

Not long after *Origen*, St. *Cyprian* teſtifies not only that the Lord's Prayer was uſed as a Form, and as a ſpiritual Form, moſt acceptable to God, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; but alſo mentions ſeveral other Forms of common and noted uſe in Divine Service. As in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, every one was to renounce the Devil and the World in a certain Form of Words [c] then vulgarly known in the Church, which *Cyprian* more than once has occaſion to mention. They were likewiſe to make profeſſion of the ſeveral Articles of the Chriſtian Faith in a certain Form of Words, which every Church had for that purpoſe, and for this particular Uſe collected into a Creed. *Cyprian* [d] often ſpecifies both the Interrogatories, and the Anſwers that were made upon this Occaſion: And he aſſures us, they were ſo preciſe to a Form, that the *Novatians* themſelves [e] uſed the very ſame Words in their Queſtions and Reſponſes, as the Catholicks did: They obſerved the ſame Rule as the Church did; they baptized with the ſame *Creed*; they asked the Party, *Whether he believed in Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt? Whether he believed in the Remiſſion of Sins, and eternal Life by the Holy Church?* Which were the firſt and laſt Words in the *Creed*. So they kept cloſe to the ſame Form of Words, though they differed about the Senſe of them in ſome Particulars relating to Remiſſion of Sins, and the Church. Which is ſo clear an Argument for the Obſervation of a Form in Baptiſm, that I ſee not what can reaſonably be reply'd to it.

Then again, for the Prayers in the Adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt*, nothing can be more evident, than that the People bare a Part in them. I will not inſiſt on thoſe Expreſſions of his, that they had publick and common Prayer [f], becauſe they are capable of an Evaſion: But what he ſays of the People's anſwering to the Prieſt, is not to be evaded. For perſuading the People to uſe Diligence and Attention in their Prayers, he puts them in mind of an uſual Form of Speech, which the whole Church uſed to raiſe their Souls to a ſpiritual and heavenly Temper. The Prieſt, ſays he, before Prayer prepares the Hearts [g] of the Brethren, by premiſing a Preface, and ſaying, *Lift up your Hearts:* that whilſt the People anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*, they may be admoniſhed at that Time to think of nothing but the Lord only. What *Cyprian* ſays here of this Preface coming before the Prayer, is not ſo to be underſtood, as if it came before all the Prayers of the Church, but immediately before the Prayer of Conſecration in the Communion-Service: For, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, there came before this both the Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents, and the Prayers for the Faithful, or the whole State of Chriſt's Church; but when the ſolemn Prayer of the Oblation was to be made, then it was that the Prieſt called upon the People in this Form, *Lift up your Hearts*; and they anſwered, *We lift them unto the Lord:* The Prieſt went on again, and ſaid, *Let us give Thanks to our Lord God*; and the People anſwered, *It is juſt and right ſo to do.* Then followed the Euchariſtical or Conſecration Prayer, and the Lord's Prayer; and after that the Salutation, *Pax vobis*, *Peace be with you*; to which the People anſwered, *And with thy Spirit.* After which they gave one another mutually the Kiſs of Peace, and then proceeded to receive the holy Sacrament. This was the Form and Order of the Communion Service in St. *Auſtin*'s Time in the *African* Church; and it is very probable it might be much the ſame in the Time of *Cyprian*: But *Cyprian* had no occaſion to mention any other part of the Prayers, but only that which related to his particular Subject; which one is ſufficient to prove, that ſtated Forms of Prayer were then allowed in the publick Service of the Church of *Carthage*, and probably in the reſt of the *African* Churches.

At the ſame time with *Cyprian* lived *Firmilian*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who having occaſion to ſpeak of a certain Woman, an Impoſtor, who pretended to the Spirit of Prophecy, he ſays, ſhe took upon her [h] to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* with the venerable Invocation and Ceremony of Predication then commonly uſed in the Church: He means the Commemoration of God's great Bleſſings beſtowed upon Man, and the Repetition of the Hiſtory of the firſt Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, which by the Ancients is called *ἀνάμνησις*, *& ſolita Prædicatio*, a Thing ſeldom or never omitted in the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*. He adds alſo, that the ſame Impoſtor baptized many, uſing the common and appointed Interrogatories, that ſhe might not ſeem to vary in any thing from the Rule of the Church. She made them anſwer to every Article of the *Creed*, *the Creed* (as he calls it) *of the Holy Trinity*; ſhe put the uſual Queſtions to them

[c] Cypr. de Lapſis p. 125. Stare illic potuit Dei ſervus, & loqui & renunciare Chriſto, qui jam Diabolo renunciârat & ſæculo? It. Ep. 7. al. 13. ad Rogat. p. 37. Sæculo renunciaveramus, cum baptizati ſumus. [d] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Epiſcopos Numidas. p. 190. Sed & ipſa Interrogatio quæ fit in Baptiſmo, teſtis eſt veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, Credis in Vitam æternam, & Remiſſionem peccatorum per ſanctam Eccleſiam? Intelligimus Remiſſionem peccatorum non niſi in eccleſia dari, *&c.* [e] Id. Ep. 69. al. 76. Ad Magnum. p. 183. Eandem Novatianum Legem tenere, quam Catholica Eccleſia teneat; eodem Symbolo, quo & nos baptizare; eundem noſſe Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Chriſtum, eundem Spiritum ſanctum: —— Dicunt, Credis remiſſionem Peccatorum & vitam æternam per ſanctam Eccleſiam? [f] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 141. Publica nobis & communis Oratio eſt. It. Ep. 8. al. 11. ad Cler. p. 26. Oratione communi & concordi Prece pro omnibus juſſit orare. [g] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 152. Ideo & ſacerdos ante Orationem, Præfatione præmiſſa, parat Fratrum mentes, dicendo, Surſum corda: Ut dum reſpondet Plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur nihil aliud ſe quam Dominum cogitare debere. [h] Firmil. Ep. 75. ad Cypr. p. 223. Hoc frequenter auſa eſt, ut Invocatione non contemptibili ſanctificare ſe panem, & Euchariſtiam facere ſimularet, & Sacrificium Domino non ſine Sacramento ſolitæ Prædicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos, uſitata & legitima verba Interrogationis uſurpans, ut nil diſcrepare ab Eccleſiaſtica Regula videretur. —— Nunquid & hoc Stephanus, & qui illi conſentiunt, comprobant? Maxime cui nec ſymbolum Trinitatis nec Interrogatio Legitima & Eccleſiaſtica defuit? Poteſt credi aut remiſſio peccatorum data, aut Lavacri ſalutaris regeneratio rite perfecta, ubi omnia quamvis ad Imaginem veritatis, tamen per Dæmonem geſta ſunt, &c.

preſcribed by the Church, that is, *Whether they renounced the Devil, his Angels, his Pomp, and his Service?* And, *Whether they made a Covenant with Chriſt?* And ſhe did every thing *ad Imaginem veritatis*, according to the exact Method and Form that was obſerved in the Church. Now, though all this was done by the Devil, ſpeaking in an Impoſtor; yet being done according to the exact Rules of the Church, it argues, that the Church at that Time had a ſtated Rule and Order for adminiſtring both the Sacraments, and that the Forms were ſo well known, that this Woman could imitate them ſo exactly, as in nothing to vary from the uſual Solemnities either of Prayers, or other Ceremonies then obſerved in the Church. And if we conſider, that the Adminiſtration of the two Sacraments was then the moſt conſiderable Part of the Church's Service, this is as clear an Evidence as we can deſire, to prove that preſcribed Forms were now in uſe in the *Aſiatick* Churches.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, Biſhop of *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*, was Cotemporary with *Firmilian*, and he was a Man famous for working Miracles by the Spirit, whence he had the Name of *Thaumaturgus*, the *Wonder-worker*. There is no doubt but that he prayed alſo by the Spirit, yet he prayed by a Form; which ſhews, that praying by a Form, and praying by the Spirit, are not inconſiſtent. As he was the Founder of his Church (finding but ſeventeen Chriſtians when he came thither, and leaving but ſeventeen Heathens when he was taken from it) ſo he left them a *Liturgy* or Form of Divine Service, which they were ſo tenacious of, that, as St. *Baſil* [*i*] teſtifies of them, they would not ſuffer one Ceremony, or one Word, or one myſtical Form to be added to thoſe which he had left among them. He ſettled the way of ſinging Pſalms, not alternately, but by the common Voice of the People all joining together: And the Clergy of *Neocæſarea* were ſuch Admirers of this Rule, that when St. *Baſil* had introduced the Alternate Way into his own Church, they were offended at it, and objected againſt him, that it was not ſo in the Days of *Gregory the Great*. Upon which, St. *Baſil* was forced to write an Apologetical Epiſtle to them in Vindication of his Practice, wherein he ſhews, that the Way of Alternate Song was now conformable to the Practice of all the *Eaſtern* Churches, except that of *Neocæſarea*; and that however tenacious that Church had formerly been of the Ways and Forms of *Gregory*, yet in one Particular they had now made an Alteration: For in the Days of *Gregory*, they [*k*] had none of that peculiar Form of Prayers, called *Litanies*, which now in St. *Baſil*'s Time they had admitted into their Service, and were very zealous in the Uſe of it, notwithſtanding that it was neither of St. *Gregory*'s Compoſition, nor uſed at all in his Days. As this ſhews that the Uſe of *Litanies* was brought into the Church of *Neocæſarea* ſome Years after the Time of St. *Gregory*; ſo it as evidently proves that their other Forms were inſtituted by him, and derived their Original from his Compoſition, who was the firſt Founder of the Church.

Not long after this, we find a Complaint made by the Council of *Antioch*, *An.* 270, againſt *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, the heretical Biſhop of that Place, that he had forbidden the Uſe of ſuch [*l*] Pſalms or Hymns as were uſed to be ſung in the Church to the Honour of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under Pretence that they were only the Novel Compoſitions of late and modern Authors. I have already produced this Paſſage more at length [*] to prove the Worſhip of our Saviour: And here it ſerves to prove, that they woſhipped him by certain Forms of Praiſe, which the Biſhop caſt out of the Church, upon a Pretence of Novelty: Which was but a mere Pretence; for ſuch Forms of Praiſe had been in Uſe in the Church ἀπαρχῆς, from the Beginning, as the antient Writer againſt the Hereſy of *Artemon* in *Euſebius* [*m*] words it. And about the ſame time *Nepos* an *Egyptian* Biſhop, compoſed Hymns of the like Nature for the Service of the Church, for which he is commended by *Dionyſius* [*n*] Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who alſo himſelf uſed a certain Form of *Doxology* to the whole Trinity, as is reported by St. *Baſil* [*o*], who alſo tells us in the ſame place, that *Athenogenes* the Martyr compoſed Hymns to the Glory of the Holy Ghoſt; and adds, that the Hymn called *Hymnus Lucernalis*, the Hymn to be ſung at lighting of Candles in the Evening Service, containing a Glorification of the Holy Trinity, was of antient Uſe in the Church, ſo antient, that he knew not who was the Author of it. But I have already alledged theſe more at large [†] in vindicating the Worſhip of our Saviour, and therefore content myſelf barely to hint them as accuſtomed Forms of Praiſe in this Place.

I ſhall only note one Thing more in this Century, out of the Epiſtle of *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, to *Fabian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, recorded by *Euſebius*: Which is, that it was cuſtomary in thoſe Days for the Miniſter to uſe a Form of Words at the Delivery of the Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt*, ſaying, *The Body of Chriſt*, or *the Blood of Chriſt*, to which the People always anſwered, *Amen*. For *Cornelius* [*p*] ſpeaking of the Wickedneſs of *Novatian*, ſays, When he delivered the *Euchariſt* to the People, he obliged them inſtead of ſaying *Amen*, at the naming of it, to ſwear by the Body and Blood of Chriſt, that they would not deſert his Party, nor return to *Cornelius*. Which Cuſtom of ſaying *Amen*, in anſwer to the Miniſter, when he named the Body or Blood of Chriſt, is both an antient and

[*i*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 29. p. 360. ὁ προέξιν τινὰ, ὁ λόγον, ὁ τύπον τινὰ μυστικὸν, παρ' ὃν ἐκεῖνος καθῆκε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκαν. [*k*] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἐπὶ Γρηγορίου, ὡς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιλανθάνεσθε. [*l*] Conc. Antioch. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 30. [*] *Chap.* ii. *n.* 3. [*m*] Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 28. [*n*] Dionyſ. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. lib 7. cap. 24. [*o*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 29. [†] *See Chap.* ii. *n.* 2. [*p*] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabian. ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.

universal Practice. For *Tertullian* [q], as has been shewed already, mentions it long before; and we find it frequently in the Writers of the next Age, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Austin*, St. *Jerom*, and the Author of the *Constitutions*; of which I shall have occasion to speak more in another Place.

SECT. VII. *Evidence of the Use of set Forms in the fourth Century.*

IN the beginning of the fourth Century, *Arnobius* apologizing for the Christian Devotions, tells the Heathens, they might know that they worshipped the Supreme God, and called upon him for what they desired, by the Sound of their Voice [r] which they used in Prayer. He says, they all prostrated themselves before him, adoring him with joint Supplications [s]. And he gives us the general Heads of their Prayers, which are very agreeable to the ancient Forms of the Church, *viz.* That God would grant [t] Peace and Pardon to all Men, to the Magistrates, to the Armies, and to the Emperors; to their Friends and to their Enemies; to those that were alive, and those that were set at Liberty from the Bonds of the Body. Which Petitions are so conformable to the Method and Order of the ancient *Liturgies*, that one might have imagined them to be offered by a Form, though *Arnobius* had said nothing of their joint Prayers, or Vocal Consent in their Devotions.

Lactantius and *Eusebius* wrote after the great Persecution under *Diocletian* and his Associates was over: And they both take notice of Forms of Prayer appointed by the first Christian Emperors for their Soldiers to use, in Imitation of those of the Church. *Lactantius* says expressly, that when *Licinius* was about to join Battle with *Maximinus*, *Maximinus* made a Vow to *Jupiter*, that if he got the Victory, he would utterly extinguish and blot out the very Name of Christians. Upon which, the Night after an Angel of God came and stood by *Licinius* as he lay at rest, bidding him rise quickly, and pray to the most high God with all his Army, promising him the Victory if he did so. As soon as he heard this, he thought with himself that he arose and stood with the Angel who gave him this Warning, and who then taught him after what Manner and in what Words they should pray. Therefore awaking out of Sleep, he ordered a Notary to be brought to him, to whom he dictated the Prayer [u] in these very Words, as he had heard them: *O Thou most High God, we beseech Thee. O Holy God, we beseech Thee. We commend all the Justice of our Cause to Thee: We commend our Safety unto Thee: We commend our Empire unto Thee. By Thee we live, by Thee we are Victorious and Happy. O most High and Holy God, hear our Prayers. We stretch forth our Arms unto Thee. Hear us, O most High and Holy God.* These Words were written in many Books, and sent by the Generals and Tribunes, that they might teach them to their Soldiers. When the Day of Battel came, the Soldiers laid aside their Shields, and put off their Helmets, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, said the Prayer after the Emperor, their Generals repeating it before them. And this they did so loudly, that the adverse Army ready to be sacrificed heard the Echo of their Prayer. Which when they had repeated three times, they were inspired with Courage, and resuming their Arms, though they were but a few, they without any Loss gained a compleat Victory over their Enemies; whom the most High God, says our Author, delivered up to be slaughtered, as if they had come not to ingage in Battel, but as Men devoted to Death and destined to Destruction.

'Tis not many Years since this little Golden Tract of *Lactantius* came to light, and therefore probably this Testimony may not very often have fain under the Observation of every ordinary Reader. But as there is no Dispute to be made of the Truth of the Relation upon the Authority of *Lactantius*, so it is an Illustrious Evidence both of the Opinion of *Lactantius* and the general Sense of Christians, that they did not think Forms of Prayer unlawful, because they were written in a Book, nor the Repetition of them any Offence, for this Prayer was thrice repeated. If it should be said, that this Prayer was dictated immediately by an Angel; the same and more may be said of the Lord's Prayer, that it was dictated by Christ himself, and the Psalms were written as Forms of Prayer and Praise by an inspired Penman; and yet there are those, who for no other Reason but because they are Forms, despise the Use of them, when inserted into any *Liturgy* of the Church.

Parallel to this Testimony of *Lactantius* is that other Relation of *Eusebius* concerning *Constantine*, that he ordered all his Soldiers, as many of them as were Heathens, to go forth into the Field on the Lord's Day, and there with Hands and Hearts lift up to Heaven, to offer up to God μεμελετημένῃ εὐχῇ [x], a certain Prayer which they had learned and premeditated before. The Prayer was to be said in the *Latin* Tongue,

[q] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. [r] Arnob. lib. 1. p. 24. Summum invocare nos Deum, & ab eo quod postulamus orare, vel auribus potuit scire, vel ipsius vocis sono, qua utimur in precibus, noscitare. [s] Ibid. p. 25. Huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus. [t] Id. lib. 4. p. 181. Cur nostra meruerint immaniter Conventicula dirui? In quibus summus oratur Deus, Pax cunctis & venia postulatur, Magistratibus, Exercitibus, Regibus, Familiaribus, Inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, & resolutis corporum vinctione. [u] Lact. de Mort. Persecut. cap. 46. Discusso somno Notarium jussit asciri, & sicut audierat, hæc verba dictavit. Summe Deus, te rogamus. Sancte Deus, te rogamus. Omnem Justititiam tibi commendamus, salutem nostram tibi commendamus, Imperium nostrum tibi commendamus. Per te vivimus, per te victores & felices existimus. Summe sancte Deus, preces nostras exaudi. Brachia nostra ad te tendimus. Exaudi sancte summe Deus. Scribuntur hæc in Libellis pluribus, & per Præpositos Tribunosque mittuntur, ut suos quisque milites doceat. —— Erat jam utraque acies in conspectu. Liciniani scuta deponunt, galeas resolvunt, ad cœlum manus tendunt, præeuntibus Præpositis, & post Imperatorem precem dicunt. Audit acies peritura precantium murmur. Illi oratione ter dicta, virtute jam pleni, &c. [x] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 19.

which was the vulgar Language, and in this expreſs Form of Words: *We acknowledge Thee* [*y*] *to be the only God; we profeſs Thee to be our King; we call upon Thee as our Helper. It is from Thee we have our Victories; by Thee we are Superior to our Enemies. We give Thee Thanks for the by-paſt Favours and Benefits we have already received; and we hope in Thee for thoſe that are to come. We are all humble Supplicants unto Thee, beſeeching Thee to preſerve* Conſtantine *our King, with all his pious Children, and grant him long to Reign over us with Safety and Victory.* This was the Prayer which he enjoined the Heathens in his Army to uſe every Lord's Day.

As for thoſe that were Chriſtians, he commanded them to follow his own Example, and attend the Prayers of the Church on the Lord's Day, ſetting them a Pattern in his own Practice. He ordered his own Palace after the manner of a Church, firſt taking the Bible into his Hands, and reading and meditating therein, and then repeating the preſcribed Prayers [*z*] with all his Royal Family. Which ſhews that Forms of Prayer were then generally uſed in the Church, ſince *Conſtantine* uſed the preſcribed Prayers in his own Family, and thereby made it to reſemble the Church.

Euſebius highly extols and applauds *Conſtantine* for all this: Which argues that *Euſebius* himſelf was no Enemy to preſcribed Forms. And indeed we are beholden to his Hiſtory both for the Knowledge of this of *Conſtantine*, and many other Forms, which had been loſt, had it not been for his Care and Diligence in preſerving them; of which any Reader may be ſenſible, that conſiders how many things have already been alledged out of his Treaſury, eſpecially the Account which he gives of the *Eſſenes*, and their way of Worſhip out of *Philo Judæus*: For as it is evident that they worſhipped God by certain Forms, ſo it is as evident that *Euſebius* took them for Chriſtians, and their Worſhip for the way of Worſhip ſettled by the firſt Chriſtians at *Alexandria* [*a*]. It may not be improper alſo to obſerve, that *Euſebius* in one of his Letters recorded by *Socrates* [*b*] expreſsly ſays, that in the Church of *Cæſarea*, where he was Biſhop, they always had a *Creed* in a certain Form of Words (which he there repeats) whereby their Catechumens were to be inſtructed, and their Anſwers in Baptiſm to be made in the Words of it: And that thus it was that he himſelf had been there both catechized and baptized. And if his Church allowed a Form in Baptiſm, there is Reaſon to believe from what has been ſaid, that ſhe was not averſe to it in other Parts of Divine Service. Moreover from the time of the Council of *Nice*, we are well aſſured, that the *Creed* compoſed in that Council was uſed in moſt of the *Eaſtern* Churches as a preciſe Form, by which all Catechumens were to make their Reſponſes in Baptiſm, as I have proved [†] elſewhere upon another Occaſion, though it was not preſently admitted as a Form to be repeated, as now it is, in the ordinary Service of the Church: But its being allowed as a Form in Baptiſm is an Argument, that the Church had then no Exception againſt Forms, ſince ſhe enjoined them in the Adminiſtration of her Sacraments, which are the moſt conſiderable part of Divine Service.

Athanaſius as well as *Euſebius* was a Member of the Council of *Nice*, and there are plain Footſteps of a *Liturgy* in his Writings. In one place he declares, that when he ſaid, Let us pray for the Safety [*c*] of the moſt religious Emperor *Conſtantius*, all the People immediately with one Voice anſwered, *Chriſt help* Conſtantius. Which is exactly agreeable to the antient way of praying for Kings and others in the Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church, where the People were uſed to anſwer to every Petition, κύριε ἐλέησον, or σῶσον, *Lord have Mercy upon them*, or *Lord ſave and help them*, as will be ſhewed in its proper place.

Again, ſpeaking of the Communion-Service [*d*], he ſays, the People offered up their Prayers with one Voice, and without any manner of Diſagreement; and that in that great Multitude there was but one Voice, when they unanimouſly anſwered, *Amen*. It is evident alſo that in his time Pſalmody was in great Requeſt at *Alexandria:* For *Sozomen* [*e*] takes notice, that it was by the Advantage of this Practice, that *Athanaſius*, when he was beſet in the Church by his Enemies, eſcaped their Hands, whilſt he got out ſecretly in the Company of thoſe that were ſinging Pſalms. St. *Auſtin* alſo ſpeaks of it, and tells us [*f*] that *Athanaſius* made ſome Regulation in the way of ſinging, and brought in the Cuſtom of plain Song, ordering the Readers of the *Pſalms* to pronounce their Words with ſo little Inflexion or Variation of the Tone, that it looked more like Reading than Singing. It is farther obſervable out of *Ruffinus* [*g*] and the other Hiſtorians, who relate the Story of *Athanaſius* baptizing the Catechumens whilſt he was but a Youth, that the Queſtions and Anſwers and all other Ceremonies of Baptiſm were then performed by ſuch a certain Rule and Order in the Church, that *Athanaſius* was able to imitate them exactly, and omit nothing that was uſed to be done, but obſerved every Rite to a Tittle, as *Alexander* the Biſhop found upon Enquiry, when he came more ſtrictly to examine them. And this ſhews that not only in the time of *Athanaſius*, but in the days of *Alexander* his Predeceſſor, ſuch

[*y*] Euſeb. Ibid. cap. 20. [*z*] Euſeb. ibid. cap. 17. Ἅτ' ἐυχὰς ἐνδέσμας σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον πληρώσιν ἀπεδίδυ. [*a*] Vid. Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 17. [*b*] Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8. [†] *Book* X. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 17. [*c*] Athanaſ. Apol. ad Conſtant. p. 679. Μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἐυξώμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, &c. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐυθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἐβόα, Χριστὲ βόηθει Κωνσταντίῳ. [*d*] Athan. ibid. p. 683. Μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν γενέσθαι τὴν φωνὴν. &c. [*e*] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6. Συμφώνε ὂ τῆς ψαλμῳδίας γενομένης. &c. Vid. Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 11. Περιτάξας διακόνῳ κηρύξαι ἐυχὴν. &c. Theod. lib. 2. cap. 13. [*f*] Aug. Confeſs. lib. 10. cap. 33. Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat ſonare Lectorem Pſalmi, ut pronuncianti ſimilior eſſet quam canenti. [*g*] Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 14. Diligenter inquirens, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve reſponderint, videt ſecundum Religionis noſtræ ritum cuncta conſtare, &c.

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ſort of Forms were of conſtant Uſe in the Church. *Athanaſius* himſelf alſo not only mentions their Pſalmody, but tells us, that it was ſo ordered, the People might bear a part in it. For though the Antiphonal way of ſinging Verſe for Verſe, by way of alternate Song, was not yet brought into the Church in repeating *David*'s *Pſalms*, yet it was uſual ſometimes for the People to join in the Cloſe of a Verſe, and repeat it together with the Reader. And this was called ὑπηχεῖν and ὑπακούειν, to come into the Conſort at the Cloſe. Whence *Athanaſius*, ſpeaking [*b*] of that great Aſſault made upon his Church, mentioned before by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, ſays, he commanded the Deacon to read a Pſalm, to which the People did ὑπακούειν, that is, not barely hearken, as the unskilful Tranſlator renders it, but repeat in the Cloſe theſe Words, *For his Mercy endureth for ever.* Of which way of Singing I ſhall ſay more hereafter in its proper place, *Book* XIV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 12. Here I ſhall only Note farther, that *Athanaſius* deſcribing the great Barbarities and Indignities which the *Arians* ſhewed to the Matrons and Virgins in the very Church, mentions one Virgin [*i*] whom they deſpitefully uſed, having her Pſalter in her Hand. Which no doubt ſhe had to join in ſinging *David*'s *Pſalms*, according to the Cuſtom of the Church. And the Book *de Interpretatione Pſalmorum* is nothing elſe but a Direction how to uſe the Pſalms as Forms of Prayers and Praiſes upon all particular Occaſions; where, among other Things, he obſerves [*k*], that the lxii or lxiii *Pſalm*, *O God, my God, early will I ſeek Thee*, was always a *Pſalm* to be uſed at Morning Prayer. And the Author of the Book of *Virginity* [*l*] among his Works, ſays the ſame; which is alſo mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom* and ſome others about this time, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in conſidering the Order and Method of Morning-Service. *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x. *n.* 2.

Athanaſius lived forty ſix Years Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and continued in being till the Year 371. During which Interval, we have the concurrent Teſtimony of *Juvencus* and *Pachomius*, and all the *Egyptian* Monaſteries; of *Flavian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, *Optatus*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Ephrem Syrus*, St. *Baſil* and *Apollinaris*, the ſuppoſed Author of the Books under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, together with the Council of *Laodicea*. And not long after, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Chryſoſtom*, with ſeveral *African* Councils, all within the Compaſs of this fourth Age in which *Athanaſius* lived.

Juvencus flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* in *Spain*, and being a Poet, turned the Hiſtory of the Goſpel into Verſe, and St. *Jerom* adds, that he wrote a Book [*m*] in the ſame way, giving an Account of the Order of the Sacraments of the Church. Now if we conſider, what has been obſerved before [*], that in Eccleſiaſtical Style, *Ordo Sacramentorum*, commonly denotes a Book of Divine Offices, it is moſt probable that this Work of *Juvencus* was no other but the Offices or Forms of Divine Service turned in Verſe.

Pachomius about the Year 340 brought the *Egyptian* Monks into Communities, and ſettled them under Rules; one of which was to meet twice a-day, and ſing a certain Number of *Pſalms*, with Prayers intermixed, as may be ſeen in the Accounts which *Caſſian* [*n*], *Palladius* [*o*], and St. *Jerom* [*p*] give of them. Now it muſt owned, that whatever their Prayers were, their Pſalmody was Matter of Form, whether ſung ſingly or alternately: And though they did not repeat the uſual *Doxology*, *Glory be to the Father*, as was uſual in the *Weſtern* Church at the End of every *Pſalm*, yet they did it at other times at the end of their *Antiphon*'s, as *Caſſian* [*q*], an Eye-witneſs of their Service, informs us.

About the Year 350, lived *Flavian*, firſt a Presbyter, and then Biſhop of *Antioch*. Whilſt he was Presbyter, it happened that *Leontius*, the *Arian* Biſhop, made an Alteration in the common *Doxology*, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. to make it favour his Hereſy. Upon this, *Flavian* and *Diodorus* withdrew from his Communion, and aſſembled with the People at the Monuments of the Martyrs; where, dividing the People into two Parts, they taught them to ſing the *Pſalms* of *David* [*r*] alternately; which Cuſtom beginning firſt at *Antioch*, was from thence propagated all the World over. After this manner *Theodoret* relates the Story: Where it is eaſy to obſerve, 1ſt, That the Form of Glorification was an antient Thing, and only *Leontius* made an Innovation in it. 2. That the ſinging of *David*'s *Pſalms* was antient too, which are Forms both of Prayers and Praiſes; and *Flavian* was not the Author of that Service, but only of the alternate way of ſinging them. And whereas it is ſaid by *Socrates*, that *Ignatius* had introduced the *Antiphonal* way of ſinging before, that is not to be underſtood of *David*'s *Pſalms*, but of other Hymns compoſed to the Glory of the Holy Trinity; which, as we have ſeen before, were always in uſe in the Chriſtian Church. And *Theodoret* adds, 3dly, That this way of Singing was ſo taking to the People of *Antioch*, that they all deſerted *Leontius*, and he was forced to beg of *Flavian*, that he would bring back this λειτουργίαν, this *Liturgy* or Service, into the Churches.

About the ſame time lived *Cyril*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who in his *Catechetical Diſcourſes to the newly Baptized*, takes notice of many Forms

[*b*] Athan. Apol. ad Conſtant. p. 717. Περιέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. &c. [*i*] Athan. Epiſt. ad Orthodoxos, p. 947. [*k*] Athan. de Interpr. Pſalmor. ad Marcellin. t. 1. p. 975. [*l*] Athan. de Virgin. p. 1057. [*m*] Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. cap. 84. Nonnulla eodem metro ad Sacramentorum Ordinem pertinentia compoſuit. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* i. *n.* 6. [*n*] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 6. [*o*] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. cap. 38. [*p*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. c. 15. [*q*] Caſſian. lib. 2. cap. 8. [*r*] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.

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that had been of ancient Uſe in the Church. In his firſt *Catechiſm* [*s*] he tells them the Meaning of the Ceremonies uſed in Baptiſm: Ye were firſt brought in, ſays he, into the Ante-room of the Baptiſtery, and placed towards the *Weſt* in a ſtanding Poſture, and then commanded to renounce Satan, by ſtretching out your Hands againſt him, as if he had been preſent. A little after he explains the Meaning of their doing this toward the *Weſt*. The *Weſt*, ſays he, is the Place of Darkneſs, and Satan is Darkneſs, and his Strength is in Darkneſs. For this Reaſon ye ſymbolically look toward the *Weſt*, when ye renounce that Prince of Darkneſs and Horror. For what did every one of you then ſay ſtanding? *I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy Works, and all thy Pomp, and all thy Worſhip and Service.* After this, he tells them [*t*], they turned from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt*, which is the Region of Light and place of Paradiſe, and then were commanded to ſay, *I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and in one Baptiſm of Repentance.* In his ſecond Diſcourſe, he reminds them of their Unction in the Baptiſtery [*u*], and their repeated Confeſſion of the Holy Trinity, and their Trine Immerſion. In his third Diſcourſe, he treats of [*x*] the ſecond Unction with the holy Chriſm, which was then uſed in Confirmation, immediately after they were come out of the Waters of Baptiſm. In his fifth Diſcourſe, he treats of the Ceremonies uſed in the Communion-Service, where firſt he ſpeaks [*y*] of the Deacons bringing Water to the Biſhop and Presbyters to waſh their Hands, in Token of Mens Obligation to purify themſelves from Sin. Then the Deacon cries out, *Embrace and ſalute* [*z*] *one another with an holy Kiſs.* After this, the Prieſt cries out [*a*] *Lift up your Hearts*; and ye anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* He ſays again, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*; and ye anſwer, *It is meet and juſt ſo to do.* After this, we make mention of Heaven, and Earth, and Sea, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the whole Creation, Rational and Irrational, Viſible and Inviſible, Angels and Archangels, Dignities, Dominions, Principalities and Powers, Thrones and Cherubims, and with them we ſing the Seraphical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbaoth.* After which, we beſeech the merciful God, that he would ſend forth his Spirit upon the Elements, and make the Bread the Body of Chriſt, and the Wine the Blood of Chriſt. Then after this ſpiritual and unbloody Sacrifice and Service is performed, we beſeech God for the common Peace of the Church, for the Tranquillity of World, for the Kings and their Armies and Allies, for the Sick and Afflicted; and, in a word, for all that want Aſſiſtance, ſaying, *We beſeech Thee for them, and offer this Sacrifice unto Thee.* Then we make mention of thoſe that are faln aſleep, firſt Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs, that God through their Prayers and Interceſſions may receive our Prayers; and after we pray for our holy Fathers and Biſhops, and all that are departed this Life before us. Then we ſay that Prayer which our Saviour gave to his Diſciples, calling God by the Name of Father, and ſaying, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* After which, the Prieſt ſays, *Holy Things for thoſe that are holy.* And the People anſwer, *There is One holy, One Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Then one is appointed to ſing thoſe Words of the xxxiiid *Pſalm*, *O taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious*, as an Excitement to receive the Communion; and every one communicates, ſaying, *Amen* twice, when firſt he receives the Body of Chriſt into his Hand, and afterward the Cup of his Blood. Finally, when all have communicated, he tells them, they are to wait for Prayer again, and give God Thanks for making them Partakers of ſo great Myſteries.

Now one muſt be blind that cannot ſee the plain Footſteps and Forms of a ſtated *Liturgy* in all this. And therefore I ſhall make no other Deſcant upon them, but only this, that undoubtedly before St. *Cyril* wrote thoſe Lectures, there was a preſcribed *Liturgy*, and Offices in Form for the Adminiſtration both of Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt* in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, and thoſe handed down from their Fore-fathers, though it be not poſſible to trace every Thing preciſely to its firſt Original.

Co-temporary with *Cyril*, was *Hilary* Biſhop *Poictiers*, of whom St. *Jerom* [*b*] ſays, That he wrote a Book of Hymns and Myſteries, which moſt probably were the Forms of the holy Offices then uſed in the Church. It is certain, his Hymns, together with thoſe of St. *Ambroſe*, were afterwards in great requeſt in the Church; and when ſome excepted againſt them, as only of human Compoſition, the fourth Council of *Toledo* ordered [*c*] them to be retained in the Church's Service, together with the Hymns, *Glory be to the Father*, and *Glory be to the God on high*; threatning Excommunication to any who in the Churches of *Spain* and *Gallicia* ſhould reject them. *Hilary* himſelf plainly intimates, that both the Prayers and Hymns were ſuch, as all the People with an audible Voice might joyn in them. Let every prophane Hearer, ſays he [*d*], be terrified with the Words of our Confeſſion: *Let us fight againſt the Devil and his Weapons with the Sound*

[*s*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 1. n. 2. p. 278. [*t*] Cyril. ibid. n. 6. p. 283. [*u*] Cyril. Catech. 2. n. 3, & 4. [*x*] Catech. 3. n. 2, & 3. [*y*] Catech. 5. n. 1. [*z*] Ibid. n. 2. [*a*] Ibid. n. 3. [*b*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 100. Liber Hymnorum & Myſteriorum. [*c*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. Quia à nonnullis Hymni humano ſtudio in laudem Dei, atque Apoſtolorum & Martyrum triumphos compoſiti eſſe noſcuntur, ſicut hi quos beatiſſimi Doctores Hilarius atque Ambroſius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam ſpecialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis ſanctorum Canonum, vel Apoſtolica Traditione non exiſtunt, &c. [*d*] Hilar. in Pſal. 65. p. 232. Terrendus eſt Confeſſionis noſtræ ſermone omnis prophanus Auditor: Et adverſus Diabolum, armaque ejus Orationum noſtrarum Sonitu certandum eſt, & belli noſtri victoria exultationis Voce monſtranda eſt. Audiat orantis populi conſiſtens quis extra Eccleſiam vocem; ſpectet celebres Hymnorum Sonitus; & inter Divinorum quoque Sacramentorum Officia Reſponſionem devotæ Confeſſionis accipiat.

of our Prayers, and let the Victory of our War be proclaimed with the Voice of Exultation. Let him that ſtands without the Church hear the Voice of the People praying, let him perceive the glorious Sound of our Hymns, and hear the Reſponſes of our devout Confeſſion in the Offices of the Divine Sacraments. He that can make out all this from the Peoples ſilent Conſent in Heart only to the Miniſter's Prayer, without any Vocal joining in Forms of Prayer and Praiſes, may make any Thing out of any Thing, and it were not worth while to produce any manner of Evidence for ſuch a Man's Conviction. I only note farther out of *Hilary*, that theſe Prayers and Hymns were both for Morning and Evening Service [*e*]. The Church had her Out-goings both Morning and Evening to praiſe God: She began the Day with Prayers, and ended the Day with Hymns to God.

Chronologers are not exactly agreed about the time of the Council of *Laodicea*. *Labbè* and others place it before the Council of *Nice*, about the Year 319. Biſhop *Beverege* about the Year 365. But on all Hands it is agreed to be within this Century. Now here are ſeveral Canons, which plainly ſhew the Uſe of preſcribed Forms in the Service of the Church. The ſeventh Canon orders, that ſuch as returned from the Hereſies of the *Novatians*, the *Photinians*, and the *Quartadecimani*, ſhould firſt learn the *Creeds* of the Church, and be anointed with the holy Chriſm, before they were admitted to the Communion of the holy Myſteries. Which implies, that the *Creeds* were then in a certain Form, ſince they were obliged to learn them. The fifteenth Canon orders, that none ſhould ſing in the Church except the Canonical Singers, who went up into the *Ambo*, or Reading-Desk, and ſang from a Book, ἀπὸ διφθέρας. The ſeventeenth Canon forbids the continuing of *Pſalms* one after another, and orders a Leſſon to be read after every *Pſalm*. The eighteenth orders the ſame *Liturgy* of Prayers to be uſed at the *Nones*, that is, three a Clock in the Afternoon, and at Evening Service. The nineteenth orders the Method of Divine Service, that after the Biſhop's Sermon, ſhould follow the Prayers for the Catechumens; and after they were gone, the Prayers for the Penitents; and when they had been under the Biſhop's Hand, and were retired, then the three Prayers for the Faithful or Communicants: The firſt whereof were to be in Silence, the ſecond and third by way of Bidding Prayer and audible Invocation. Then the Preſbyters were to give the Kiſs of Peace to the Biſhop, and Laymen to one another; after which, the holy Oblation was to be made, thoſe only of the Clergy communicating within the Rails of the Altar. This Canon plainly deſcribes the Order and Method of the antient Service, as it was performed in that Age; and though the ſeveral Forms of Prayer here mentioned are not ſet down, yet we are ſure they were in Uſe at that time, and therefore a brief Reference, ſuch as was ſuitable to the Compſs of a ſhort Canon, is made to them, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in another Place [*]. The twenty ſecond Canon orders, that the Subdeacon ſhall not wear the *Orarium*, which was a Scarfe or Tippet belonging to the Deacons, by which they were uſed to give the Signal or Directions to the People in the Performance of the ſeveral Parts of Divine Service. The forty ſixth Canon orders thoſe that are to be baptized, to learn the *Creed*, and on the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter* to rehearſe it to the Biſhop or Presbyters. The forty ſeventh Canon appoints thoſe that were baptized in Sickneſs, afterwards to learn the *Creed* alſo; which implies, that the *Creed* was then in a certain Form of Words. The fifty ninth Canon orders, that no *Pſalms* compoſed by private Men, ſhould be ſung in the Church; which argues, that Hymns compoſed by private Men were only to be diſcarded, but others were allowed that were authentick. And this is full Proof, that Forms of Divine Service were in Uſe at the time of this Council.

About the Year 368, *Epiphanius* was made Biſhop of *Salamis* or *Conſtantia* in *Cyprus*. And that he approved Forms of Prayer appears from the frequent Teſtimony he gives to the Book called, *The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, the eighth Book of which is nothing but a Collection of ſuch Forms. *Cotelerius* [*f*] has compared the ſeveral Places in the *Conſtitutions* with thoſe that *Epiphanius* alledges out of them, and ſhewed them to be the ſame in Subſtance: Particularly he obſerves, that *Epiphanius* in one Place [*g*] gives the *Conſtitutions* this Character, that they contain all Canonical Order, and nothing contrary to the Faith, or Confeſſion, or the Adminiſtration and Rules of the Church. Which no Man could ſay, that did not approve of the ſeveral Forms of Worſhip contained therein. And therefore when *Epiphanius* ſays [*h*] in another Place, that the Church obſerved her Morning Hymns and Prayers, and her Evening *Pſalms* and Prayers, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that all theſe were according to preſcribed Forms, as it is certain at leaſt the *Pſalms* and Hymns were. But there is one Place in *Epiphanius*'s Epiſtle to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, which evidently proves that the Communion-Service was then performed by a preſcribed Office and Form. For *Epiphanius* having been accuſed to *John*, as if he had reflected on him in his Prayers, ſaying thus, *Lord grant that* John *may believe aright:* To clear himſelf of the Accuſation, he denies that ever he prayed ſo for him in publick (though he did ſo privately in his Heart) and for the Truth of this, he ap-

[*e*] Id. in Pſal. 64. p. 231. Progreſſus Eccleſiæ in Matutinum (leg. Matutinorum) & Veſpertinorum Hymnorum delectatione maximum miſericordiæ Dei ſignum eſt. Dies in Orationibus Dei inchoatur, Dies Hymnis Dei clauditur. [*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* i. [*f*] Coteler. Teſtimonia Veterum præfixa Conſtitut. Apoſtol. [*g*] Epiph. Hær. 70. Audianor. n. 10. Πᾶσα ἐν αὐτῇ κανονικὴ τάξις ἐμφέρεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξῃρεσεγγυμένον τῆς πίστεως, οὐδὲ τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διοικήσεως, καὶ κανόνος. [*h*] Epiph. Expoſ. Fid. n. 23. t. 1. p. 1106.

peals

peals to the Words of the Communion-Offices then in publick Uſe: When we offer up Prayers in the Communion-Office, ſays he [*i*], we uſe theſe Words for all Biſhops, and for you alſo: *Keep him who preacheth the Truth:* Or certainly thus, *Lord, grant our Requeſts, and keep him that he may preach the Word of Truth*, as the Occaſion of the Words requires, and as the Order of the Office for Prayer directs. To underſtand which aright, we are to conſider, that antiently in the Communion-Service there were two Prayers where Biſhops were prayed for; one in the Prayer for the Whole State of Chriſt's Church before the Oblation, and the other in the Prayer immediately after the Oblation, when all States of Men were again ſolemnly commemorated and recommended to God; as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Now in reference to theſe two Prayers, *Epiphanius* ſays, they prayed either thus or thus, as the Occaſion of the Words required, and the Order of the Office directed. Which is a manifeſt reference to the two Prayers in which theſe Words were contained, and as plain an Argument for preſcribed Forms, as can be required. And indeed the Word *Conſequentia*, which in *Greek* no doubt was ἀκολουθία, ſhews as much: For that always ſignified a ſtated Form or preſcribed Order of Prayers. Of which the Reader may find Examples enough in *Suicerus Theſaurus*, or *Meurſius*'s Gloſſary, which need not here be inſerted.

Optatus Biſhop of *Milevis* was co-temporary with *Epiphanius*; and he has a great many plain References to the Forms then uſed in the publick Service. He tells the *Donatiſts*, that by confining the Church to their own Party, they had fruſtrated the Intent of the Holy Spirit, which had preſignified that the Name of God ſhould be praiſed with Pſalms and Hymns *over all the Earth, from the riſing of the Sun to the going down thereof*; and that in effect they had defrauded God [*k*] of his Praiſe: For if they only were the true Church that was to praiſe him, the reſt of the World, *from the riſing of the Sun to the going down thereof*, muſt be ſilent: They had ſhut the Mouth of Chriſtian Nations, and impoſed ſilence upon all People, however deſirous to praiſe God at the proper Seaſons. Which manifeſtly implies, That Pſalmody was then a Part of the People's Devotions all the World over, and that the *Donatiſts* were injurious to God, whoſe Principles tended to defraud him of it. Again he ſpeaks of the Prayer for the whole Church in the Time of the Oblation, as a Form ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by Law, that the *Donatiſts* themſelves would not venture to make any Alteration in it. Who doubts, ſays he [*l*], but that you continue to uſe that ſettled Form of Words in the Celebration of the Sacrament, and never omit to ſay, That you offer for that one Church which is diffuſed over all the World? He ſays the ſame of the Uſe of the Lord's Prayer [*m*] in the Communion Service, that the *Donatiſts* continued to uſe it as well as the Catholicks: For he obſerves, that though they gave Impoſition of Hands and Abſolution to Sinners in ſuch an haughty and ſupercilious Manner, as if they themſelves had had no Sin; yet not long after, when they turned to the Altar, they could not omit the Lord's Prayer, wherein they ſaid, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes and Sins*. The Lord's Prayer, he ſays, was of one and the ſame Uſe with them both. He ſays alſo, the common Form of Salutation eſtabliſhed by Law, was likewiſe retained by the *Donatiſts*: For they could not omit ſaying, *Peace be with you* [*n*]; They retained the Name, when they had loſt the Subſtance. He ſays farther, that the *Catholicks* and *Donatiſts* uſed the ſame Interrogatories in Baptiſm: They asked the Catechumen [*o*] whether he renounced the Devil? And whether he believed in God? And he anſwered, I renounce, I believe. Only the *Donatiſts* did one thing amiſs, in repeating theſe things over again, and Re-baptizing thoſe whom the *Catholicks* had baptized before. He ſeems alſo to hint ſomething of the antient Form of Exorciſing Catechumens before Baptiſm, when he tells the *Donatiſts*, that by re-baptizing *Catholicks*, who were already baptized, and in [*p*] whom God dwelt, they ſaid in effect to God, *Go out thou curſed One*. For this was the Phraſe then uſed in *Exorciſm*, which was a Prayer, as St. *Cyril* [*q*] calls it, for expelling Satan out of the Catechumen: And theſe Words of *Optatus* ſeem plainly to be taken out of the Prayers of *Exorciſm* then commonly uſed in the Church. There is one thing more very obſervable in *Optatus*, He ſays a Rumour was once ſpread in *Africk*, that the Emperor's Officers were to come and make ſtrange Alterations in the Church, by placing Images upon the Altar in time of Divine Service. Which flying Report put the People into great Conſternation and Confuſion. But they were preſently quieted again, when they ſaw thoſe Officers come, and no ſuch Alterations

[*i*] Epiphan. Epiſt. ad Joan. Hieroſol. T. 2. p. 313. Quando autem complemus Orationem ſecundùm Ritum Myſteriorum, & pro omnibus, & pro te quoque dicimus, Cuſtodi illum qui prædicat Veritatem: Vel certe ita, Tu præſta, Domine, & cuſtodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis, ſicut occaſio ſermonis ſe tulerit, & habuerit Oratio conſequentiam. [*k*] Optat lib. 2. p. 47. Fraudatis aures Dei: Si vos ſoli laudaris, totus tacebit orbis, qui eſt ab ortu ſolis uſque ad occaſum. Clauſiſtis ora omnium Chriſtianarum gentium: Indixiſtis ſilentium populis univerſis, Deum per Momenta laudare cupientibus, &c. [*l*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 53. Quis dubitet vos illud Legitimum in Sacramentorum Myſterio præterire non poſſe? Offerre vos dicitis pro una Eccleſia, quæ ſit in toto terrarum orbe diffuſa. [*m*] Ibid. p. 57. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis & delicta donatis, mox ad altare converſi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non poteſtis, &c. It. lib. 3. p. 72. Oratio Dominica apud nos & apud vos una eſt. [*n*] Optat. lib. 3. p. 73. Non potuiſtis omittere quod Legitimum eſt: Utique dixiſtis, Pax vobiſcum.—— Quid ſalutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas quod exterminaſti? Salutas de Pace, qui non amas. [*o*] Id. lib. 5. p. 86. Quocunque interrogante, qui credidit, Deo credidit: Et poſt illius unum Credo, tu exigis alterum Credo. It. p. 89. Interrogemus Gentilem, an renunciet Diabolo & credat Deo. Et dicat, Renuncio, & Credo. [*p*] Id. lib. 4. p. 79. Vos rebaptizando exorcizatis hominem fidelem, & dicitis Deo habitanti, Maledicte, exi foras. [*q*] Cyril. Catech. 16. n. 9. p. 234. ὁ δαίμων λόγοις ἐυχῆς ἐκβεβλήθη.

made

made by them, but the ancient Purity and ſolemn Cuſtom [r] and uſual Rites were ſtill obſerved, and nothing was either changed, or added, or diminiſhed in the Divine Sacrifice. Which ſhews, that the publick Service was then in a certain Form, and not left to every Man's Liberty to make Alterations in it, or lengthen or ſhorten it, by adding or diminiſhing at his Pleaſure.

About the Year 370 St. *Baſil* was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, but before he was Biſhop he lived a Presbyter in the ſame Church under *Euſebius* his Predeceſſor in the See. During which Time, as *Nazianzen* [s] aſſures us, among other Services done for that Church, he compoſed Forms of Prayer and Orders of Decency for the Communion Service, which by the Conſent and Authority of his Biſhop *Euſebius* were uſed in the Church. We are not bound to aſſert that any of the *Liturgies* which now go under his Name, are exactly the ſame with that. It is certain they have received many Additions and Alterations, and in many things differ from one another: And ſome things are alledged by antient Writers out of St. *Baſil*'s genuine *Liturgy*, which a learned Man [t] aſſures us are not to be found at preſent in any of theſe. As that Prayer which is cited by *Petrus Diaconus*, who lived about the Year 520, in whoſe Time St. *Baſil*'s *Liturgy* was uſed almoſt all the *Eaſt* over. For he ſays [u], among other things they then prayed thus, according to St. *Baſil*'s *Liturgy*: *Grant us, Lord, thy Defence and Protection; we beſeech Thee, make the Evil to become Good, and keep thoſe that are Good in their Goodneſs. For all things are poſſible unto thee, and no one can contradict Thee: When thou pleaſeſt, thou canſt ſave, and there is no one that can reſiſt Thy Will.* Some fancy theſe Words are to be found in the preſent Copies, but whether that be ſo or not, we may be pretty well aſſured they were in the Original *Liturgy* of St. *Baſil*, whence the Author cites them. And that is an Argument that St. *Baſil* compoſed a *Liturgy*, which was then of general Uſe in the *Eaſt*, and known to the *Africans* alſo. *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was within half an Age of St. *Baſil*'s Time, and he gives this Account of his compoſing a *Liturgy*: St. *Baſil* ſeeing Mens Sloth and Degeneracy made them weary of a long *Liturgy*, thought there was nothing unneceſſary or tedious in that of St. *James*, which was uſed before; yet to prevent the wearineſs of Prieſts and People, he delivered a ſhorter Form [x]. And it is alſo cited under St. *Baſil*'s Name by *Leontius* [y] and the Council of *Trullo* [z]. So that though many things be inſerted into the preſent Copies of St. *Baſil*'s *Liturgy*, and others wanting in them; yet theſe are no Arguments againſt the Original Compoſition, of which there is ſuch clear Evidence in the antient Writers.

But St. *Baſil* not only compoſed a Form for the Communion Service, but often ſpeaks of other Forms as generally uſed upon other Occaſions. In his ſixty third Epiſtle he gives a large Account of the People's joyning in alternate Pſalmody and Prayers, and of their repeating the Pſalm of Confeſſion, that is the Fifty firſt Pſalm, at Morning Prayer. And he there alſo ſpeaks of the *Liturgy* of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* with Approbation, and of the *Litanies* which the Church of *Neocæſarea* had admitted ſince the Time of *Gregory*. In his 241ſt Epiſtle he mentions ſeveral Particulars of the uſual Prayer for the whole State of the Church, telling his Friend whom he writes to, that he muſt needs remember them in the Deacon's bidding Prayer, for all that were gone to travel; for the Soldiers; for all that profeſs the Name of Chriſt, *&c.* Which, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [*], were the uſual Forms of Supplication in the Prayers for all States of Men in the Church. In his ſixty eighth Epiſtle he mentions other Forms, which were as evidently Parts of the antient *Liturgies*, *We pray that the reſt of our Days may continue in Peace: We deſire that our Death may alſo be in Peace.* We have heard him before [†] ſpeak of the Hymns of *Athenogenes*, and the Evening Hymn to the holy Trinity. And we ſhall hear him hereafter ſpeaking [a] of particular Pſalms appointed for particular Hours of Canonical Prayer. All which are ſuch manifeſt Indications of the Uſe of ſtated Forms, as nothing but Prejudice can incline a Man to except againſt them.

Gregory Nazianzen was St. *Baſil*'s dear Friend, and of him it were enough to ſay, that he commends his Friend for making Forms of Prayer for the Uſe of the Church, as we have heard already. But he alſo ſays his own Father [b] conſecrated the *Euchariſt* with the ſolemn Words that were wont to be uſed upon that Occaſion. And ſpeaking of *Julian* the Apoſtate, he ſays, he admired the Church for her Forms [c] of Worſhip, which were antiently delivered and ſtill preſerved among them: And therefore he intended that his Heathen Prieſts ſhould imitate the Chriſtians, and have a Form of Prayers [d] in parts, that is, Prayers ſo compoſed as that the People might make their Reſponſes. Which is alſo taken notice of by *Sozomen*, who ſays, That

[r] Optat. lib. 3. p. 75. Viſa eſt puritas, & Ritu ſolito ſolennis Conſuetudo perſpecta eſt. Cum viderent Divinis Sacrificiis nec mutatum quicquam, nec additum, nec ablatum. [s] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Baſil. p. 340. εὐχῶν διαλάξεις καὶ εὐκοσμίας τῷ βήματι, &c. [t] Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 194. [u] Petr. Diacon. de Incarnat. inter Fulgentii Opera. cap. 8. p. 633. Baſilius Cæſarienſis in Oratione ſacri altaris, quam pene univerſus frequentat Oriens, inter cætera, Dona, inquit, Domine, virtutem ac tutamentum; Malos, quæſumus, bonos facito; bonos in bonitate conſerva: Omnia enim potes, & non eſt qui contradicat tibi; cum enim volueris, ſalvas, & nullus reſiſtit voluntati tuæ. [x] Proclus de Tradit. Divin. Liturg. *cited by* Comber *of Liturgies*, p. 168. [y] Leont. cont. Neſtor. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. T. 4. Part 2. p. 1006. [z] Conc. Trull. Can. 32. [*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 3. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ii. [a] Baſil. Regul. Majores. Quæſt. 37. [b] Naz. Orat. 19. p. 305. ἔτα ἐπειπὼν τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥήματα ἕτως ὡς συνηθὲς. &c. [c] Naz. Orat. 3. p. 101. Τοῖς θεραπευομένοις καὶ εἰς τόδε τετηρημένοις τύποις τῆς ἐκκλησίας. [d] Naz. ibid. p. 102. εὐχῶν τύπον ἐν μέρει.

Julian admiring the Order of Chriſtian Worſhip, appointed that the Heathen Temples ſhould be adorned after the ſame manner with preſcribed [e] Prayers upon Set-days and Hours. *Nazianzen* alſo mentions the uſual Form of renouncing the Devil in Baptiſm, and the ſolemn Covenant or Compact made with Chriſt, which he ſays [f] they did καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι, both by Words and Geſtures, that is, renouncing the Devil with their Faces to the *Weſt*, and then turning about to the *Eaſt*, by which they ſignified their turning to Chriſt the Sun of Righteouſneſs. Both which Words and Geſtures were evidently Matter of Form and Eccleſiaſtical Preſcription. As was alſo the Form of profeſſing their Faith, the triple Immerſion, and many other ſuch Rites and Obſervances, which we meet with in *Nazianzen* and all other Eccleſiaſtical Writers almoſt, that have any Occaſion to ſpeak of the antient Manner of adminiſtring Baptiſm.

There is one Author more which was famous about this Time, before the Death of *Athanaſius*, which was *Ephrem* Deacon of *Edeſſa*, commonly called the Prophet of the *Syrians*. *Theodoret* [g] ſays, that he compoſed a great many Hymns, in Oppoſition to thoſe that had been formerly made by *Harmonius* the Son of *Bardeſanes* the Heretick, and that they were uſed upon the Feſtivals of the Martyrs. *Sozomen* [h] mentions his Divine Hymns alſo, as well as thoſe that were made upon the Martyrs. And theſe no doubt were ſome of thoſe famous Writings of his, which St. *Jerom* [i] ſays were uſed to be rehearſed in the Church after the reading of the Scriptures.

Here it will not be improper alſo to obſerve, That the Practice of Hereticks in endeavouring to corrupt and alter the antient Forms of the Church, is often a manifeſt Evidence and Teſtimony of the Antiquity of them. Thus *Theodoret* takes notice [k] that in the Beginning of this Century, *Arius* tranſgreſſing the antient Laws of giving *Glory to God*, which had been handed down by thoſe who lived and ſerved in the Miniſtry of the Word from the Beginning, introduced a new Form, teaching thoſe whom he deceived, to ſay, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*: And that though he did not preſume to alter the Form of Baptizing *in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, yet he forbad to uſe the Glorification according to the Rule of Baptiſm. Does not this prove, that the Form of this *Doxology* was long before *Arius*, ſince he preſumed to introduce a new one? So again, when the ſame *Theodoret* [l] tells us, That *Eunomius* ſubverted the antient Law of Baptiſm, delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and brought in a contrary Law, that Men ſhould not be baptized with a triple Immerſion, nor by Invocation of the Trinity, but only by a ſingle Immerſion in the Name of Chriſt: Does not this Innovation as plainly prove, that the Rite of Trine Immerſion was the antient Form and Cuſtom of the Church? As *Tertullian* [m] and all that ſpeak of it before *Eunomius*, have conſtantly aſſerted. So that whether we conſider the Teſtimonies of the *Catholicks*, or the Practices and Innovations made by Hereticks, they both concur to prove, that within this Period of Time, *viz.* during the Life of *Athanaſius*, the Church made uſe of Forms in every conſiderable Part of Divine Service, Baptiſm, Pſalmody, and the moſt ſolemn Worſhip at the Lord's Table. And ſo ſhe did alſo in her Funeral Rites, where nothing is more common than to hear of Pſalmody in their ſolemn Proceſſions to any Interment, as may be ſeen in the Writings of *Gregory Nazianzen* [n] and the *Conſtitutions* [o], to mention no other at preſent, that come not within the prefixed Term of the Life of *Athanaſius*.

It was not above three Years after the Death of *Athanaſius*, that St. *Ambroſe* was made Biſhop of *Milan*, *an.* 374. He was a zealous Defender of the Catholick Faith againſt the *Arians*, in oppoſition to whom he compoſed ſeveral Hymns in *Latin to the Glory of the Holy Trinity*, for the People to ſing in the Church. Of which he himſelf gives this Account in his Tract againſt *Auxentius*: They accuſe me, ſays he, for deceiving [p] and alluring the People with the Poetry of my Hymns. And I do not altogether deny the Charge. For what can be more powerful and alluring than the Confeſſion of the Trinity, which is daily ſung by the Mouth of all the People? They all zealouſly ſtrive to make Profeſſion of the Faith; they all know how to celebrate *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt* in verſe. Theſe Hymns are mentioned alſo by *Proſper* in his *Chronicon* [q] as the firſt that were ſung in the Church in *Latin* Meaſures. St. *Auſtin* frequently ſpeaks of them, and ſays [r], they were ſung as then the *Pſalms* were, in the alternate way Verſe for Verſe by the People, to alleviate the Tediouſneſs of their Sorrow: And from this Example the Cuſtom of alternate Hymnody and Pſalmody ſpread almoſt all over the *We-*

[e] Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 16. Ὡρῶν τε ἡμερῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν τεταγμένας εὐχάς. &c. [f] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 671. [g] Theod. lib. 4. cap. 39. [h] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 16. [i] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115. ad tantam venit claritatem, ut poſt lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibuſdam Eccleſiis ejus Scripta recitentur. [k] Theod. Hæret. Fabul. lib. 4. cap. 1. [l] Theod. ibid cap. 3. [m] Tertul. cont. Prax. cap. 26. It. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Vid. Can. Apoſtol. 49. [n] Naz. Orat. 4. in Julian. p. 118. [o] Vid. Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 6. cap. 30. [p] Ambr. Orat. cont. Auxent. ad calcem Epiſt. 32. Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane ne hoc abnuo. Grande carmen iſtud eſt, quo nihil potentius? Quid enim potentius quam Confeſſio Trinitatis, quæ quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes ſtudent Fidem fateri; Patrem & Filium & Spiritum ſanctum norunt verſibus prædicare. [q] Proſper. Chronic. an. 386. ap. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 387. n. 7. Hymni Ambroſii compoſiti, qui nunquam ante in Eccleſiis Latinis modulis canebantur. [r] Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 9. cap. 7. Tunc Hymni & Pſalmi ut canerentur ſecundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabeſceret, inſtitutum eſt; & ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis & per cætera orbis imitantibus.

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ſtern Churches. One of theſe is particularly cited [*s*] by him, as an Evening Hymn, and others are among his Works: And theſe we are ſure in the following Ages continu'd in Uſe: For the [*t*] Hymns of St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Hilary* are mentioned by the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, *An.* 633, as Parts of the daily Service in the *Spaniſh* Churches. St. *Ambroſe* himſelf alſo ſpeaks of the Uſe of that antient Hymn called the *Triſagion*, telling us, that in moſt of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches [*u*] when the Sacrifice was offered to God, the Prieſt and People with one Voice ſaid, *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hoſts, all the Earth is full of thy Glory.* He mentions alſo the common Form of Salutation, *The Peace of God be with you* [*x*]. He ſays the Muſick ſpoken of in the Parable of the prodigal Son (*Luke* xv.) means the whole Church's ſinging together the *Pſalms* alternately [*y*], Men, Women and Children, with different Voices, but all conſpiring, as the Strings of an Inſtrument, in one harmonious Concord. And this was the Symphony which the Apoſtle had Reference to, when he ſaid, *I will ſing with the Spirit, and I will ſing with the Underſtanding alſo.* His Books *de Sacramentis*, if we allow them to be his, are ſo full of Forms and Ceremonies relating to the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, Confirmation, and the *Euchariſt*, that a Man cannot look into them, but he muſt conclude, he wrote his Accounts of theſe things from the known and ſettled Forms of the Church. For which Reaſon I think it needleſs to recite any of them; but they that pleaſe may ſee them related in Dr. *Comber* [*z*]. If any one ſhould except againſt theſe Books, as none of St. *Ambroſe*'s genuine Offspring, it is ſufficient to have evidenced the Uſe of Forms from his undoubted Writings. St. *Jerom* teſtifies concerning the Uſe of the *Pſalms*, as Forms of Prayer and Praiſes, that they were uſed both publickly and privately upon all Occaſions. In the *Ægyptian* Monaſteries, he ſays [*a*] the ſinging of the *Pſalms* was a principal Part of their Devotions at every ſolemn Meeting. He directs *Ruſticus* [*b*] to learn the *Pſalter* by heart, and to repeat the *Pſalm* in his Turn, as the Monks were obliged to do one by one in their Aſſemblies. He ſays of himſelf [*c*], that he thus learned the *Pſalms* by heart, when he was young, and ſung them when he was old every Day. He directs *Læta*, a noble Lady, ſo to accuſtom her Daughter to the ſinging of Pſalms and Hymns at all the Canonical Hours of [*d*] Prayer, and teach her this by her own Example. And after the ſame manner [*e*] he writes to *Demetrias* a Virgin to obſerve the Order of Pſalmody and Prayers at every ſuch ſtated Hour. There may be ſome Diſpute about the Obſervation of Canonical Hours ſeven times a-day in the publick Service of the Church, but there is none about the Uſe of Pſalmody in general: For St. *Jerom* writing to *Sabinianus* [*f*] a Deacon who had been guilty of ſome indecent Behaviour toward a conſecrated Virgin, reminds him of the immodeſt Signs he had made to her even whilſt he ſtood in the Quire of the Singers. And a little before [*g*] he ſpeaks of the whole Church ſounding forth Hymns to Chriſt their Lord in her nocturnal Vigils; a great part of which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was always ſpent in Pſalmody. This was always a part of their Funeral Service: For ſpeaking of the great Concourſe of Biſhops and People at the Funeral of the Lady *Paula*, he ſays [*h*], ſome of the Biſhops led up the Quire of Singers, and the People ſounded forth the *Pſalms* in Order, ſome in *Greek*, ſome in *Latin*, ſome in *Syriack*, according to the different Language of every Nation. He ſays the ſame in his Epitaph of *Fabiola* [*i*], that the People made the gilded Roof of the Temple ſhake and echo again with their Pſalms and Allelujah's. It is alſo obſervable that in St. *Jerom*'s Time and long before, the Church had a peculiar Order among her Clergy called Singers, which he himſelf mentions [*k*], and of which I have given a more particular Account [†] in a former Book. He alſo frequently ſpeaks [*l*] of the Clergy as miniſtring in a peculiar Habit, a white Garment, in Imitation of the Angels, of which more will be ſaid hereafter. At preſent I only obſerve, that this could not be done without ſome Rule or Order preſcribing the Ceremonies of Decency in Divine Worſhip. He does not ſay much of the other Parts of the *Liturgy*, yet he frequently mentions the Form of Renunciation uſed in Baptiſm, and the Uſe of the *Creed* [*m*], as does alſo *Pelagius* in his *Comments* upon the

[*s*] Ibid. cap. 12. Recordatus ſum veridicos verſus Ambroſii, Deus Creator omnium Polique rector: Veſtiens Diem decoro lumine, Noctem ſoporis gratia: Artus ſolutos ut quies reddat laboris uſui, Menteſque feſſas allevet Luctuſque ſolvat anxios. Vid. Retractation. lib. 1. cap. 21. [*t*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. [*u*] Ambroſ. de Spir. Sancto. *cited by* Comber *of Liturgies*. p. 183. [*x*] Id. de Dignit. ſacerd. cap. 5. Pronunciat Epiſcopus hujuſmodi ad populum dicens, Pax vobis, &c. [*y*] Ambr. lib. 7. in Luc. 15. T. 5. p. 125. Hæc eſt ſymphonia quando concinit in Eccleſia diverſarum ætatum atque virtutum, velut variarum chodarum, iudiſcreta concordia. Pſalmus reſpondetur: Amen dicitur. Hæc eſt ſymphonia, quam ſcivit & Paulus; ideo ait, Pſallam ſpiritu, pſallam & mente. [*z*] Comber *Origin of Liturg.* p. 182. [*a*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. Poſt horam nonam in commune concurritur, Pſalmi reſonant, ſcripturæ recitantur ex more. &c. Vid. Ep. 27. cap. 10. [*b*] Ep. 4. ad Ruſtic. Monach. Diſcatur Pſalterium ad verbum.—— Dicas Pſalmum in ordine tuo. [*c*] Invectib. 2. cont. Ruffin. cap. 7. Pſalmos jugiter canto, &c. [*d*] Epiſt. 7. ad Lætam. Aſſueſcat exemplo ad Orationes & Pſalmos nocte conſurgere, manè Hymnos canere, Tertia, Sexta, Nona, &c. [*e*] Ep. 8. ad Demetr. Conſiderans propter Pſalmorum & Orationis ordinem, quod tibi hora Tertia, Sexta, Nona, ad veſperum, media nocte & mane ſemper eſt exercendum. [*f*] Ep. 48. cont. Sabinian. Stabas deinceps in Choro Pſallentium, & impudicis nutubus loquebaris. [*g*] Ibid. Tota Eccleſia nocturnis Vigiliis Chriſtum Dominum perſonabat, &c. [*h*] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. Alii Choros Pſallentium ducerent in media Eccleſia.—— Græco, Latino, Syroque ſermone Pſalmi in ordine perſonabant. [*i*] Id. Ep. 30. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. Sonabant Pſalmi, & aurata tecta templorum reboans in ſublime quatiebat Alleluja. [*k*] Com. in Epheſ. 5. 19. Audiant hæc Adoleſcentuli: Audiant hi, quibus pſallendi in eccleſia Officium eſt, &c. [†] *Book* III. *Chap.* vii. [*l*] Hieron. Ep. 3. ad Heliodor. Ep. ad Præſidium. Com. in Ezek. 44. lib. 1. cont. Pelag. [*m*] Id. Com. in Amos. 6. 14. & in Mat. 5. 26. & Dial. cont. Lucifer.

Epiſtles of St. *Paul* under the Name of St. *Jerom* [n], and *Hilary* the *Roman* Deacon under the Name of St. *Ambroſe* [o], whoſe Authorities are good in this Caſe, becauſe they were Co-temporaries with theſe Writers. He mentions alſo the Uſe of the Lord's Prayer in the Communion-Office, as given by Chriſt to his Apoſtles, from whom the Church [p] learned to uſe it every Day in the Sacrifice of his Body. He ſpeaks likewiſe of the *Triſagion*, or Cherubical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, [q] *Lord God of Sabbaoth*, which they ſung as a Confeſſion of the Holy Trinity. And he mentions a Part of one of the Church's Prayers [r], which was, *Lord, grant us Thy Peace, for Thou haſt given us all things.* And again [s], Thus ſaith the Church, *In Reſt and in Tribulation I have been mindful of Thee:* Commenting on that Pſalm, which the Ancients called their Morning Pſalm, *My God, my God, early will I ſeek Thee.* And on another Pſalm [t], The Church ſays, *From the Remembrance of our former Sins, our Hearts are hot within us.* Speaking alſo of wicked Prieſts, he ſays [u], They act impiouſly againſt Chriſt, whilſt they think that a good Life is not as neceſſary to the *Euchariſt*, as the ſolemn Prayer or Words of the Prieſt. Where he ſeems plainly to reflect on thoſe, who truſted to the bare Form of Prayer without moral Qualifications. He alſo mentions the ſolemn Rite of giving each other the Kiſs of Peace in the *Euchariſt* [x], and the People's known Cuſtom of anſwering *Amen*, at the Reception of it. All which are plain Indications of the Uſe of certain Forms in Divine Worſhip; though St. *Jerom* only mentions them incidentally, and had no Occaſion to enlarge much upon them.

St. *Auſtin* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, as they are more voluminous Writers, ſo they are more copious and exact upon this Subject. I have given the Reader a Specimen of what may be collected of the *Eaſtern Liturgy* out of the Writings of St. *Chryſoſtom* in the following Chapter. And ſome learned Men are of Opinion, that if any one will be as curious in examining St. *Auſtin*'s Works, he may find the whole *African Liturgy* in his Writings. I will not pretend to be ſo exact in this Collection, but only make ſome ſhort References to what he ſays upon ſome Parts of it. He divides the whole *Liturgy* or Service of the Church into five Parts [y], *viz.* Pſalmody, Reading of the Scriptures, Preaching, Prayers of the Biſhop, and the bidding Prayers of the Deacon. All which, except Preaching, were done by certain Forms and Preſcriptions. And firſt for Pſalmody, he ſays, it was the Exerciſe of the People at all times, when no other Part of the Service was a performing. For there was no Time, he ſays, unſeaſonable for the People to ſing holy Pſalms and Hymns in the Church, except when either the Scriptures were read, or the Sermon was preached, or Prayers were made by the Biſhop, or the Common Prayers were dictated by the Voice of the Deacon. We have heard him before ſpeak with Approbation of the Ways of ſinging Pſalms and Hymns introduced by *Athanaſius* and St. *Ambroſe* [z]. Which argues not only that he allowed the ſinging of Pſalms and Hymns, that is, Forms of Prayer and Praiſes, in general; but alſo that he liked the ſeveral ways of ſinging then in Uſe, the plain Song, and the ſymphoniacal Conſort at the Concluſion of every Verſe, uſed by *Athanaſius*, and the new alternate Way introduced by St. *Ambroſe*. Though he intimates that the plain Way generally was more agreeable to the ſlow Genius [a] of the *African* People, whoſe ſinging he vindicates from the ſcurrilous Objections which the *Donatiſts* made againſt their Practice. And he wrote a Book particularly againſt one *Hilarius* a ſecular Tribune, who pretended to quarrel with the Cuſtom of the Church of *Carthage*, for ſinging Hymns out of the Book of *Pſalms* [b] at the Altar, either before the Oblation of the *Euchariſt* was made, or whilſt it was diſtributed to the People. This Book of St. *Auſtin*'s is now loſt, but he mentions it in his *Retractations*. He alſo ſpeaks [c] of the Evening Hymns: And of the ſinging of the Halleluia [d] in ſome Churches every Day, and in others only the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*. And *Poſſidius* tells us in his Life [e], That in the great Irruption of the *Vandals* into *Africk* a little before his Death, nothing grieved him more than to ſee the Hymns and Praiſes of God deſtroyed out of the Churches, and the Solemnities of God's Worſhip, with the Sacrifice and Sacraments, to fail in the Places where

[n] Pelag. Com. in 1 Tim. 6. 12. [o] Ambro. in 1 Tim. 6. 12. [p] Hieron. cont. Pelag. lib. 3. cap. 5. Sicut docuit Apoſtolos ſuos, ut quotidie in corporis illius ſacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noſter qui es in cœlis, &c. [q] Id. de 42. Manſionibus in initio. In Confeſſionem ſanctæ Trinitatis erumpimus, dicentes, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. [r] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Ruſticum. Utinam audiatur vox eccleſiæ implorantis, Domine Pacem tuam da nobis: Omnia enim dediſti nobis. [s] Id. Com. in Pſal. 62. Dicit hæc Eccleſiæ: Et in Requie & in Tribulatione non fui tui oblitus. [t] In Pſal. 38. Concaluit cor meum intra me. Dicit Eccleſia, A recordatione delictorum priorum. [u] In Zephan. 3. Impie agunt in legem Chriſti, putantes ἐυχαειςίαν imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; & neceſſariam eſſe tantum ſolennem Orationem, & non Sacerdotum merita. [x] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theophil. cap. 1. Quiſquamne inter ſacras epulas Judæ oſculum porrigit?—Qua conſcientia ad Euchariſtiam Chriſti accedam, & reſpondebo Amen, cum de charitate dubitem porrigentis? [y] Aug. Epiſt. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. [z] Aug. Confeſ. lib. 9. cap. 7. & 12. lib. 10. cap. 33. [a] Ep. 119. ad Paulin. cap. 18. Donatiſtæ nos reprehendunt quod ſobrie Pſallimus in Eccleſia divina cantica Prophetarum, &c. [b] Aug. Retractat. lib. 2. cap. 11. Hilarius quidam vir Tribunitius Laicus—morem qui tunc eſſe apud Carthaginem cæperat, ut Hymni ad altare dicerentur de Pſalmorum libro, ſive ante oblationem, ſive cum diſtribueretur populo quod eſſet oblatum, maledica reprehenſione ubicunque poterat lacerabat, &c. [c] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. [d] Ep. 119. ad Paulin. cap. 18. Ut autem Halleluja per illos ſolos dies quinquaginta cantetur, non uſquequaque obſervatur. Nam in aliis, diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi; ipſis autem diebus ubique. [e] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. cap. 29. Cernebat etiam Hymnos Dei & Laudes de Eccleſiis deperiſſe: Solennia quoque quæ Deo debentur, de propriis locis defeciſſe, &c.

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they were uſed to be celebrated. And he adds [f], That in his laſt Sickneſs he ordered ſome of the penitential *Pſalms* of *David* to be written for him in large Sheets, and hanged up againſt the Wall, which he read and uſed as Forms proper for penitential Devotion. All which ſhews that St. *Auſtin* thought the *Pſalms* of *David* were not unlawful to be uſed as Forms of Prayers and Praiſes in the Service of God.

Secondly, for the Reading of the Scriptures, he acquaints us in many places, that this was done by a certain Rule and *Kalendar*, appointing proper Leſſons for particular Occaſions and Seaſons. There were ſome Feſtival Days, he ſays [g], on which they were bound to read certain appropriated Leſſons out of the Goſpel, which were ſo fixed to thoſe anniverſary Solemnities, that no other Leſſons might be read in their Room. Thus he ſays in *Eaſter* Week they conſtantly read [h] four Days one after another the Hiſtory of Chriſt's Reſurrection out of the four Goſpels, on the firſt Day St. *Matthew*, on the ſecond St. *Mark*, on the third St. *Luke*, and on the fourth St. *John*. So likewiſe on the Day of Chriſt's Paſſion, he ſays, they read the Hiſtory of his Sufferings [i] out of St. *Matthew* only, becauſe it was all but one Day: And when he would have had all the four Goſpels read at that time alſo, the People were diſturbed at it, becauſe they had not been accuſtomed to it. In the Time between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, he ſays [k], they always read the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. St. *Chryſoſtom* will give us the Reaſon of this hereafter: And we ſhall ſee that this was an univerſal Cuſtom obtaining throughout the whole Church, when we come to conſider this Rule more fully exemplify'd [†] in the Church's general Practice.

Thirdly, For the Prayers made by the Biſhop in the Communion Office, St. *Auſtin* gives us ſuch a Deſcription of them, as ſhews they muſt needs be made by a certain Order and Form. For he thus deſcribes one part of them, while he inſtructs the newly-baptized in the Method and Meaning of them: Ye underſtand, ſays he, the Sacrament in the Order of its Adminiſtration [l]. Firſt after Prayer (meaning the Prayer for the whole State of the Church, which went before) ye are taught to lift up your Hearts. Therefore when it is ſaid, *Lift up your Hearts*, ye anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*. The Biſhop or Presbyter, who officiates, goes on and ſays, *Let us give Thanks to our Lord God*: And ye give in your Atteſtation, and ſay, *It is meet and right ſo to do*. Then after the Conſecration of the Sacrifice we ſay the Lord's Prayer. And after that, the Prieſt ſays, *Peace be with you*, and Chriſtians ſalute one another with an holy Kiſs. Here we have not only the Method of the Communion Service, but the ſeveral Forms of it in Order one after another. And theſe Forms are frequently mentioned by St. *Auſtin* in other places. The Lord's Prayer, he ſays, [m] was always uſed by the whole Church almoſt, as the Cloſe of the Conſecration Service, and at other times as the daily Prayer [n] of the Faithful, peculiarly belonging to them, and not to the Catechumens, as we ſhall ſhew more fully hereafter [‡]. The Form, *Surſum Corda*, *Lift up your Hearts*, &c. he ſays [o] was uſed by all Chriſtians throughout the World, who daily anſwered with one Voice, *We lift up our Hearts unto the Lord*, as he ſpeaks in his Book of true Religion, and other places. And to this he ſays the Prieſts added that other Form, *Let us give Thanks to our Lord God*: To which the People anſwered, *It is meet and right ſo to do*: As he ſpeaks in his Epiſtles [p] to *Dardanus* and *Honoratus*, and in his Book of the *Gift of Perſeverance* againſt the *Pelagians*, and *de Spiritu & Litera*, and *de Bono Viduitatis*, which being all to the ſame purpoſe, need not here be repeated. He alſo mentions in his other Writings the ſolemn Form of the Prieſt's ſaying, *Peace be with you*, and the People's giving one another thereupon the Kiſs of Peace, which was a Symbol [q] of that Innocency and Peace, which ought to be the Qualification of true Chriſtian Doves. And this Rite, he ſays, was obſerved not only by the *Catholicks*, but by the *Donatiſts* alſo [r]. So that here is unqueſtionable Evidence for the Uſe of all theſe Forms in the Writings of St. *Auſtin*. And though he does not give us the whole Forms of the longer Prayers made by the Biſhop at the Altar, yet he mentions ſome parts of them, and makes ſuch References and Appeals to them both in his Diſcourſes to the Orthodox, and Confutations of Hereticks, as plainly ſhews they were common Forms which they were well acquainted with, and by remembring them might underſtand the Doctrine of the Church. Thus

[f] Poſſid. ibid. cap. 30. Juſſerat ſibi Pſalmos Davidicos, qui ſunt pauciſſimi de Pœnitentia ſcribi, ipſoſque Quaternciones jacens in lecto contra parietem poſitos diebus ſuæ infirmitatis intuebatur & legebat, & jugiter ac ubertim flebat. [g] Aug. expoſ. in 1 Joan. in Præfat. t. 9. p. 235. Interpoſita eſt ſolennitas ſanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex Evangelio Lectiones oportet in Eccleſia recitari, quæ ita ſunt annuæ, ut aliæ eſſe non poſſint. [h] Serm. 139. de Temp. It. 140, 141, 144, 148. [i] Serm. 144. de Temp. p. 320. Paſſio quia uno die legitur, non ſolet legi niſi ſecundum Matthæum, &c. [k] Tract. 6. in Joan. Evang. T. 9. p. 24. Actus Apoſtolorum, &c. Anniverſari a ſolennitate poſt Paſſionem Domini noſtris illum librum recitari. Vid. Aug. Hom. 227. Nov. Edit. Benedictin. quæ eſt 83. de Divers. [†] *Book* XIV. *Chap.* iii. *n.* 3. [l] Aug. Hom. 83. de Divers. Tom. 10. p. 556. Tenetis Sacramentum ordine ſuo. Primo poſt Orationem admonemini ſurſum habere cor, &c. Ideo cum dicitur, Surſum cor, reſpondetis, Habemus ad Dominum.—Sequitur Epiſcopus vel Presbyter, qui offert, & dicit, Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro: Et vos atteſtamini, Dignum & Juſtum eſt, dicentes. Deinde poſt ſanctificationem ſacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam. Poſt iſtam dicitur, Pax vobiſcum: & oſculantur ſe Chriſtiani Oſculo ſancto. [m] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. [n] Ep. 121. ad Probam. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 71. Homil. 42. inter 50. [‡] *Chap.* vii. *n.* 9. [o] Aug. de vera Relig. cap. 2. Serm. 54. & 64. de Temp. Ep. 156 ad Probam. [p] Ep. 57. ad Dardanum, & Ep. 120. ad Honoratum. De Bono perſever. cap. 13. De Spiritu & Litera. lib. 1. c. 11. De Bono Viduitatis cap. 16. [q] Aug. Hom. 6. in Joan. t. 9. p. 21. Habere cum fratribus veram Pacem, quam ſignificant Oſcula Columbarum, *&c.* [r] Cont. Literas Petilian. lib. 2. cap. 23. Illum commemoro (Optatum Gildonianum) cui Pacis oſculum inter ſacramenta copulabatis.

in his Book of *Perſeverance* [s], he ſays, Thoſe of the Church need not any operoſe Diſputations to convince them of the Neceſſity of God's Grace to perſevere; they need only remember her daily Prayers, how ſhe prays, That *Infidels may believe*, and *that Believers may perſevere*. And again [t], he tells them, it is the ſafeſt way for weak Men in this Diſpute, to look upon theſe Prayers which the Church always had, and always will have to the End of the World. For when did not the Church pray for Infidels and her Enemies, That they might believe? Or who ever, when he heard the Prieſt praying over the Faithful, and ſaying, *Grant, O Lord, that they may perſevere in Thee unto the End*, durſt either in Word or Thought find Fault with him, and not rather, with Faith in his Heart, and Confeſſion in his Mouth, anſwer *Amen* to ſuch a Benediction? when the Faithful pray no otherwiſe in the *Lord's-Prayer*, eſpecially when they ſay, *Lead us not into Temptation*. By all which it appears, that both the larger and the ſhorter Prayers in the Communion-Office of the *African* Church in St. *Auſtin*'s Time, were offer'd up in ſuch Forms, as the People could eaſily remember, when he referred to them as Evidence in ſome Diſputes, which this was an eaſy Way to determine.

Fourthly, There was one ſort of Prayers more, which St. *Auſtin* diſtinguiſhes from the former, by the Name of the *Common-Prayers* dictated or indicted to the People by the Voice of the Deacon. Now theſe Prayers, as I ſhall ſhew more fully hereafter [*], differed from the Biſhop's Prayer in this, That the Biſhop's Prayer was a direct and continu'd Invocation of God, to which the People anſwered only *Amen* in the Concluſion; But the Deacon's Prayer was a ſort of bidding Prayer, or Direction to the People what Particulars they were to pray for; the Deacon going before them, and repeating every Petition, to which they made Anſwer, *Lord hear us*, or *Lord help us*, or *Lord have Mercy*, or the like. And this ſort of Prayer St. *Auſtin* expreſly [u] calls *Communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicta*, Common Prayer dictated by the Voice of the Deacon. And he ſeems in one of his Epiſtles [x] to ſpecify ſome of the particular Petitions contained in that Prayer. For writing to one who was infected with the *Pelagian* Doctrine (maintaining that Infidels were only to be preached to, and not prayed for, becauſe Faith was not the Work of God's Grace, but the Effect of Man's own Free-will) he urges him with the known Prayers of the Church, which the Man himſelf frequented. Exerciſe, ſays he, your Diſputations againſt the Prayers of the Church, and when you hear Prieſt of God at the Altar exhorting the People of God to pray for Unbelievers, *That they may be converted to the Faith*; and for Catechumens, *That God would inſpire them with a Deſire of Regeneration*; and for the Faithful, *That by his Gift they may perſevere in that wherein they have begun*; mock at theſe pious Words, and ſay, you do not do what you here are exhorted to do. And again, When you hear [y] the Prieſt of God at the Altar exhorting the People to pray to God, or elſe hear him praying with an audible Voice, *That God would compel the unbelieving Gentiles to come in to his Faith*, do you not anſwer and ſay, *Amen?* Theſe ſeem to be uſual Parts of the Prayer for the whole State of the World, in which Infidels were prayed for as well as others, to which St. *Auſtin* refers, as Things well known to all that frequenteed the Prayers of the Church.

Beſides theſe, there were ſome occaſional Offices, ſuch as the Offices of Exorciſm, and the Inſtitution of the Catechumens, and Baptiſm, in which many Forms, and Rites, and Ceremonies were obſerved, agreeable to the Practice then obtaining in the Church: But of theſe I have had Occaſion to ſpeak largely out of St. *Auſtin* and other Writers in a former Book [†], and therefore think it needleſs to repeat them in this Place. All I ſhall farther add, is two or three Canons of the *African* Councils held in St. *Auſtin*'s time, at ſome of which he was preſent and aſſiſted. He was a Member of the third Council of *Carthage*, in one of whoſe Canons there are ſeveral Orders and Directions given concerning the publick Prayers [z], that no one in Prayers ſhould name the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father. And when they ſtood at the Altar, all Prayers ſhould be directed to the Father. And whatever Prayers any one writ out for himſelf, or from other Books, he ſhould not uſe them before they were examined by his more learned Brethren. This is as plain an Argument for ſet Forms as can be given, and yet ſome, I know not by what Means, make it an Argument againſt them. The Deſign of the Canon was plainly to prevent all Irregularities and Corruptions creeping into the Devotions of the Church: And therefore the Fathers made an Order, that no Biſhop ſhould uſe any Prayers in his Church, but ſuch as were firſt examined and approved by his Fellow-Biſhops in a Council. As another Canon in the *African Code* explains it [a], that

[s] De Bono Perſeverantiæ, cap. 7. In hac re non operoſas Diſputationes expectet Eccleſia, ſed attendat quotidianas Orationes ſuas. Orat, ut Credentes perſeverent. [t] Ibid. cap. 23. Ut magis intuerentur Orationes ſuas, quas ſemper habuit & habebit Eccleſia—— Quando enim non oratum eſt in Eccleſia pro infidelibus atque inimicis ejus, ut crederent?— Aut quis Sacerdotem ſuper Fideles Dominum invocantem, ſi quando dixit, Da illis Domine in te perſeverare uſque in finem non ſolum voce auſus eſt, ſed ſaltem Cogitatione reprehendere; ac non potius ſuper ejus talem Benedictionem, & corde credente & ore confitente reſpondit Amen: cum aliud in ipſa Oratione Dominica non orant Fideles, &c. [*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 2. [u] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Paulin. cap. 18. [x] Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. p. 187. [y] Ibid. p. 191. [†] *Book* IX. *and* X. [z] Conc. Carthag. 3. Can. 23. Ut nemo in Precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et cum ad altare aſſiſtitur, ſemper ad Patrem dirigatur Oratio. Et quicunque ſibi preces aliunde deſcribit, (al. Quaſcunque ſibi preces aliquis deſcribit) non eis utatur, prius quam eas cum inſtructioribus fratribus contulerit. [a] Cod. Afric. can. 106. Ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐκεσίας, εἴτε εἰμία, εἴτε φραδέσεις, εἴτε τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις δεῖν πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλας καὶ τῆς πίστεως μηδέποτε προσενεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' αἵτινες δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν συνεληλυθότων συνήχθησαν, λεχθήσονται.

ſuch Prayers ſhould be uſed by all, as had been authorized and confirmed in Synod, whether they were Prefaces, or Commendations, or Impoſitions of Hands, and that no other ſhould be brought in againſt the Faith, but thoſe only be ſaid, which were collected or examined by Men of greater Abilities and Underſtanding. And this is repeated again in the Council of *Milevis* [b] almoſt in the ſame Words. Theſe *African* Fathers probably had obſerved, that there were ſome Country Biſhops, who had not ſufficient Abilities to compoſe Orthodox Forms for the Uſe of their own Churches: And therefore they a little reſtrained the antient Liberty which every Biſhop had of compoſing a Form of Prayer for his own Church, and obliged them to uſe ſuch as were compoſed by Men of greater Abilities, or ſuch as had been approved in Synod, that no heretical Opinions might creep into the publick Worſhip, either by their Ignorance or want of Care in their Compoſitions. By all this it appears, that the publick Devotions of the *African* Church were at this time directed by certain Forms of Worſhip, and thoſe not left to every Biſhop to compoſe for himſelf, but he muſt uſe ſuch Prayers as were firſt approved by his Brethren, or eſtabliſhed and confirmed in Council. And this ſeems to be the firſt beginning of that Cuſtom, which afterward prevailed all over the Church, as has been obſerved before in this Chapter [*], that all Provincial Biſhops ſhould uſe the ſame Form of Prayer that was eſtabliſhed in the Churches of their Metropolitans.

I need not now inſiſt upon theſe ſame Councils, ſpeaking of the ſolemn Interrogatories [c] and Anſwers to be made in Baptiſm; nor of their mentioning the *Lord's Prayer*, as a Form of ſo neceſſary and general a Uſe [d], that the *Pelagians* themſelves, who did not like one Petition in it unleſs interpreted to a very perverſe Senſe, durſt not preſume to lay aſide the Uſe of it. For as the firſt of theſe is a known Practice, ſo the ſecond will have a more particular Handling, when we come to conſider the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer* in a Chapter by it ſelf. And ſo I put an End to this Chapter concerning the Uſe of *Liturgies* in the antient Church.

CHAP. VI.

An Extract of the antient Liturgy *out of the Genuine Writings of St.* Chryſoſtom.

SECT. I. *Parts of the* Liturgy *in the firſt Tome.*

IT has often been wiſhed by learned Men, that ſome one would repreſent the antient *Liturgy* in its ſeveral Parts and Offices, as it may be collected out of the genuine and undoubted Writings of St. *Chryſoſtom*; foraſmuch as that *Liturgy* which goes under his Name, cannot be ſo certainly depended on as his genuine Off-ſpring: But there are a great many Parts of antient *Liturgy* of unqueſtionable Credit which may be gathered up out of his other Diſcourſes. Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*, a diligent Reader of *Chryſoſtom*, is ſaid to have deſigned ſuch a Collection, but he did not effect it. Therefore till ſome one elſe purſues his Deſign more compleatly, I think it not improper, for its relation to the preſent Subject, to give the Reader in one View a Specimen of ſuch Paſſages as plainly refer to the ſeveral Parts of the antient *Liturgy*, obſerving the Order of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works according to the *Paris* Edition 1609, and that of the *Commelin* 1617.

In the firſt Tome, *Hom.* 1. *p.* 1. he plainly intimates that the Scriptures were read then in ſome Order by a ſtated Rule of the Church, becauſe his Sermon that Day was upon a Paſſage that had been read in the Courſe of Morning-Service, 1 *Tim.* v. 23. *Drink no longer Water, but uſe a little Wine.* In his ſecond *Homily*, *p.* 32, he ſays again his Text was taken out of the Epiſtle then read for the Day, which was 2 *Tim.* vi. 17. *Charge them that are Rich in this World, that they be not high-minded.* In his third *Homily*, *p.* 45, he ſays, the Lord's Prayer was by Appointment of the Church the peculiar Privilege of thoſe only who were baptized. For before their Initiation in the holy Myſteries, they were not allowed to uſe it. In his ſeventh *Homily*, *p.* 106, he obſerves, that the Book of *Geneſis* was always appointed to be read in *Lent*: And accordingly it was then read for the Day, and he preached upon the firſt Words of it, *In the Beginning God created Heaven and Earth.* In his fifteenth *Homily*, *p.* 191, he ſays the whole City met together, and with one common Voice, τῇ μιᾷ κοινῇ φωνῇ, made their *Litany* or Supplications to God. And in the ſame Diſcourſe he intimates, that a Portion of the Prophet *Zachary* v. concerning the flying Roll againſt Swearers, had then been read for the Day, which he accommodated to the Subject of vain Oaths, againſt which he was then diſcourſing. In his eighteenth *Homily*, p. 226, he ſays, he preached upon the Epiſtle which had been read that Day, *Phil.* iv. 4. *Re-*

[b] Conc. Milevit. can. 12. Placuit etiam & illud, ut Preces vel Orationes ſeu Miſſæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in Synodo, ſive Præfationes, ſive Commendationes, ſive manus Impoſitiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur, niſi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in Synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra Fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus ſtudium ſit compoſitum. [*] *See before in this Chap. n.* 2.

[c] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 34. [d] Conc. Milevit. can. 8.

joice

joice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice. And in his sixteenth *Homily*, p. 234, he notes the same, that the Words upon which he preached out of the Epistle to *Philemon*, Paul *the Prisoner of Jesus Christ*, &c. had been read that Day. In his twenty first *Homily*, p. 266, he takes notice of the Use of the Hymn, called the *Trisagion*, or Cherubical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, in the Celebration of the *Eucharist*; arguing to his Hearers in this manner upon it: What an Absurdity is it for a Man, after he has heard that mystical Song that was brought down from Heaven, brought down, I say, by the Cherubims, to pollute his Ears with the Songs of Harlots, and effeminate Musick of the Theatre? In the same Homily he twice takes notice of the Form of Renouncing the Devil in Baptism, *p.* 267. We are commanded to say, ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ, *I renounce thee, O Satan*, that we may never more return to him. And again, *p.* 273. Remember, says he, those Words which you spake when you were initiated in the Holy Mysteries, *I renounce thee, O Satan, and thy Pomp, and thy Worship and Service.* In his twenty second *Homily* upon Anger and Forgiving Enemies, he argues for the Necessity of pardoning Offences from the necessary Obligation that is laid upon all Men to say the Lord's Prayer. For this Reason, says he, *p.* 287. we are commanded to say, *Forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that Trespass against us.* And again, *p.* 288. When you say, *Forgive us, as we forgive*: If you do not forgive, you ask nothing else of God, but that he would deprive you of all Excuse and Pardon. And whereas some pleaded, that they did not say the whole Prayer, but omitted that Clause, *As we forgive them that Trespass against us*, he rebukes them for it, and bids them not be so vainly cautious, as to think they were excused by curtailing the Prayer, but advises them to use the whole Prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used, that the Necessity of this Petition might daily terrify them from Revenge, and compel them to grant Pardon to their Neighbours. In his twenty fourth *Homily* of the Baptism of Christ, *p.* 317, he again speaks of the Cherubical Hymn in the Communion Service. Do you think, says he, that you have any secular Business at that Hour? Do you then imagine your self to be upon Earth, or conversing among Men? Whose Heart is so stony, as to think, that at that time he stands upon the Earth, and is not rather in a Quire of Angels, with whom you sing that mystical Hymn, with whom you send up that triumphal Song to God? In his twenty eighth *Homily* (which is the third of the Incomprehensible Nature of God) *p.* 363, he speaks of the common Prayer, as sent up with one common Voice of the whole Congregation speaking and crying aloud to God with one accord. Some would have excused themselves from these Prayers of the Church, by this frivolous Plea, that they could pray at Home, but they could not hear a Sermon or Discourse of Instruction in their own Houses; and therefore they would come to Sermon, but not to Prayers. To whom he makes this Reply, You deceive your self, O Man: For though you may pray at Home, yet you cannot pray there in that manner as you do in the Church, where there are so many Fathers together, and where the Cry of your Prayers is sent up to God with one Consent. You are not heard so well, when you pray to God by your self alone, as when you pray with your Brethren. For there is something more here, Consent of Mind, and Consent of Voice, and the Bond of Charity, and the Prayers of the Priests together. For the Priests for this very Reason preside in the Church, that the Peoples Prayers, which are weaker of themselves, laying hold on those that are stronger, may together with them mount up to Heaven. This is a plain Description of such common Prayers, wherein both Priests and People joined not only in Heart, but in one common form of Words, whereby they cryed aloud to God together. A little after, *p.* 365, he describes these Prayers again by the Peoples sending up their tremendous Cry all at once, βοῶσι τὴν φρικωδεστάτην βοήν. And he makes this difference between the manner of the *Energumens* supplicating to God, and that of the People, that the one spake not a Word, but only supplicated by the Postures of their Bodies, bowing down their Heads, whilst the People, who were allowed to speak audibly in Prayers, spake aloud for those who could not speak for themselves. For this Reason, says he, the Deacon at the time of the Oblation brings forth the Energumens, or those that are possessed with evil Spirits, and bids them bow their Heads only, and signify their Supplications by this bodily Gesture: For they are not permitted to pray with the common Assembly of the Brethren: Therefore he presents them before the Congregation, that you pitying both their Vexation, and their Disability to speak for themselves, might by the Freedom and Liberty of Speech which is allowed you, grant them your Patronage and Assistance. From this it appears that these Prayers for the Energumens were in a certain Form, in which all the People vocally joined together. In his twenty ninth *Homily*, which is the fourth *de Incomprehensibili*, p. 374, he repeats the same Account of the Deacon's calling forth the Energumens, and bidding them bow their Heads, and the Peoples praying to God, ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ μετὰ σφοδρᾶς βοῆς, with one Consent and with strong Cries, that he would *shew Mercy on them.* A little after in the same *Homily*, p. 375, he mentions another Form used by the Deacon, as the Herald of the Church, who was appointed to call upon the People every now and then, and excite them to Fervency in Devotion, by using this Form of Words, ὀρθοὶ σῶμεν καλῶς, *Let us elevate our Minds, and attend with Decency to our Devotions.* For, as he there explains it, this Admonition did not so much respect the Body, as the Mind. When the Deacon, says he, calls upon us, and says, *Let us stand elevated with Decency*, it was not without good Reason that this Admonition was by the Rule of the Church appointed, but that we should elevate our Thoughts that lie groveling upon the Ground;

Ground; that casting away the Distraction that arises from secular Affairs, we should be able to present our Souls upright and raised to a spiritual Sense in the presence of God. Let no Man therefore, adds he, join in those sacred and mystical Hymns with Remissness of Mind; let no Man entertain the Thoughts of this Life at that time; but driving away all earthly Concerns, let him translate himself wholly into Heaven, as standing then close by the Throne of Glory, and flying with the Seraphims: And so let him offer up τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον, that most holy Hymn (meaning the *Trisagion*, or else the Hymn called, *Glory be to God on high) to the God of Majesty and Glory*. It is upon this account that we are called upon at this time, ἑστάναι καλῶς, to compose our selves decently, as it becomes Men who stand in the Presence of God, with fear and trembling, with a vigilant and elevated Soul. In his thirty fourth *Homily*, which is the first against the *Jews*, p. 440, he speaks of another Form used by the Deacon, and that frequently, before the Participation of the holy Mysteries: He then cried out ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, Discern and know one another: Which was an Admonition to the People, that they should suffer no *Jew*, Infidel, Heretick, Catechumen, or Penitent to communicate among them. In his fortieth *Homily*, upon the Martyrs *Juventius* and *Maximus*, p. 500, he says, the Church kept her Vigils all the Night with continual Psalmody, which was nothing but Forms of Prayers and Praises out of the Holy Scriptures. In the forty seventh *Homily*, upon *Julian* the Martyr, *p.* 613, he again mentions the solemn Form of Renunciation in Baptism. You renounced, says he, all this kind of Pomp (Harlots Songs and obscene Words used in the Theatre) and made a Covenant with Christ, in that Day when you were initiated in the holy Mysteries. Remember therefore those Words, and your Covenant, and beware you do not transgress it. In his fifty first *Homily*, upon *Bernice*, p. 635, he says, they used Hymns and Prayers and Psalms at the Funerals of Christians; and particularly the Words of the cxvith *Psalm*, *Return unto thy Rest, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee:* Implying, That the Death of a Christan was a Kindness and a Rest: For he that is entered into that Rest, hath ceased from his own Works, as God did from his. In his fifty fifth *Homily*, which is the fifth of Repentance, *p.* 672, he plainly intimates, that his Discourse was made upon the Epistle that had been read for the Day. 2 *Cor.* xii. 21. *Lest when I come again, I shall bewail many who have sinned, and have not repented.* In his sixtieth *Homily*, which is his Catechetical Instruction to those that were preparing for Baptism, he takes notice of several Forms and Rules made by the Church, relating to that Matter, *p.* 797. As first, the solemn Words by which every Man entered into Covenant with Christ. For speaking of the Danger and ill Consequents of deferring Baptism to a Sick-bed, he says, when he that is baptized knows none that are about him, when he cannot hear a Word that is spoken, when he cannot utter those Words, wherewith he should make the blessed Covenant with our common Lord, but lies like a Stock or a Stone, differing nothing from a dead Man; what Advantage is it to such an one to be initiated in the holy Mysteries in such a state of Insensibility? This implies, that the Party baptized was to make his Compact with God in a solemn and usual Form of Words, which a Man at the point of Death was not able to utter. After this he goes on to shew, that the Church had appointed the time of *Lent* chiefly above other times for Exorcism and Baptism; and that the Catechumens, after they were instructed, were remitted over to the *Exorcists*, to have their Exorcisms or Prayers said over them; and that during this time they were obliged to walk Discalceate, and wear only one Coat: Which were Apointments of the Church, he says, established for good Reasons, and not without their mystical Signification. In his seventy fourth *Homily*, in which is a *Panegyrick* upon the Martyrs, *p.* 900, he speaks again of the *Trisagion*, or Cherubical Hymn, as used to be sung in the Celebration of the *Eucharist*. The Martyrs, says he, are now joining in Consort and partaking in the mystical Songs of the heavenly Quire: For if whilst they were in the Body, whenever they communicated in the holy Mysteries, they made Part of that Quire, singing with the Cherubims the *Trisagion* Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*; as all ye that are initiated in those Mysteries, very well understand: Much more now, being joined with them, whose Partners they were in the earthly Quire, they do with greater Freedom partake in those solemn Blessings and Glorifications of God in Heaven above.

SECT. II.
Parts of the Liturgy *in the second Tome of St.* Chrysostom's *Works.*

THE second Tome of St. *Chrysostom*'s Works, is his *Homilies upon Genesis*, which were preached in *Lent*, when that Book was always read in the Church, as appears from his first *Homily*, p. 10, and from what has been observed before out of his seventh *Homily* to the People of *Antioch* in the foregoing Section. In his twenty seventh *Homily* upon this Book, he plainly intimates, that the *Lord's Prayer* was always a Part of the Communion-Office. For speaking of the Duty of Forgiving Enemies, he says, *p.* 358, If we do this, we may then with a pure Conscience come to this holy and tremendous Table, and boldly say the Words that are contained in that Prayer. They who are initiated in the holy Mysteries, know what I mean. He covertly intends that Petition of the *Lord's Prayer*, *Forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* In his thirty third *Homily*, p. 478, he acquaints us, that though the Book of *Genesis* was by the Order of the Church read in *Lent*, yet when they came to the *Thursday* in the *Passion-week*, the Day on which our Saviour was betrayed, then they had proper Lessons for that Day, and *Good-Friday*, and *Easter*-Day, and all the time between *Easter* and *Pentecost*, when it was customary to read the *Acts of the Apostles*, as a Demonstration of our Saviour's Resurrection.

Reſurrection. In his fifty fourth *Homily*, p. 731, he ſays, Chriſt commanded the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer*, preſcribing us therein the Bounds and Rules of praying for temporal Things, whilſt he enjoins us to ſay thoſe Words, *Give us this Day our daily Bread.* In his ſecond *Homily* upon the Prayer of *Hannah*, in the ſame Volume, *p.* 965, he ſays, When Chriſt commanded his Diſciples not to pray after the manner of the Heathen, uſing vain Repetitions, he alſo taught us the meaſure of Prayer; meaning the Form which he appointed. He repeats the ſame in the third *Homily* upon *Saul* and *David*, p. 1053. Although, ſays he, you are guilty of a thouſand Crimes, yet if you ſincerely offer up that Prayer, which promiſes, that *if you forgive your Enemies, your Father will forgive your Treſpaſſes*; you ſhall with great Confidence obtain the Remiſſion of all your Sins.

SECT. III. *Parts of the antient* Liturgy *in the third Tome.*

THE third Tome contains St. *Chryſoſtom's Commentaries and Homilies on the Pſalms and the Prophet* Iſaiah, where he frequently refers to the known Parts of the *Liturgy* then in Uſe in the Church. In his *Comment* upon the cxiith *Pſalm*, he three times mentions the neceſſary Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer*, p. 369. As Chriſt, ſays he, when he would induce us to Unanimity and Charity in our Prayers, enjoins us to make Common Prayer, and obliges the Whole Church, as if it were but one Perſon, to ſay, *Our Father*, and *Give us this Day our daily Bread*; *and Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us*; and *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil*; always uſing a Word of the plural Number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himſelf, or in common with others, ſtill to make Prayer for his Brethren: So here the Prophet *David* calls all Men to a Conſent in Prayer, ſaying, *Praiſe the Lord, O ye Servants: Praiſe the Name of the Lord.* Again, *p.* 370, ſpeaking of Glorifying God, he ſays, Chriſt hath commanded us to pray for this, ſaying, whenever we pray, *Hallowed be thy Name.* And *p.* 372, Chriſt in his Goſpel hath commanded us to pray, and ſay, *Thy Will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.* In like manner, on the cxivth *Pſalm*, p. 394, ſpeaking of the Life to come, and how we ought to deſire it, and make all our Actions tend that way; he adds, For this Reaſon we are commanded to ſay in our Prayer, *Thy Kingdom come*; that we may always have reſpect to that Day. He repeats the ſame Words on the cxixth *Pſalm*, p. 425. And on the cxxviith *Pſalm*, p. 465, We are commanded to uſe a Prayer, in which there is but one Petition relating to this Life, *Give us this day our daily Bread.* Which he repeats again on the cxlth *Pſalm*, p. 551. On the cxlivth *Pſalm*, p. 595, he ſays, we are commanded to ſay in our Prayer, *Hallowed be thy Name.* And on the cxlixth *Pſalm*, p. 633, he calls it the Prayer which was offered up by all in common, and always in the plural Number, *Our Father*, &c. On the clth *Pſalm*, p. 636, he ſays, this Prayer was peculiar in its Uſe to the Sons of God only, who could call God their Father by vertue of their Regeneration and Adoption. Our Prayer, ſays he, is prefaced with this Title: For it belongs to them only to ſay, *Our Father*, who can give him Thanks for the Gifts which they have received, and ſhew forth them all in that Name. For he that calls God his Father, confeſſes the Adoption of Sons: And he that confeſſes the Adoption of Sons, owns and declares both Juſtification, and Sanctification, and Redemption, and Remiſſion of Sins, and the Gifts of the Holy Spirt. For all theſe muſt go before, that we may thereby enjoy the Adoption of Sons, and be thought worthy to call God our Father. By which Reaſoning of St. *Chryſoſtom* it appears, that he was ſo far from thinking the *Lord's Prayer* a carnal Form, not proper to be uſed by ſpiritual Men, becauſe it was a Form, that on the contrary he thought none were truly qualified to uſe it, but ſuch as were regenerate, and adopted, and endowed with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, who alone had the true Title to call God their Father. And this, I ſhall ſhew in the next Chapter, was the general Senſe of all the antient Writers.

But to return to St. *Chryſoſtom*. In his *Comment* on the cxviith *Pſalm*, p. 406, he takes notice, that the People were uſed in their Reſponſes to return one Verſe of this *Pſalm*, which was, *This is the Day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.* This kind of Reſponſes, he calls ὑπηχεῖν and συμψάλλειν, becauſe it was the Peoples ſubjoining their Reſponſe to ſomething that the Miniſter had read before out of the ſame *Pſalm*. And it ſeems to have been appointed for the Service of *Eaſter*-Day, or *Chriſtmas*-Day, or the Lord's-Day, becauſe he adds, the People were wont to make this Reſponſe chiefly on that ſpiritual Aſſembly and heavenly Feſtival; plainly referring to ſome eminent Feſtival then well known to the People. And that this Cuſtom was introduced by a Law and Order of the Church, is evident from what follows: For he ſays, their Fore-fathers had appointed the People to ſing this Verſe, ὑπηχεῖν ἐνομοθέτησαν, both becauſe it was ſonorous, and alſo contained a ſublime Doctrine, that for as much as they knew not the whole *Pſalm*, they might from this one Verſe be perfectly inſtructed in the Myſtery of it. This was the Wiſdom of the antient Church, according to *Chryſoſtom*, to teach the People the Myſteries of Religion, by obliging them to bear a Part in the uſual Service.

In his *Comment* on the cxxxviith *Pſalm*, p. 518, he declares again, that the Pſalmody was performed partly by the Prieſts, and partly by the Peoples joining with them: The Prieſts began, and the People anſwered to them. On the cxlth *Pſalm* he notes, p. 544, that this *Pſalm* was conſtantly ſung in the Order of the daily Evening Service, whence it had the Name of the *Evening Pſalm*; as the lxiid had the Name of the *Morning Pſalm*, becauſe it was always ſung in the Morning Service. Of which, becauſe I have given

given a more particular Account hereafter [*], I ſay no more in this Place. On the cxlivth *Pſalm*, p. 594, he acquaints us, that this *Pſalm* was always ſung alternately by the Prieſt and People at the Lord's Table, chiefly upon the account of theſe Words in it, *The Eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou giveſt them their Meat in due Seaſon.* Of which Cuſtom we ſhall have another Occaſion to ſpeak further in its proper Place. *See Book* XV. *Chap.* v. *n.* 10.

In his Sermon on the cxlvth *Pſalm*, p. 823, he tells us, that *Pſalm* was uſed to be ſung in the *Paſſion-week*, *Praiſe the Lord, O my Soul, while I live, will I praiſe the Lord*, &c. In his firſt Sermon on *Iſaiah*, p. 834, he ſays, the *Triſagion*, or Cherubical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, was ſung by the Seraphims in Heaven above, and by Men on Earth beneath. And *p.* 836, he takes notice of the Angelical *Doxology*, *Glory be to God on High*, as uſed in the Church: And the Forms, κύριε ἐλέησον, and σῶσον, *Lord have mercy upon us*, and *Lord ſave us*, as uſual Prayers and Reſponſes of the People: And reproving the Peoples Clamours, and Negligence, and indecent Geſticulations in the Church, he reprimands them in this manner: How dare you mix the Devil's Sport with this *Doxology* of Angels? Why do you not revere the Words, which you your ſelves uſe in that Place, *Serve the Lord in Fear, and rejoice unto Him with Reverence?* Is this to ſerve him in Fear, when you thus theatrically toſs and ſtretch your Bodies, and know not what you ſay your ſelves for your diſorderly Vociferation? This plainly implies, that the People bare their Part, though ſometimes without a juſt Decorum, in all theſe Doxologies, Prayers and Reſponſes. In his *Sermon upon the Seraphims*, which is the ſixth upon *Iſaiah*, p. 890, he gives a large Account again of the Uſe of the ſeraphical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, at the Communion Table: Which, becauſe I ſhall recite at length hereafter, I only juſt barely hint it in this Place. *See Book* XV.

In his ſecond *Homily* upon the Obſcurity of the antient Prophecies, *p.* 946, in anſwer to that vulgar Plea, that Men could pray at Home, he replies in ſuch a manner, as ſhews that the People bare a Part with their own Tongues in the common Prayers of the Church. You may pray at Home, ſays he, but your Prayer is not of that Efficacy and Power, as when the whole Body of the Church, with one Mind, and one Voice, ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ, ſend up their Prayers together, the Prieſts aſſiſting, and offering up the Prayers of the whole Multitude in common. He there alſo ſpeaks of the Deacon's Form in Bidding Prayer for all Orders of Men in the World, which I ſhall not recite here, becauſe I have done it more fully in its proper Place. *Book* XV. *Chap.* i.

SECT. IV. *Parts of the antient* Liturgy *in the fourth Tome of St.* Chryſoſtom's *Works.*

THE fourth Volume of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works conſiſts chiefly of private Diſcourſes, which have not much relation to the publick *Liturgy* of the Church: Yet ſome few Paſſages are worthy to be noted among theſe. In his famous Diſcourſe upon *Eutropius*, p. 554, among other Arguments, whereby he preſſes the People to lay aſide their Anger againſt him, and pardon the Injury he had done them, he urges this: How will you otherwiſe, ſays he, take the Holy Sacrament into your Hands, and uſe the Words of that Prayer, wherein we are commanded to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us*, if you exact Puniſhment of your Debtor? This ſhews that the *Lord's Prayer* was uſed then as an uſual Part of the Communion Service. In the third *Homily* of Repentance, *p.* 562, he ſpeaks of the Seraphical Hymn under the Title of μυστικὸν μέλος, the Myſtical Song, becauſe it was uſed in the Celebration of the holy Myſteries. And again in his ſecond Epiſtle to *Olympias*, p. 715, he mentions it under the ſame Title. And in his Sermon after his return from Baniſhment, *p.* 971, he ſpeaks of the Form εἰρήνη πᾶσι, *Peace be to you all*, as a ſolemn Form uſed frequently in the Church.

SECT. V. *In the Fifth Tome.*

THE fifth Volume of his Works affords us many more Examples. Here he no leſs than eight times mentions the *Lord's Prayer* as a Form in common Uſe by the Commandment of Chriſt. In his ſixth *Homily* upon *Lazarus*, p. 107, We are commanded in our Prayer to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, that by the continual Uſe of that Prayer we may be put in Mind, that we are liable to Puniſhment. In his eighth *Homily* on our *Saviour's Prayer*, *Father if it be poſſible, let this Cup paſs from me*, p. 134, he ſays, Chriſt prayed, to teach his Diſciples to pray. But they were to learn not only to pray, but after what manner to pray: And therefore he delivered them a Prayer in theſe Words, commanding them and us to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, &c. In his tenth *Homily*, p. 154, he ſays, Chriſt taught us what we are to ſay in Prayer, and in a few Words inſtructed us in all manner of Virtue. In his ſixteenth *Homily* upon thoſe Words, *If thine Enemy hunger, feed him*, p. 237, he urges Forgiveneſs of Injuries with this Argument, for this Reaſon we are taught to ſay, *Forgive us, as we forgive*, that we may learn, that the Meaſure of Forgiveneſs takes its riſe from our ſelves. In his thirty ſixth *Homily* upon *Pentecoſt*, p. 552, he ſays, praying by the *Lord's Prayer* is praying by the Spirit: His Words are theſe, If there was no Holy Ghoſt, we that are Believers could not pray to God: For we ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* As therefore we could not ſay, that Jeſus was the Lord, ſo neither could we call God our Father, without the Holy Ghoſt. How does that appear? From the ſame Apoſtle, who ſays, becauſe ye are Sons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into

[*] *See Book* XIII. *Chap.* x, *and* xi.

your Hearts, crying, *Abba* Father. In his thirty eighth *Homily* of Repentance and the *Euchariſt*, p. 570, he thus again argues for forgiving Enemies. When we go into the Church, let us approach God as becomes his Majeſty, leſt if we have Deſigns of Revenge in our Hearts when we pray, we pray againſt our ſelves, ſaying, *Forgive us, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us.* Theſe are terrible Words, and the ſame as if one ſaid to God, Lord, I have forgiven my Enemy, Forgive thou me: I have looſed him, Looſe thou me: I have pardoned my Enemy, Pardon me: If I have retained his Sins, Retain thou mine: If I have not looſed my Neighbour, do not thou looſe my Offences: What Meaſure I have meted to him, Meaſure to me again. In his fifty firſt *Homily* upon the Prayers of Chriſt, *p.* 691, he ſays, Chriſt taught his Diſciples to pray both in Words and Actions; meaning the Words of the *Lord's Prayer*, together with his own Example. And in the ſixty ſecond *Homily* upon the *Paralytick*, *p.* 934, he ſays, this Prayer was the peculiar Privilege of the Faithful, and not allowed to any unbaptized Catechumen: For before we have waſhed away our Sins in the Font of the holy Waters, we cannot call God our Father: But when we return from thence, having put off the Burden of our Sins, then we ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven.*

Beſides this Account of the various Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer*, he mentions ſeveral other Parcels of the *Liturgy* in this Volume. In the ſixteenth *Homily*, *p.* 229, he takes notice of the Uſe of the Seraphical Hymn in the Euchariſtical Service. Conſider, ſays he, you that are initiated, what a Myſtical Service you have been employed in, with whom you have ſent up that Myſtical Song, with whom you have cried out, τρισάγιον, *Holy, Holy, Holy.* In the thirty ſixth *Homily* upon *Pentecoſt* and the Holy Spirit, *p.* 553, he treats at large of that antient Form of Salutation uſed in every Office, *Peace be with you*, or, *The Lord be with you*, and the Peoples anſwering always, *And with thy Spirit.* Our common Father and Teacher, ſays he, meaning the Biſhop, when he goes up into his Throne, ſays, *Peace be to you all*, and you all make Anſwer with one common Voice, *And with thy Spirit.* Neither do you make this Anſwer only when he goes into his Throne, or when he preaches to you, or when he prays for you, but when he ſtands by the holy Table: When he is about to offer that *Tremendous* Sacrifice (they that are initiated know what I ſay) before he touches the Elements lying upon the Table, he prays, *The Grace of the Lord be with you*, and ye reply, *And with thy Spirit:* Reminding yourſelves by this Anſwer, that it is not the Miniſter that effects any thing in this Matter, neither is the Conſecration of the Gifts the Work of human Nature, but that it is the Grace of the Spirit then preſent, and deſcending upon the Elements, which conſummates that Myſtical Sacrifice. In the thirty eighth *Homily* on the *Euchariſt* and Repentance, *p.* 569, he takes notice of another known Form in the Communion-Service, where the Prieſt ſays, *Let us lift up our Minds and Hearts*, and the People anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*, ἔχομεν πρὸς κύριον. This is the ſame Form as we have ſeen before in *Cyprian*, *Surſum Corda*, & *Habemus ad Dominum.* In the forty ſeventh *Homily*, p. 632, he ſpeaks again of the Seraphical Hymn, taken out of *Iſaiah*, under the Name of μυστικὸν μέλος, the Myſtical Song. And *Homily* the fifty ſecond, *in eos qui Paſcha jejunant*, p. 713, perſuading Men to Peace and Unity, he argues again from the frequent Uſe of the Form εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, *Peace be with you all*, in every Office of the Church. There is nothing, ſays he, can be compared with Peace and Concord. Therefore the Biſhop when he firſt enters the Church, before he goes up into his Throne, prays, ſaying, *Peace be with you all:* And when he riſes up, he does not begin to preach, before he ſays again, *Peace be with you all.* And the Prieſts, when they are about to ſay any Prayer of Benediction, do not begin the Bleſſing, before they have uſed the ſame Form of Salutation. And the Deacon, when he bids Men pray with others, enjoins them this in their Prayers, that they ſhould pray for the Angel of Peace [*], and that all their Purpoſes may be directed to a peaceable End: And when he diſmiſſes you from this Aſſembly, he prays thus, ſaying, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Go in Peace:* And nothing is ſaid or done without this. So that it ſeems, this was a Form that had its Return in every particular Office, and was ſometimes uſed ſix or ſeven times at one Aſſembly of the Church. In his thirty fifth *Homily* upon the *Aſcenſion*, p. 535, he more particularly takes Notice of this Form of the Deacon's bidding Men pray for the Angel of Peace. In his Admonition to thoſe that are ſcandalized at the Evils which befall the Church, *cap.* 4. *p.* 863, he has again occaſion to mention the Seraphical Hymn under the foreſaid Title of the Myſtical Song of Sanctification. In his ſixty third *Homily*, p. 949, he ſhews us, how by the Order of the Church, on the Day of our Saviour's Paſſion, all ſuch Portions of Scripture were read, as had any relation to the Croſs; and on the great Sabbath, or *Saturday* following, ſuch Scriptures as contained the Hiſtory of his being betrayed, crucified, dead and buried. And he adds, *p.* 951, That on *Eaſter* Day they read ſuch Paſſages as gave an Account of his Reſurrection, and on every Feſtival the Things that happened at that Seaſon. Only the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which contain the Hiſtory of the Miracles done by the Apoſtles after *Pentecoſt*, after the Holy Ghoſt was come upon them, were for a particular Reaſon ordered to be read before *Pentecoſt*, that is, immediately after *Eaſter*, becauſe the Miracles of the Apoſtles, contained in that Book, were the great Demonſtration of our Saviour's Reſurrection: For which Reaſon the Church appointed the Book of the *Acts* always to be read in the Time between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, immediately after the Reſurrection of Chriſt, to give

* *See this Form explained, Book* XIV. *Chap.* v. *n.* 4.

Men the Evidences and Proofs of that holy Myſtery, which was the Completion of their Redemption. Thus according to *Chryſoſtom*, the Church in great Wiſdom ordered and methodized her *Liturgy* by exact Rules, for the better Inſtruction and Edification of the People.

SECT. VI. *In the ſixth Tome.* THE ſixth Tome is chiefly made up of ſuch *Tracts*, as do not acknowledge *Chryſoſtom* for their Author: And therefore among theſe we ſhall not be very curious in ſearching for the Forms of the antient *Liturgy*. Some of them are ſuppoſed by Learned Men to be written by *Severianus* Biſhop of *Gabala*, Co-temporary with *Chryſoſtom*, and theſe may be reckoned of the ſame Authority as *Chryſoſtom*'s own Writings. Among the *Homilies* of this ſort is reckoned the thirty ſeventh upon the Parable of the Prodigal Son, where the Author, *p.* 375, commenting upon thoſe Words, *They began to be Merry*, thus diſcourſes: Ye know what ſpiritual Mirth is, who have taſted of it, who have been Partakers of the holy Myſteries, and have ſeen the Deacons or Miniſters of Divine Service, imitating the Wings of Angels with their little Veils lying upon their Left Shoulders, and traverſing the Church, and crying, Let no Catechumen be preſent, none of thoſe that may not eat, no Spie, none of thoſe that may not ſee the Feaſt of the fatted Calf, none of thoſe that may not look upon the heavenly Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, no one that is unworthy of the living Sacrifice, no one that is yet unbaptized, no one that may not with his polluted Lips touch the Tremendous Myſteries: Ye remember how after this, the Angels from Heaven ſing the Hymns and Praiſes, ſaying, *Holy is the Father, who willed the fatted Calf to be ſlain, who knew no Sin*, as ſaith the Prophet *Iſaiah, who did no Sin, neither was Guile found in his Mouth: Holy is the Son, the Calf that is always willingly ſlain, and always lives: Holy is the Comforter, the Holy Ghoſt, which perfects the Sacrifice.* Theſe are plain References and Alluſions to the uſual Forms of the Church, *viz.* to the Deacons veſted in their proper Habit and Badge, calling to all Non-communicants to withdraw; and to the Seraphical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, which was always ſung in the Communion Service. The ſame Writer a little after, *p.* 377, as plainly alludes to the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer* at the *Euchariſt*, when he brings in the Father thus ſpeaking to the elder Son: "Son, thou art ever "with me: Thou ſtandeſt by the Altar, and "there crieſt out with Freedom, *Our Father*, "*which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name.*" In the firſt *Homily* in this Volume, intituled, *De Uno Legiſlatore*, p. 10, there is mention made of the Ceremony of laying the Book of the Goſpels upon a Biſhop's Head at his Ordination. For this Reaſon, ſays the Author, when Prieſts are ordained in the Church, the Goſpel of Chriſt is laid upon their Heads, that he that is ordained, may learn that he receives the true Tire or Covering of the Goſpel; and that he may be taught, that though he be the Head of all, yet he is ſubject to thoſe Laws; though he rules over all, he is under the Rule of thoſe Laws; though he gives Laws to all others, he is to be governed by the Law himſelf. The Criticks are not agreed upon the Author of this Diſcourſe. *Du Pin* [*a*] rejects it as none of *Chryſoſtom*'s: But *Photius* quotes it under his Name, and Biſhop *Pearſon* [*b*] has a long Diſſertation to vindicate the Authority of it out of *Photius* and ſeveral other antient Writers before him, where he anſwers all the Objections that Biſhop *Uſher* and ſome other Learned Men had raiſed againſt it. Without deciding this Controverſy, it is ſufficient for our preſent Purpoſe, that the *Homily* either acknowledges *Chryſoſtom* or ſome ſuch other antient Writer for its Author, and the Ceremony here ſpoken of was certainly a Cuſtom obſerved in the Ordination of Biſhops in the Time of *Chryſoſtom*, as appears not only from other Places in *Chryſoſtom*, but alſo from the Authors of the *Conſtitutions* and the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*, and the Canon of the fourth Council of *Carthage*, which I have had an occaſion to produce in a former [*] Book, to which I refer the Reader, and go on with *Chryſoſtom* in order.

In the fifty ſecond *Homily*, upon the *Circus*, in this Volume, *p.* 491, the Author makes mention of that antient Cuſtom of ſaying, δόξασοι κύριε, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, at the reading of the Goſpel. When we are met together, ſays he, in the Eccleſiaſtical Theatre, as ſoon as the Deacon opens the Book of the Goſpels, we all look upon him with Silence, and when he begins to read, we preſently riſe up, and ſay, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord.*

SECT. VII. *In the ſeventh Tome of his* Homilies *on St.* Matthew.

IN his eleventh *Homily* on St. *Matthew*, p. 108, he mentions the Peoples joining in Pſalmody and the accuſtomed Prayers. When ye have born your Part in Singing two or three *Pſalms*, δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηχήσαντες, and have made your uſual Prayers, τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι, ye think ye have done enough for your Salvation. In the thirty third *Homily*, p. 318, he notes the cuſtomary Form of the Miniſter's ſaying, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, *Peace be unto you all*, when he firſt enters the Church: And he forms this Exhortation upon it: When I ſay, *Peace be unto you*; and ye anſwer again, *And with thy Spirit*; do not ſay this only in Words, but in Mind; not with your Mouth, but with your Heart. For if you ſay here in the Church, *Peace be with thy Spirit*; but as ſoon as you are gone out, begin to oppugn me, deſpiſe me, accuſe me, and load me with a thouſand Reproaches, What Peace is this? In his ſixty ninth *Homily*, p. 600, ſpeaking of the Monks, and their Manner of worſhipping God, he ſays, As ſoon as they were out of their Beds, they made a Quire, and ſang Hymns to God, συμφώνως ἅπαντες ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, all together with one Voice, and as it were with one

[*a*] Du Pin Bibliothec. Cent. 5. p. 22. [*b*] Pearſon Vindic. Ignat. Part. 1. cap. 9. p. 311. [*] *Book* II. *Chap.* xi. *n.* 8.

Mouth:

Mouth: And among these, they particularly addressed that Angelical Hymn to God, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men.* In his seventy second *Homily*, p. 624, he speaks of three Prayers, one of which was for the Demoniacks, the second for the Penitents, and the third for the Faithful or Communicants, all conceived in a certain Form of Words; which is evident from this Circumstance, which he there subjoins, That in the last of these Prayers the Children of the Church joined with the rest of the People in crying to God for Mercy. The People prayed alone without the Children, when they prayed for the Demoniacks and Penitents; but when they prayed for themselves, they strengthened their Prayers with the Cries and Intercessions of their Children, whose Innocence and Simplicity they esteemed to be prevailing Motives with God to hear them. By this Account it is plain, these Prayers must be in certain Forms known both to the People and the Children: Otherwise it is impossible to imagine, how they should all join vocally in crying to God for Mercy. In his twentieth *Homily*, which is upon the *Lord's Prayer*, he not only mentions the Use of this Form of Prayer, but says, it was the peculiar Privilege of Communicants or baptized Persons to use it. That this Prayer, says he, *p.* 200, belongs to the Faithful only, is evidenced both from the Laws of the Church, and the first Words of the Prayer it self. For no unbaptized Person can call God his Father. In the same *Homily*, he takes Notice of the Ceremonies used in the Reception of the *Eucharist*, particularly the Custom of giving one another the holy Kiss of Peace. And in the seventh *Homily*, p. 70, he alludes to the Custom of the Priest's saying, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, in the Celebration of the *Eucharist*, when he says, *Christ gives holy Things to holy Men.*

SECT. VIII.
In the eighth Tome on St. John *and the* Acts of the Apostles.

THE eighth Tome of St. *Chrysostom*'s Works, contains his *Homilies* on St. *John* and the *Acts of the Apostles*. In his Preface to St. *John*, he mentions the Form of renouncing the Devil, and covenanting with Christ. Ye which are initiated, says he, know what Compact ye made with us, or rather with Christ, when he admitted you to his holy Mystery, what you said to him concerning the Pomp of Satan, how after you had renounced Satan and his Angels, you renounced this also, and promised never to look toward it again.

Hom. forty second, he speaks of the *Lord's Prayer*, as a Form of spiritual Prayer, which Christ taught his Disciples and all Christians.

Hom. forty fourth, he says, every good Christian used this Prayer daily, saying those holy Words, *Thy Kingdom come*; implying a Belief of the Resurrection.

Hom. sixty first, he makes mention of Hymns and Psalmody, as the Honour of Christian Funerals.

Hom. seventy seventh, he takes notice of the Kiss of Peace, and the Common Prayers made for the whole State of the World in the Communion-Service. We salute one another, says he, in the holy Mysteries, that being many, we may be made one; and we make common Prayers for those that are unbaptized, and Supplications for the Sick, and for the Fruits of the World both by Sea and Land. Which plainly refers to the known Forms then commonly used in the Church.

In his nineteenth *Homily* on the *Acts of the Apostles*, he speaks of several customary Forms observed in the Reading of the Scriptures: The Deacon, the common Minister of the Church, first stood up, and cried with a loud Voice, πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give Attention:* And this he repeated over and over again. After that, the Reader names the Prophet *Esaias*, or the like, and before he begins to read, he cries out, τάδε λέγει κύριος, *Thus saith the Lord.*

Hom. twenty first, he refers to the Bidding Prayer of the Deacon, in which he was used to admonish the People in these Words, among many other Petitions, *Let us pray for those that sleep in Christ, and for those that make Commemorations for them, for the Church, for the Priests, for the People, for the Martyrs*, &c.

Hom. twenty fourth, he mentions the Hymns that were used by all in common at the Communion Table. Know you not, that you then stand with Angels, and sing with them, and send up Hymns and Praises to God with them? Meaning the *Trisagion* or Cherubical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts*, &c. which was a known Part of the Eucharistical Service.

SECT. IX.
In the ninth Tome on Romans, *and first and second to the* Corinthians.

THE ninth Tome of his Works contains his *Homilies* on the Epistle to the *Romans*, and the first and second to the *Corinthians*. In his seventh *Homily* on *Romans*, *p.* 68, he speaks of common Prayer sent up to God with one Voice for the Energumens or Persons vexed with evil Spirits. Which was by a certain Form, as we have seen before in his seventy first *Homily* on St. *Matthew*, and is evident from the very Manner of expressing it here: For the People could not pray with one Voice, unless a Form of Words was some way or other dictated to them. This dictating of Prayers to be used by the whole Assembly was commonly the Office of the Deacon, as *Chrysostom* informs us in the fourteenth *Homily* upon this same Epistle, *p.* 165, where he shews the different State of the Church in the Apostles Days from that of his own Time. For explaining those Words, *The Spirit maketh Intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered*, he says, This was an obscure Expression, because many of the miraculous Gifts, which were then in being, were since ceased: As the Gift of Prophecy, the Gift of Wisdom, the Gift of healing the Sick, the Gift of raising the Dead, the Gift of Tongues, and among the rest the Gift of Prayer, which was then distinguished by the Name of the Spirit: And he that had this Gift, prayed for the whole Congregation. Upon which account the Apostle gives the Name of the Spirit both to this Gift, and to the Soul that was endowed with it, who made

Intercession

Interceſſion with groanings unto God, asking of God ſuch things as were of general Uſe and Advantage to the whole Congregation: The Image or Symbol of which is now the Deacon, who offers up Prayers for the People. Here, according to *Chryſoſtom*, the Spirit of praying was an extraordinary Gift, like that of Tongues; and the Difference between the Apoſtolical Age and his own was this, that at firſt both the Matter and Words of their Prayers were inſpired in an extraordinary way, but afterward the Deacons prayed by ordinary Forms without any ſuch immediate Inſpiration.

In his *Comments* upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, (Hom. 24. p. 532,) he rehearſes the Heads of the ſolemn Thankſgiving at the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*. We rehearſe, ſays he, over the Cup the ineffable Bleſſings of God, and whatever Benefits we enjoy; and ſo we offer it at the Holy Table, and communicate, giving him Thanks that he hath delivered Mankind from Error; that when we were afar off, he hath made us near; that when we had no Hope, and were without God, he hath made us Brethren and Fellow-heirs with himſelf; for theſe and all the like Bleſſings we give him Thanks, and ſo come to his holy Table. *Hom.* 35, *p.* 640, he notes the Words, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *for ever and ever*, to be the common Concluſion of their Euchariſtical Thankſgivings, to which a Layman, if they were ſaid in an unknown Tongue, could not anſwer, *Amen*. In his thirty ſixth *Homily*, p. 652, he mentions the Form, *Peace be with you all*, to which the People anſwered, *And with thy Spirit*; Which he derives from Apoſtolical Practice, when both Miniſter and People were uſed to ſpeak by immediate Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. He farther obſerves, *p.* 653, that they all ſang in common, both in the Apoſtles Days and in his own Time: And that the Biſhop at the Entrance into the Church, ſaid always, *Peace be to you all*, as a proper Salutation when he came into his Father's Houſe; though he laments, that whilſt they retained the Name of Peace, they had loſt the Thing. Again, *p.* 655, he takes Notice, that when a ſingle Reader ſung the Pſalms, all the People, as it were with one Mouth, did ὑπηχεῖν, return their Anſwer to him, that is, either by ſinging the Verſes alternately, or by joining in the Cloſe of every Verſe; of which more in the next Book, *Chap.* i. *Hom.* 40, p. 688, he obſerves, that every Perſon at his Baptiſm was by the Rule of the Church obliged to make Profeſſion of his Faith in the ſolemn Words of the *Creed*; and among other Articles particularly ſaid, *I believe the Reſurrection of the Dead*: By which Form of Profeſſion *Chryſoſtom* explains that noted Paſſage of St. *Paul*, *Why are they then baptized for the Dead?* That is, If the Dead riſe not, why do they profeſs at their Baptiſm, that they *believe the Reſurrection of the Dead?* Hom. 41, p. 702, he mentions part of the ſolemn Form of Prayer for the Dead, then in uſe in the Church. It is not without Reaſon, ſays he, that he that ſtands at the Altar, when the holy Myſteries are celebrated, ſays, We offer for all thoſe who are dead in Chriſt, and for all thoſe who make Commemorations for them. And a little after, We at that time alſo make Prayers for the whole World, and name the Dead, with Martyrs, and Confeſſors, and Prieſts: For we are all one Body, though ſome Members exceed other Members in Glory.

In his ſecond *Homily* upon the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, p. 740, he ſtiles the *Lord's Prayer* εὐχὴν νενομισμένην, the Prayer which Chriſt brought in, and eſtabliſhed by Law in his Church; and ſays it was the peculiar Privilege of the Faithful to uſe it, for the Catechumens were not allowed ſo great a Favour before Baptiſm. There alſo he mentions ſeveral Forms of the Deacons calling upon the People to pray: As that, σῶμεν καλῶς, σταθῶμεν, Let us ſtand devoutly, and pray: Which, he ſays, was addreſſed not only to the Prieſts, but alſo to the People: And again, Let us pray ardently for the Catechumens: after which Admonition the Deacon recited the particular Petitions they were to make for them, which *Chryſoſtom* there relates at length in the very Form that was uſed, which I ſhall omit to recite here, becauſe the Reader may find it whole hereafter in the Service of the Catechumens, *Book* XIV. *Chap.* v. A little after in this ſame *Homily*, p. 743, he mentions the uſual Form of Renunciation in Baptiſm: Ye that are initiated, ſays he, know what I ſay: For ye eaſily remember thoſe Words whereby ye renounce the Tyranny of the Devil, falling upon your Knees, and going over to Chriſt your King, and uttering thoſe tremendous Words, whereby we are taught to pay no manner of Obedience to the Tyrant. And, *p.* 745, he adds, That in the Service of the Faithful, that is, the Communion Service, the Deacon again bid them ſupplicate and addreſs God for Biſhops, for Presbyters, for Kings, for Emperors, for all by Sea and Land, for the Temperature of the Air, and for the whole World. Which are but ſo many hints of the Deacon's Bidding Prayer in the Service of the Faithful, more fully related in the fifteenth *Book*, *Chap.* i. Hom. fifth, *p.* 775, he ſpeaks of the Obligation Men have to uſe the *Lord's Prayer*. Hom. eighteenth, *p.* 872, he intimates a Form of Prayer uſed by the People at the time of ordaining Miniſters. The Suffrage of the People, ſays he, is no little Ornament to thoſe who are called to any ſpiritual Dignity. And therefore he that performs the Office of Ordination, then requires their Prayers, and they join their Suffrage, and cry out thoſe Words, which they that are initiated know, for it is not lawful to ſpeak all things before the Unbaptized. A little after, *p.* 873, he ſays, the People had a conſiderable ſhare in the Prayers of the Church. For common Prayers were made both by Prieſt and People for the Energumens and Penitents, and they all ſay one and the ſame Prayer for them, the Prayer is ſo full of Mercy. Again, when we diſmiſs thoſe who may not participate of the

holy

holy Table, another Prayer is to be made, in which we all fall down upon the Ground together, and all riſe together. He means the Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church, which was ſaid jointly by the Prieſt and People together. Again, when the Salutation of Peace is mutually to be given and received, we all in like manner uſe this Salutation. He means either the Kiſs of Peace, or the Form of Salutation uſed between Prieſt and People, *The Peace of God be with you, And with thy Spirit.* But more probably he means the former, becauſe it immediately follows after, When we come to the tremendous Myſteries, then as the Prieſt prays for the People, ſo the People pray for the Prieſt. For theſe Words, *And with thy Spirit*, ſignify nothing elſe. Again, that Prayer wherein we give Thanks, is common to both. For not only the Prieſt gives Thanks, but all the People. For he firſt receives their Anſwer, they rejoyning, *It is meet and right ſo to do*, and then he begins the Thankſgiving. And why ſhould any Man wonder, that the People ſhould ſpeak together with the Prieſt, when they even join with Cherubims and the Powers above to ſend up in common thoſe ſacred Hymns to Heaven? Meaning the Hymns, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, and *Glory be to God on high*, which were ſung by all the People in the Communion Service. *Chryſoſtom* has a good Remark upon all theſe Forms, and the People's Obligation to bear a Part in them, which therefore I may not here omit, becauſe it ſhews us the Reaſon why the antient Church ſo ordered her Service. I have mentioned all theſe Things, ſays he, on purpoſe to excite the Vigilance of thoſe that are in an inferior Station, that we may learn that we are all one Body, and only differ, as one Member may differ from another; and that we ſhould not caſt all upon the Prieſts, but our ſelves be concerned in the Care of the whole Church, as of one common Body.

SECT. X. *In the tenth Tome.*

THE laſt Volume of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works contains his *Homilies* upon the remaining Epiſtles of St. *Paul*. In his firſt *Homily* on the *Epheſians*, p. 1037, he ſpeaks of the Forms of Profeſſion uſed in Baptiſm: What is more gracious, ſays he, than thoſe Words, by which we renounce the Devil? By which we covenant with Chriſt? What more gracious than that Profeſſion, which we make both before and after Baptiſm? In the third *Homily*, p. 1051, he tells us the Deacons were wont to uſe this Form of Words to all thoſe that were under the Church's Cenſures, to withdraw from the Lord's Table, Ye that are in the State of Penance, depart. And, *p.* 1052, when they were gone, they ſaid again to the Communicants, Let us pray in common all together. And there alſo he ſpeaks of the Hymns, that were ſung at the Lord's Table. *Hom.* fourteenth, *p.* 1127, he argues from the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer*, That Men ſhould not revile thoſe, whom they therein owned to be their Brethren. If he is not thy Brother, how doſt thou ſay, *Our Father?* For that Word, *Our*, denotes many Perſons. And farther to ſhew the Indecency of ſuch *Contumelious* Language, he reminds them of their known Cuſtom in ſinging the ſacred Hymns with Cherubims and Seraphims at the Communion. Conſider with whom you ſtand in the Time of the Holy Myſteries. With Cherubims, with Seraphims. For the Seraphims uſe no Reviling. Their Mouth is continually employed in fulfilling one neceſſary Office, that of glorifying and praiſing God. How then can you ſay with them, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, who uſe your Mouth to revile your Brethren? He adds, You ſay, *Our Father*; and what follows that? *Which art in Heaven.* As ſoon as you ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, that Word raiſes you up, and gives Wings to your Soul, and ſhews that you have a Father in Heaven. Therefore do nothing, ſay nothing of thoſe Things that are upon Earth. You ſtand in Heaven, and do you uſe Reviling? You converſe with Angels, and do you uſe Reviling? You are honoured with the Kiſs of the Lord, and do you uſe Reviling? God adorns your Mouth ſo many ways with Angelical Hymns, with Meat, not Angelical, but above Angels, with his own Kiſſes and Embraces, and do you ſtill accuſtom your ſelf to Reviling?

Hom. twenty third, *p.* 1190, he ſays, *Jeſus* the Son of the living God hath brought down to us the Celeſtial Hymns. For what the Cherubims ſay above, He hath commanded us to ſay, *Holy, Holy, Holy.*

On the *Philippians*, *Hom.* fifteenth, *p.* 1311, he poſitively aſſerts, That Chriſt delivered the *Lord's Prayer* as a Form of Prayer, ὅρον εὐχῆς, teaching us to ſay, *Give us this Day our daily Bread.*

On the *Coloſſians*, *Hom.* third, *p.* 1337, We pray, ſaying, *Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven.* We give Thanks, ſaying, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men.* We petition in our Prayers for the Angel of Peace, and we pray for Peace upon all Occaſions, for nothing can be compared unto it. The Biſhop in the Church gives the Benediction of Peace, ſaying in every Office, in Prayers, in Supplications, in his Homilies, once, twice, thrice, and oftner, *Peace be with you all.* Again, *p.* 1338, When the Biſhop enters the Church, he immediately ſays, *Peace be with you all:* when he preaches, *Peace be with you all:* when he gives the Bleſſing, *Peace be with you all:* when he bids you ſalute one another, *Peace be with you all:* when the Sacrifice is offered, *Peace be with you all:* And in the Intervals, *Grace and Peace be with you.* Is it not therefore abſurd, that when we ſo often hear Peace mentioned, we ſhould ſtill be at War among our ſelves? We receive the Salutation of Peace, and return it to him that gives it, and yet are at War with him. You anſwer, *And with thy Spirit:* Yet as ſoon as you are gone out of the Church, you calumniate and revile him. He adds, *p.* 1339, That it was not the Biſhop, properly ſpeaking, that gave the Peace, but Chriſt, that vouchſafes to ſpeak by his Mouth.

Hom. ſixth in *Coloſ.* p. 1358, he compares the Forms of Renunciation in Baptiſm, and covenanting with Chriſt, to an Hand-writing or Bond, ſaying, Let us beware that we be not convicted by it, after we have ſaid thoſe Words, *We renounce thee, Satan, and we make a Covenant with Thee, O Chriſt.* Again, *p.* 1359, You are taught to ſay, *I renounce thee, and thy Pomp, and thy Worſhip, and thy Angels.* He adds, That every new-baptized Perſon, as ſoon as he came up out of the Water, was appointed to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven, Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven.*

Hom. ninth in *Coloſſ.* p. 1380, on thoſe Words, *Admoniſhing one another in Pſalms, and Hymns, and ſpiritual Songs*, he ſays, The Faithful know, what is the Hymn of the Spirits above; what the Cherubims above ſay; what the Angels ſaid, *Glory be to God on high.* Meaning that theſe two Hymns were ſung by the Faithful in the Communion Service.

Hom. tenth, *p.* 1385, he gives the *Lord's Prayer* the Title of εὐχὴ πιστῶν, *The Prayer of the Faithful*, becauſe it was their peculiar Privilege to uſe it.

Hom. third in 2 *Theſſ.* p. 1502, he mentions two uſual Forms relating to the reading of the Leſſons in the Church. When the Reader riſes up, and ſays, *Thus ſaith the Lord:* And the Deacon ſtanding up, commands all Men to keep ſilence; he does not ſay this to honour the Reader, but God, who ſpeaks to all by him.

Hom. ſixth in 1 *Tim.* p. 1553, he proves, that Infidels are prayed for as well as others, from the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer.* For when he that prays, ſays, *Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven*, the Meaning is, That as there is no Infidel in Heaven, ſo we pray, that there may be none on Earth neither.

Hom. ſecond in 2 *Tim.* p. 1638, he ſays, The Words whereby the Prieſts conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, were the ſame that Chriſt ſpake.

Hom. fourth on *Hebrews*, p. 1785, he intimates, that they had ſet Pſalms in their Funeral Service. Conſider, ſays he, what you ſing at that Time, *Turn again unto thy Reſt, O my Soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee.* And again, *I will fear no Evil, for thou art with me.* And again, *Thou art my Refuge from Tribulation, which compaſſes me about.* Conſider what thoſe *Pſalms* mean. You ſay, *Turn again unto thy Reſt, O my Soul*: And do you ſtill weep? Is not this mere Pageantry and Hypocriſy? If you believe the Things to be true, which you ſay, it is ſuperfluous to lament.

Hom. fourteenth, *p.* 1852, ſpeaking of the Hymns ſung at the *Euchariſt*, he ſays, Do not we ſing the ſame Celeſtial Hymns, which the Quires of Incorporeal Powers ſing above?

Hom. ſeventeenth, *p.* 1870, he mentions a part of the Oblation Prayer, In the Oblation we offer, or bear and confeſs our Sins, and ſay, *Forgive us our Tranſgreſſions*, whether voluntary or involuntary; that is, We firſt remember them, and then ask Pardon. There alſo, *p.* 1872, he mentions the Deacon's ſolemn Form of Words, admoniſhing the People to come holy to the Holy Sacrament: For this reaſon the Deacon cries out and calls upon the Saints, and by theſe Words prompts all Men to conſider their Offences, that no one come unprepared.

Hom. twenty ſecond, *p.* 1898, he tacitly refers to the Form, *Surſum corda, Let us lift up our Hearts.* For having mentioned thoſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt, Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice*, he adds, With our Hands let us alſo lift up our Hearts. Ye which are initiated know what I ſay, you perhaps underſtand what is ſpoken, and perceive what I have obſcurely hinted. *Let us lift up our Souls on high.*

Beſide theſe Paſſages collected out of *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, publiſhed by *Fronto Ducæus*, there are ſeveral others in thoſe *Homilies* which Sir *Henry Savil* ſet forth in *Greek*, and others in the *Latin* Editions only. Neither of which I have had Opportunity perfectly to examine, and therefore I ſhall leave them to the more diligent Enquiry of the curious Reader: Only noting, That in the ſixth *Homily of Repentance* [c], he obſerves this Difference between *David's Pſalms* and the reſt of the Scriptures, that the others were read only twice a Week in publick, but the *Pſalms* were uſed by all ſorts of Men, in all Places, and upon all Occaſions. *In Eccleſiis pernoctantibus primus & medius, & noviſſimus eſt David.* When they held their Vigils all Night in the Church, *David's Pſalms* were in the Beginning, and Middle, and End of all their Service. The ſame was obſerved in their Morning Prayer; in their Funeral Obſequies; by Virgins at their Needle; by the Illiterate and Unlearned, who could not read a Letter in the Book, yet could repeat *David's Pſalms* by Heart. *David* was always in their Mouths, not only in the Cities and Churches, but in the Courts, in the Monaſteries, in the Deſarts and the Wilderneſs. He turned Earth into Heaven, and Men into Angels, being adapted to all Orders, and all Capacities, Children, young Men, Virgins, old Men, and Sinners. In the Beginning of the ſame *Homily*, he ſays the Book of *Geneſis* was by Appointment of the Church read only once a Year at a certain Seaſon, which was the Time of *Lent*, as we have heard before in ſeveral places of this Author, and as we ſhall ſee more fully demonſtrated from other Writers in the next Book.

Among thoſe publiſhed in *Greek* by Sir *H. Savil*, the hundred and twenty third *Homily*, (T. 5. p. 809.) ſpeaks of the Prieſts uſing this Form of Admonition to all Communicants in the Time when the holy Myſteries were celebrated, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy Things are only for holy Men.* And whoever will beſtow the Pains to peruſe the reſt of the *Homilies* which are in that Edition, may doubtleſs find many other ſuch Fragments of the antient *Liturgy*, which, as appears from this Collection, ſo much abound in this celebrated Writer.

[c] De Pœnitent. Hom. 6. Tom. 7. p. 146. Baſil. 1525.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Uſe of the Lord's Prayer *in the Liturgy of the Antient Church.*

SECT. I. *The* Lord's Prayer *by all the Ancients eſteemed a Form, given by Chriſt to be uſed by his Diſciples.*

IF there were no other Argument to prove the Lawfulneſs of ſet Forms of Prayer in the Judgment of the Ancients, the Opinion which they had of the *Lord's Prayer*, and their Practice purſuant to that Opinion, would ſufficiently do it. And therefore though ſeveral Things have been occaſionally hinted already about this Matter, yet it will not be amiſs to give it a diſtinct handling in this Chapter. And firſt of all I obſerve, that the Ancients did not only eſteem it as a Rule and Pattern to conform our Prayers to, but looked upon it as a particular Form of Prayer, which Chriſt enjoined all his Diſciples to uſe in the ſame Words that he delivered it. *Tertullian* [a] ſays, Our Lord preſcribed a new Form of Prayer for his new Diſciples of the *New Teſtament:* And that tho' *John* had taught his Diſciples a Form of Prayer, yet all that he did was only as a Fore-runner of Chriſt; when Chriſt was increaſed (as *John* had foretold, He muſt increaſe, but I muſt decreaſe) then the whole Work of the Servant paſſed over to the Lord. And therefore it is not ſo much as extant now in what Words *John* taught his Diſciples to pray, becauſe earthly Things were to give way to heavenly. So again, The Religion of Prayer was ordained by Chriſt himſelf, and this Prayer being animated by his Spirit from the Time that it came out of his heavenly Mouth, aſcends up to Heaven with a Privilege, commending to the Father what the Son taught. But becauſe our Lord, who foreſaw the Neceſſities of Man, after he had given this Rule of praying, ſaid alſo, *Ask, and ye ſhall receive*; and there are many Things which Mens particular Circumſtances oblige overy one to ask; therefore we have a Right to make Additional Requeſts, and build other Prayers upon this, always premiſing this appointed and ordinary Prayer as the Foundation. So that according to *Tertullian* [b] it was not only a Rule preſcribing the Method and Matter of Prayer, but a Form to be uſed in the Words in which Chriſt delivered it, and to be added to all other Prayers as the Foundation of a Superſtructure. After the ſame Manner St. *Cyprian* ſays, That Chriſt among other wholeſome Admonitions and divine Precepts, by which he provided for the Salvation of his People, has given us alſo a Form [c] of Prayer, teaching and admoniſhing us what we are to pray for. And a little after [d], We are to learn from our Lord's Information, what we are to pray for: For he ſaid, pray thus: *Our Father, which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name*, &c. St. *Auſtin* aſſures us, that as the Church always uſed this Prayer, ſo ſhe uſed it by the Command [e] of Chriſt. He ſaid, Pray thus: He ſaid to his Diſciples, Pray thus: He ſaid to his Diſciples, he ſaid to his Apoſtles, and to us who are the Lambs he ſaid, and to the Rams of his Flock he ſaid, Pray thus. In another place, This Prayer [f] is neceſſary for all, which the Lord gave to the Rams of his Flock, that is, to his Apoſtles, that every one of them ſhould ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us.* For if there is any one to whom theſe Words in the Prayer are not neceſſary, he muſt be ſaid to be without Sin. And if Chriſt had foreſeen that there would have been any ſuch, ſo much better than his Apoſtles, he would have taught them another Prayer, in which they ſhould not have asked *Forgiveneſs of Sins* for themſelves, who had already obtained Remiſſion of all in Baptiſm. Again he ſays, [g] If any one ſay that this Prayer is not neceſſary in this Life for every Saint of God, that knows and does the Will of God, except one, the Holy of Holies, he is in a manifeſt Error, and pleaſes not that God whom he pretends to praiſe. For this Prayer [h] which we uſe, was given as a Rule to the Apoſtles by the heavenly Lawgiver, who ſaid to them, Pray thus. He enjoined the Rams of his Flock, the Leaders of his Sheep, the chief Members of the great Shep-

[a] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 1. Dominus noſter novis Diſcipulis novi Teſtamenti novam Orationis Formam determinavit.——Docuerat & Joannes Diſcipulos ſuos adorare. Sed omnia Joannis Chriſto præſtruebantur, donec ipſo aucto (ſicut idem Joannes prænunciabat, illum augeri oportere, ſe vero diminui) totum Præminiſtri opus cum ipſo ſpiritu tranſiret ad Dominum. Ideo nec extat in quæ verba docuerit Joannes adorare, quod Terrena Cœleſtibus ceſſerint. [b] Ibid. cap. 9. Ab ipſo ordinata Religio Orationis, & de Spiritu ipſius jam tunc cum ex ore Divino ferretur, animata ſuo Privilegio aſcendit in cœlum, commendans Patri quæ Filius docuit. Quoniam tamen Dominus proſpector humanarum neceſſitatum, ſeorſum poſt traditam orandi diſciplinam, Petite, inquit, & accipietis, & ſunt quæ petantur pro circumſtantia cujuſque, præmiſſa Legitima & Ordinaria Oratione quaſi Fundamento, accidentium jus eſt deſideriorum, jus eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus Petitiones. [c] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 139. Inter cætera ſalutaria ſua monita & præcepta divina, quibus populo ſuo conſuluit ad ſalutem, etiam orandi ipſe Formam dedit; ipſe quid precaremur, monuit & inſtruxit. [d] Ibid p. 141. Cognoſcamus docente Domino & quid oremus. Sic, inquit, orate: Pater noſter qui es in cœlis, &c. [e] Aug. Hom. 29. de Verbis Apoſt. tom. 10. p. 150. Eccleſiæ oratio eſt, vox eſt de Magiſterio Domini veniens. Ipſe dixit, Sic orate: Diſcipulis dixit, Sic orate: Diſcipulis dixit, Apoſtolis dixit, & nobis, qualeſcunque Agniculi ſumus, dixit, Arietibus gregis dixit, Sic orate.

[f] Aug. Ep. 89. ad Hilarium. Omnibus neceſſaria eſt Oratio Dominica, quam etiam ipſis arietibus gregis, id eſt, Apoſtolis ſuis Dominus dedit, ut unuſquiſque Deo dicat, Dimitte nobis debita noſtra, ſicut nos dimittimus Debitoribus noſtris, &c.

[g] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis. lib. 3. cap. 13. Quam Orationem quiſquis cuilibet etiam homini Sancto, & Dei voluntatem ſcienti atque facienti, præter unum ſanctum ſanctorum, dicit in hac vita neceſſariam non fuiſſe, multum errat, nec poteſt illi ipſi placere quem laudat. [h] Aug. in Pſal. 142. p. 675. Ipſi didicerunt orare quod oramus, ipſis data eſt Regula poſtulandi à Juriſperito cœleſti. Sic orate, inquit, &c.

herd,

herd, to uſe it. And they thence learned to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us.* In his *Retractations* [i] he confirms all this, calling it one of Chriſt's Commands to uſe this Prayer, which the whole Church will continue to uſe to the End of the World. St. *Chryſoſtom* in two Volumes of his Works, the third and fifth, repeats this almoſt twenty times, That the *Lord's Prayer* was a common Form in Uſe among them by the expreſs Command of Chriſt. And there are many other ſcattered Paſſages throughout his Writings to the ſame Purpoſe, which, becauſe I have produced them at large in the laſt Chapter, I need not here repeat them.

SECT. II. *And accordingly it was uſed by the Primitive Church in all her Offices, particularly in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm.*

EVIDENT it is beyond Diſpute, that the whole Primitive Church conſtantly uſed it in all her holy Offices, out of Conſciouſneſs and Regard to Chriſt's Command This, as we have heard *Tertullian* word it, was laid as the Foundation of all other Prayers [k]. It is the Prayer of the Church: The whole Church ſays, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, as we have it before in the Teſtimony of [l] St. *Auſtin*. And the Practice was ſo univerſal and well known from the Beginning, that *Lucian* the Heathen is thought to refer to it in one of his *Dialogues* [m], where he ſpeaks, in the Perſon of a Chriſtian, of the Prayer which began ἀπὸ τὰ πατρός, with *Our Father*. But we have more certain Evidence from the Records and Offices of the Church. For there was no conſiderable Divine Office, in the Celebration of which this Prayer did not always make a ſolemn Part. Particularly in Baptiſm, as ſoon as the Perſon baptized came up out of the Water, he was enjoyned to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven*. Immediately after this, ſays the Author of the Conſtitutions [n], Let him ſtand and pray the Prayer which the Lord hath taught us. And ſo *Chryſoſtom* [o], As ſoon as he riſes out of the Water, he ſays thoſe Words, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, &c.

SECT. III. *And in the Celebration of the* Euchariſt.

IN like manner in the Celebration of the other Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, it was commonly uſed at the Cloſe of the Conſecration Prayer. So it is expreſly more than once noted by St. *Auſtin*: After the Sanctification of the Sacrifice [p] we ſay the *Lord's Prayer*: And again [q], The whole Church almoſt concludes the Prayer of Benediction and Sanctification with the *Lord's Prayer*. Upon this Account he tells his Hearers, that all who were Communicants [r] heard this Prayer ſaid daily at the Altar. And he expreſly makes this Difference between the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Creed*, that Men might remember the former by hearing it daily repeated at the Altar; but the *Creed* was not ſo, for as yet it was never publickly uſed, but only in the Occaſional Service of Baptiſm; whereas the *Lord's Prayer* was of conſtant Uſe by being a daily Part of the Communion-Service. *Cyril*, in his Myſtagogical Catechiſm to the illuminated [s], gives the ſame Account of it. After the Oblation Prayer we ſay that Prayer which our Saviour delivered to his Diſciples, calling God our Father with a pure Conſcience, and ſaying, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* And St. *Jerom* [t], though he do not ſo preciſely note what Part of the Communion-Office it was uſed in, yet in general he ſays Chriſt taught his Apoſtles this Prayer, that Believers might every Day in the Sacrifice of his Body have boldneſs to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* And St. *Chryſoſtom* [u] in a covert way intimates the ſame, when he tells his Hearers, that if they forgive their Enemies, they may come with a pure Conſcience to the holy and tremendous Table, and boldly ſay the Words that are contained in the Prayer. The initiated know what I mean. He means that Petition of the *Lord's Prayer*, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us.* Which he expreſſes thus covertly, becauſe of Non-communicants, Catechumens or Infidels, that might be preſent at a popular Diſcourſe in a general Aſſembly. He ſpeaks more plainly in his Sermon upon *Eutropius* [x], where preſſing the People to forgive the Injury which that great States-man had done the Church, he uſes this Argument to them: How otherwiſe will you take the holy Sacrament into your Hands, and uſe the Words of that Prayer, wherein we are commanded to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us.* This plainly ſhews, that the *Lord's Prayer* was then uſed as an ordinary and conſtant Part of the Communion Service. Only with this Difference, that in the *Greek* Church and the *Gallican* Church it was ſaid by the Prieſt and all the People together, as *Mabillon* [y] proves out of *Gregory of Tours*, and *Leontius* in the Life of *Joannes Eleemoſynarius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and the Epiſtles of *Gregory* the Great, who expreſly notes the Difference between the *Greek* and *La-*

[i] Aug. Retractat. lib. 1. cap. 19. In eiſdem mandatis eſt etiam quod jubemur dicere, Dimitte nobis Debita noſtra, &c. Quam Orationem uſque ad finem ſæculi tota dicit Eccleſia. [k] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 9. *cited above.* [l] Aug. Hom. 29. de Verbis Apoſt. p. 150. [m] Lucian. Philopatris. [n] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 7. cap. 44. [o] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in Colos. p. 1359. It. Hom. 62. in Paralyticum tom. 5. p. 934. [p] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diverſis. p. 556. Poſt Sanctificationem ſacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam. [q] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Quæſt. 5. Quam totam Petitionem fere omnis eccleſia Dominica Oratione concludit. [r] Hom. 42 inter 50. tom. 10. p. 197. In eccleſia ad altare quotidie dicitur iſta Oratio Dominica, & audiunt illam Fideles. [s] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. p. 298. [t] Hieron. lib. 3. cont. Pelag. cap. 5. Docuit Apoſtolos ſuos, ut quotidie in corporis illius ſacrificio Credentes audeant loqui, Pater noſter qui es in cœlis, &c. [u] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in Geneſ. p. 358. [x] Chryſ. Hom. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p. 554. [y] Mabill. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 22. ex Gregor. Turon. de Mirac. Martini. lib. 2. cap. 30.

tin Church in this particular: Among the *Greeks*, the *Lord's Prayer* [z] is said by all the People, but with us by the Priest alone. And in this the *Gallican* Church chose to follow the way of the *Greek* Church, as we now follow the *Gallican* Church, and not the *Roman*. The manner of the *Mosarabick Liturgy* in *Spain* is noted also by *Mabillon* to be different from both these: For there the Priest repeated every Petition by itself, and the People answered to each Petition separately, *Amen*. But these Differences in the Manner of using it, only serve to confirm the Use of it in general, and shew us that it was never omitted by any Church in the publick Service of the Altar, at least from the beginning of the fourth Century, when *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* lived, whose mystical Catechisms are a clear Evidence for it.

SECT. IV. *And in their Morning and Evening Prayers.*

IT also made a part in their daily Morning and Evening Prayers, distinct from the Communion Office. Of which we have Instances in the Canons of the Councils of *Girone* [a] and *Toledo* [b], which shall be recited hereafter, when we come to consider more exactly the several Parts of the Morning and Evening Service.

SECT. V. *And in their private Devotions.*

THEY used it also in their private Devotions. As is evident from that Passage in St. *Chrysostom* upon the cxiith *Psalm*, where he says [c], That Christ, to induce us to Unanimity and Charity, enjoyns us to make Common Prayer, and obliges the whole Church, as if it were but one Person, to say, *Our Father*; and *Give us this Day our daily Bread*; *and forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us*; *and lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil*; always using a Word of the plural Number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make Prayer for his Brethren. This implies, that in their private Devotions, as well as publick, they thought themselves obliged by the Command of Christ to use the *Lord's Prayer*. In another place he gives us an Instance in the Practice of an holy Man, who to the Form of his private Devotions (which he also there recites) always added the *Lord's Prayer*, or the *Prayer of the Faithful* [d], as he styles it, for a particular Reason, of which more by and by; making it both the Conclusion and uniting Tye of all his other Prayers for all Men. In compliance with this general Practice it is, that the Author of the *Constitutions* [e] orders every one to use the *Lord's Prayer* three times a-day. And this *Cotelerius* thinks was done in Honour of the Holy Trinity [f], citing *Theodoret* and *Isidore* for his Opinion. St. *Ambrose* also writing Instructions to Virgins [g], directs them to sing *Psalms* in Bed, and say the *Lord's Prayer* between every *Psalm*. And the fourth Council of *Toledo* makes it Deprivation for any Clergyman to omit [h] using the *Lord's Prayer* daily, either in his publick or private Offices of Devotion, censuring him as a proud Contemner of the Lord's Injunction.

SECT. VI. *Whence it had the Name of* Oratio Quotidiana, *the Christian's daily Prayer.*

NOW this being the constant Use that was daily made of the *Lord's Prayer*, it hence took the Name of *Oratio Quotidiana*, the daily Prayer, as is observed in the foresaid Canon of that Council. And so we find it styled in *Cyprian*, who thought that Petition in the *Lord's Prayer*, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, might be taken in a spiritual, as well as a literal Sense, and refer to the *Eucharist*, or the Body and Blood of Christ, the celestial Bread [i] which they then desired to receive every Day. And the Council of *Toledo* cites St. *Hilary* to the same purpose [k]: *Give us this Day our daily Bread.* God desires nothing so much as that Christ may dwell in us daily, who is the Bread of Life, and the Bread that comes from Heaven. And because this is our daily Prayer, we therefore pray daily, that this Bread may be given us. St. *Austin* also [l] means the *Lord's Prayer*, when he says, that the Christians daily Prayer makes Satisfaction for those lesser and daily Failings, without which no Man lives. Upon which account he says in another place [m], that this daily Prayer is a sort of daily Baptism, because in the pious Use of it Men obtain daily Remission of Sins, as they did at first in Baptism. *Possidius* also [n] makes this Remark in his Life, upon his Practice and that of St. *Ambrose*, that they both trusted more in God's Mercy than their own Merits, being used to pray in the Words of our Lord's daily Prayer,

[z] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 64. Sed & Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur: apud nos vero à solo sacerdote.
[a] Conc. Gerundens. Can. 10. [b] Conc. Toletan. 4. can. 9. [c] Chrys. Com. in. Psal. 112. p. 369.
[d] Chrys. Hom. 10. in Colos. p. 1385. ἐπιθεὶς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν πιστῶν, ὡς κορωνίδα τινὰ καὶ σύνδεσμον ἅπαντων εὐχὴν ποιησάμενος. [e] Constit. lib. 7. chap. 24. τρὶς τῆς μέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε. [f] Coteler. in loc. ex Theodor. Ep. 145. & Isidor. Orig. lib. 6. cap. ult. [g] Ambros. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 115. In ipso cubili volo Psalmos cum oratione Dominica frequenti contextos vice. [h] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 9. Quisquis ergo Sacerdotum vel subjacentium Clericorum hanc Orationem Dominicam quotidie aut in Publico aut in Privato Officio præterierit, propter superbiam judicatus, Ordinis sui honore privetur. [i] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Hunc panem dari nobis Quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, & Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus — à Christi corpore separemur. [k] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 9. Sanctus Hilarius dicit, Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Quid enim tam vult Deus quam ut quotidie Christus habitet in nobis, qui est Panis vitæ & Panis è Cœlo? Et quia Quotidiana Oratio est, quotidie quoque ut detur, oratur. [l] Aug. Enchirid. cap. 71. De quotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita don ducitur, Quotidiana Oratio Fidelium satisfacit. Eorum enim est dicere, Pater noster qui es in cœlis, &c. [m] Aug. Hom. 119. De Tempore. p. 306. Remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione Baptismatis sacri, sed etiam in Oratione Dominica & quotidiana. In illa invenietis quasi quotidianum Baptismum. [n] Possid. Vit. Aug. cap. 27. De bono Domino se dicit magis quam de Meritis suis confidere. Cui etiam in Oratione Quotidiana Dominica dicebat: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c.

Forgive

Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſs againſt us. From all which, and much more that might be alledged upon this Head, it appears, that this Prayer, in the very Words which Chriſt delivered it in, was not only an allowed Form, but a Prayer of daily Uſe both in their publick and private Devotions.

SECT. VII. *And was uſed by all Hereticks and Schiſmaticks as well as Catholicks.*

NEITHER were there any Sects or Hereſies, that pretended in thoſe Times to object the leaſt Thing againſt the Uſe of it. The *Donatiſts* broke off from the Church, and ſet up Conventicles of their own, but they did not alter the Way of Worſhip: They ſtill thought themſelves obliged, as *Optatus* ſays, to uſe the *Lord's Prayer* at the Altar [*o*]. The *Pelagians* could not reliſh well one Petition in it: *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*: For they proudly thought the Saints were without Sin, and had nothing to ask Forgiveneſs of: Yet they alſo continued to uſe it, and accounted for their Practice, by putting this falſe Gloſs upon it, that they then prayed not for their own Sins, but the Sins of others. We find this often objected to them in the *African* Councils [*p*], but never any Charge brought againſt them, as if they omitted the *Lord's Prayer* in whole, or even this ſingle Petition in it. St. *Auſtin* indeed often ſays, that their impious Tenets and Diſputations tended [*q*] to take away the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer*; but then he explains himſelf to mean, not that they laid aſide the Uſe of it, but that they taught that a Man might come to ſuch Perfection in Righteouſneſs in this Life, by obſerving all the Commands, and that by his own Free-will, without the Help of the Grace of Chriſt, that he needed not to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, for himſelf, but only for others. They owned [*r*], that the Apoſtles uſed the *Lord's Prayer*; but then they ſaid, they were ſo holy and perfect without all manner of Sin, that they did not ſay for themſelves, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, but only for other Sinners that were yet imperfect. St. *Chryſoſtom* mentions another ſort of Men, who were alſo offended at this Petition, becauſe of the Condition that was in it, *Forgive us, as we forgive others*; and therefore they curtailed the Prayer, by dropping this Petition when they ſaid it: But he rebukes them [*s*] for this, and bids them not be ſo vainly cautious, as to think they were excuſed by curtailing the Prayer, but adviſes them to uſe the whole Prayer, as Chriſt appointed it to be uſed, that the Neceſſity of this Petition might daily terrify them from Revenge, and compel them to grant Pardon to their Neighbours. So that though there were ſome Hereticks and other ill Men, who did not like this one Petition for different Reaſons, yet they all continued to uſe the Prayer either in Whole or in Part, and there is no Inſtance of any that totally rejected it.

SECT. VIII. *That it was eſteemed a divine and ſpiritual Form of Prayer.*

THERE was no Objection againſt it in thoſe Days, that it was a Form, or that it was not a ſpiritual Prayer, becauſe it was uſed in the very Words in which Chriſt had delivered it: But on the contrary, it was recommended as the moſt ſpiritual and prevalent Prayer that could be uſed, becauſe of the Dignity of its Author. St. *Cyprian* thus argues for the Uſe of it: Chriſt, ſays he, had foretold that *the Hour was coming, when the true Worſhippers ſhould worſhip the Father in Spirit and in Truth*: And he fulfilled what he had promiſed before, that we who had received the Spirit and Truth by his Sanctification, might worſhip in Spirit and Truth by his Tradition, or the Prayer which he delivered to us. For what Prayer can be more ſpiritual, than that which is given us [*t*] by Chriſt, by whom the Holy Spirit is ſent to us? What can be eſteemed a truer Prayer with the Father, than that which came out of the Mouth of his Son, who is Truth it ſelf? So that to pray otherwiſe than he has taught us, is not only Ignorance but a Crime, ſince he has laid it down, and ſaid, *Ye reject the Commandment of God, to eſtabliſh your own Tradition.* Let us therefore, my dearly beloved Brethren, pray as our God and Maſter taught us. It is a friendly and familiar way of Praying, to beſeech God in his own Words, to let the Prayer of his Son come up to his Ears. Let the Father hear and acknowledge the Words of his Son: when we make our Prayers, let him that dwells in our Heart, be alſo in our Voice. And for as much as we have him our Advocate with the Father for our Sins, when we Sinners pray for the Pardon of our Sins, let us bring forth the Words of our Advocate. For ſince he has ſaid, that *Whatever we ask the Father in his Name, he will give it us:* How much more efficaciouſly ſhall we obtain what we ask in the Name of Chriſt, if we ask it in his Prayer? He introduces all this Diſcourſe with theſe Words: He that made us live, taught us to pray, by the ſame Kindneſs that he confers all other Things upon us; that

[*o*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 57. Ad altare converſi Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non poteſtis. It. lib. 3. p. 72. Oratio Dominica apud nos & apud vos una eſt. [*p*] Conc. Milevitan. Can. 8. Quicunque dixerit, in Oratione Dominica ideo dicere ſanctos, Dimitte nobis debita noſtra, ut non pro ſeipſis hoc dicant, quia non eſt eis jam neceſſaria iſta Petitio, ſed pro aliis, qui ſunt in populo peccatores: Et ideo non dicere unumquemque ſanctorum, Dimitte mihi debita mea, ſed, Dimitte nobis Debita noſtra, ut hoc pro aliis potius, quàm pro ſe Juſtus petere intelligatur, Anathema ſit. Vid. Can. 9. ibid. & Cod. Can. African. c. 116, & 117. [*q*] Aug. Ep. 92. ad Innocent. Nobis etiam Dominicam Orationem impiis Diſputationibus conantur auferre.--- Dicunt poſſe hominem in hac vita, præceptis Dei cognitis, ad tantam perfectionem juſtitiæ ſine adjutorio Gratiæ ſalvatoris per ſolum liberum voluntatis arbitrium pervenire, ut ei non ſit jam neceſſarium dicere, Dimitte nobis debita noſtra. [*r*] Id. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. cap. 10. Quidam contra Orationem Dominicam argumentantur: Quia etſi orabant eam, inquiunt, ſancti & perfecti jam Apoſtoli, nullum omnino habentes peccatum, non tamen pro ſeipſis, ſed pro imperfectis adhuc peccatoribus dicebant, Dimitte nobis, &c. Vid. Aug. Ep. 94. ad Hilarium. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 22. tom. 1. p. 288. [*t*] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 139.

whilſt

whilſt we ſpeak to the Father in the Prayer and *Oraiſon* which the Son taught us, we ſhould more eaſily be heard. So far was this holy Man from thinking the *Lord's Prayer* a dead Form, that could not be offered with the true Spirit of Prayer, that on the contrary he labours with all his Might to convince Men, that no Prayer could be more juſtly ſtiled Worſhipping God in Spirit and in Truth, or with greater Efficacy and Advantages be preſented to the Father. St. *Chryſoſtom* was of the ſame Mind, that praying by the *Lord's Prayer*, might juſtly be termed *Praying by the Spirit:* For he uſes this as an Argument for the Holy Spirit's Operation upon us. If there were [*u*] no Holy Ghoſt, ſays he, we that are Believers could not pray to God: For we ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* As therefore we could not ſay, that Jeſus was the Lord, ſo neither could we call God our Father without the Holy Ghoſt. How does that appear? From the ſame Apoſtle, who ſays, *Becauſe ye are Sons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your Hearts: crying, Abba Father.* And St. *Auſtin* [*x*] expounding thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* viii. 26. *We know not what to pray for as we ought: but the Spirit helpeth our Infirmities*; concludes, that the Spirit's helping and teaching them to pray as they ought, could not mean his helping them to new Words and Expreſſions; for both the Apoſtle, and they to whom he wrote, were well acquainted already with the *Lord's Prayer*; ſo that there could be no want of the Spirit's Aſſiſtance in that reſpect; but the Want was this; Men are commonly ignorant of the real Benefit of temporal Tribulation and Affliction, which tends either to cure the Tumor of Pride, or exerciſe and try Men's Patience, and crown it with a greater Reward, or elſe to chaſtiſe and aboliſh ſuch other Sins as they are ſubject to: Men being ignorant of theſe Advantages, are uſually moſt inclined to ask a perfect Freedom and Immunity from temporal Affliction: But the Spirit corrects this Ignorance, and helps this Infirmity, and teaches Men rather to ask Patience of God, and Submiſſion to his Will, that they may not think themſelves neglected of God, though he do not remove ſuch Afflictions, but with a devout and pious Patience hope for greater Good ariſing from them. This is St. *Auſtin*'s Expoſition of that famous Paſſage of the Apoſtle, concerning the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit in Prayer: By which he is ſo far from derogating from the *Lord's Prayer*, as void of the Spirit, that he ſuppoſes the very Knowledge of it to be antecedently a Work of the Spirit: And he ſays farther [*y*], that when Men believe, and hope, and deſire, and conſider the Things they ask of God in the *Lord's Prayer*, they are then qualified with thoſe Graces of the Spirit, Faith, Hope and Charity, which are neceſſary to bring a pious Votary unto God. Men that ſay ſuch Things as theſe of the *Lord's Prayer*, could not conceive any mean Thing about it, derogatory to the Spirit of Prayer; but muſt be preſumed to entertain the moſt high and venerable Notions of it, of any that can poſſibly be imagined.

SECT. IX.

And the Uſe of it a peculiar Privilege allowed only to Communicants and perfect Chriſtians.

AND that they did ſo, is evident from one Thing farther, very obſervable in the antient Diſcipline and Practice: That is, that then the Uſe of the *Lord's Prayer* was not a Mark of Infamy or Reproach, but an honorary Privilege, allowed to none but Communicants, or compleat and perfect Chriſtians. For, as I have had Occaſion to remark once or twice [*] in former Parts of this Work, all Catechumens or Perſons unbaptized were abſolutely debarred from the Uſe of this Prayer; They were not allowed to call God *Our Father*, till they were regenerated and made Sons by the Waters of Baptiſm. I have noted ſeveral Paſſages out of St. *Auſtin*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *Theodoret* to this Purpoſe, which need not here be repeated. To theſe I ſhall only add one Paſſage out of *Chryſoſtom* [*z*], in his *Homily* upon the *Paralytick*, where ſpeaking of Baptiſm, he ſays, Before we have waſhed away our Sins in the Font of the holy Waters, we cannot call God *Our Father:* But when we return from thence, having put off the Load of our Sins, then we ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* And upon this Account, as has been alſo noted before, this Prayer was peculiarly called, εὐχὴ πιστῶν, The Prayer of Communicants or Believers, becauſe none had a Right to uſe this Prayer, but only ſuch as had a Right to communicate at the Altar, and there hear it daily repeated.

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in Pentecoſt. t. 5. p. 552.

[*x*] Aug. Ep. 121. ad Probam. cap. 14. Neque enim ullo modo credendum eſt, vel ipſum, vel quibus iſta dicebat, Dominicam neſciſſe Orationem. [*y*] Ibid. cap. 13. Fides ergo & Spes & Charitas ad Deum perducunt orantem hoc eſt, credentem, ſperantem, deſiderantem, & quæ petat à Domino in Dominica Oratione conſiderantem.

[*] *Book* I. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 7. *and Book* X. *Chap.* v. *n.* 9.

[*z*] Chryſ. Hom. 62. tom. 5. p. 934.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Use of Habits, and Gesture, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Service of the antient Church.

SECT. I.
No certain Evidence for the Use of distinct Habits in the Apostolical Age, or the two following.

THE next Things to be spoken of, are the Circumstances and Ceremonies of Habits, Gestures, and Times appropriated to Divine Service. Of all these it may be said in general, that as they are Matters of indifferent Usage in their own Nature, so the Church used her Liberty in the Appointment and Observation of them. The Writers of the Romish Church, *Baronius*, *Du Saussay*, and *Bona*, who will have every Ceremony to be Apostolical, pretend that the Apostles themselves wore a distinct Habit in all their sacred Ministrations. *Bona* is very confident [*a*] that St. *Paul*'s Cloak which he left at *Troas*, was a sacerdotal Vestment. And others speak of St. *Peter*'s *Planeta*, which is said to be sent from *Antioch* to *Paris*, and kept there as a sacred Relick in the Temple of St. *Genouefa*. And others mention St. *John*'s, which is said to be sent to *Gregory* the Great. But *Bona* himself will not undertake to vouch for these, because of the Silence of all antient Writers about them [*b*]. Yet he is very angry with *Nicholas Alemannius*, for saying, that neither the Apostles nor Apostolical Men used any sacred Vestments [*c*], and that the Opinion which maintains it, is to be exploded as ridiculous, and as what is rejected by learned Men. *Vicecomes* was a diligent Enquirer into Antiquity, and yet he could find no Ground for this Assertion, but has some Arguments against it, which *Bona* is put to answer. And till some better Arguments can be produced to support it, I think it most prudent to leave uncertain Tradition to shift for it self, and proceed to an Age, wherein we have more Light and Certainty in the Matter.

SECT. II.
What Evidence there is for them in the fourth Century.

IN the Beginning then of the fourth Age, when the Church was quietly composed by *Constantine*, and settled in Peace, we are sure a Distinction was made in the Habits and Vestments of Divine Service. For *Constantine* himself is said [*d*] to have given a rich Vestment embroidered with Gold to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to be worn by him when he celebrated the Service of Baptism. And it was one of the Accusations that the *Arians* afterward brought against *Cyril*, that he had sold it. *Valesius* thinks that it was not indended for an ordinary Habit, whenever the Bishop celebrated the Office of Baptism, but only when he performed the Service of the great Day of our Lord's Baptism, which was the Festival of *Epiphany*, held in great Veneration at *Jerusalem*. This is not so likely in my Opinion, but be it as it will, it makes no Alteration in the Case: For still it was a sacred Vestment to be used in the Celebration of the *Liturgy* or Divine Service, which is enough to the present Purpose. Not long after we find *Athanasius* accused by his Enemies for laying a Tax upon the *Egyptians*, to raise a Fund for the Linnen Vestments of the Church. The thing is mentioned both by *Athanasius* himself [*e*] and *Sozomen* [*f*], the one calling them Linnen *Sticharia*, and the other Linnen *Tunicles*, which are the same thing. Where we are to observe, that the Accusation was not that he used such Vestments in the Church, but only that he laid a Tax upon the People to provide them; which supposes them to be in Use, else there had been no Colour or Foundation for such a Charge against him. St. *Jerom* often mentions this Distinction of Habits as generally observed in his time. I urge not those Words which he has in his Commentary upon *Ezekiel*, the Religion of God has one Habit in its Ministry [*g*] and another for the common Uses of Life: Because I think he is there speaking of the Jewish Priests, in Opposition to the Idol-Priests of *Isis* and *Serapis*. But what he says in his Book against *Pelagius*, plainly relates to the Christians: What Harm or Enmity, I pray, is it against God, if I use a more cleanly Garment? If a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other of the Ecclesiastical Order, come forth in a white [*h*] Vestment, when they administer the Sacraments? He says also in his Epitaph upon *Nepotian*, that *Nepotian* for his ordinary wearing used the *Pallium*, the Cloak that was in common Use among Christian Philosophers: But in his Ministrations he used a Tunicle [*i*], which he ordered his Uncle *Heliodore* to send as his Legacy to St. *Jerom*. St. *Chrysostom* also intimates that the Deacons wore a peculiar Habit in their Ministrations, when he says, their Honour, Crown and Glory did not consist so much in their walk-

[*a*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 24. n. 1. [*b*] Bona lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 2. [*c*] Aleman. de Parietinis Lateran. cap. 9. ap. Bonam. Ibid. [*d*] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 27. τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν, ἣν ταύτην φοιβαλλόμενος, τὴν τῆς Θεᾶς βαπτίσματος λειτουργίαν ἐπιτελῶν. &c. [*e*] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 778. Πλάττουσι πρώτην κατηγορίαν φέρει στιχαρίων λινῶν, ὡς ἐμὲ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβάλλοντος. [*f*] Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 22. Πρώτην ὑποψίαν γεγονὼς, ὡς χιτωνίαν λινῶν φόρον ἐπιτιθεὶς Αἰγυπτίοις. [*g*] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. cap. 44. p. 668. Religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. [*h*] Id. lib. 1. cont. Pelag. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiæ contra Deum, si Tunicam habuero mundiorem? Si Episcopus, Presbyter, Diaconus, & reliquus Ordo Ecclesiasticus in administratione Sacramentorum candida veste processerint? [*i*] Id. Ep. 3. ad Heliodor. Hanc Tunicam, qua utebar in Ministerio Christi, mitte dilectissimo, &c. It. Epist. ad Præsidium Diaconum. Difficile est locum Stephani implere, & populos subjacentes candenti desuper veste despicere.

ing about the Church [k] in a white and ſhining Garment, as in their Power to repel unworthy Communicants from the Lord's Table. This implies that they had a diſtinct Habit when they miniſtred in Divine Service. And ſo it is remarked by *Sozomen* [l], when ſpeaking of the Aſſault that was made upon the Church by the Enemies of *Chryſoſtom*, he ſays, the Prieſts and Deacons were beaten and driven out of the Church, as they were in the Veſtments of their Miniſtration. And there is among St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works an *Homily* upon the Prodigal Son, written by *Severianus* Biſhop of *Gabala*, Co-temporary with St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſpeaking of the Deacons miniſtring in the ſacred Myſteries, ſays, they reſembled [m] the Wings of Angels with their Veils or Tippets on their left Shoulders, running about the Church, and crying out, Let none of the Catechumens be preſent at the Celebration of the Myſteries, *&c.* In like manner *Nazianzen* in his Viſion of the Church of *Anaſtaſia*, repreſents the Deacons ſtanding [n] ἐν ἑ̈μασι παμφανόωσιν, in their bright and ſhining Garments. And in his Will he leaves to his Deacon *Evagrius* a κάμασον and a σιχάριον, which were then the common Names for theſe Surplices or white Garments uſed in Divine [o] Service. The Council of *Laodicea* has two Canons concerning the little Habit called the *Orarium* [p], which was a Scarf or Tippet to be worn upon the Shoulders, and might be uſed by Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, but not by Subdeacons, Singers or Readers, who are expreſsly debarred the Uſe of it in that Council. The fourth Council of *Carthage* [q] ſpeaks of the *Alba* or *Surplice*, which the Deacon is ordered to wear when the Oblation is made, or the Leſſons are read. The Council of *Narbo* [r] mentions the ſame. The firſt Council of *Braga* ſpeaks of the *Tunica* and the *Orarium* [s] as both belonging to Deacons. And the third Council of *Braga* [t] orders Prieſts to wear the *Orarium* on both Shoulders when they miniſtred at the Altar. By which we learn that the *Tunica* or *Surplice* was common to all the Clergy, the *Orarium* on the left Shoulder proper to Deacons, and on both Shoulders the diſtinguiſhing Badge of Prieſts.

The fourth Council of *Toledo* is moſt particular in theſe Diſtinctions. For in one Canon it ſays, that if a Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon be unjuſtly degraded, and be found Innocent by a Synod, yet they ſhall not be what they were before, unleſs they receive the Degrees they had loſt from the Hands of the Biſhops before the Altar. If he be a Biſhop, he muſt receive [u] his *Orarium*, his Ring and his Staff: If a Preſbyter, his *Orarium* and *Planeta*: If a Deacon, his *Orarium* and *Alba*. And in another Canon [x], that the Deacon ſhall wear but one *Orarium*; and that upon his left Shoulder, wherewith he is to give the ſignal of Prayers to the People. Where we may obſerve alſo the Reaſon of the Name *Orarium* in the Eccleſiaſtical Senſe, *ab orando*, from praying; though in common Acceptation it ſignifies no more than an Handkerchief to wipe the Face, and ſo comes from *Ore*, in which Signification it is ſometimes uſed by St. *Ambroſe* [y] and St. *Auſtin* [z], as well as by the old *Roman* Authors. But here we take it in the Eccleſiaſtical Senſe, for a ſacred Habit appropriated to Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons in the Solemnities of Divine Service, in which Senſe it appears to have been an Habit diſtinct from that of civil and common Uſe, by all the Authorities that have been mentioned. The Author of the *Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament*, under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaks alſo of the *Dalmatica* [a], as worn both by Biſhops and Deacons: But whether it was then a Garment of ſacred Uſe, is not ſaid by him or any other antient Writer, that I know of; and therefore I content my ſelf with the Proofs already alledged, as ſufficient to ſhew that in the fourth Age a plain Diſtinction of Habits was made in the ſacred Service of the Church.

SECT. III.

Four Poſtures of Devotion allowed of by the Ancients. Firſt ſtanding, which was particularly injoined on the Lord's Day, *and all the time between* Eaſter *and* Pentecoſt.

THE next conſiderable Circumſtance in their Worſhip, was the Poſture obſerved in their Addreſſes and Adorations of God: And of this we find four Kinds generally practiſed and allowed, *viz.* Standing, Kneeling, Bowing, and Proſtration. For Sitting, which ſome add as a fifth Sort, was never allowed by the Ancients as an ordinary Poſture of Devotion. Standing was the general Obſervation of the whole Church on the Lord's Day, and the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, in Memory of our Saviour's Reſurrection. This Cuſtom may be traced as high as *Irenæus*, who derives it from Apoſtolical Authority. For the Author under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr* [b] gives this Account

[k] Chryſ. Hom. 82. al. 83. in Mat. p. 705. Λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑποσίλουλα περιβαλλόμενοι, &c. [l] Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 21. ἱερέων καὶ διακόνων τυπτομένων. καὶ πρὸς εἶαν, ὡς εἶχον ἐσθῆτος, ἐλαυνομένων. [m] Chryſ. Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo. tom. 6. p. 375. τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀθόναις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ὤμων κειμέναις, &c. [n] Naz. Somnium Anaſtaſ. tom. 2. p. 78. [o] Id. in Teſtamento. ap. Briſſon. de Formulis. lib. 7. [p] Conc. Laodic. can. 22, & 23. [q] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 41. Ut Diaconus in tempore Oblationis tantum vel Lectionis Alba induatur. [r] Conc. Narbon. an. 589. can. 12. [s] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 27. Quia Diacones abſconſis infra Tunicam utuntur Orariis, ita ut nihil differre a Subdiacono videantur, de cætero ſuperpoſito ſcapulæ, ſicut decet, utantur Orario. [t] Conc. Bracar. 3. can. 3. Non aliter accedat quam Orario utroque humero circumſeptus. [u] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 27. Epiſcopus, Presbyter aut Diaconus, ſi a Gradu ſuo injuſte dejectus, in ſancta Synodo innocens reperiatur, non poteſt eſſe quod fuerat, niſi Gradus amiſſos recipiat coram altario de manu Epiſcoporum. Si Epiſcopus eſt, Orarium, annulum & baculus. Si Presbyter, Orarium & Planetam. Si Diaconus, Orarium & Albam. [x] Can. 39. Unum Orarium oportet Levitam geſtare in ſiniſtro humero, propter quod orat, id eſt, prædicat. [y] Ambroſ. de Obitu Satyri Fratris. Et Epiſt. 54. [z] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. Vid. Pontium Vit. Cyprian. [a] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. Q. 4 tom. 4. Quaſi non hodie Diaconi Dalmaticis induantur ſicut Epiſcopi. [b] Juſtin. Quæſt. & Reſponſ. ad Orthodox. Q. 115.

of the Uſe of both Poſtures in Prayer: Foraſmuch as we ought to remember both our Fall by Sin, and the Grace of Chriſt, by which we riſe again from our Fall: Therefore we pray kneeling ſix Days, as a Symbol of our Fall by Sin: But our not kneeling on the Lord's Day is a Symbol of the Reſurrection, whereby through the Grace of Chriſt we are delivered from our Sins, and from Death that is mortified thereby. And this Cuſtom took its Original from the times of the Apoſtles, as St. *Irenæus* ſays in his Book concerning *Eaſter*, wherein he alſo makes mention of *Pentecoſt*, during which time we kneel not, becauſe it is of the ſame Nature with the Lord's Day, according to the Reaſon that has been given. Not long after, *Tertullian* [c] ſpeaks of it, as an Obſervation among many others handed down from antient Tradition. And *Cyprian* may be ſuppoſed to hint it [d] when he ſpeaks of their ſtanding in Prayer.

It is mentioned alſo by *Clemens* of *Alexandria* [e], and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* [f] who died ſome Years before the Council of *Nice*. He ſays, We keep the Lord's Day as a Day of Joy, becauſe then our Lord roſe from the Dead, and our Tradition is not to kneel on that Day. In the time of the Council of *Nice* there was ſome Diſagreement about this Practice, and therefore that Council made a Canon to bring all Churches to an Uniformity in this Matter [g]. Becauſe there are ſome who kneel on the Lord's Day, and in the Days of *Pentecoſt*; that all things may be uniformly performed in every Pariſh or Dioceſe, it ſeems good to the holy Synod, that Prayers be made to God ſtanding. After this St. *Hilary* [h] ſpeaks of it again as an Apoſtolical Practice, neither to Faſt, nor Worſhip kneeling on the Lord's Day, or the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*. *Epiphanius* [i] ſays, that on the appointed Days they prayed kneeling, but during the whole fifty Days of *Pentecoſt* they neither faſted nor kneeled. St. *Jerom* reckons it [k] among the Traditions of the univerſal Church, neither to faſt nor kneel on the Lord's Day or *Pentecoſt*. St. *Auſtin* is a little doubtful as to the Practice of the Church univerſal [l], but he aſſures us, that as far as he knew, all Churches in *Africk* forbore Faſting, and prayed ſtanding, and ſung Hallelujah at the Altar every Lord's Day, and all the Days of *Pentecoſt*, in Token of our Saviour's Reſurrection. We find the ſame in St. *Baſil* [m], who derives it from Apoſtolical Practice. And *Caſſian* [n] teſtifies of the *Egyptian* Churches, that from *Saturday* Night to *Sunday* Night, and all the Days of *Pentecoſt*, they neither kneeled nor faſted. And in another Place [o] he gives the Reaſon of this, becauſe kneeling was a Sign of deep Repentance and Mourning, which they omitted on thoſe Days out of Reſpect and Reverence to our Saviour's Reſurrection. Hence it was, that the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [p] makes it one of his Apoſtolical Orders, that all Men ſhould pray three times, or three Prayers, on the Lord's Day ſtanding, in Memory of him who roſe the third Day from the Dead. And from hence came that uſual Form ſo often mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom* [q] and others, of the Deacons calling upon the People in Prayer, ὄρθως σῶμεν καλῶς, Let us ſtand upright with Reverence and Decency; alluding to the Poſture then commonly uſed in Prayer on the Lord's Day. How long this Cuſtom continued in the Church, is not eaſy to determine: But we may obſerve it to be mentioned by *Martin Bracarenſis* [r] in the ſixth Century, and the Council of *Trullo* [s] in the ſeventh Century, and the third Council of *Tours* [t] in the time of *Charles* the Great. Nor do we meet with any Exception to this Rule all this Time, ſave only one relating to the Penitents, or thoſe that were under the Diſcipline of the Church; who being, by their falling into ſcandalous Sins, reduced to a State of Penance, were not allowed this Privilege of ſtanding at Prayers on the Lord's Day, but were obliged in Token of their Humiliation to kneel at all times, not excepting the Days of Relaxation, as the fourth Council of *Carthage* [u] words it in a Canon made in this Behalf. And ſo we have ſeen the concurrent Teſtimony of all Writers for the Antiquity and Univerſality of this Practice.

SECT. IV. Secondly, *Kneeling at all other times, eſpecially on the Stationary Days and other times of Devotion.*

AT other times Kneeling was the moſt common and ordinary Poſture of Devotion. This may be concluded from the former Exception of the *Lord's Day* and *Pentecoſt* from this Poſture: For that implies, that at other times

[c] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paſchæ in Pentecoſten uſque gaudemus. [d] Cypr. de Orat. p. 152. Quando ſtamus ad Orationem, &c. [e] Clem. Strom. p. 854. [f] Pet. Alex. Can. 15. [g] Con. Nic. Can. 20. [h] Hilar. Prolog. in Pſal. p. 189. Et hæc quidem Sabbata Sabbatorum eâ ab Apoſtolis Religione celebrata ſunt, ut his Quinquageſimæ diebus nullus neque in terram ſtrato corpore adoraret, neque jejunio Feſtivitatem ſpiritualis hujus beatitudinis impediret: Quod id ipſum etiam extrinſecus in diebus Dominicis eſt conſtitutum, &c. [i] Epiphan. Expoſ. Fid. n. 22, & 24. [k] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſten, nec de geniculis adorare, & jejunium ſolvere. [l] Aug. Ep. 119 ad Januarium, cap. 17. Ut autem ſtantes in illis diebus & omnibus Dominicis oremus, utrum ubique ſervetur ignoro. Ibid. cap. 15. Propter hoc & jejunia relaxantur, & ſtantes oramus; quod eſt ſignum reſurrectionis. Unde etiam omnibus diebus Dominicis id ad altare obſervatur, & Halleluia canitur. [m] Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 27. [n] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 18. Hoc quoque noſſe debemus, à veſpera Sabbati, quæ luceſcit in diem Dominicum, uſque in veſperam ſequentem apud Ægyptios genua non curvari; ſed nec totis Quinquageſimæ diebus, &c. [o] Caſſian. Collat. lib. 21. cap. 20. Ideo in ipſis diebus nec genua in Oratione curvantur, quia inflexio genuum velut Pœnitentia ac luctus indicium eſt, &c. [p] Conſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 59. τεὶς vel τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἑστῶτες ἐποιεῖσθαι μνήμης χάριν τῆς διὰ τειῶν ἀναστάσεως ἡμερῶν. [q] Chryſ. Hom. 29. al. 4. de Incomprehenſibili Dei Natura. T. 1. p. 375. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. [r] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. cap. 57. [s] Con. Trull. Can. 90. [t] Conc. Turon. 3. Can. 37. [u] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 18. Pœnitentes etiam diebus remiſſionis genua flectant.

they uſed a different Poſture in their Addreſſes to God. This was the uſual Poſture of their ordinary Morning and Evening Service on the weekly Days, and on the Stationary or Faſt-Days; which were called Stationary Days, not from their Standing at Prayer, but from their continuing and prolonging the Exerciſe in Imitation of the Military Stations. The only difference between theſe Days and the Lord's Day was, that on the Lord's Day all Prayers were performed Standing, but on other Days ſome were ſaid Standing, ſome Kneeling. In this Senſe we muſt underſtand St. *Chryſoſtom* [x], when he ſpeaks of the Peoples falling on the Ground when they ſaid the Prayer for the whole State of the Church, and their riſing again at the Biſhop's Invocation. And ſo the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [y] repreſents them Kneeling at the firſt Prayer, and Standing up at the ſecond. In like manner *Caſſian* [z] ſays the People performed their private Prayers Kneeling, and then roſe up to the Miniſter's Collect or Prayer, in which all joined Standing. This is to be underſtood of their Prayers on ordinary Days, and not of the Lord's Day, on which (as we have ſeen before) all their Prayers were performed Standing. As to the Poſture of Kneeling upon other Occaſions, it would be endleſs to cite all the Teſtimonies that may be alledged for it. It was ſo common among them, that the Author of *The Acts of* Thecla [a] gives Prayer the Name of κλίσις γονάτων, *Bending the Knees*. And *Arnobius*, when he would deſcribe to the Heathen the manner of Chriſtians performing their Divine Offices to God, does it by ſaying, they all fell down [b] upon the Earth, as their Cuſtom was, and made their common Prayers to him. *Euſebius* [c] ſpeaking of the great Devotion of St. *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, ſays, he was wont to go into the Temple alone, and there pray aſſiduouſly upon his Knees, making Interceſſion for the Sins of the People, till his Knees were grown as hard and callous as thoſe of Camels, by continual Exerciſe of his Devotions. And ſo again, ſpeaking of the Thundering Legion, (who in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* procured Rain by their Prayers, to ſave the *Roman* Army, and Thunder to deſtroy their Enemies) he ſays, they fell upon their Knees, as was the uſual [d] Cuſtom of Chriſtians in their Prayers, and ſo made their Supplications to God at the Head of the Army as it was going forth to Battle. *Tertullian* had his Eye upon this very Story, when he tells *Scapula* [e], that the Geniculations, or Prayers on the bended Knee, together with the Faſtings of Chriſtians, were always effectual in driving away Drought and Famine. It were eaſie to give a thouſand other Inſtances [f] of the like Practice out of the antient Writers; but in a Caſe ſo clear and unconteſted, I think it next to Impertinence to trouble my Reader with them. I only note, that though theſe two Poſtures of Prayer were very indifferent in their own Nature, yet it was always eſteemed an Inſtance of great Negligence, or great Perverſeneſs to interchange them unſeaſonably one for the other; that is, to pray Kneeling on the Lord's Day, when the Church required Standing; or Standing on other Days, when the Rules and Cuſtom of the Church required Men to kneel. And therefore as the Canons of *Nice* and *Trullo* reflect upon thoſe who were ſuperſtitiouſly bent upon Kneeling on the Lord's Day: So others with equal Severity complain of the Remiſsneſs and Negligence of ſuch, as refuſed to kneel at other times, when the Church appointed it. It is a very indecent and irregular thing, ſays *Cæſarius* of *Arles* [g], that when the Deacon cries out, Let us bend the Knee, the People ſhould then ſtand erect as Pillars in the Church. Theſe were but ſmall Obſervations in themſelves, but of great Conſequence, we ſee, when done perverſely to the Scandal and Diſorder of the Church, whoſe great Rule in all ſuch Caſes, is that of the Apoſtle, *Let all Things be done decently and in order.*

SECT. V. Thirdly, *Bowing down the Head.*

A third Poſture of Devotion was Bowing down the Head, or an Inclination of the Body between the Poſtures of Standing and Kneeling. This was chiefly uſed in receiving the Biſhop's or Prieſt's Benedictions, in all direct and formal Addreſſes to God for his Mercy and Favour upon the People, whether Catechumens, Penitents or any other. Thus we find in the *Conſtitutions* [h] the Catechumens are bid to bow the Head, in order to receive the Biſhop's Benediction in a Form of Invocation there appointed to be ſaid over them. So likewiſe the Energumens [i] have the ſame Direction: *Bow down your Heads, ye Energumens, and receive the Benediction.* In like manner the Candidates of Baptiſm [k] and the Penitents [l] are bid to riſe up, after the Deacon's Prayer, and bow their Heads to receive the Benediction. And this may be confirmed out of *Chryſoſtom*, who ſays [m], the Deacon in the

[x] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα. [y] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 9. ὅσοι πιστοὶ, κλίνωμεν γόνυ. It. cap. 10. ἐγειρώμεθα δεηθέντες. &c. [z] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 7. Cum is qui Orationem collecturus eſt, e terra ſurrexerit, omnes pariter ſurgunt, &c. [a] Acta Theclæ. ap. Grabe. Spicileg. tom. 1. p. 96. [b] Arnob. lib. 1. p. 25. Hic propoſitus terminus Divinorum Officiorum, hic finis, huic omnes ex more proſternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus. [c] Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 23. Κάμψων ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι. &c. [d] Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 5. γόνυ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος. &c. [e] Tertul. ad Scapul. cap. 4. Quando non Geniculationibus & Jejunationibus noſtris etiam ſiccitatis ſunt depulſæ? [f] Vid. Hermis Paſtor. Part 1. Viſion. 1. n. 1. Genibus poſitis, &c. Clem. Roman. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 48. Περσέσωμεν. &c. Paſſio Ignatii. p. 176. cum Genuflexione, &c. Paſſio Cypriani, p. 13. Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 61. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. Chryſ. Hom. 22. de Ira, tom. 1. p. 278. Prudent. Cathemerin. Hymn. 2. [g] Cæſar. Arelatens. Hom. 34. [h] Conſt. lib. 8. cap. 6. Κλινόντων ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογείτω αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιάνδε. &c. [i] Ibid. Κλίνατε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι, καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε. [k] Ibid. cap. 7. Κλίναντες εὐλογείσθωσαν, &c. [l] Ibid. cap. 8. ἀνασάντες κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε. [m] Chryſ. Hom. 28. ſive 3. de Incomprehenſibili. tom. 1. p. 365. Κελεύει κλίναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιεῖν τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱκετείας.

time

time of the Oblation presented the Energumens, and bid them bow their Heads only, to indicate at least by the Habit and Gesture of the Body, that they were in a praying Posture. And this he repeats [n] in other places, where he particularly speaks of those that were possessed of evil Spirits.

SECT VI. Fourthly, *Prostration.*

THE last Posture of Devotion was Prostration, or lying along in the humblest manner upon the Ground. This seems to have been the proper Posture for extraordinary Humiliations, when Men had some singular Request more earnestly to recommend to God. We often read of *Moses* and other Saints falling upon their Faces in Scripture, when they were to make some extraordinary Intercession for the Sins of the People. And in Imitation of them the same Gesture was sometimes used in the Christian Church. Some Lapsers, when they sued for Admission to a State of Penance, did not only fall down upon their Knees, but prostrate themselves before the Faithful, to beg their Prayers as they entered into the Church. Which is particularly noted by *Socrates* [o] of *Ecebolius* the Sophist, who having lapsed in the time of *Julian*, desired Favour under *Jovian*; and the more to move Compassion, he put himself into the mournfullest Posture, falling upon his Face before the Gate of the Church, and crying out, *Calcate me insipidum salem.* Tread me under Foot as Salt that has lost its Savour. But this was not the only Case in which they used this mournful Posture, but they also practised it upon other Occasions, whenever any great Necessity urged them with greater Ardency to prefer their Petitions to God. Thus *Socrates* observes of *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* [p], that when he was in a great Strait about the Admission of *Arius* into the Church, he prostrated himself upon his Face under the Communion Table, and there prayed to God for many Days and Nights together, that God would give some Token to determine which of their Doctrine was true: If the Doctrine of *Arius* was true, he desired that he himself might not live to see the Day appointed for the Disputation: But if his own were true, then he desired that *Arius* might suffer the Punishment due to his Impiety. Which he accordingly did, voiding his Entrails as he had occasion to go to Stool, whilst he was going triumphantly to the Church. *Theodoret* [q] makes a like Remark upon the Behaviour of *Theodosius the Great*, that when he first entred the Church, after he had been for some time excluded by St. *Ambrose*, he would neither pray to God standing, nor kneeling, but prostrate with his Face to the Ground; using those Words of the *Psalmist*, *My Soul cleaveth to the Dust, O quicken thou me according thy Word.* By which we learn, that this Posture was chiefly appropriated to deep Humiliations, and Expressions of Shame or Sorrow upon some very remarkable Occasion, but scarce ever used as a general Practise of the Church.

SECT. VII. *Sitting, no allowed Posture of Devotion.*

THERE is one Posture more which some plead for as a Posture of Adoration; but it never had any Allowance in the Practice of the antient Church: That is Sitting, which Cardinal *Perron* and some others in the Romish Church pretend was the Posture in which the Apostles received the Communion at its first Institution, and that this was then a common Posture of Adoration used among the Heathens. But the learned Mr. *Daillè* [r] has abundantly exposed this Pretence, and shew'd the falsity of it in every Particular. For neither did the Heathens sit at their Devotions, as the Cardinal imposed upon himself by a false Interpretation of *Plutarch* and *Tertullian*; neither did the Apostles communicate Sitting, but Lying along on Beds or Couches, which all Men know to be a different Posture; neither did they worship the *Eucharist* in any Posture; neither did the primitive Christians ever use, or take Sitting, for a Posture of Devotion. *Tertullian* indeed says [s], there were some superstitious Persons in his time, Admirers of the Book called *Hermes Pastor*, who made it a Matter of Conscience to sit down for some time *adsignata Oratione*, that is, not in time of Prayer, as some falsely render it, but when Prayer was ended, because they found the Example of the Pastor in that Book to that purpose. For as he sat down upon a Bed after Prayer, so they thought themselves obliged to do the same in Compliance with his Example. But this is no Proof of their Sitting at Prayer, but only after Prayer was ended: And that too grounded upon a very weak and superstitious Opinion, that every Circumstance of an Action or Narration, however indifferent in it self, was to be drawn into Example, and to be made Matter of necessary Duty. According to which way of Reasoning, as *Tertullian* observes, they must have worshipped no where but where there was a Bed, nor sat upon a Chair or Bench, because this would have been a Deviation from their Example. He adds, that the Heathens only were used to sit after Prayer before their Idols, and for that very Reason it was not fit for Christians to imitate [t] their Practice. All which shews, that the Christians then were so far from using Sitting as a Posture of Devotion, that they did not think it proper to sit even after Prayer in the Presence of God, whilst the Angel of Prayer (it is his Phrase) stood by them;

[n] Chrys. Hom. 29. t. 1. p. 374. [o] Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 13. ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν πρηνῆ πρὸ τῆς πύλης τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἴκῳ, πατήσατέ με, ἐξόδια, τὸ ἅλας τὸ ἀνάλωτον. [p] Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 37. ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας ηὔχετο. &c. [q] Theod. lib. 5. c. 19. Πρηνὴς ἐπὶ τῆ δαπέδῳ κείμενος, &c. [r] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Relig. lib. 2. cap. 2. [s] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 12. Item quod adsignata Oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem, nisi si Hermas ille, cujus Scriptura fere Pastor inscribitur, transacta Oratione non super lectum assedisset verum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad observationem vindicaremus, &c. [t] Tertul. ibid. Porro cum proinde faciant Nationes adoratis Sigillaribus suis residendo, vel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, quod apud Idola celebratur, &c.

and becauſe it looked more like an Heatheniſh than a Chriſtian Practice.

SECT. VIII. *Some ſuperſtitious Practices in Devotion noted by* Tertullian.

Tertullian in the ſame Book takes Notice of ſome other ſuperſtitious Obſervations, which ſome ran into in their Devotions, in Imitation of the Heathen. Some thought it neceſſary to put off their Cloaks when they went to Prayer, which he condemns as ſymbolizing with Idolaters. For ſo the Heathen [*u*] were uſed to do in Reverence to their Idols. This was Superſtition, not Religion; and more an Affectation and Curioſity, than any thing of rational and manly Service. Others would not pray without waſhing the whole Body in Water, as if that made them more acceptable to God; whereas the true Purity was that of the Spirit, to lift up holy Hands free from Deceit, Murder, Cruelty, Witchcraft, Idolatry, and other ſuch Corruptions [*x*] which defile both Fleſh and Spirit. A Man that is free from theſe, is always clean, being once waſhed in the Blood of Chriſt: But he that is inwardly polluted, is unclean, though he waſh every Member of his Body every Day. It is the Superſtition of theſe Practices that *Tertullian* complains of: For otherwiſe, the Chriſtians themſelves had their Fountains before the Church in many Places, for Men to waſh their Hands, as a Matter of Decency, before they went to worſhip God, as has been ſhewed [*] in another Place. And the Evil of ſuch Practices conſiſts not in the bare Uſe of ſuch Things, but in laying the Opinion of Neceſſity upon them, and affixing Holineſs to the Uſage, and making them become Eſſential Parts of Divine Service.

SECT. IX. *That the Ancients uncovered their Head in their Devotions.*

SUCH Practices therefore as were attended with Superſtition, they diſclaimed: But retained ſuch other Rites and Ceremonies, as were either proper Expreſſions of Decency in their own Nature, or by their Significancy and ſymbolical Uſe might be improved to a ſpiritual Advantage. They prayed with the Head uncovered, according to the Apoſtle's Direction, as eſteeming it a great Indecency to do otherwiſe. So *Chryſoſtom* in his Comment on the Place. *Tertullian* adds another Reaſon in his Apology to the Gentiles [*y*], We pray uncovered, becauſe we are not aſhamed to appear with open Face; making it a ſort of Teſtimony and Symbol of their Innocency in their addreſſing God without Covering. On the other hand, as both Nature and Cuſtom had made it decent for Women to be covered, ſo they were very preciſe in requiring this to be obſerved eſpecially in religious Aſſemblies. Some pleaded an Exemption for Virgins in the caſe, which gave Occaſion to *Tertullian* to write his Book *De Velandis Virginibus*, wherein [*z*] he argues both Virgins and Matrons to be under the ſame Obligation of being veiled or covered in time of Divine Service; and he ſeverely inveighs againſt thoſe who hanged a Fringe or Ribband about their Heads, and pretended to call that a Covering. But ſome learned Perſons [*a*] think he was too ſevere in this Reflection, and almoſt ſingular in applying it to the caſe of Virgins, who were then allowed a greater Liberty in this Matter above Matrons or married Women, by the general Diſcipline of the *African* Church.

SECT. X. *And lift up their Hands toward Heaven, ſometimes in the Form of a Croſs.*

IT is more unconteſted, what *Tertullian* obſerves of another Ceremony, that they uſually prayed with their Arms expanded and their Hands lift up [*b*] to Heaven, and that ſometimes in the Form of a Croſs, to repreſent our Saviour's Paſſion. For this is alſo noted by *Minucius* [*c*], when he ſays, they worſhipped God with a pure Mind, and their Hands ſtretched forth in the Form of a Croſs. And by *Aſterius Amaſenus*, in a Fragment of his *Homily* concerning Prayer, preſerved in *Photius* [*d*], who ſays, The Chriſtian repreſents the Paſſion of the Croſs by his Geſture, whilſt he expands his Arms and lifts them up in the Figure of a Croſs. After this manner *Paulinus* deſcribes St. *Ambroſe* [*e*] in his laſt Minutes praying to God with his Hands expanded in the Form of a Croſs. And *Prudentius* relating the Paſſion of *Fructuoſus* a Spaniſh Biſhop and Martyr in the Time of *Gallienus*, ſays, The Bands which tied his Arms, were firſt burnt off without touching his Skin; for they durſt not reſtrain thoſe Arms which were to be lift up to the Father [*f*] in the manner of a Croſs. And this probably is St. *Chryſoſtom*'s meaning, when he ſays, the Sign of the Croſs was uſed even by the Emperors upon all Occaſions, on their Purple, on their Diadems, in their [*g*] Prayers, on their Arms, and at the Holy Table. And in reference to this Geſture it is that *Euſebius* tells us, that *Conſtantine* ordered his own Image to be

[*u*] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 12. Hujuſmodi non Religioni, ſed ſuperſtitioni deputantur, coacta & affectata, & curioſi potius quam rationalis officii, certe vel eò coercenda, quod Gentilibus adæquent. Ut eſt quorundam poſitis Penulis orationem facere: Sic enim adeunt ad Idola Nationes. [*x*] Tertul. ibid. cap. 11. Hæ ſunt veræ munditiæ, non quas plerique ſuperſtitioſe curant, ad omnem orationem etiam cum lavacro totius corporis aquam ſumentes, &c. [*] *Book* VIII. *chap.* iii. *n.* 6. [*y*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. Capite nudo, quia non erubeſcimus, precantes ſumus ſemper. &c. [*z*] Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. cap. 17. Quantam caſtigationem merebuntur etiam illæ, quæ inter Pſalmos, vel in quacunque Dei mentione retectæ perſeverant? &c. [*a*] Vid. Du Pin. Bibliothec. Tom. 1. p. 95. [*b*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. Manibus expanſis, quia innocuis, &c. It. de Orat. cap. 11. Nos vero non attollimus tantum, ſed etiam expandimus, & Dominica Paſſione modulantes, & orantes Chriſto confitemur. [*c*] Minuc. Dial. p. 90. Crucis ſignum eſt, cum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratur. [*d*] Aſter. ap. Phot. Cod. 271. ἐκτεταμμένας προβαλλόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ τοῦ σώματος πάθος ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἀπεικονίζει. [*e*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 12. Ab hora undecima diei uſque ad illam horam qua emiſit ſpiritum, expanſis manibus in modum crucis orabat. [*f*] Prudent. Peri Stephan. Hymn. 6. in Fructuoſ. Non auſa eſt cohibere pœna palmas, in morem crucis ad Patrem levandas. [*g*] Chryſoſt. Demonſtrat. quod Chriſtus ſit Deus. cap. 8. t. 5. p. 838. ἐπὶ εὐχῶν σταυρὸς, ἐπὶ ὅπλων σταυρὸς. &c.

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ſtampt on his golden Medals, repreſenting him [*b*] in the Poſture of a Supplicant, looking up to Heaven, with his Arms ſtretched forth to God. *Origen* ſays [*i*], this was to repreſent the lifting up of their Hearts to God in the Heavens. And *Chryſoſtom* [*k*] more largely ſets forth the Uſe of it, in explaining thoſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice.* What means, ſays he, the ſtretching forth our Hands in Prayer? Becauſe they are inſtrumental in many ſorts of Wickedneſs, as Fighting, Murder, Robbery, and rapacious Avarice, therefore we are commanded to lift them up, that the Miniſtry of Prayer may tie them up from Vice, and deliver them from Wickedneſs: That when you are inclined to rob or plunder, or ſmite your Neighbour, you ſhould then remember, that theſe Hands are the Advocates, as it were, which you are to ſend forth to God, and by which you are to offer the ſpiritual Sacrifice of Prayer to him; and therefore you ought not to diſhonour them, and deſtroy their Confidence, by letting them miniſter to wicked Actions; but rather cleanſe them by Almſdeeds and Humanity and Aſſiſtance of thoſe that are in Want, and ſo lift them up to God in Prayer. For if you cannot endure to lift up unwaſhen Hands, how much leſs ſhould you think it meet to defile them with Sin? By all this it appears, that theſe Ceremonies both of waſhing Hands and lifting them up in Prayer, were of ſpiritual Uſe, and deſigned for pious Ends, to put Men in mind of internal Purity by external Symbols, and that this Significancy was the chief Thing that could juſtify and account for the Uſe of them, as Ceremonies in Divine Service.

SECT. XI. *But yet were great Enemies to all Theatrical Geſtures.*

BUT as they allowed of ſuch decent and ſignificant Ceremonies as thoſe that have been mentioned, ſo they were great Enemies to all light and Theatrical Geſtures. They required a modeſt and grave and well-compoſed Behaviour in all external Deportment, as thinking no other becoming the Majeſty of God, or the Character of thoſe that were to addreſs him. Upon this account *Tertullian* [*l*] requires a Modeſty and Humility in his Votaries, even in lifting up their Hands in Prayer, that they ſhould not toſs them up indecently on high, nor appear with a Countenance expreſſing Elation and Boldneſs: Becauſe the Publican's Humility and Dejection was more commendable than the Audaciouſneſs of the Phariſee. He requires alſo a gentle and ſubmiſſive Voice, ſince God did not hear Men for the Sound of their Words, or the Strength of their Lungs or Arteries, but the Fervency of their Hearts: And they that were loud in Prayer, he tells them, did nothing elſe but hinder their Neighbours Devotion. St. *Cyprian* [*m*] expreſſes himſelf much after the ſame way, in his Directions about the Manner of praying: Let them that pray, ſays he, do it with an orderly Voice, expreſſing Quietneſs and Modeſty. Let us conſider our ſelves as ſtanding in the Sight of God, and that we are to pleaſe the Divine Eyes both with the Habit or Geſture of our Body, and with the Manner of our Voice. For as it is a Sign of an impudent Man to make a clamorous Noiſe, ſo it becomes a modeſt Man to uſe Modeſty in his Prayers. Therefore when we meet together with our Brethren, and celebrate the Divine Sacrifices with the Prieſt of God, we ought to be mindful of Reverence and Diſcipline; not toſſing out our Prayers with a rude and diſorderly Voice, nor with a tumultuous Loquacity pouring forth thoſe Petitions, which ought to be recommended modeſtly to God. For God is not the Hearer of the Voice, but the Heart: Neither needs he to be reminded by Noiſe and Clamour, who ſees the Thoughts of Men. It appears from theſe Cautions, that Men were apt to run into Diſorders and Exceſſes in the manner of expreſſing the external Part of their Devotions, which needed ſuch Rules and Admonitions to direct them in the pureſt Ages. And it appears yet more from St. *Chryſoſtom*, who has ſeveral ſharp and ſevere Invectives againſt ſome, who accuſtoming themſelves to ſee the *Roman* Games and Plays, brought the Manners of the Stage into the Church, and corrupted their Devotions with Theatrical Geſtures. It will be ſufficient to relate a few Words out of a ſingle Paſſage [*n*] in one of his *Homilies* to this purpoſe. O unhappy Wretch, ſays he, thou oughteſt with Reverence and Fear to ſend up the Angelical Hymn, and with Trembling make Confeſſion to God, and thereby ask Pardon of thy Offences. Inſtead of this thou bringeſt into the Church the Manners of Mimicks and Dancers, by a diſorderly toſſing up thy Hands, and beating with thy Feet, and Agitation of thy whole Body. Doſt thou not conſider, that the Lord himſelf is preſent, who meaſures every Man's Motions, and examines their Conſciences? Doſt thou not conſider, that the Angels ſtand by this tremendous Table, and ſurround it with Fear? But thou conſidereſt none of theſe things, becauſe thy Mind is blinded with what thou haſt heard and ſeen in the Theatres; and the Things which are done there thou bringeſt into the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and with inſignificant Clamours bewrayeſt the diſorder of thy Soul. How canſt thou expect to incline God to Mercy, who offereſt thy Prayer with ſuch Contempt? Thou ſay'ſt, *Lord have Mercy on me*, whilſt thy Behaviour proclaims it ſelf a Stranger to Mercy: Thou crieſt out, *Lord ſave me*, whilſt

[*b*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 15. ὡς ἄνω βλέπειν δοκεῖν ἀναλελαμένῳ πρὸς Θεὸν, τόπον ὑγρόμενε. [*i*] Orig. περὶ εὐχῆς. n. 20. [*k*] Chryſ. in Pſal. 140. p. 550. Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 854. [*l*] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 13. Cum modeſtia & humilitate adorantes, magis commendamus Deo preces noſtras, ne ipſis quidem manibus ſublimius elatis, ſed temperate ac probe elatis. Ne vultu quidem in audaciam erecto, &c. [*m*] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 140. [*n*] Cryſ. Hom. 1. de verbis Eſa. t. 3. p. 836. Vid. Hom. 19. in Mat. p. 19.

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the whole Deportment of thy Body is in Oppoſition to Salvation. For what can thoſe Hands, which are always toſſed up on high, and diſorderly rowled about, contribute toward Prayer? What Uſe can there be in vehement Clamour, and violent Impulſe of Spirit, that has nothing in it but Sound and Noiſe without Signification? Theſe are more the Practices of Strumpets on the Highway, or Actors on the Theater. And how dareſt thou to mingle the Sports of Devils with that *Doxology*, whereby Angels glorify God? Thus far St. *Chryſoſtom* in his Warmth and Zeal againſt the Corruptions that were creeping in upon Devotion by abſurd and ridiculous Geſtures. And this ſhews us abundantly, that as the Ancients were no way averſe to any Rites and Ceremonies, Habits or Geſtures, that were decent and ſignificant in their own Nature, and had any real Tendency toward Piety: So they were utter Enemies to ſuch as were inſignificant and trivial, light and theatrical, and diſcountenanced them as the Effects of Superſtition or Vanity, ariſing from Miſapprehenſions of Religion, or evil Cuſtoms of the World, which they laboured to extirpate, but could not always conquer; Men's corrupt Inclinations diſpoſing them to commute the great things of Religion for thoſe that were ſmall in compariſon, and ſometimes for thoſe which were a real Detriment and Diſadvantage to it, as in the Caſes now before us.

SECT. XII. *Of Ceremonies uſed at their Entrance into the Church.*

BUT to paſs by Irregularities, and proceed with the Obſervations of the Church. This were a proper Place to take Notice of ſeveral other Uſages, whereby they expreſſed their Reverence to God at their firſt Entrance into the Church. But becauſe ſome of theſe have been already conſidered in a former Book [o], where we ſpeak of the Reſpect and Reverence which the Primitive Chriſtians paid to their Churches, I ſhall but juſt name them in this Place. Such was the Ceremony of Reſpect uſed by Kings and Emperors, who laid aſide their Crowns and Arms and Guards, when they enter'd into the Houſe of the King of Kings. Of which I have only this farther to obſerve here, that probably it was done in Imitation of the old *Roman* Magiſtrates, who, as ſome Authors [p] tell us, were wont to lay aſide their Faſces and other Enſigns of Honour, whenever they went into the Schools of Philoſophy at *Athens*. Such was that other Cuſtom of Reſpect obſerved by the Monks of *Ægypt*, who put off their Shoes, when they went into the Houſe of God: But this, I ſhewed, was only a topical Cuſtom peculiar to that Nation, and not a general one reaching the whole Church. I obſerved alſo that there are ſome Reaſons to believe the Ancients uſed the Ceremony of bowing towards the Altar at their firſt Entrance into the Church, though the Arguments amount only to a Probability, not a Demonſtration.

SECT. XIII. *That the Biſhop ſaluted the People with* Pax vobis, *at his Entrance into the Church.*

IT is more certain, That the Biſhop ſaluted the People in the uſual Form, *Pax vobis*, *Peace be with you*, at his firſt Entrance into the Church. For this is often mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom* [q], who derives it from Apoſtolical Practice.

SECT. XIV. *And the People gave Alms to the Poor, who ſtood before the Gates of the Church for this Purpoſe.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* alſo mentions another very laudable Cuſtom, and he uſes all his Rhetorick to promote and encourage the Practice of it: Which was the People's giving Alms to the Poor, at their firſt Entrance into the Church. For this Reaſon, ſays he [r], our Forefathers appointed the Poor to ſtand before the Doors of our Churches, that the Sight of them might provoke the moſt backward and inhuman Soul to Compaſſion. And as by Law and Cuſtom we have Fountains before our Oratories, that they who go in to worſhip God, may firſt waſh their Hands, and ſo lift them up in Prayer: So our Anceſtors, inſtead of Fountains and Ciſterns, placed the Poor before the Doors of the Church; that as we waſh our Hands in Water, ſo we ſhould cleanſe our Souls by Beneficence and Charity firſt, and then go and offer up our Prayers. For Water is not more adapted by Nature to waſh away the Spots of the Body, than the Power of Alms-deeds is to cleanſe the Filth of the Soul. As therefore you dare not go in to pray with unwaſhen Hands, though this be but a ſmall Offence; ſo neither ſhould you without Alms ever enter the Church for Prayer. You many times, when your Hands are clean, will not lift them up to God, before you have waſhed them in Water: So prevalent is the Force of Cuſtom with us: Let us therefore do the ſame with reſpect to Alms-deeds: And though we are not conſcious to our ſelves of any great and heinous Crimes, yet let us by Charity clear our Conſciences of leſſer Spots and Blemiſhes, which we contract in our daily Buſineſs and Converſation. So again in another Place [s] expounding thoſe Words, *Thou ſhalt not appear before the Lord empty:* Theſe Things, ſays he, were ſpoken to the *Jews*, and how much more to us? Therefore the Poor ſtand before the Doors of the Church, that no one ſhould go in empty, but enter ſecurely with Charity for his Companion. You go into the Church to obtain Mercy; Firſt ſhew Mercy: Make God your Debtor, and then you may ask of him, and receive with Uſury. We are not heard barely for the lifting up our Hands. Stretch forth your Hands, not only to Heaven, but to the Hands of the Poor: If you ſtretch out your Hands to the Poor, you touch the very Height

[o] *Book* VIII. *Chap.* x. [p] Vid. Pool. Synopſ. Criticor. in 2 Reg. 5. 9. [q] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1338. [r] Chryſ. Hom. 25. de Verbis Apoſt. t. 5. p. 369. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 1. in 2 Tim. p. 1163.

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of Heaven. For he that ſits there, receives your Alms: But if you lift up barren Hands, it profits nothing. He repeats the ſame [*t*] in other Places, which ſhews, that it was an excellent Cuſtom prevailing among them, and carefully recommended as a juſt Preparation for Prayer, among many other moral Qualifications for this Duty, which being vulgar and commonly known, I need not inſiſt upon them in this Place.

SECT. XV. *That they worſhipped toward the* East. *With the Reaſons for this Practice.*

THERE was one Obſervation more, which muſt not be omitted, becauſe it was a Ceremony almoſt of general Uſe and Practice: And that was the Cuſtom of turning their Faces to the *Eaſt*, in their ſolemn Adorations. The Original of this Cuſtom ſeems to be derived from the Ceremonies of Baptiſm, in which, as has been ſhewed before [*], it was uſual to renounce the Devil with their Faces to the *Weſt*, and then turn about to the *Eaſt*, and make their Covenant with Chriſt; from whence, I conceive, it became their common Cuſtom to worſhip God after the ſame way that they had firſt entred into Covenant with him. The Ancients give ſeveral Reaſons for this Cuſtom, but they all ſeem to glance at this one. Some ſay, the *Eaſt* was the Symbol of Chriſt, who was called the *Orient*, and *Light*, and *Sun of Righteouſneſs* in Scripture: And therefore, ſince they muſt worſhip toward ſome Quarter of the World, they choſe that which led them to Chriſt by ſymbolical Repreſentation. As *Tertullian* tells us in one place [*u*], that in Fact they worſhipped toward the *Eaſt*, which made the Heathen ſuſpect that they worſhipped the riſing Sun; ſo in another place [*x*] he ſays, the *Eaſt* was the Figure of Chriſt, and therefore both their Churches and their Prayers were directed that way. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [*y*] ſays, They worſhipped toward the *Eaſt*, becauſe the *Eaſt* is the Image of our ſpiritual Nativity, and from thence the Light firſt ariſes and ſhines out of Darkneſs, and the Day of true Knowledge, after the manner of the Sun, ariſes upon thoſe who lie buried in Ignorance. And St. *Auſtin* [*z*], When we ſtand at our Prayers, we turn to the *Eaſt*, whence the Heavens, or the Light of Heaven, ariſes: Not as if God was only there, and had forſaken all other Parts of the World, but to put our ſelves in mind of turning to a more excellent Nature, that is, to the Lord. This Reaſon exactly falls in with that which is given for turning to the *Eaſt*, when they covenanted with Chriſt in the Solemnities of Baptiſm.

2. Another Reaſon given for it by ſome, is That the *Eaſt* was the place of Paradiſe, our antient Habitation and Country, which we loſt in the firſt *Adam* by the Fall, and whither we hope to be reſtored again, as to our native Abode and Reſt, in the ſecond *Adam*, Chriſt our Saviour. This Reaſon is given by *Gregory Nyſſen* [*a*] and St. *Baſil* [*b*], and by the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*c*], and the Author of the *Queſtions and Anſwers* to *Antiochus* among the Works of *Athanaſius* [*d*], together with *Chryſoſtom*, as he is cited by *Cotelerius* [*e*], and *Gregentius* [*f*], and many others. Now this is the very Reaſon aſſigned by St. *Cyril* for turning to the *Eaſt*, when they covenanted with Chriſt, and celebrated the Myſteries of Baptiſm. So that hitherto we find a clear Relation of theſe Ceremonies one to the other, and a perfect Agreement between them.

3. Another Reaſon aſſigned for this Cuſtom, was, That the *Eaſt* was the moſt honourable Part of the Creation, as being the Seat of Light and Brightneſs. The Author of the *Queſtions and Anſwers to the Orthodox* [*g*], gives this Reaſon for it. We ſet apart, ſays he, the moſt honourable things to the Honour of God: And the *Eaſt*, in the Opinion of Men, is the moſt honourable part of the Creation: We therefore in time of Prayer turn our Faces to the *Eaſt*; as we ſign thoſe in the Name of Chriſt, that need Conſignation, with the right Hand, becauſe it is deemed more honourable than the left, though it differ only in Poſition, not in Nature. And *Lactantius*, without taking any particular Notice of this Cuſtom, makes this general Obſervation, That the *Eaſt* [*h*] was more peculiarly aſcribed to God, becauſe He was the Fountain of Light, and Illuminator of all things, and becauſe he makes us riſe to eternal Life. But the *Weſt* was aſcribed to that wicked and depraved Spirit the Devil, becauſe he hides the Light, and induces Darkneſs always upon Men, and makes them fall and periſh in their Sins. Now this is a Reaſon that equally holds for turning to the *Eaſt* in Baptiſm, as well as their daily Devotion.

4. THERE is one Reaſon more aſſigned for it, which is, That Chriſt made his Appearance on Earth in the *Eaſt*, and there aſcended into Heaven, and there will appear again at the laſt Day. This is one of the three Anſwers, which the Author of the *Queſtions* to *Antiochus*, under the Name of *Athanaſius* [*i*], orders to be given to this Queſtion: If a Chriſtian asks the Queſtion, he is to be told, They looked toward Paradiſe, beſeeching God to reſtore them to their antient

[*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 9. de Pœnitent. t. 1. p. 704. [*] *Book* XI. *Chap.* vii. *n.* 4. [*u*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 16. Inde ſuſpicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari. [*x*] Id. cont. Valentin. cap. 3. Noſtræ columbæ domus ſimplex, etiam in editis ſemper & apertis & ad Lucem: amat figuram Spiritus ſancti, Orientem Chriſti figuram. [*y*] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 856. [*z*] Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Monte lib. 2. cap. 5. Cum ad Orationes ſtamus, ad Orientem convertimur, unde cœlum ſurgit, &c. ut admoneatur animus ad naturam excellentiorem ſe convertere, id eſt, ad Dominum. [*a*] Nyſſ. Hom. 5. de Orat. Dom. t. 1. p. 755. [*b*] Baſil. de Spir. ſanct. cap. 27. [*c*] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 57. [*d*] Athan. Quæſt. ad Antioch. Q. 37. [*e*] Coteler. Not. in Conſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 57. Ex Chryſ. in Dan. 6. 10. [*f*] Gregent. Diſput. cum Herbano Judæo. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 1. p. 217. Gr. Lat. [*g*] Juſtin. Queſt. ad Orthodox. Q. 118. [*h*] Lact. lib. 2. cap. 10. Oriens Deo accenſetur, quia ipſe Luminis fons, & illuſtrator eſt rerum, & quod oriri nos faciat ad vitam æternam. Occidens autem conturbatæ illi pravæque menti aſcribitur, quod lumen abſcondat, quod tenebras ſemper inducat, & quod homines faciat occidere ac interi· peccatis. [*i*] Athan. Quæſt. ad Antioch. Q. 37.

Country

Country and Region, from whence they were expelled. If an Heathen put the Queſtion, the Anſwer ſhould be, Becauſe God is the true Light, for which Reaſon when they looked upon the created Light, they did not worſhip it, but the Creator of it. If the Queſtion was propoſed by a *Jew*, he ſhould be told, They did it, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt had ſaid by *David*, *We will worſhip toward the Place where thy Feet ſtood, O Lord*, Pſal. cxxxii. 7. meaning the Place where Chriſt was born, and lived, and was crucified, and roſe again, and aſcended into Heaven. Which ſeems alſo to be intimated by St. *Hilary* on thoſe Words of the lxviith *Pſalm*, according to the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, *Sing unto God who aſcended above the Heaven of Heavens* in the *Eaſt*. The Honour of God, ſays he [*k*], who aſcended above the Heaven of Heavens in the *Eaſt*, is now reaſonably required: And for that Reaſon toward the *Eaſt*, becauſe he, according to the Prophet, is the *Eaſt* or *Morning from on high*; that He returning to the Place whence he deſcended, might be known to be the Orient Light, who ſhall hereafter be the Author of Mens riſing to the ſame Aſcent of a celeſtial Habitation.

Theſe ſeveral Reaſons have all a peculiar Reference to Chriſt: And therefore as Chriſtians firſt uſed the Ceremony of turning to the *Eaſt*, when they entred into Covenant with Chriſt in Baptiſm; ſo it is probable, that from thence they derived this Cuſtom of turning to the *Eaſt* in all their ſolemn Adorations. But whether this were ſo or not, we are ſure there was ſuch a general Cuſtom among them, and that it was founded upon ſome or all the Reaſons that have been mentioned; which is as much as is neceſſary to be ſaid here for the Illuſtration of it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Times of their Religious Aſſemblies, and the ſeveral Parts of Divine Service performed in them.

SECT. I. *No certain Rule for meeting in Publick, except upon the* Lord's Day *in Times of Perſecution, for the two firſt Ages.*

THERE remains one Circumſtance more of Divine Worſhip, which I have purpoſely reſerved for this Place, becauſe the Conſideration of it, will lead us to the ſeveral Parts of the Worſhip it ſelf: That is, the Circumſtance of Time: Concerning which it may be enquired, how often they met in a Week, and how often they met in a Day for Divine Worſhip? Now no general Anſwer can be given to theſe Queſtions, becauſe the Times of their Aſſemblies varied according to the different State and Ages of the Church. At firſt learned Men think they held Aſſemblies every Day in the Apoſtles Time, and whilſt the *Jewiſh* Temple ſtood: For we read of the Apoſtles going up to the Temple at the ninth Hour, being the Hour of Prayer, *Acts* iii. 1. And of their continuing daily with one accord in the Temple, and breaking Bread from Houſe to Houſe, or in their Houſe, meaning the Church, or Houſe of Prayer, as others render it, *Acts* ii. 46. Though their moſt ſolemn Meetings were on the firſt Day of the Week, or the Lord's Day, *Acts* xx. 7. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 2. In After-ages, when the Perſecutions grew warm, they are thought to have confined themſelves to the Lord's Day. For the Confeſſion which *Pliny* [*a*] took from the Mouths of ſome apoſtatizing Chriſtians, mentions no other: They confeſſed to him, that the Sum of their Crime or Error was, That they were uſed to meet on a certain ſtated Day, before it was Light, and ſing an Hymn to Chriſt, as to their God; and to bind themſelves by a Covenant or Sacrament, not unto any Wickedneſs, but that they would not commit any Theft, or Robbery, or Adultery, or break their Faith, or deny what was committed to their Truſt; after which they were uſed to break up their Aſſembly, and return again to a common Feaſt. Which is a plain Deſcripton of their Worſhip and Communion, and Love-Feaſt, called *Agape*, on the Lord's Day, but no other. And ſo *Juſtin Martyr* [*b*] deſcribing the Chriſtian Worſhip, ſays, That on the Day called *Sunday* there was a general Meeting of all that lived both in City and Country, when they had the Scriptures read, and a Sermon preached, and Prayers, and the Communion: But he mentions no Aſſembly for publick Worſhip on any other Day: Whence learned Men [*c*] have concluded, That in his Time the Church obſerved no other Days of ſolemn Aſſemblies, but only the Lord's Day. His Silence as to all others is a Negative Argument againſt them,

[*k*] Hilar. in Pſal. 67. p. 242. Competenter nunc aſcendentis ſuper cœlum cœli ad Orientem Dei Honor poſcitur.—Ad Orientem vero idcirco, quia ipſe ſecundum Prophetam Oriens ex alto ſit: Ut regreſſus eo unde deſcenderat, Oriens noſceretur, ipſeque ſit hominibus in hunc cœleſtis ſedis aſcenſum rurſus autor oriundi.

[*a*] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 27. Affirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel Culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante Lucem convenire: Carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem; ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent—quibus peractis, morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, &c. [*b*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρούς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεσθαι, &c. [*c*] Coteler. in Conſtitut. Apoſt. lib. 2. cap. 59.

unleſs perhaps ſome Diſtinction may be made between the general Aſſembly of both City and Country on the Lord's Day, and the particular Aſſemblies of the City-Chriſtians (who had better Opportunities to meet) on other Days: Which Diſtinction we often meet with in the following Ages, when Chriſtianity was come to its Maturity and Perfection.

SECT. II. *The Original of the Stationary Days, or Church Aſſemblies on* Wedneſdays *and* Fridays, *and what Divine Service was performed on thoſe Days.*

HOWEVER it was not long after *Juſtin Martyr*'s Time, before, we are ſure, the Church obſerved the Cuſtom of meeting ſolemnly for Divine Worſhip on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, which Days are commonly called ſtationary Days, becauſe they continued their Aſſemblies on theſe Days to a great lenth, till three a-Clock in the Afternoon; for which Reaſon they had alſo the Name of *Semi-jejunia*, or Half-Faſts, in Oppoſition to the *Lent*-Faſt, which always held till Evening; and *Jejunia Quartæ* and *Sextæ Feriæ*, the Faſts of the fourth and ſixth Days of the Week, that is, *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*. Theſe are firſt mentioned by *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and after them by moſt other Writers, as Faſt-days generally obſerved by the Church. But I conſider them not here as Faſts (which will be more properly done under another Head, when we come to ſpeak of the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church) but here only look upon them as Days of Religious Aſſembly, to diſcover what publick Divine Worſhip was performed on them. And for this we are chiefly beholden to *Tertullian*, who aſſures us, that on theſe Days they always celebrated the Communion, from whence we may infer, that the ſame Service was performed on theſe Days as on the Lord's Day, unleſs perhaps the Sermon was wanting. Some there were, he ſays, who objected againſt receiving the Communion on theſe Days, becauſe they were ſcrupulouſly afraid they ſhould break their Faſt by eating and drinking the Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt*; and therefore they choſe [*d*] rather to abſent themſelves from the Oblation Prayers, than break their Faſt, as they imagined, by receiving the *Euchariſt*. Whom he undeceives by telling them, that to receive the *Euchariſt* on ſuch Days would be no Infringement of their Faſt, but bind them cloſer to God: Their Station would be ſo much the more ſolemn for their ſtanding at the Altar of God; they might receive the Body of the Lord, and preſerve their Faſt too; and ſo both would be ſafe, whilſt they both participated of the Sacrifice, and diſcharged their other Obligation. Since therefore they received the *Euchariſt* on theſe Days, we may conclude they had all the Prayers of the Communion Office, and what other Offices were wont to go before them, as the Pſalmody, and Reading of the Scriptures, and Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents, which together with the Sermons were the whole Service for the Lord's Day. But becauſe even all this could not take up near ſo much Time, as muſt needs be ſpent in theſe Stations, it ſeems moſt probable, that in two particulars they much enlarged their Service on theſe Days, that is, in their Pſalmody, and private Prayers and Confeſſion of their Sins. The *Pſalms*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, were ſometimes lengthened to an indefinite Number, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or more, as the Occaſion of a Vigil or a Faſt required, and between every *Pſalm* they had liberty to meditate and fall to their private Prayers: And by theſe two Exerciſes, ſo lengthened and repeated, it is eaſy to conceive, how the longeſt Station might be employed. *Socrates* [*e*] ſays, at *Alexandria* on theſe Days they had Sermons and all other Service uſed at other Times, except the Communion. But admitting they had the whole Service entire, as on the Lord's Day, yet it was not commenſurate to the Time of their Stations, unleſs we ſuppoſe their Pſalmody and private Devotions in the Church to be enlarged on thoſe Days to a greater Length, than was uſual in ordinary Service.

St. *Baſil* [*f*] agrees with *Tertullian* in making theſe Days not only Faſts, but Communion Days: For reckoning up how many Days in the Week they received the Communion, he makes *Wedneſday* and *Friday* to be two of the Number. Yet ſtill it is hard to conceive what Buſineſs they could have to detain them ſo long in the Church: Since their Collects and publick Prayers were but few in compariſon; and therefore it ſeems moſt probable, that a competent Share of this Time was ſpent in Pſalmody, and, as I find a learned Perſon [*g*] inclined to think, in private Devotions, which always had a Share in their Service, and was generally intermixed with their ſinging of Pſalms, as ſhall be ſhewed in their proper Places. *See Book* XIV. *Chap.* i. *Book* XV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 1.

SECT. III. Saturday, *or the ſeventh Day, anciently obſerved with great Solemnity, as a Day of publick Devotion.*

WE alſo find in antient Writers frequent mention made of religious Aſſemblies on the *Saturday*, or ſeventh Day of the Week, which was the Jewiſh Sabbath. It is not eaſy to tell either the Original of this Practice, or the Reaſons of it, becauſe the Writers of the firſt Ages are altogether ſilent about it. In the *Latin* Churches (excepting *Milan*) it was kept as a Faſt; but in all the *Greek* Churches as a Feſtival: I conſider it here only as a Day of publick Divine Service, on which, as the Authors who mention it, aſſure us, all the ſame Offices were

[*d*] Tertul. de Oratione cap. 14. Similiter de Stationum diebus non putant plerique Sacrificiorum Orationibus interveniendum, quod ſtatio ſolvenda ſit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obſequium Euchariſtia reſolvit, an magis Deo obligat? Nonne ſolennior erit ſtatio tua, ſi & ad Aram Dei ſteteris? Accepto corpore Domini, & Re ſervata, utrumque ſalvum eſt, & participatio ſacrificii & executio officii. *Some Editions read it,* Reſervato, *inſtead of* Re ſervata. [*e*] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [*f*] Baſil. Ep. 289. tom. 3. p. 278. [*g*] Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. p. 224.

performed as were uſed to be on the Lord's Day. For *Athanaſius* [*h*], who is one of the firſt that mentions it, ſays, they met on the Sabbath, not that they were infected with Judaiſm, but to worſhip Jeſus the Lord of the Sabbath. And *Timotheus*, one of his Succeſſors in the See of *Alexandria*, ſays, the Communion was [*i*] adminiſtred on this Day, as on the Lord's Day. Which were the only Days in the Week that the Communion was received by the Chriſtians of his Time, at *Alexandria*. *Socrates* [*k*] is a little more particular about the Service: For he ſays, In their Aſſemblies on this Day they celebrated the Communion, only the Churches of *Egypt* and *Thebais* differed in this from the reſt of the World, and even from their Neighbours at *Alexandria*, that they had the Communion at Evening Service. In another place, ſpeaking of the Churches of *Conſtantinople* in the Time of *Chryſoſtom*, he reckons *Saturday* [*l*] and Lord's Day the two great weekly Feſtivals, on which they always held Church Aſſemblies. And *Caſſian* [*m*] takes Notice of the *Egyptian* Churches, that among them the Service of the Lord's Day and the Sabbath was always the ſame: For they had the Leſſons then read out of the *New Teſtament* only, one out of the Goſpels, and the other out of the Epiſtles or the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; whereas on other Days they had them partly out of the *Old Teſtament*, and partly out of the *New*. In another place he obſerves [*n*], that in the Monaſteries of *Egypt* and *Thebais*, they had no publick Aſſemblies on other Days, beſides Morning and Evening, except upon *Saturday* and the Lord's Day, when they met at three a-Clock, that is, nine in the Morning, to celebrate the Communion. In the Council of *Laodicea* there are three Canons to the ſame Purpoſe. One [*o*] appoints the Goſpels with the other Scriptures to be read upon this Day. Another [*p*], that the Oblation of the Bread in the *Euchariſt* ſhall not be made all the Time of *Lent*, except on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. Which implies that thoſe were Communion-Days, and kept as Feſtivals, even in *Lent* itſelf. And for the ſame Reaſon a third Canon [*q*] orders that no Feſtivals of Martyrs ſhould be kept in *Lent*, but only Commemorations of the Martyrs be made on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. The only Difference that was then made between the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, was, that Chriſtians were not obliged to reſt from bodily [*r*] Labour on the Sabbath, but might work on that Day (ſo far as Divine Service would permit) giving Preference in this Reſpect as to the Lord's Day, whereon they were to reſt as Chriſtians. And if any tranſgreſſed theſe Rules about working on the Sabbath, they were to be deemed Judaizers, and are order'd to be anathematized by another Canon of the ſame Council. By which it appears that *Saturday* was kept weekly as a Day of publick Worſhip, but not as a Jewiſh Sabbath. *Epiphanius* [*s*] mentions it likewiſe as a Day of publick Aſſemblies in ſome Places, but not in all. St. *Baſil* [*t*] ſays it was one of the four Days in the Week, on which in his Time they received the Communion. By all which we may perceive that the Author of the *Conſtitutions* had a plain Regard to the Practice of the *Eaſtern* Church, when he preſcribed, that on every Sabbath ſave one (that is the *Saturday* before *Eaſter-Day*) and on every Lord's Day [*u*] they ſhould hold religious Aſſemblies, and keep them as the weekly Feſtivals; that is, not only with Pſalmody, and reading the Scriptures, and Common Prayers, which was the ordinary Service of the Morning and Evening of every Day, but with Sermons alſo, or Preaching the Goſpel, and the Offering of the Oblation, and Reception of the Holy Food; as he deſcribes the Service of the Sabbath and Lord's Day in another [*x*] place.

SECT. IV.

How they obſerved the Vigils of the Sabbath, and Lord's Day, and other incidental Feſtivals of Martyrs.

Now as theſe were the two great Feſtivals of every Week, ſo they were commonly uſhered in by the Attendance of preceding Pernoctations or Vigils, which, as Harbingers, went before to make Preparation for the Solemnities of the following Days. Theſe Vigils were much of the ſame nature as the common nocturnal, or daily Morning Prayer, which was early before it was light: And they only differed from the uſual *Antelucan* Service in this, that whereas the uſual Morning Service never began till after Midnight towards Cock-crowing in the Morning, theſe Vigils were a longer Service that kept the Congregation at Church the greateſt part of the Night. Theſe the *Greeks* called παννυχίδας; and the *Latins*, *Pernoctationes & Pervigilia*, Watchings all the Night. St. *Chryſoſtom* often ſpeaks of theſe: Go into the Church, ſays he, and there ſee the Poor continuing from Midnight to break of Day: Go, and ſee the holy Pernoctations [*y*] joining Day and Night

[*h*] Homil. de Semente, tom. 1. p. 1060. [*i*] Timoth. Ep. Canon. Can. 13. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. 2. [*k*] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [*l*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8.

[*m*] Caſſian. inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 6. In die vero Sabbati vel Dominico utraſque Lectiones de novo recitant Teſtamento, id eſt, unum de Apoſtolo vel Actibus Apoſtolorum, & aliam de Evangeliis. [*n*] Caſſian. lib. 3. cap. 2. Exceptis Veſpertinis Horis ac Nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem ſolennitas, abſque Die Sabbati vel Dominica, in quibus hora tertia ſacræ Communionis obtentu conveniunt. [*o*] Conc. Laodic. can. 16. Περὶ τῶ ἐν σαββάτῳ ἀναγνώσκεσθαι. [*p*] Ibid. can. 49. ὅτι δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον. [*q*] Can. 51. ὅτι δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνείαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς. [*r*] Can. 29. ὅτι δεῖ χειτιανὸς ἰουδαΐζειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμῶντες, σχολάζειν ὡς χειτιανοί. εἰ δὲ εὑρεθεῖεν ἰουδαΐσαι, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα παρὰ Χριστῷ. [*s*] Epiphan. Epitom. t. 1. p. 1107. ἔν τισι δὲ τόποις καὶ ἐν τῇ σαββάσι συνάξεις ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

[*t*] Baſil. Ep. 289. ad Cæſaream Patritiam. *So* Auſtin. Ep. 118. Alibi nullus dies omittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum & Dominico. [*u*] Conſtit. lib. 5. cap. 20. It. lib. 8. cap. 33. [*x*] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 59. p. 268.

[*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. de Verbis Eſaiæ. tom. 3. p. 865. Βλέπε παννυχίδας ἱερὰς ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθείσας.

together:

together: Behold the People of Chriſt, fearing neither by Night, nor by Day, the tyranny of Sleep or the Neceſſities of Poverty. In another Place [z] he calls them πάννυχοι καὶ ἀδιανεχεῖς στάσεις, the continued and perfect Night-Stations, in Oppoſition to the Stations by Day, which were but partial and imperfect. By theſe, he adds, you imitate the Station of the Angelical Quire, whilſt you offer up ἀκατάπαυστον ὑμνολογίαν, Pſalmody and Hymnody without ceaſing to your Creator. O the wonderful Gifts of Chriſt! The Armies of Angels ſing Glory to God above: And on Earth Men, keeping their choral Stations in the Church, ſing the ſame *Doxology* after their Example. The Cherubims above cry aloud, *Holy*, *Holy*, *Holy*, in the *Triſagion* Hymn: And the Congregation of Men on Earth below ſend up the ſame: And ſo a common general Aſſembly is made of the Inhabiters of Heaven and Earth together. Their Thankſgiving is one and the ſame, their Exultation the ſame, their joyful Choral-Station the very ſame. In which Words he plainly gives us to underſtand, that the Angelical Hymn, *Glory be to God on high*, and the Cherubical Hymn, or the *Triſagion*, as it was called from the Cherubims thrice repeating the firſt Words, *Holy*, *Holy*, *Holy*, were Part of their ſacred Service in theſe Night-Stations: Which, as I obſerved before, were but an earlier Oblation of the ordinary Morning-Service, wherein we ſhall find the Angelical Hymn amongſt other Parts of Divine Worſhip always appointed to be uſed.

It were eaſy to make a long Diſcourſe here of the ſeveral ſorts of theſe Night-Stations, or completer Vigils holding all the Night through: For they were ſometimes held upon extraordinary Occaſions of Prayer, upon great Emergencies and Neceſſities of the Church; Inſtances of which the curious Reader may find ſeveral in *Chryſoſtom* [a] and St. *Auſtin* [b] and *Ruffin* [c] and *Socrates* [d] and *Sozomen* [e] and *Theodoret* [f]. Sometimes again they were kept as Anniverſary Vigils to uſher in the greater Feſtivals of the *Nativity*, *Epiphany*, *Reſurrection*, and *Aſcenſion* of Chriſt, and the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt at *Pentecoſt*; of which Sort there is mention made in *Tertullian* [g], *Lactantius* [h], *Chryſoſtom* [i], *Socrates* [k], and many others. But the Vigils we are here concerned to ſpeak of, are only ſuch as have ſome Relation to the weekly Service, of which Number we may reckon thoſe Vigils of the Sabbath and Lord's Day the chief, becauſe they returned conſtantly in the weekly Revolution. Concerning which we have not only the forementioned Authority of *Chryſoſtom*, but ſeveral others. For *Socrates* [l] giving an Account of *Athanaſius*'s Eſcape out of the Church of *Alexandria* in the Night, when the Church was beſet with Soldiers to take him, ſays, it was Evening, and the People were keeping their nocturnal Vigils, becauſe the next Day was to be a *Synaxis*, or Church-Aſſembly. Therefore *Athanaſius* fearing leſt the People ſhould ſuffer upon his Account, bid the Deacon give the Signal or Call to Prayer, and he commanded a Pſalm to be ſung, and whilſt they were ſinging their Pſalmody, the Soldiers were quiet, and they all mean while went out at one Door of the Church, and *Athanaſius* in the midſt of the Singers eſcaped untouched and fled to *Rome*. *Athanaſius* himſelf [m] has the ſame Story in his Apology for his Flight, where he ſays, ſome of the People were keeping their Night-Vigil, expecting an Aſſembly the next Day. And *Socrates* in another place ſpeaking of theſe nocturnal Vigils kept both by the *Arians*, and *Catholicks*, ſays, they held them againſt the weekly Feſtivals, the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day [n], on which Days there were uſed to be general Aſſemblies of the Church. And becauſe the *Arians* were allowed no Churches within the Walls, they ſung their Hymns in the Streets and Portico's of the City till the Morning Light, and then went out to their Meeting-places without the Gates. And the Hiſtorian obſerves, that *Chryſoſtom* fearing the *Arians* might gain Ground upon the Church by this Practice, and draw away ſome of the more ſimple People, appointed ſome of his own People, who were uſed to nocturnal Hymnody, to meet in the Streets after the ſame manner; and to make the Solemnity more ſplendid, the Empreſs gave them ſilver Croſſes to ſet their Lamps in, appointing one of her own Eunuchs, called *Briſon*, to be their Protector. Which ſo provoked the *Arians*, that they fell to Blows about it, and *Briſon* and ſome others were ſlain in the Engagement: Which occaſioned the Emperor wholly to put down thoſe *Arian* Meetings, and leave the *Catholicks* quietly to go on with their Vigils in the Churches, as they had done before. From theſe Accounts we may eaſily collect, both that there were ſuch weekly Vigils frequented by the more zealous and religious ſort of People in all Parts of the *Eaſt*, and alſo that Pſalms and Hymns and Prayers were the Exerciſes, wherewith they entertained themſelves to the Morning Light. I might add many other Teſtimonies out of *Nazianzen* [o] and other *Greek* Writers, but theſe are abundantly ſufficient to ſhew us the Practice of the *Oriental* Church.

For the *Latin* Church we have the Authority of St. *Jerom*, who interpreting the Word, *Watcher*, in *Daniel*, ſays, it ſignifies the Angels, who always watch, and are ready to obey the

[z] Id. Hom. 1. de Verb. Eſai. p. 834. [a] Chryſ. Hom. 20. de ſtatuis. tom. 1. p. 252. & Hom. 40. in Juventinum tom. 1. p. 550. [b] Aug. Confeſs. lib. 9. cap. 7. Ep. 119. ad Januarium. [c] Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 12. lib. 2. cap. 16. [d] Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 37. lib. 5. cap. 11. [e] Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 29. lib. 3. cap. 6. [f] Theod. lib. 1. cap. 14. [g] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 4. [h] Lactant. lib. 7. cap. 19. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 30. in Geneſ. p. 424. [k] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 5. Vid. Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 57. Hieronym. Com. in Mat. 25. [l] Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 11. [m] Athan. Apol. de Fuga. t. 1. p. 716. τὸ λαὸ τινες ἐπαννύχιζον, προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως, &c. [n] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. [o] Naz. Carm. Iambic. 18. t. 2. p. 218. Orat. 11. de Gorgonia, t. 1. p. 183.

Commands of God: And he adds [*p*], We alſo by our frequent Pernoctations or Night-Watches imitate the Office of Angels. And it appears from him farther, that Women and Virgins frequented this Service, as well as Men: For he adviſes *Læta* [*q*] to inure her Daughter to theſe ſolemn Pernoctations, only cautioning her to keep a Guard upon her, and not let her wander from her Side; for the ſame Reaſon I preſume, for which the Council of *Eliberis* [*r*] thought fit wholly to forbid Women the Obſervation of theſe Vigils, becauſe many under Pretence of Prayer were found to commit Wickedneſs. There are many other Paſſages in St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Hilary*, and other *Latin* Writers, which ſpeak of Vigils; but becauſe they may be underſtood either of private Watchings in Prayers at Home, or of the common Vigils of the Ordinary Morning Prayer before Day, I omit them in this Place: Only alledging that of St. *Ambroſe* [*s*] where he ſeems to found this Practice upon the Imitation of Chriſt's Example: The Lord Jeſus, ſays he, continued all Night in Prayer, not that he wanted the Help of Prayer, but to ſet thee an Example to copy after: He continued all Night praying for thee, that thou mighteſt learn after what manner to pray for thy ſelf.

But beſides theſe ſtated Vigils of the two weekly Feſtivals, there was another ſort of incidental ones, which came almoſt every Week throughout the Year, or at leaſt were very frequent in ſome parts of it: Thoſe were the Vigils of the Feſtivals or Anniverſaries of the Martyrs. Thoſe Anniverſaries, as we ſhall ſee by and by, were always in great Repute, and obſerved with the ſame Solemnities of Divine Worſhip, as the Sabbath or the Lord's Day; and therefore their Vigils were alſo celebrated with the ſame Ceremony, as the Vigils or Night-Stations of the two great weekly Feſtivals. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*t*] is an undoubted Witneſs of this: For in an *Homily* made upon one of theſe Feſtivals, he takes Notice of the preceding Vigil, that had continued all the Night: Ye have turned, ſays he, the Night into Day, by keeping your holy Stations all the Night: Do not now turn the Day into Night again by Surfeiting and Drunkenneſs and laſcivious Songs. And *Sidonius Apollinaris* [*u*] will teſtify the ſame, at leaſt for ſome part of the *Weſtern* Church: For writing about the Feſtival of *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Lyons*, he thus deſcribes both the Obſervation of the Day, and the preceding Vigil: We met, ſays he, at the Grave of St. *Juſtus*; it was a Morning Proceſſion before Day; it was an anniverſary Solemnity; the Confluence of People of both Sexes was ſo great, that the Church, though very capacious and ſurrounded with Cloyſters, would not contain them. When the Service of the Vigil was ended, which the Monks and Clerical Singers performed with alternate Melody, we ſeparated for ſome time, but went not very far away, as being to meet again at three a Clock, that is, nine in the Morning, when the Prieſts were to perform Divine Service, that is, the Service of the Communion, as on a Feſtival.

SECT. V.

Of the Feſtivals of Martyrs. Their Original, and what Divine Service was performed on them.

AND now that we have mentioned the Feſtivals of Martyrs, as Days of publick religious Worſhip, we muſt take Notice of their Original, to find out how early they became Days of ſolemn Addreſſes to God, and in what Offices of Divine Service their Obſervation conſiſted. Theſe Feſtivals were grown ſo numerous in the Time of *Chryſoſtom* and *Theodoret*, that they tell us, it was not once or twice or five Times in a Year that they celebrated their Memorials, but they had oftentimes one or two in the ſame Week [*x*], which occaſioned frequent Solemnities. The Original of them is at leaſt to be carried as high as the Time of *Polycarp*, who ſuffered about the Year 168. For the Church of *Smyrna* (whereof he was Biſhop) in their Epiſtle to the Church of *Philomelium*, recorded by *Euſebius* [*y*], tell them, that they intended, if God would permit, to meet at his Tomb, and celebrate his Birth-day, that is, the Day of his Martyrdom, with Joy and Gladneſs, as well for the Memory of the Sufferer, as for Example to Poſterity. *Tertullian* ſpeaks of theſe Anniverſary Feſtivals, as obſerved in his Time. We offer, ſays he, Oblations for thoſe that are dead, for their [*z*] *Nativities* on their Anniverſary-Day. And *Cyprian* [*a*] orders his Clergy to note down the Days of their Deceaſe, that a Commemoration of them might be celebrated amongſt the Memories of the Martyrs. And in another Place [*b*] he ſays, they offered Sacrifices for them, as often as they celebrated their Paſſions, or Days

[*p*] Hieron. Com. in Dan. 4. 13. Significat autem Angelos, quòd ſemper vigilent, & ad Dei imperium ſint parati. Unde & nos crebris Pernoctationibus imitamur Angelorum officia.

[*q*] Id. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Vigiliarum dies & ſolennes Pernoctationes ſic virguncula noſtra celebret, ut ne tranſverſo quidem ungue a matre diſcedat. [*r*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 35. Placuit prohiberi, ne Fœminæ in Cœmiterio pervigilent; eò quod ſæpe ſub obtentu Orationis latenter ſcelera committant.

[*s*] Ambr. Serm. 19. in Pſal. 118. ver. 147. p. 740. Pernoctabat in oratione Dominus Jeſus, non indigens precationis auxilio, ſed ſtatuens tibi imitationis exemplum. Ille pro te rogans pernoctabat, ut tu diſceres quomodo pro te rogares. [*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 59. in Martyres. tom. 5. p. 779. ἐποιήσατε τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν διὰ τῆς παννυχίδων τῆς ἱερῶν· μὴ ποιήσατε πάλιν τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα διὰ τῆς μέθης. &c. [*u*] Sidon. lib. 5. Epiſt. 17. Conveneramus ad Sancti Juſti Sepulchrum—— Proceſſio fuerat antelucana, ſolennitas anniverſaria, populus ingens ſexu ex utroque, quem capaciſſima Baſilica non caperet, & quamlibet cincta diffuſis Cryptoporticibus. Cultu peracto Vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique Pſalmicines concele braverant, quiſque in diverſa feceſſimus, non procul tamen, utpote, ad Tertiam præſto futuri, cùm ſacerdotibus res Divina facienda.

[*x*] Vid. Chryſ. Hom. 40. in Juventinum. t. 1. p. 546. Theod. Serm. 8. de Martyribus. t. 4. p. 605. Chryſ. Hom. 65. de Martyr. t. 4. p. 971. [*y*] Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15. [*z*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro Natalitiis, annua die facimus. [*a*] Cypr. Ep. 12. al. 37. Denique & dies eorum quibus excedunt annotare, ut commemorationes eorum inter Memorias Martyrum celebrate poſſimus.

[*b*] Id. Ep. 39. al. 34. p. 77. Sacrificia pro iis ſemper, ut meminiſtis, offerimus, quoties Martyrum Paſſiones & dies anniverſaria commemoratione celebramus.

of

of Martyrdom by an Anniverſary Commemoration. Theſe Sacrifices were the Sacrifices of Prayer, and Thankſgiving to God for the Examples of the Martyrs, and the Celebration of the *Euchariſt* on theſe Days, and the Offerings of Alms and Oblations for the Poor, which together with a Panegyrical Oration or Sermon, and reading the Acts or Paſſion of the Martyr, if they had any ſuch recorded, were the Exerciſes and ſpecial Acts of Devotion, in which they ſpent theſe Days. For theſe were always eſteemed high Feſtivals, and therefore the ſame Service that was performed on the Sabbath and Lord's Day, was always performed on them. They never paſſed without a full Aſſembly, nor without a Sermon or a Communion, as appears from ſome of *Chryſoſtom*'s *Homilies* upon ſuch Occaſions. To diſſuade the People from Intemperance, he bids them conſider how abſurd it was [c] after ſuch a Meeting, after a whole Night's Vigil, after hearing the Holy Scriptures, after participating of the Divine Myſteries, after ſuch a ſpiritual Repaſt, for a Man or a Woman to be found ſpending whole Days in a Tavern. The Foundation of his Argument is built upon this Suppoſition, that they had received the *Euchariſt* in the Church before, in celebrating the Memorial of a Martyr. And ſo *Sidonius Apollinaris* repreſents the Matter in the Paſſage juſt now cited from him [d], that after they had kept the Vigil of St. *Juſtus* the Night preceding, they aſſembled again by Day at nine in the Morning, when the Prieſts did *rem divinam facere*, offer the Oblation, or conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, as *Savaro* [e] rightly interprets it.

But beſides the uſual Solemnities of other Feſtivals, there was one Thing peculiar to theſe Feſtivals of the Martyrs: Which was, that the Hiſtory of their Paſſions, as they were taken by the Notaries, appointed by the Church for this Purpoſe, were commonly read in the Aſſembly upon ſuch Occaſions. It was at leaſt the common Practice of the *African* Churches. For St. *Auſtin* [f] ſpeaks of it as an uſual Thing, indulging his People Liberty to ſit, whilſt they heard them read, becauſe they were ſometimes of a conſiderable length. And the third Council of *Carthage* [g] made a Canon to encourage the Reading of them. *Mabillon* [h] gives ſeveral other Inſtances out of *Alcimus Avitus*, *Cæſarius Arelatenſis*, and *Ferreolus*, to ſhew that they were read alſo in the *French* Churches. Only they were forbidden in the *Roman* Church by the Decree of Pope *Gelaſius* [i] in his Synod of ſeventy Biſhops, under Pretence that they were written by *Anonymous* Authors, and ſometimes by ignorant Heathens, and ſometimes by heretical Authors, as the Paſſions of *Cyricus*, *Julitta*, and St. *George*. For which Reaſon they had by antient Cuſtom prohibited the reading of them in the *Roman* Church. But this Rule it ſeems did not then preſcribe to other Churches.

SECT. VI.

Solemn Aſſemblies for Preaching and other Acts of Divine Worſhip held every Day, during the whole forty Days of Lent, *and the Fifty Days between* Eaſter *and* Whitſontide.

IT may be farther obſerved, that during the whole forty Days of *Lent*, they had continual Aſſemblies not only for Prayers, but Preaching alſo: As is evident from *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons, many of which were preached by him ſucceſſively one Day after another throughout the greateſt Part of that Seaſon; as his *Homilies* upon *Geneſis*, and thoſe famous Diſcourſes called his ἀνδριάντες, preached at *Antioch* in *Lent* upon the Occaſion of a Tumult, wherein the Emperor's Statues were demoliſhed. And many other Inſtances may be given of the ſame Practice, of which more hereafter under the Head of Preaching in the next Book [*]. 'Tis true indeed they did not always conſecrate the *Euchariſt* in *Lent*, but only upon the Sabbath and Lord's Day, as we learn from the Council of *Laodicea* [k], which expreſly forbids the Oblation of the Bread in *Lent* upon any other day beſides the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. The Reaſon of which was, that theſe two Days were obſerved as Feſtivals even in *Lent* itſelf; and they did not ordinarily conſecrate the *Euchariſt* upon the ſolemn Faſts in the Time of this Council: But inſtead of the Conſecration Service, they had probably that which in the following Ages is called προηγιασμένων λειτουργία, *Miſſa Præſanctificatorum*, the Office of the preſanctified Elements, which was a ſhorter Service for Communicating on Faſt-Days in the Elements that were conſecrated before on the Lord's-Day Feſtival, about which there is a particular Direction in the Council of *Trullo*. Can. 52. So that one way or other they ſeem to have had both a Communion and a Sermon every Day in *Lent*.

Then again the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide* were a ſort of perpetual Feſtival, and obſerved with great Solemnity, as Days of Joy, from the Time of *Tertullian*, who mentions it, and triumphs over the Heathen upon it, that beſides the *Sunday*, which returned once in eight Days, this one continued Feſtival [l] of *Pentecoſt* was more than all the Feſtivals the

[c] Chryſ Hom. 59. de Martyribus t. 5. p. 779. [d] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 17. [e] Savaro. Comment. in Sidon.

[f] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. t. 10. p. 174. Quando aut Paſſiones prolixæ, aut certæ aliquæ Lectiones longiores, qui ſtare non poſſunt, humiliter & cum ſilentio ſedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur. [g] Con. Carth. 3. can. 47. Liceat etiam legi Paſſiones Martyrum, cum anniverſarii dies eorum celebrantur.

[h] Mabillon. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 403. &c. [i] Gelaſ. Decret. ap. Crab. tom. 1. p. 992. Singulari cautela, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem, in ſancta Romana Eccleſia non leguntur, quia & eorum qui conſcripſere, nomina penitus ignorantur; & ab infidelibus Idiotis ſuperflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, ſcripta eſſe putantur, ſicut cujuſdam Cyrici & Julitæ ſicut Georgii aliorumque hujuſmodi Paſſiones, quæ ab Hæreticis perhibentur compoſitæ. [*] *Book* XIV. *Chap.* iv.

[k] Conc. Laodic. Can. 49. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ ἢ κυριακῇ μόνον.

[l] Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 14. Ethnicis ſemel annuus dies quiſque feſtus eſt: Tibi octavo quoque die. Excerpe ſingulas ſolennitates Nationum, & in ordinem texe, Pentecoſten implere non poterunt.

Heathen

Heathen could pretend to reckon up in a whole Year. He does not tell us here indeed with what Solemnity they obſerved this Time, but in another place he aſſures us [*m*] they had ſolemn Worſhip every Day, and paid the ſame Reſpect to it as they did to the Lord's Day, in that they neither faſted nor prayed kneeling on any Day during this whole Interval, which was the Commemoration of our Saviour's Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. Whence it is no improbable Conjecture, that during this Seaſon they might have the ſame compleat Worſhip every Day, that they had upon the Lord's Day.

SECT. VII. *Publick Prayer Morning and Evening every Day in the third Century.*

AND this Conſideration will lead us to fix the date of the ſetting up Morning and Evening Prayer daily in the Church. For if the Perſecutions would give leave in *Tertullian*'s Time to keep fifty Days together as ſolemn Feſtivals; there is no Reaſon to imagine that they could not as well meet every Day for their ordinary Devotions. And if *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* were then obſerved as ſtationary Days, with more than ordinary Attendance, as we have heard him declare before; there is little Reaſon to queſtion, but that every Day might have an ordinary Vigil or Morning Aſſembly. It was not long after *Tertullian*'s Time, that *Cyprian* [*n*] aſſures us, they received the *Euchariſt* every Day; and he thinks, that Petition in the *Lord's Prayer* may bear this Senſe, when we ſay, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*: Which was alſo *Tertullian*'s Senſe of it before him [*o*]. Now this is Demonſtration then, that they had Aſſemblies for publick Worſhip every Day, ſince they received the *Euchariſt* every Day, which they did not uſe to conſecrate but in publick Aſſemblies of the Church. From this Time therefore there is no Diſpute about the Church's daily Sacrifice of Prayer in her Morning Aſſemblies: Which in After-ages are commonly called *Cœtus Antelucani*, *& Vigiliæ*, *& Horæ Nocturnæ*, becauſe they were a ſort of ordinary Vigils, or Night Aſſemblies, held before it was light, though not ſo early as thoſe other Sort of Vigils, or Night-Stations before the Sabbath and Lord's Day, which were of longer Duration, as has been noted already of them in its proper Place.

As to Evening Prayer, publick in the Church, Mr. *Mede* [*p*] thinks there is no mention made of it in *Cyprian* or *Tertullian*, nor in any Writers before the Author of the *Conſtitutions* and the Council of *Laodicea*: He thinks the ninth Hour of Prayer mentioned by *Cyprian* [*q*], relates only to private Prayer; which is very probable: And that *Tertullian*'s *Nocturnæ Convocationes*, mean not Evening but Morning Prayers early before Day; which is undoubtedly true: But then he ſeems not to have conſidered, that in *Cyprian*'s Time there was a Cuſtom among ſome of Communicating after Supper: For he plainly mentions it [*r*], though he did not like the Cuſtom: And this Cuſtom continued among the *Egyptians* till the Time of *Socrates* [*s*], who ſpeaks of it then as ſomething peculiar to thoſe Churches. Now if there was a Cuſtom in *Cyprian*'s Time of Communicating after Supper, there is no doubt to be made of Evening Prayer at the ſame Time. *Rigaltius* [*t*] and after him Biſhop *Fell* [*u*] and Dr. *Cave* [*x*] carry this Cuſtom of communicating after Supper as high as *Tertullian*: But I think they miſtake his Words: For he does not ſay, that they communicated after Supper [*y*], but that Chriſt at Supper-time gave the Command for the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt* to all, though then they communicated in their Morning Aſſemblies, and received it from the Hands of none but their Governors. I lay no Streſs therefore upon this Proof, but think the Proof of Evening Prayer may be rationally deduced from that of *Cyprian*. After whom the Author of the *Conſtitutions* not only ſpeaks of it [*z*], but gives us the Order both of their Morning and Evening Service, with which I ſhall preſent the Reader in the following Chapters. The Council of *Laodicea* ſpeaks of the Evening Service [*a*] together with that of the *Nones*, or three in the Afternoon, and orders the ſame Service to be uſed in both. The *Greeks* commonly call it λυχναψία, and the *Latins* *Lucernarium*, becauſe it commonly began at the Time when the Day went off, and when they lighted Candles for the Night. It is likewiſe frequently ſtyled *Sacrificium Veſpertinum*, the Evening Sacrifice, and *Miſſa Veſpertina*, as thoſe Names are uſed to ſignify in general the Service or Prayers of the Church. And theſe two, Evening and Morning, are the moſt celebrated Times of the antient daily Service, which are to be found almoſt in every Eccleſiaſtical Writer; ſo that it is altogether needleſs here to inſiſt any farther upon them.

[*m*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paſchæ in Pentecoſten uſque gaudemus. [*n*] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 147. Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie poſtulamus, ne qui in Chriſto ſumus, & quotidie Euchariſtiam ad cibum ſalutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto——a Chriſti corpore ſeparemur. [*o*] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 6. Corpus ejus in pane cenſetur: Hoc eſt corpus meum: Itaque petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem poſtulamus in Chriſto, & Individuitatem a corpore ejus. [*p*] Mede Epiſt. 66. p. 80.

[*q*] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 154. [*r*] Cypr. Ep. 63. Ad Cæcilium. p. 156. An illa ſibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod & ſi mane aqua ſola offerri videtur, tamen cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus? [*s*] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [*t*] Rigalt. in Cypr. Ep. 63.

[*u*] Fell. in dictum Cypriani locum. [*x*] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Par. 1. cap. 11. p. 338. [*y*] Tertul. de Cor. Mil. cap. 3. Euchariſtiæ ſacramentum & intempore victus, & omnibus mandatum à Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam Præſidentium ſumimus. [*z*] Conſtit. lib. 8. c. 35.

[*a*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 18. περὶ τῆς τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάτας καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπερίνοις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι.

SECT. VIII.

The Original of the Canonical Hours of Prayer. No notice of them for publick Prayer, but only for private, in the three first Ages.

THERE remains one Question more concerning those Times of Prayer, which are commonly called the Canonical Hours, that is, besides the fore-mentioned Evening and Morning Prayer, those that are called the First, the Third, the Sixth, and the Ninth Hours, with the *Completorium* or Bed-time. They who have made the most exact Enquiries into the Original of these as fixed Hours of publick Prayer, can find no Footsteps of them in the three first Ages, but conclude they came first into the Church with the Monastick Life. So Mr. *Mede* [b], and Bishop *Pearson* [c], who observes that *Tertullian* mentions the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours of Prayer; but then he is disputing as a *Montanist* [d] against the *Catholicks*, and urging the Necessity of observing the Rules of the *Montanists* in all the Heights of their Austerities, and Pretences of Mortification and Devotion above the Church. And he does not intimate, that either the *Montanists* or the *Catholicks* observed these Hours for publick Assemblies. *Cyprian* indeed recommends [e] these Hours of Prayer from the Example of *Daniel*, and other Arguments, to Christians, in their private Devotions: But he does not so much as once suggest, that the Church had then by any Rule made these the stated Hours of publick Devotion. That which evidently confirms this Opinion is an Observation to be made out of *Cassian*, who particularly describes the Devotions of these Canonical Hours, and the gradual Rise of them. For they had not all their Original at the same Time. The first Monks of *Egypt*, who were the Founders of the Monastick Life, he assures us, never observed any other Canonical Hours for publick Devotion, but only Evening and Morning early [f] before Day: All the rest of their Time they spent at work privately, joining private Meditation of the Scriptures, singing of Psalms, and Prayers continually with their Labour. Not long after the Monasteries of *Mesopotamia* and *Palestine* set up the Practice of meeting publickly at the third, sixth, and ninth Hours for performing their Psalmody [g] and Devotions. But as yet there was no new Morning Service distinct from that of the old Morning Service before Day. This was first begun in the Monastery of *Bethleem* [h], and thence propagated into others, but not received in all. And the *Completorium* or Bed-time Service was utterly unknown to the Ancients, as distinct from the *Lucernaris*, or Evening Service, as *Bona* [i] himself proves against *Bellarmin*. So that these Canonical Hours came gradually into the Church, and are all of them owing to the Rules of the Eastern Monasteries for their Original. Therefore what a Learned Man [k] among ourselves says, must be taken with a little Qualification, else it will not be true: "That the Universal Church "antiently observed certain set Hours of Prayer; "that all Christians thoughout the World might "at the same Time join together to glorify "God: And some of them [l] were of Opini-"on, that the Angelical Host, being acquainted "with those Hours, took that Time to join "their Prayers and Praises with those of the "Church." If this be understood of any Rule or Custom of the Universal Church for Hours of publick Prayer, besides those of Morning and Evening, in the three first Ages, it will not be true: But if it only mean, that there were Directions given for the Encouragement of private Prayer at those set Times, and that Christians generally observed them in private, it may be allowed: Since not only *Origen*, but *Cyprian*, as we have heard before, writes in favour of them, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* [m] says, some alloted set Hours for Prayer, the Third, Sixth, and Ninth. So necessary is it to distinguish between publick and private Devotions, and between the first and the following Ages, when we speak of Canonical Hours of Prayer as appointed by the Church Universal. For even after they were set up in the Monasteries, they were not immediately observed in all the Churches. For *Epiphanius* [n] speaking of the Customs of the Catholick Church, mentions the Morning Hymns and Prayers, and the Evening Psalms and Prayers, but no other. So *Chrysostom* often mentions the daily Service in the Church [o] Morning and Evening. And at the most never speaks of above three Times [p] a-day for publick Assemblies. For thus he brings in a secular Man complaining, and saying, How is it possible for me, who am a secular Man, and pinn'd down to the Courts of Law, to run to Church and pray at the three Hours of the Day? In answer to which *Chrysostom* does not say, that the Church had these three Hours of Prayer for Laymen, and more for others; but he tells the Man of Business, that if he could not come to Church, because he was so fettered to the Court, yet he might pray even as he stood there; since it was the Mind and the Voice, and the Elevation of the Soul, rather than the lifting up of the Hands, that was to be regarded in Prayer. For *Hannah*'s Prayer was not heard for her loud Voice, but because she cry'd aloud inwardly in her Soul. This seems to intimate that the Church then only observed three Hours of Prayer, that is, the Evening and Morning, and as I conceive the *Nones*, or Three

[b] Mede Epist. 66. [c] Pearson Prælect. 2. in Act. Apost. num. 3, 4. [d] Tertul. de Jejun. cap. 10. [e] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 154. [f] Cassian. Institut. Lib. 3. cap. 2. [g] Cass. Lib. 3. cap. 3. [h] Cass. Lib. 3. cap. 4. [i] Bona de Psalmod. cap. 11. Sect. 1. n. 2. [k] Patrick *of Prayer, Part.* 2. *Chap.* 11. *p.* 109. [l] Origen. περὶ εὐχῆς. n. 33, 35. [m] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 854. Ed. Oxon. [n] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 23. T. 1. p. 1106. Ἑωθινοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐλῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηνεκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσδοκαὶ ἑωθιναὶ, λυχνικοί τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσδοκαί. [o] Chrys. Hom. 18. in Act. p. 174, 176 Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p. 1550. [p] Chrys. Hom. 4. de Anna. tom. 2. p. 995. Πῶς δυνατὸν ἀνθρωπον βαπτικὸν, δικασηρίῳ προσηλωμένον, καὶ τρεῖς ὥρας ἔχειν εὐκαίρους ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκβρέχειν, &c.

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in the Afternoon. For by this Time, in ſome Places, the Church had received that Hour as a ſtated Hour of Prayer, of which more by and by. Yet it was ſome Time after this, before theſe Hours were admitted in the *Gallican* and *Spaniſh* Churches. For *Mabillon* ſhews [q] out of *Gregory Turonenſis*, that the ſixth and ninth Hours of Prayer were not introduced into the Church of *Tours* till the Time of Biſhop *Injurioſus*, which was not till the Year 530. And it appears from one of the Canons of *Martin Bracarenſis*, that they were not in his Time admitted into the *Spaniſh* Churches. For he calls only [r] the Morning and Evening Service the daily Sacrifice of Pſalmody, at which all Clerks were obliged to be preſent, under Pain of Depoſition without Amendment. This argues, that as yet the other Hours were not eſtabliſhed in the Churches (but only in the Monaſteries) as Canonical Parts of the daily Service. And it is obſervable farther, that moſt of the Writers of the fourth Age, who ſpeak of ſix or ſeven Hours of Prayer, ſpeak of the Obſervations of the Monks only, and not of the whole Body of the Church. As St. *Jerom* [s] where he deſcribes the Inſtitutions of the Monaſteries erected by the famous Lady *Paula*, ſays, they ſung the *Pſalter* in order, in the Morning, at the third, and ſixth, and ninth Hours, and at Evening, and at Midnight. And giving Directions in another Place [t] to *Læta*, how to educate her Daughter in the Monaſtick Life, he preſcribes the ſame Hours to be obſerved in Devotion. And the like may be ſeen in St. *Baſil*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Caſſian*, *Caſſiodore*, and moſt other Writers; nay, even St. *Chryſoſtom* himſelf who ſpeaks but of three ſolemn Hours of Prayer in the Church, when yet he has occaſion to ſpeak of the Monks and their Inſtitutions, he gives in much the ſame Number of Canonical Hours as others do. He tells us [u], they had their Midnight Hymns, their Morning Prayers, their third, and ſixth, and ninth Hours, and laſt of all their Evening Prayers. But I will not deny that by this Time theſe Hours of Prayers might in ſome Places of the *Eaſt* be admitted into the Churches. For the Author of the *Conſtitutions* has different Directions upon this Point: In ſome places [x] he ſpeaks only of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Church; but in another he preſcribes this Rule to be obſerved by the Biſhops in the Church: Ye ſhall make Prayers [y] in the Morning, and at the third Hour, and the Sixth, and the Ninth, and at Evening, and at Cock-crowing. In the Morning giving Thanks to the Lord for that he hath enlightened you, removing the Night, and bringing in the Day: At the third Hour, becauſe at that Time the Lord received Sentence of Condemnation from *Pilate:* At the ſixth Hour, becauſe at that Time, after the Lord was crucified, all Things were ſhaken and moved with Horror and Aſtoniſhment at the audacious Fact of the Impious *Jews*, deteſting the Affront that was put upon their Lord: At Evening giving Thanks to God, who hath given the Night to be a Reſt from our daily Labours: At Cock-crowing, becauſe that Hour brings the welcome News of the Day, to work the Works of Light. If you cannot go to Church becauſe of the Infidels, you ſhall aſſemble in an Houſe: Or if you can neither aſſemble in an Houſe, nor in the Church, then let every one ſing, read, and pray by himſelf; or two or three together: *For where two or three are gather'd together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them.* One may conjecture from this Paſſage, that this Author living in the Time when theſe Canonical Hours began to be in requeſt, in the beginning of the fourth Century, found them to be admitted into the Uſage of ſome Churches, and therefore drew his Scheme of Directions in conformity to their Practice.

SECT. IX.

What Service was allotted to theſe Canonical Hours by the Church.

AND it being allowed, That about this Time they began gradually to take Place in the Church, it will not be amiſs to take a ſhort View of them in particular, and examine what Parts of Divine Service were performed in each of them. *Caſſian* ſpeaking of the firſt Inſtitution of them in the Monaſteries of *Meſopotamia* and *Paleſtine*, where they had their firſt Birth, ſays [z] they were appointed to be celebrated with the ſinging of three Pſalms at every meeting. And theſe intermixed with ſome Prayers were the whole Service. So that theſe were but ſhort Offices in compariſon of the antient Morning and Evening Service. And there is reaſon to believe, that the Church did not preciſely follow theſe Monaſtick Rules, but made proper Offices for herſelf to be uſed upon theſe Occaſions, partly becauſe the Monaſtick Offices were very different from one another, and not always choſen with the greateſt Diſcretion. Of which I need but give one Proof here out of the Council of *Braga*, which made a Canon to this purpoſe [a], That by common Conſent one and the ſame Order of ſinging ſhould be obſerved in

[q] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano, p. 409. [r] Martin. Bracar. Capitul. Synod. cap. 64. Si quis Clericus intra Civitatem fuerit, aut in quolibet loco quo Eccleſia eſt, & ad Quotidianum Pſallendi Sacrificium non convenerit, deponatur à Clero, &c.

[s] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Epiſt. 27. cap. 10. Mane, hora tertia, ſexta, nona, Veſpere, noctis medio, per ordinem Pſalterium cantabant. [t] Id. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Aſſueſcat exemplo ad Orationes & Pſalmos nocte conſurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, ſexta, nona hora ſtare in acie, quaſi bellatricem Chriſti; accenſaque Lucerna reddere Sacrificium Veſpertinum. [u] Chryſ. Hom. 14. in 1 Tim. p. 1599. [x] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 59. lib. 8. cap. 35. [y] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 34. [z] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 3. cap. 3. Itaque in Paleſtinæ vel Meſopotamiæ Monaſteriis, ac totius Orientis, ſupradictarum Horarum ſolennitates trinis Pſalmis quotidie finiuntur. [a] Conc. Bracarenſ. 1. Can. 19. Placuit omnibus communi conſenſu, ut unus atque idem pſallendi ordo in Matutinis vel Veſpertinis Officiis teneatur, & non diverſæ ac privatæ Monaſteriorum conſuetudines contra Eccleſiaſticas Regulas ſint permixtæ, vel cum Eccleſiaſticis Regulis ſint permixtæ.

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the Morning and Evening Offices, and that the private and different Cuſtoms of the Monaſteries ſhould not be mingled with the Rules of the Church.

The *Gallican* Church in the Time of the ſecond Council of *Tours*, it is certain, had a very different Rule from that of the *Eaſtern* Monaſteries about the Number of Pſalms, Hymns, and Antiphona's to be ſaid at the ſeveral Hours and Times of Prayer. For in one of the Cannons of that Council [*b*] about the Year 567, a very peculiar Order was made, that the Method of Pſalmody and Number of Hymns ſhould be in proportion to the Number of the Hours or Months in which they were uſed: The new Morning Service was to be performed with ſix Antiphona's and two Pſalms in the height of Summer. In *September* there were to be ſeven Antiphona's and two Pſalms; in *October* eight Antiphona's and three Pſalms; in *November* nine and three Pſalms; in *December* ten and three Pſalms; and the ſame in *January* and *February* until *Eaſter*. So again at the ſixth Hour there were to be ſix Pſalms and the Alleluia, and at the twelfth Hour twelve Pſalms and the Alleluia. And in the whole Month of *Auguſt* there ſhould be Manications, that is, as *Mabillon* [*c*] explains it out of *Aimoinus* [*d*], early Mattins or Morning Service without any Pſalms, becauſe it was Harveſt-time, and Men were in haſte to be gone to their Labour, when they had performed the Solemnity of the Feſtivals, which in that Month were frequent above others. This ſhews, that no certain Rule was at firſt obſerved about theſe Canonical Hours, but that they varied both as to their Number and Service in their firſt Original.

SECT. X.

Of the Matutina, *or* Prima, *called the new Morning Service.*

THE firſt of theſe Offices was the *Matutina*, or *Prima*, the new Morning Service, ſo call'd in contradiſtinction to the old Morning Service, which was always early before Day; whereas this was after the Day was begun. *Caſſian* [*e*] tells us, this was firſt ſet up in the Monaſtery of *Bethleem*, for till that Time the Morning Service uſed to end with the old nocturnal Pſalms and Prayers and the daily Vigils, after which they uſed to betake themſelves to Reſt till the third Hour, which was the firſt Hour of diurnal Prayer, till this new Office of Morning Prayer was ſet up within *Caſſian*'s Memory, to prevent ſome Inconveniencies, which he there mentions. He often gives it the Name therefore of *Novella ſolennitas*, the new Solemnity, as being ſo lately invented. And this is the true Reaſon, why in moſt of the Writers before *Caſſian*, ſuch as St. *Jerom*, the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, St. *Baſil*, and others who ſpeak particularly of the Canonical Hours, there is no mention of this firſt Hour, but they always reckon them up after this manner, The Morning, meaning the Morning Vigil before Day, the Third, the Sixth, the Ninth, without mentioning the Firſt, becauſe it was not in their Time as yet become an accuſtomed Hour of Prayer. But when it was once made a Canonical Hour, to compleat the Number of ſeven times a-day, then there were Pſalms particularly appointed for this Service, which *Caſſian* [*f*] ſays were theſe three, the fiftieth, ſixty ſecond, and eighty ninth; which according to our Computation are the fifty firſt, ſixty third, and ninetieth. The firſt of which is that which the Ancients called properly the Pſalm of Confeſſion, or Penitential Pſalm, which begins, *Have Mercy upon me, O God, after Thy great Goodneſs: According to the Multitude of Thy Mercies do away mine Offences.* This, *Caſſian* ſays in the ſame place, was uſed by all the Churches of *Italy* in his Time as the Cloſe of this Morning Service. The ſecond of theſe Pſalms is that which the Ancients called by a peculiar Name, the Morning Pſalm, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, becauſe it begins with thoſe Words, *O God, my God, early will I awake unto Thee*, or *early will I ſeek Thee*; and was always uſed in the old *Antelucan* Service, before this new Service was ſet up. The third of theſe Pſalms, which is the ninetieth, ſeems to be taken into this Service upon the account of thoſe Words in it, ſuiting the State of human Life, *In the Morning it is green, and groweth up, but in the Evening it is cut down, dried up and withered:* And, *So teach us to number our Days, that we may apply our Hearts unto wiſdom.*

SECT. XI.

Of the Tertia *or Third Hour of Prayer.*

NEXT after this, in all ſuch Churches as admitted the Firſt, was the *Tertia*, or third Hour, that is, nine in the Morning: This is mentioned by all the Writers that ſay any thing of Hours of Prayer; ſome ſaying it was to be obſerved in regard [*g*] to our Saviour's being condemned by *Pilate* at that Time; and others, in memory of the Holy Ghoſt's com-

[*b*] Conc. Turon. 2. Can. 19. Iſte ordo pſallendi ſervetur, ut in diebus æſtivis ad Matutinum ſex Antiphonæ binis Pſalmis explicentur. Toto Auguſto Manicationes fiant, quia Feſtivitates ſunt & Miſſæ. Septembri ſeptem Antiphonæ explicentur binis Pſalmis; Octobri octo ternis Pſalmis; Novembri novem ternis Pſalmis; Decembri decem ternis Pſalmis; Januario & Februario, itidem uſque ad Paſcha.—— Supereſt, ut vel duodecim Pſalmi expediantur ad Matutinum, quia Patrum ſtatuta præceperunt ut ad Sextam ſex Pſalmi dicantur cum Alleluia; & ad Duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia, &c. [*c*] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano n. 54. p. 422. [*d*] Aimoin Hiſt. Francor. lib. 3. cap. 81. Porro toto Auguſto, propter crebras Feſtivitates, Manicationes fiebant. Manicare autem manè ſurgere dicitur. [*e*] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 3. cap. 4. Sciendum tamen hanc Matutinam, quæ nunc obſervatur in Occiduis vel maxime Regionibus, Canonicam functionem, noſtro tempore, in noſtro quoque Monaſterio primitus inſtitutam, ubi Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus natus ex Virgine.—— Uſque ad illud enim tempus, hac ſolennitate Matutina, quæ expletis Nocturnis Pſalmis & Orationibus poſt modicum temporis intervallum ſolet in Galliæ Monaſteriis celebrari, cum quotidianis Vigiliis pariter conſummata, reliquas horas reflectioni corporum deputatas a Majoribus noſtris invenimus. [*f*] Caſſian. lib. 3. cap. 6. Quinquageſimum vero pſalmum, & ſexageſimum ſecundum, & octogeſimum nonum huic Novellæ ſolennitati novimus fuiſſe deputatos. [*g*] *See the Author of the Conſtitutions*, lib. 8. c. 34.

ing upon the Apoſtles [*h*] at that Hour: That Men might with one Mind worſhip the Holy Spirit, and beg of him the ſame Sanctification, Direction and Protection, imitating *David*'s Prayer, in ſaying, *Create in me a clean Heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me, Pſal.* li. In another Place, *Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the Land of Righteouſneſs*, Pſal. cxliii. This is the Reaſon aſſigned by *Caſſian* and St. *Baſil* for this Solemnity. But whether any particular *Pſalms* were appropriated to this Service we are not told, but only in general *Caſſian* ſays, three *Pſalms* together with Prayers were appointed for every Hour. But on all Feſtivals this Service was omitted, becauſe on *Sundays* the Communion Service was uſed, which always began at this Hour.

SECT. XII. *Of the ſixth Hour, or Noon-day Service.*

THE next Hour was the ſixth, or Noon-day Service. At which Time St. *Baſil* ſays [*i*], they uſed the xc or xci *Pſalm*, praying for Protection againſt the Incurſions of the Noon-day Devil, δαιμονίς μεσημβρινῆς, for ſo the *Septuagint* and other Tranſlations render the Words of that *Pſalm*, *Thou ſhalt not be afraid for any Terror by Night, nor for the Arrow that flieth by Day; nor for the Peſtilence that walketh in Darkneſs, nor for the Sickneſs, nor the Devil deſtroying at Noon-day.* What other *Pſalms* they uſed he tells us not, but probably they might be ſome that had relation to the Death of Chriſt, becauſe it is agreed by all, that this Service was appointed in Commemoration of our Saviour's immaculate Sacrifice to the Father at this Hour.

SECT. XIII. *Of the ninth Hour, or three in the Afternoon.*

THE laſt Hour of Prayer in the Day-time, was the ninth Hour, that is, three in the Afternoon, at which Time our Saviour expired upon the Croſs, and by his Death triumphed over Death and Hell. At this Hour *Cornelius* was praying, when he was viſited by an Angel: As *Peter* was at the ſixth Hour, when he had the Viſion of the Sheet let down from Heaven. This was the Hour when *Peter* and *John* went up into the Temple, *at the ninth Hour, being the Hour of Prayer*, and the uſual Time of the Jewiſh Evening Sacrifice. In regard to all which the Church ſeems to have taken this Hour for a ſolemn Time of publick Prayer, before the two laſt mentioned. For the Council of *Laodicea* [*k*] expreſsly mentions the ninth Hour of Prayer, and orders that the ſame Service ſhould be uſed in that as was appointed for Evening Prayer. And St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of three Hours [*l*] of publick Prayer in the Day, may moſt reaſonably be underſtood to intend this ninth Hour as the third of them; becauſe in another Place he ſeems [*m*] to recommend it as ſuch: For ſpeaking of the Apoſtles going into the Temple at the ninth Hour, being the Hour of Prayer, he ſays, they obſerv'd this Hour not without very good Reaſon: For I have often told you concerning this Hour, that it was the Time when Paradiſe was opened, and the Thief enter'd into it; this the Time when the Curſe was taken away, when the Sacrifice of the World was offered, when the Darkneſs was diſſolved, and the Light, as well ſenſible as ſpiritual, ſhone forth. It was at the ninth Hour, when others after Dinner and Drunkenneſs ſleep a deep Sleep, that they then being ſober and vigilant, and fervent in Love, made haſte to Prayer. And if they needed to be ſo exact and aſſiduous in Prayer, who had ſuch Boldneſs, and were conſcious of no Evil; what ſhall we do, who are over-run with Wounds and Sores, and neglect to uſe the Medecine of Prayer? This Character here given of the ninth Hour, makes it probable to me, that this was one of thoſe three famous Hours of Prayer, which in the former Place he exhorts all Men to frequent in publick. We have no particular Account in any Writer, of the *Pſalms* or Prayers to be uſed at this Hour, but only what we have heard before out of the Council of *Laodicea*, that it was to be the ſame with the Evening Service: And therefore we muſt draw our Accounts of it from thence. Now becauſe we have a more ample and diſtinct Account of the Morning and Evening daily Service, than of any other ſtated Hours of Prayer in the antient Church, (as being both more antient and more celebrated than the reſt) I ſhall give a more particular and exact Deſcription of the ſeveral Parts, and Method of performing thoſe Offices, from ſuch Records as may be depended on for their Truth and Fidelity: And have therefore reſerved the Conſideration of theſe for the two following Chapters.

CHAP. X.

The Order of their Daily Morning Service.

SECT. I. *The Order of Morning Service, as deſcribed in the* Conſtitutions. *This began with the ſixty third* Pſalm.

THE moſt noted and uſual Times of Meeting, beſides thoſe of the Lord's Day, were the Morning and Evening of every Day, which in Times of Peace were conſtantly and regularly obſerved. I will deſcribe the Order of theſe Services, as they are laid down in the *Conſtitutions*, and compare the ſeveral Parts of them with the Memorials and Accounts that are

[*h*] Baſil. Regul. Major. Q. 37. Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 3. c. 3. [*i*] Baſil. Ibid. [*k*] Conc. Laodic. can. 18. [*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 14. in 1 Tim. p. 1599. [*m*] Chryſ. Hom. 12. De Inſcriptione Act. Apoſt. T. 5. p. 176.

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left us by other antient Writers. The Order for the Morning Service begins with the Appointment of the ὀρθρινὸς ψαλμός, the Morning Psalm, as the Author of the *Constitutions* [a] terms it. He names not what Psalm it was in this place, but in another place he calls it the sixty second. That is, in our Division, the sixty third. Which (to shew how proper it was to begin their Morning Service with, both in relation to the Night past, and the Day approaching) I think it not improper to recite in this Place, according to our old Version, which comes nearest to the Translation of the *Septuagint* used in the antient Church.

PSALM LXIII.

1. O *GOD, Thou art my God: Early will I seek Thee.*
2. *My Soul thirsteth for Thee, my Flesh also longeth after Thee, in a barren and dry Land, where no Water is.*
3. *Thus have I looked for Thee in Holiness; that I might behold Thy Power and Glory.*
4. *For Thy loving Kindness is better than the Life itself: My Lips shall praise Thee.*
5. *As long as I live will I magnify Thee on this manner, and lift up my Hands in Thy Name.*
6. *My Soul shall be satisfied even as it were with Marrow and Fatness, when my Mouth praiseth Thee with joyful Lips.*
7. *Have I not remembred Thee in my Bed, and thought upon Thee when I was waking?*
8. *Because Thou hast been my Helper, therefore under the Shadow of Thy Wings will I rejoice.*
9. *My Soul hangeth upon Thee: Thy right Hand hath upholden me.*
10. *These also that seek the Hurt of my Soul, they shall go under the Earth.*
11. *Let them fall* (Septuagint, They shall fall) *upon the Edge of the Sword, that they may be a Portion for Foxes.*
12. *But the King shall rejoice in God; all they also that swear by him shall be commended: But the Mouth of them that speak Lies shall be stopped.*

SECT. II.
What Notice we have of this Morning Psalm in other Writers.

ST. *Chrysostom* shews that the Author of the *Constitutions* does not impose upon us in this Morning Psalm: For he says, [b] the Fathers of the Church appointed it to be said every Morning, as a spiritual Song and Medicine to blot out our Sins; to kindle in us a desire of God; to raise our Souls, and inflame them with a mighty Fire of Devotion; to make us overflow with Goodness and Love, and send us with such Preparation to approach and appear before God. He names not the Psalm, but he repeats the first Words, *O God, my God, early will I awake unto Thee. My Soul thirsteth for Thee.* And, *Thus have I appeared before Thee in Holiness, that I might behold Thy Power and Glory.* By which we may know that it is the same *Psalm*. He says, he had before made an Exposition upon this *Psalm*; and refers his Reader thither for a larger Account of it: But that by Injury of Time is now lost, and we are beholden to this Passage by the Bye for all the Notice we have of this Morning Psalm out of him, upon the Occasion of his Commenting upon the Evening Psalm; of which more hereafter in its proper Place. Besides *Chrysostom*, we have the Testimony of *Cassian* for the Use of this *Psalm*; For speaking of the several Hours of Prayer, and assigning Reasons out of Scripture for them, he makes this to be one Reason for Morning Prayer, that the *Psalm*, which was daily sung [c] in that Office, did properly instruct Men about their Obligations to this Duty, saying, *O God, my God, early will I seek Thee.* And *Athanasius* also once or twice recommends this *Psalm* to Virgins and others, as proper to be said privately in their Morning Devotions. Rising early in the Morning, says he to *Marcellinus* [d], sing the sixty second *Psalm*. And again [e] to the Virgins, In the Morning sing this *Psalm*, *O God, my God, early will I seek Thee.* These were but private Directions indeed, but probably might be suited to the Orders and Measures of publick Worship: It being evident from the forecited Authors, that this *Psalm* was the usual Introduction to their Morning Devotions.

SECT. III.
Next to the Psalm *followed the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes, and Penitents.*

IMMEDIATELY after this Morning *Psalm*, without mention of any other Psalmody or reading any Lessons out of the *Old* or *New Testament*, follow the Prayers for the several Orders of Catechumens, Energumens, Candidates of Baptism, and Penitents, as in the general Service of the Lord's Day, which because I shall recite them at large in that Service [*], I omit to mention any farther in this Place. Only observing, that these Prayers were performed partly by the Deacons προσφώνησις, bidding the People pray, and repeating the several Petitions they were to make for those several Orders of Men; and partly by the Bishop's Invocation or Benediction said over them, as they bowed down to receive the Blessing before their Dismission.

SECT. IV.
Then the Prayers for the Faithful, the Peace of the World, and the whole State of Christ's Church.

WHEN these several Orders were sent away, there followed the Prayers, which on the Lord's Day began the Communion Service, and which upon that Account were usually stiled εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, the Prayers of the Faithful or Communicants, because none but they who had a Right

[a] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 37. Confer. lib. 2. c. 59. [b] Chrys. Com. in Psal. 140. tom. 3. p. 545. τοῖς τὸς ὅτι ἡ ὀρθρινὸς ψαλμὸς, &c. [c] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 3. De Matutina vero solennitate etiam illud nos instruit, quod in ipsa quotidie decantari solet, Deus meus ad te de luce vigilo. [d] Athan. Ep. ad Marcellinum. T. 1. p. 975. ὀρθείζων ψάλλε τὸ ἑξηκοστὸν δεύτερον. [e] Id. de Virginit. T. 1. p. 1057. πρὸς ὄρθρον τὸ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε, ὁ Θεὸς, Θεός μου, πρός σὲ ὀρθείζω. [*] *See Book* XIV. *Chap* v.

to communicate in the *Euchariſt*, might be preſent at them. Theſe were the Prayers for the Peace of the World, and all Orders of Men in the Church, which always went before the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*. And though there were no Conſecration of the *Euchariſt* on theſe ordinary Days, yet theſe general Prayers were always uſed in the daily Morning Service. I omit the reciting of them here for the ſame Reaſon as I do the former, becauſe the Reader may find them rehearſed at large hereafter [†] in the Entrance on the Communion Service.

SECT. V.
What Notice we have of theſe Prayers in other Writers.

I only obſerve here, that there is mention made, in other Writers as well as the *Conſtitutions*, of theſe Prayers for the whole State of the World, and all Orders of Men in the Church. For *Chryſoſtom* writing upon theſe Words of St. *Paul*, *I exhort therefore that firſt of all, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men; for Kings, and all that are in Authority*; ſays, this Word, *Firſt of all*, relates to the Daily Worſhip; wherein they that were initiated knew what was done every Day, Morning [*f*] and Evening; how we make Supplication to God for the whole World, *for Kings and all that are in Authority*. This clearly ſhews that ſuch Prayers were not only made on Communion-Days at the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, but every Day, both Morning and Evening alſo, when it is certain there could be no Sacrifice but only that of their Prayers. For the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt* in that Age was never made at Evening Prayer. In this Senſe we may underſtand many of the antient Apologiſts, when they ſpeak of making Prayers continually for the *Roman* Government. Thus *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* tells *Æmylian* the Præfect, We worſhip the one God, Maker of all Things, who gave the Empire to *Valerian* and *Gallienus* our divine Governors: To him we pray [*g*] continually for their Kingdom, that it may be preſerved free from Diſturbance and Commotion. And ſo *Tertullian* [*h*] acquaints *Scapula*: We offer Sacrifice for the Emperor's Safety, but to no other God but our God and his; and in that manner as God has appointed, that is to ſay, by Prayer alone without Blood. In like manner *Cyprian* [*i*] tells *Demetrian*: We continually pour forth Supplications and Prayers for driving away your Enemies, and procuring Rain, and either for removing or moderating your Calamities: And we pray inſtantly and inceſſantly Day and Night for your Peace and Safety, appeaſing God and rendring him propitious unto you. *Origen* alſo [*k*] anſwering the Objection of *Celſus*, that the Chriſtians were wanting in their Duty to the Emperor, in that they gave him no Aid in his Wars, and refuſed to fight for him, among other Things tells him, that they gave him the moſt ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance, procuring him the Divine Aid, and defending him with the whole Armour of God. And this they did in Obedience to the Apoſtle's Admonition, *I exhort therefore firſt of all, that Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men, for Kings, and all that are in Authority*. He adds, that keeping their Hands pure, they fought in their Prayers to God for their lawful Sovereign and thoſe that fought lawfully under him, that all Oppoſition and Enemies might fall before them, whilſt they were lawfully employed. They by their Prayers enervated the Power of Devils, the Authors of War, and Confounders of Leagues, and Diſturbers of Peace; and in doing this they did the Emperor more effectual Service, than they that bare Arms for him. *Athenagoras* tells the Emperors themſelves, in his Addreſs to them [*l*], that the Chriſtians prayed for their Government and Royal Progeny, that the Son might ſucceed the Father in his Kingdom according to Right, and that their Empire might be extended and enlarged, all Things ſucceeding according to their Deſire: And this they did, both that they might lead a quiet and peaceable Life, and chearfully obſerve all that was commanded them. Now though in all theſe Paſſages there is no expreſs mention made of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Church; yet their continual Prayer, and their praying Day and Night, may reaſonably be preſumed to include theſe, without any Prejudice to other times of publick or private Devotion. I now go on again with the Order of Morning Prayer in the *Conſtitutions*.

SECT. VI.
After the general Prayer for the whole State of the Church, followed a ſhort Bidding Prayer for Preſervation in the enſuing Day.

AFTER the Prayer for the whole State of the Church was ended, and the Deacon had ſaid, *Keep us, O God, and preſerve us by thy Grace*; which concludes the former Prayer; he exhorted the People to pray for Peace and Proſperity the Day enſuing and all their Lives, in this manner:

Let us beg of God his Mercies and Compaſſions, that this Morning and this Day, and all the Time of our Pilgrimage may be paſſed by us in Peace and without Sin: Let us beg of God, that he would ſend us the Angel of Peace, and give us a Chriſtian End, and be gracious and merciful unto us. Let us commend our ſelves and one another to the Living God by his Only-begotten Son.

[†] *See Book* XV. *Chap.* i. [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p. 1550. τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσαι, πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ πρωΐᾳ, πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑποχῇ ὄντων ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν. [*g*] Dionyſ. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. c. 11. τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ, προσευχόμεθα. [*h*] Tertul. ad Scapulam. cap. 2. Sacrificamus pro ſalute Imperatoris, ſed Deo noſtro & ipſius: ſed quo modo præcepit Deus, pura Prece. Vid. Apol. cap. 30, 31, & 39. [*i*] Cypr. ad Demetrian. p. 193. Pro arcendis hoſtibus & imbribus impetrandis, & vel auferendis vel temperandis adverſis, rogamus ſemper & preces fundimus: & pro Pace ac Salute veſtra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, Diebus ac Noctibus jugiter atque inſtanter oramus. [*k*] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 436. [*l*] Athenag. Legatio pro Chriſtianis, p. 39.

What is here ſaid concerning the Angel of Peace, is a Petition that came often in the Devotions of the antient Church, both when they prayed for themſelves and others. For we ſhall meet with it again in the Evening Service, and in the Prayer for the Catechumens [*] mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom* in ſeveral Places of his Writings, where he often ſpeaks of the Deacons bidding Men pray for the Angel of Peace, and that all their Purpoſes may be directed to a peaceable End. Which agree very well with this Prayer of the Deacon in the *Conſtitutions*.

SECT. VII. *Then the Biſhop's Commendation, or Thankſgiving.*

IMMEDIATELY after this common Prayer of the Deacon and People together (the Deacon having bid the People commend themſelves to God) the Biſhop makes this Commendatory Prayer, which is there called, εὐχαριστία ὀρθρινή, the Morning Thankſgiving [*m*], and is in the following Words.

O God, the God of Spirits and of all Fleſh, with whom no one can compare, whom no one can approach, that giveſt the Sun to govern the Day, and the Moon and the Stars to govern the Night; look down now upon us with the Eyes of thy Favour, and receive our Morning-Thankſgivings, and have Mercy on us. For we have not ſpread forth our Hands to any ſtrange God. For there is not any new God among us, but Thou our Eternal and Immortal God; who haſt given us our Being through Chriſt, and our Well-being through him alſo. Vouchſafe by him to bring us to everlaſting Life, with whom unto Thee be Glory, Honour and Adoration, in the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen.

SECT. VIII. *And his Impoſition of Hands or Benediction.*

AFTER this the Deacon bids them bow their Heads and receive the Impoſition of Hands, or the Biſhop's Benediction, which follows under the Title of χειροθεσία ὀρθρινή, the Impoſition of Hands in Morning Prayer, in the Form of Words here annexed.

O God, Faithful and True, that ſheweſt Mercy to thouſands and ten thouſands of them that love Thee; who art the Friend of the Humble, and Defender of the Poor, whoſe Aid all Things ſtand in need of, becauſe all Things ſerve Thee: Look down upon this thy People, who bow their Heads unto Thee, and bleſs them with thy ſpiritual Benediction; keep them as the Apple of the Eye; preſerve them in Piety and Righteouſneſs, and vouchſafe to bring them to eternal Life, in Chriſt Jeſus thy beloved Son, with whom unto Thee be Glory, Honour and Adoration, in the Holy Ghoſt, now and for ever, World without End. Amen.

This ſaid, the Deacon diſmiſſes the Congregation with the uſual Form, πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Depart in Peace*. Which *Chryſoſtom* takes notice of as the ſolemn Word for diſmiſſing every Church-Aſſembly. For ſpeaking of the frequent Uſe of the Salutation, *Pax vobis, Peace be unto you*, he obſerves, that it was uſed in the Beginning of every ſacred Action, Prayer, Preaching, Bleſſing, &c. and ſometimes in the middle of Prayers too, ſo particularly at the Biſhop's Entrance into the Church, and the Deacon's final Diſmiſſion of the Aſſembly: The Deacon, ſays he, when he ſends you away [*n*] from this Meeting, does it with this Prayer, πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Go in Peace*.

SECT. IX. *Whether the Morning Hymn was part of the publick Service every Day.*

BUT beſides this Order of Morning Prayer laid down in this place by the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, there is in another place a Prayer or Hymn appointed for the Morning, but whether for publick or private Uſe, is not ſaid: I ſuppoſe he intended it only for private Devotion, becauſe it is placed among many other private Prayers. He gives it the Name of προσευχὴ ἑωθινή, the Morning Prayer. Other Writers call it the Hymn, and the Angelical Hymn, and the great *Doxology*, from the firſt Words of it, *Glory be to God on high*, which was the Angels Hymn at our Saviour's Birth. The Form of it in this Author runs in theſe Words [*o*].

Glory be to God on high, in Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men. We praiſe Thee, we laud Thee, we bleſs Thee, we glorify Thee, we worſhip Thee by the great High-Prieſt, Thee the true God, the only Unbegotten, whom no one can approach, for thy great Glory, O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty: Lord God, the Father of Chriſt, the Immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the Sin of the World, receive our Prayer, Thou that ſitteſt upon the Cherubims. For Thou only art Holy, Thou only Lord Jeſus, the Chriſt of God, the God of every created Being, and our King. By whom unto Thee be Glory, Honour and Adoration.

This ſame Hymn is mentioned alſo by *Athanaſius*, in his Book of *Virginity*, but he gives it only as a Direction to Virgins in their private Devotions: Early in the Morning, ſays he, ſing this *Pſalm*, *O God, my God, early will I awake unto Thee. My Soul thirſteth for Thee.* (That is the lxiiid *Pſalm.*) When it is light, ſay, *Bleſs ye the Lord, all ye Works of the Lord.* (That is the Song of the three Children.) And [*p*], *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men. We laud Thee, we bleſs Thee, we worſhip Thee*; and what follows. It is great Pity this Author did not give us the whole Hymn, that we might have compared it with that in the *Conſtitutions*. It was always uſed in the Communion-Service, though not exactly in the ſame Form, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But St. *Chryſoſtom* [*q*] ſpeaks of it as uſed alſo daily at Morning Prayer. For deſcribing the Devotions of thoſe who led an Aſcetick Life, he ſays, as ſoon as they roſe out of Bed, they met together and

[*] *See theſe Places of* Chryſ. *cited Book* XV. *Chap.* v. *n.* 4.
[*m*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 38. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 713. [*o*] Conſtit. lib. 7. cap. 47. [*p*] Athan. de Virgin. T. 1. p. 1057. [*q*] Chryſ. Hom. 69. in Mat. p. 600.

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made a Quire, and as it were with one Mouth ſang Hymns to God, praiſing him, and giving him Thanks for all his Bleſſings both General and Particular: And among other Things like Angels on Earth, ſinging, *Glory be to God on high, and on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men.* And *Mabillon* [r] obſerves out of the Rules of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* and *Aurelian* in the Beginning of the ſixth Century, that it is there appointed to be ſung at *Mattins* or Morning Prayer every Lord's Day, and on *Eaſter*-day, and ſuch other noted Feſtivals. Which ſhews, that at leaſt in ſome Churches it was uſed in other Offices beſide the Communion-Service, and among the Monks as an ordinary Hymn in their daily Morning Service. And ſo it is now uſed among the Modern *Greeks*, as a learned Searcher of their Rituals [ſ] informs us in his Account of the *Greek* Church.

SECT. X. *Whether the* Pſalms *and Leſſons were read at the daily Morning Service.*

BUT it ſeems a little more difficult to account for another Thing, which is omitted in the *Conſtitutions*. For there is no Order there either for *Pſalms* or Leſſons to be read in the Morning Service, beſides that one *Pſalm*, which was particularly ſtiled the *Morning Pſalm*. Whereas other Authors, and particularly *Caſſian*, ſpeaks of three *Pſalms* read at every Aſſembly thro' all the Canonical Hours of the Day [t]; and he remarks preciſely for the Morning Service the very *Pſalms* [u] that were uſed, namely, the fiftieth, that is, our fifty firſt, which they commonly called the *Penitential Pſalm: Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great Goodneſs: according to the multitude of thy Mercies do away my Offences:* And together with that, the lxiid *Pſalm*, that is, the lxiiid in our Diviſion, which was commonly called the *Morning Pſalm*, as we have noted before; and the lxxxixth, that is, our xcth *Pſalm*, which is appropriated to the Funeral Office, but is as proper for the Service of every Day, and fit to be uſed by all Men whenever they begin a new Day, becauſe of thoſe excellent Petitions in it for God's Protection and Favour, and for Wiſdom to conſider our latter End: *So teach us to number our Days, that we may apply our Hearts unto Wiſdom:* And for that it ſo familiarly puts us in mind of our Mortality, comparing our Life to a Sleep, which fades away ſuddenly like the Graſs: *In the Morning it is green and groweth up, but in the Evening it is cut down, dried up and withered.* By which we may judge both of the Wiſdom and Piety of the Ancients in appointing this *Pſalm* to be uſed conſtantly in the daily Courſe of Morning Service. *Caſſian* obſerves farther in the ſame Place [u], that in his Time, throughout all the Churches of *Italy*, their Morning Hymns were concluded with the *Penitential Pſalm*, that is, the fiftieth according to his Account, but with us the fifty firſt. And St. *Baſil* [x] remarks the ſame Thing for many of the Churches of the *Eaſt*, that their Vigils, or Nocturnal Pſalmody, was concluded, when the Morning appeared, with the *Pſalm of Confeſſion*, by which he means no other but this ſame fifty firſt, or *Penitential Pſalm*, as I have evidently ſhewn in another [*] Place. What ſhall we ſay then to the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, who ſpeaks but of one *Pſalm* in the Morning Service? I anſwer, 1. No doubt there were different Cuſtoms in different Churches, and in nothing did the Practice vary more than in the Rules and Meaſures about Pſalmody, as we ſhall ſee more clearly hereafter. So that both Accounts may be very true, only applying them to the State and Practice of different Churches. 2. I have obſerved before [†], that the Primitive Morning Service, in times of Perſecution eſpecially, was no other but the Concluſion of the Vigils, or *Antelucan* or *Nocturnal* Service, which concluded towards break of Day with ſome proper Morning *Pſalm*, ſuch as the fifty firſt, or ſixty third, or ninetieth, and certain Prayers or Collects proper to the Occaſion; the preceding Part of the Morning having been ſpent in *Pſalms* and Hymns to a greater Meaſure and Number, ſometimes ten, twelve, eighteen or twenty, and theſe intermingled with Leſſons of Scripture, and publick or private Prayers between them; but when the Morning Service was made a diſtinct Office from the Vigils, as it began to be in the fourth or fifth Century, then ſome other *Pſalms* were added to the Morning *Pſalm*, and three *Pſalms* at leaſt were read in this as well as in all other Offices; and that is the Reaſon why we meet with but one *Pſalm* in the Order for Morning Service in the *Conſtitutions*, and three in others, which were of latter Appointment. *Caſſian* himſelf, who gives the beſt account of theſe Things of any other Writer, plainly favours this Obſervation: For he tells us in one Place [y] that the *Egyptians* never admitted of any Morning Office diſtinct from their Nocturnal Vigils, nor of any other Times of publick Worſhip beſides the Evening Hours and Nocturnal Aſſemblies, except on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, when they met alſo at the third Hour, that is, at nine in the Morning, to celebrate the Communion on thoſe Days.

[r] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 407. [ſ] Smith *of the Greek Church*, p. 224. [t] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 3. cap. 3. In Palæſtinæ & Meſopotamiæ Monaſteris ac totius Orientis ſupradictarum Horarum Solennitates tribus Pſalmis quotidie finiuntur. [u] Id. lib. 3. cap. 6. Quinquageſimum vero Pſalmum & Sexageſimum ſecundum & Octogeſimum nonum huic novellæ Solennitati novimus fuiſſe deputatus. [u] Caſſian. ibid. Denique per Italiam hodieque conſummatis matutinalibus Hymnis Quinquageſimus Pſalmus in univerſis Eccleſiis canitur. [x] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. T. 3. p. 96. ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης —— πάντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρεσι τῷ κυρίῳ. [*] *See below n.* 10. *of this Chapter.* [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ix. *n.* 4, *and* 10. [y] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib. 3. cap. 2. Apud illos hæc Officia, quæ Domino ſolvere per diſtinctiones Horarum & temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulſoris agimur, per totum diei ſpacium jugitur cum operis adjectione ſpontanea celebrantur. —— Quamobrem exceptis Veſpertinis Horis ac Nocturnis Congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica ſolennitas abſque die Sabbati vel Dominica celebratur, in quibus hora tertia ſacræ Communionis obtentu conveniunt.

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All other Times they ſpent in labouring privately in their Cells, joining continual Meditation of the *Pſalms* and other Scriptures with their Labour, and mingling ſhort Prayers and Ejaculations with them; ſo making the whole Day but one continued Office of Devotion, which others performed by Intervals of Time, and Diſtinction of ſtated Hours of Prayer. In another place [z] he tells us, that they who firſt brought in this new Morning Office, diſtinct from the Nocturnal, did not diminiſh ought of the antient Pſalmody from the Nocturnal Service; for they continued ſtill to conclude their Vigils before break of Day with the ſame *Pſalms* as they were uſed to do before; that is, with *Pſalms* cxlviii, cxlix, cl; only they ſet a-part the *Pſalms* li, lxiii, and xc, for this new Office of Morning Service. From all which it ſeems very probable, that according to the difference of Times and Places, the number of *Pſalms* for the Morning Service might vary, ſince there were ſuch different Methods in the Obſervation of this Solemnity, and an old and a new Office, that both went by the Name of Morning Service.

SECT. XI. *The Original of* Antelucan *and Night Aſſemblies in Times of Perſecution.*

HAVING thus far deſcribed the Order of the old Morning Service, as it lies in the *Conſtitutions*; and hinted, that the Morning Aſſemblies were originally the very ſame with the *Nocturnal* or *Antelucan* Meetings for Divine Service, which we ſo often read of in antient Writers: For the farther Illuſtration of this Part of the Chriſtian Worſhip, it will be proper to enquire a little more narrowly into the Nature and Management of them from their firſt Original; which is known to have had its Riſe from the Severity of the Heathen Perſecutions. For the Chriſtians being afraid to meet publickly on the Lord's Day for Divine Worſhip, were forced to hold their Aſſemblies in the Night, meeting early in the Morning before Day, to avoid the Obſervation of their Enemies. This appears from that early Account of *Pliny*, which he had from the Mouths of ſome apoſtatizing Chriſtians, who confeſſed to him, [a] that the ſum of their Crime or Error was, that they were uſed to meet tother on a certain Day before it was light, and ſing an Hymn to Chriſt, as to their God. Hence it is, that the Heathen in *Minucius* more than once [b] objects to them their Night Aſſemblies, and calls them a ſculking Generation, that fled from the Light, being mute in publick, but free in Diſcourſe with one another, when they were got into their private Corners. *Celſus* [c] ſeems to mean the ſame thing, when he objects to them their holding of clancular Meetings, συνόδους κρύβδην. And *Tertullian*, to ſhew Chriſtian Women the Inconvenience of marrying Heathens, puts them in mind of theſe Night-Aſſemblies: What Husband, ſays he [d], will be willing to ſuffer his Wife to riſe from his Side, and go to the Night-Aſſemblies? And *Prudentius* deſcribing the Martyrdom of St. *Laurence*, introduces the Heathen Judge [e] telling him, that he had heard, how they ſacrificed in Silver, and had their Wax-lights ſet in Gold for the Uſe of their Night-Aſſemblies. And this was the true Original of Lamps, and Oyl, and Tapers for the Uſe of ſuch Meetings in time of Perſecution.

SECT. XII. *Theſe continu'd when the Perſecutions were over.*

NOW, though it was Neceſſity which firſt gave Riſe to theſe Aſſemblies; yet the Church in After-ages thought fit to continue them (transferring them from the Lord's Day to all other Days) partly to keep up the Spirit of Devotion in the Aſceticks, or ſuch as had betaken themſelves to a ſtricter Life; partly to give Leiſure and Opportunity to Men of a ſecular Life to obſerve a ſeaſonable time of Devotion, which they might do early in the Morning without any Diſtraction; and partly to guard her Children againſt the Temptations and Seduction of the *Arian* Sect, who with great Zeal endeavoured to promote their Hereſy by their Pſalmody in ſuch Meetings, as appears from what *Socrates* [f] and *Sozomen* [g] ſay of them, and what *Sidonius Apollinaris* particularly notes [h] of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, that he was ſo eager a Promoter of the *Arian* Cauſe, that in his Zeal for them he frequented their Morning Aſſemblies before Day, with a ſmall Guard attending him. Now the *Catholicks* having ſo many Reaſons to keep up theſe Aſſemblies, not only continued them, but with great Zeal encouraged them in their Diſcourſes. St. *Chryſoſtom* [i] commends the Widows and Virgins for frequenting the Church Night and Day, and ſinging *Pſalms* in theſe Aſſemblies. He ſays, Men ought [k] to come to the Sanctuary in the Night, and pour out their Prayers there. In another place

[z] Caſſ. lib. 3. cap. 6. Illud quoque noſſe debemus, nihil à ſenioribus noſtris, qui eandem Matutinam Solennitatem addi debere cenſuerunt, de antiqua Pſalmorum conſuetudine immutatum: Sed eodem ordine Miſſam, quo prius in Nocturnis conventibus celebratam. Etenim Hymnos, quos in hac regione ad matutinam excepere Solennitatem, in fine nocturnarum Vigiliarum, quas poſt gallorum cantum ante auroram finire ſolent, ſimiliter hodieque decantant, id eſt, Pſalmum 148. & reliquos qui ſequuntur: Quinquageſimum vero Pſalmum, & ſexageſimum ſecundum, & octogeſimum nonum huic novellæ ſolennitati novimus fuiſſe deputatos. [a] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Affirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato Die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem. [b] Minuc. de Idol. Vanit. p. 25. Nocturnis Congregationibus —— fæderantur, latebroſa & lucifugax Natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula. It. p. 27. Occultis ac Nocturnis ſacris appoſita ſuſpicio. [c] Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 4. [d] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 4. Quis nocturnis Convocationibus, ſi ita oportuerit, à latere ſuo eximi libenter feret? It. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. [e] Prudent. Hymn. 2. de Laurentio. Argenteis Scyphis ferunt fumare ſacrum ſanguinem, auroque nocturnis ſacris adſtare fixos Cereos. [f] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. [g] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8. [h] Sidon. lib. Ep. 2. Antelucanos ſacerdotum ſuorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 30. in 1 Cor. p. 591. [k] Chryſ. Com. in Pſal. 133. T. 3. p. 488.

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ſpeaking of the Excellency of the City of *Antioch*, he ſays, it conſiſted not in its fine Buildings or Pillars, but in the Morals of the Men. Go into the Church [*l*], and there ſee the Excellency of the City. Go into the Church, and ſee the Poor continuing there from Midnight to the Morning Light. And it is remarkable what *Socrates* [*m*] ſays of him, when he was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that he made additional Prayers for the nocturnal Hymns, on purpoſe to countermine the Practice of the *Arians*. But I muſt not ſtand to repeat all that is ſaid of theſe famous Morning-Aſſemblies: For there is ſcarce an Eccleſiaſtical Writer [*n*] that has not given ſome hint of them, which I need not recite, but rather go on to ſhew what were the chief Exerciſes of theſe Meetings, which uſually began ſoon after Midnight, and continued to the Morning Light.

SECT XIII. *The Order of Divine Service which was performed in them, as deſcribed by St.* Baſil.

ST. *Baſil* in one of his Epiſtles gives us a pretty clear Deſcription of them, though but in general Terms, whilſt he makes an Apology for the Practices of his own Church, againſt ſome who charged them with Innovation. His Words are theſe: The Cuſtoms, ſays he, which now prevail among us [*o*], are conſonant and agreeable to all the Churches of God. For with us the People riſing early whilſt it is Night, come to the Houſe of Prayer, and there with much Labour and Affliction and Contrition and Tears make Confeſſion of their Sins to God. When this is done, they riſe from Prayers, and diſpoſe themſelves to Pſalmody: Sometimes dividing themſelves into two Parts, they anſwer one another in Singing, or ſing alternately, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις: After this again they permit one alone to begin the *Pſalm*, and the reſt join in the Cloſe of every Verſe, ὑπηχοῦσι. And thus with this Variety of Pſalmody they carry on the Night, praying betwixt whiles, or intermingling Prayers with their Pſalms, μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι. At laſt, when the Day begins to break forth, they all in Common, as with one Mouth and one Heart, offer up to God the *Pſalm* of Confeſſion, τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀναφέρουσι, every one making the Words of this Pſalm to be the Expreſſion of his own Repentance. Here we have the plain Order of theſe Nocturnal or Morning Devotions. 1. Confeſſion of Sins. 2. *Pſalms* ſung alternately. 3. *Pſalms* ſung by one alone. 4. Prayers between the *Pſalms*. 5. *Laſtly*, The common *Pſalm* of Confeſſion, or the Penitential *Pſalm* in the Cloſe of all. Whether the firſt Confeſſion of Sins was a publick or private one, is not very certain: Some learned Perſons [*p*] take it for a publick Confeſſion, like that in the beginning of our *Liturgy*: But I rather think it was a private Confeſſion, with which we are ſure their Offices generally began, as appears from a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*q*], where it is called the ſilent Prayer, εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς, of which I have given a fuller Account in the Communion Service [*]. The latter Confeſſion was plainly a publick one, made by a certain Form, being no other but the fifty firſt *Pſalm*, *Have Mercy on me, O God, after thy great Goodneſs: According to the Multitude of thy Mercies do away mine Offences.* For this Pſalm was particularly noted among the Ancients by the Name of the *Pſalm* of Confeſſion. *Athanaſius* gives it [*r*] this Title, telling us that the fiftieth *Pſalm* (which is the fifty firſt in our Diviſion) is ψαλμὸς ἐξομολογήσεως, the *Pſalm of Confeſſion*. And what farther confirms this Interpretation, is, that this very *Pſalm* by Name is appointed to be uſed in the Cloſe of the *Mattins* or Morning Service, which the *Weſtern* Churches introduced as diſtinct from the Nocturnal Service, as *Caſſian* [*s*] relates, who was an Eye-witneſs of it. *See before*, n. 10.

SECT. XIV. *The account of them out of* Caſſian.

WHAT Number of Pſalms or Prayers was uſed in this Service, is not particularly noted by St. *Baſil*; nor perhaps was it ſtinted to any certain Number, but according as the length of the Pſalms or Time required. But in the *Egyptian* Churches they reduced it to the preciſe Number of twelve Pſalms, from whence ſome other Churches afterwards took their Model, as *Caſſian* informs us [*t*], who ſays, that in other Regions there were different Rules and Appointments: For ſome recited no leſs than twenty Pſalms, and theſe by way of Antiphonal or alternate Melody; others exceeded this Number; others had eighteen; ſo that there were almoſt as many Ways and Rules, as there were Monaſteries and Cells. Nay in *Egypt*, before the Rule was ſettled, ſome were for having [*u*] fifty, ſome ſixty Pſalms: But at laſt upon mature Advice, they fixed upon [*x*] the certain Number of twelve Pſalms both for their Evening and Morning Service, interpoſing a Prayer between each *Pſalm*, and adding two Leſſons, one out of the *Old Teſtament*, and the other out of the *New*: Which was their Cuſtom on all Days, except *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, when they repeated them both out of the *New Teſtament*, the one out of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles or the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and the other out of the Goſpels, as they did alſo for the whole Term of fifty Days be-

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. de Verbis Eſaiæ. T. 3. p. 865. [*m*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 7. ἤυξησε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς περὶ τοὺς νυκτερεινοὺς ὕμνους εὐχάς. [*n*] Vid. Epiphan. in fine Panarii. Hieronym. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Hilar. in Pſal. 64. p. 231. [*o*] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. T. 3. p. 96. [*p*] Hamon. Leſtrange, *Alliance of Divin. Offic.* cap. 3. p. 75. [*q*] Conc. Laodicen. Can. 19. [*] *See Book* XV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 1. [*r*] Athan. Ep. ad Marcellinum. de Interpr. Pſalmor. T. 1. p. 975. [*s*] Caſſian. Inſtitut. lib 3. cap. 6. [*t*] Caſſian. lib. 2. cap. 2. Quidam vicenos Pſalmos, & hos ipſos Antiphonarum protelatos melodiis, & adjunctione quarundam Modulationum debere dici ſingulis noctibus cenſuerunt, &c. [*u*] Caſſ. ibid. cap. 5. [*x*] Id. cap. 6.

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tween *Eaſter*, and *Whitſontide*. He adds farther, That they did not uſe the Alternate way of Singing in *Egypt*, but only one amongſt them ſung with a plain and even Voice, the reſt ſitting by, and attending to what was ſaid. Neither did they anſwer, *Glory be to the* [*y*] *Father*, *and to the Son*, *and to the Holy Ghoſt*, at the End of every Pſalm, but interpoſed a Prayer (which was the Cuſtom of all the *Eaſt*) and then at the End of the laſt *Pſalm*, which they called the *Allelujah*, they ſubjoined the Glorification of the Trinity, which they never uſed but at the End of that *Antiphona*, as they called the *Allelujah* in the *Eaſtern* Church. When the *Pſalms* were very long, they ſometimes divided them into two or three Parts, and at the End of every Part made a Stop to interpoſe a Prayer [*z*], thinking it better to uſe frequent and ſhort Prayers to keep up the Fervour of the Devotion. It does not appear, that theſe were publick Prayers, but rather private, at the End of which the chief Miniſter officiating, is ſaid, *colligere Precem*, to make a Collect or Prayer, recapitulating the Prayers that were made before by the Aſſembly in private; of which I ſhall have Occaſion to give a fuller Account in another place. *See Book* XV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 1. It is noted farther by *Caſſian* [*a*] concerning the laſt of their *Pſalms*, called the *Antiphona* or *Allelujah*, that no *Pſalm* was ever uſed in this place but only one of thoſe which had the Inſcription of *Allelujah* prefixed in the Title of it, ſuch as the cxlvth, and thoſe that follow, one of which was commonly the concluding *Pſalm*, repeated by way of *Antiphona* or Reſponſes. It was ſomething particular in the manner of performing this Pſalmody in thoſe *Egyptian* Monaſteries, that he that ſung the *Pſalms*, only ſtood up, but the reſt heard them ſitting: Which *Caſſian* [*b*] obſerves to be Matter of Indulgence, in regard to their continual Watchings and hard Labour. And it was no leſs peculiar, that never above four Perſons were allowed to repeat the twelve *Pſalms* in one Aſſembly, and that by Courſe, every one ſinging three in order after one another. Or if there were but three, then each ſung four *Pſalms*; and if but two, each of them ſung ſix.

SECT XV. *This Morning Service much frequented by the Laity of all ſorts.*

AND thus far of the Nocturnal Pſalmody, which was the old Morning Service of the Church. I only add, that though this Service was very early in the Morning, yet it was frequented, not by the Clergy and Monks only, but by the People alſo. For, as we have ſeen before, St. *Baſil* takes notice, that the People came to Church to celebrate theſe Morning Devotions; and *Sidonius* has told us alſo, that *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, was a conſtant Obſerver of them: So here it is alſo remarked by *Caſſian* [*c*], that this Part of the Church's Devotions was with great Exactneſs obſerved by many ſecular Men, who riſing early before Day, would not engage themſelves in any of their moſt neceſſary and ordinary worldly Buſineſs, before they had conſecrated the Firſt-fruits of all their Actions and Labours to God, by going to Church, and preſenting themſelves in the Divine Preſence. A worthy Example, fit to be recorded in Letters of Gold, to excite the Emulation of the preſent Age, wherein the daily Worſhip of God at religious Aſſemblies is ſo little frequented, and by many ſo much deſpiſed; though the ſame Service with that of the Ancients for Subſtance is ſtill retained, with ſome Improvements, and none of the Corruptions which the Superſtition of darker Ages brought into the Devotions of the Church; as any one may ſatisfy himſelf, that will compare what has been delivered in this Chapter with the daily Service of our Church.

[*y*] Caſſian. lib. 2. cap. 8. Illud etiam quod in hac Provincia (Gallia) vidimus, ut uno cantante, in clauſula Pſalmi omnes aſtantes concinant cum clamore; Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto; nuſquam per omnem Orientem audivimus; ſed cum omnium ſilentio, ab eo qui cantat finito Pſalmo, Orationem ſuccedere: Hanc vero Glorificationem Trinitatis tantummodo ſolere Antiphona terminari. *leg.* Antiphonam terminare. *Vel ut legit* Mabillon. Glorificatione, &c. Antiphona terminari. [*z*] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 11. Ne Pſalmos quidem ipſos, quos in Congregationibus decantant, continuata ſtudent pronunciatione concludere: Sed eos pro numero verſuum duabus vel tribus interceſſionibus cum Orationum interjectione diviſos diſtinctim particulatimque conſummant. [*a*] Caſſian. ibid. Illud quoque apud eos omni obſervantia cuſtoditur, ut in Reſponſione Allelujæ nullus dicatur Pſalmus, niſi is, qui in Titulo ſuo Allelujæ Inſcriptione prænotatur. [*b*] Id. lib. 2. cap. 11, & 12. [*c*] Caſſian. Collation. 21. cap. 26. Quod Devotionis genus multi etiam Sæcularium ſumma cautione cuſtodiunt, qui ante lucem vel diluculo conſurgentes, nequaquam familiaribus ac neceſſariis mundi hujus actibus implicantur, priuſquam cunctorum actuum ſuorum operationumque Primitias, ad Eccleſiam concurrentes, divino ſtudeant conſecrare conſpectui. 5

CHAP. XI.

The Order of their Daily Evening Service.

SECT. I. *The Evening Service in moſt Things conformed to that of the Morning.*

THE Evening Service, which was called the *Hora Lucernaris*, becauſe it began at the Time of lighting Candles towards the Cloſe of the Day, was in moſt Parts the ſame with that of the Morning, only with ſuch Variation of *Pſalms*, and Hymns, and Prayers, as were proper to the Occaſion. The Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Candidates of Baptiſm, and Penitents, were all the ſame; ſo were the Prayers for the Faithful or Communicants, called the *Prayers for the Peace of the World*, and *the whole State of the Catholick Church*, which are deſcribed at large in the following Books, to which the Reader may have Recourſe.

SECT. II. *But they differed, firſt, in that a proper* Pſalm *was appointed for the Evening, called the* Evening Pſalm *by the Author of the* Conſtitutions.

THE firſt Thing wherein they differed was, the *Initial Pſalm:* For as the Morning Service began with the lxiiid *Pſalm*, ſo the Evening Service is appointed to begin with the cxlth *Pſalm*, which we reckon the cxliſt. *Lord, I call upon Thee, haſte Thee unto me, and conſider my Voice when I cry unto Thee. Let my Prayer be ſet forth in thy Sight as the Incenſe, and let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice*, &c. This *Pſalm* the Author of the *Conſtitutions* calls Emphatically τὸ ἐπλύχνιον ψαλμὸν [*a*], the Evening *Pſalm*, in the place where he deſcribes the Order of this Service. And though he does not in that place either name the *Pſalm*, or mention any Words in it; yet he infallibly means the *Pſalm* now ſpoken of, becauſe in another place [*b*] he expreſly calls it the cxlth *Pſalm*, requiring it to be uſed in publick Aſſemblies at the daily Evening Service.

SECT. III. *This* Pſalm *mentioned under the ſame Denomination by* Chryſoſtom, *and other Writers.*

AND that which puts the Matter beyond all Diſpute, is, That *Chryſoſtom* in his *Comment* upon this *Pſalm* takes notice of the Uſe of it in the Church upon this particular Occaſion. Hearken diligently, ſays he [*c*], for it was not without Reaſon that our Fathers appointed this *Pſalm* to be ſaid every Evening; not barely for the Sake of that ſingle Expreſſion, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice:* For other Pſalms have Expreſſions of the ſame nature, as that which ſays, *At Evening, and Morning, and Noon-Day, will I ſhew forth thy Praiſe:* And again, *The Day is thine, and the Night is Thine:* And again, *Weeping may endure for a Night, but Joy cometh in the Morning:* And many other ſuch like *Pſalms* may one find, that are proper for the Evening Seaſon. Therefore our Fathers did not order this *Pſalm* to be ſaid upon the Account of this Expreſſion, but they appointed the Reading of it, as a ſort of ſalutary Medicine to cleanſe us from Sin; that whatever Defilement we may have contracted throughout the whole Day, either Abroad, in the Market, or at Home, or in whatſoever Place, when the Evening comes, we might put it all off by this ſpiritual Charm, or Song, which is a Medicine to purge away all ſuch Corruption.

SECT. IV. Secondly, *Proper Prayers for Evening Service.*

AFTER this *Pſalm* was ended, there followed the ſame Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Penitents, and Common Prayers for the World and the Church, that there were uſed in the Morning Service: But after them the Deacon bid the People pray in a certain Form proper for the Evening, which the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*d*] ſtiles προσφώνησις ἐπλύχνιος, the Evening Bidding Prayer, and it runs in theſe Words: *Let us pray to the Lord for his Mercies and Compaſſions; and intreat him to ſend us the Angel of Peace, and all good Things convenient for us, and that he would grant us to make a Chriſtian End. Let us pray, That this Evening and Night may paſs in Peace, and without Sin, and all the Time of our Life unblameable and without Rebuke. Let us commend our ſelves and one another to the Living God through his Chriſt.*

This ſaid, the Biſhop, if preſent, made this Commendatory Collect, which is there ſtiled ἐπλύχνιος εὐχαριστία, the *Evening Thankſgiving*, and is conceived in the following Words: *O God, who art without Beginning, and without End, the Maker and Governour of all Things through Chriſt, the God and Father of Him before all things, the Lord of the Spirit, and King of all Things both Intellectual and Senſible; that haſt made the Day for Works of Light, and the Night to give Reſt to our Weakneſs: For the Day is Thine, and the Night is Thine; Thou haſt prepared the Light and the Sun; Do Thou now, moſt Kind and Gracious Lord, receive this our Evening Thankſgiving. Thou that haſt led us through the Length of the Day, and brought us to the Beginning of the Night, keep and preſerve us by thy Chriſt; Grant that we may paſs this Evening in Peace, and this Night without Sin; and vouchſafe to bring us to eternal Life through Thy Chriſt; by whom be Glory, Honour and Adoration unto Thee in the Holy Spirit, World without End.* Amen.

After this, the Deacon bids the People, κλίνατε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ, bow down to receive the Benediction with Impoſition of Hands, and then

[*a*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 35. [*b*] Id. lib. 2. cap. 59. [*c*] Chryſ. Hom. in Pſal. cxl. t. 3. p. 544. [*d*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 36. [*e*] Ibid. cap. 37.

the

the Biſhop makes this following Prayer: *O God of our Fathers, and Lord of Mercy, that haſt created Man by thy Wiſdom a Rational Being, and of all thy Creatures upon Earth deareſt unto Thee, that haſt given him Dominion over the Earth, and haſt made us by thy Pleaſure to be Kings and Prieſts, the one to ſecure our Lives, and the other to preſerve thy lawful Worſhip: Be pleaſed now, O Lord Almighty, to bow down, and ſhew the Light of thy Countenance upon thy People, who bow the Neck of their Heart before Thee; and bleſs them by Chriſt, by whom Thou haſt enlightned us with the Light of Knowledge, and revealed thy ſelf unto us: With whom is due unto Thee and the Holy Ghoſt the Comforter, all worthy Adoration from every rational and holy Nature, World without End.* Amen.

There are two Expreſſions in theſe Prayers, which may ſeem a little unuſual to a modern Reader; one, where Prayer is made for the Angel of Peace; and the other, which ſtyles God the Father, Lord of the Spirit: But both theſe occur in the Morning Prayers for the Catechumens hereafter [*], where I ſhew out of *Chryſoſtom*, That Prayer for the Angel of Peace, was a common Petition in many of the known Forms of the Church: And for that other Expreſſion, which ſtyles the Father, Lord of the Spirit, which is an harſh way of ſpeaking, and looks like *Macedonianiſm*, as *Cotelerius* remarks upon it, I have ſhewed out of Biſhop *Bull*, that it may fairly be interpreted to a ſound and Catholick Senſe, from parallel Expreſſions in *Juſtin Martyr*. So that we need not condemn this Author as an *Arian* or *Macedonian* Heretick, only allowing him the Favour of a candid Interpretation.

To return therefore to the Prayers themſelves: The Deacon, after theſe Collects made by the Biſhop, diſmiſſes the People with the uſual Form, as in the Morning Service, πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Depart in Peace*. And this is the Concluſion of the Evening Service, according to our Author in this Place.

SECT. V. *Of the Evening Hyme.*

BUT in another Place [*f*] he ſpeaks alſo of an Evening Hymn, which he ſtyles εὐχὴ ἑσπερινὸς, an Evening Prayer or Thankſgiving, which is a ſort of *Doxology* to God, like that uſed before in the Morning Prayer. The Form is in theſe Words: *Praiſe the Lord, ye Servants, O praiſe the Name of the Lord. We praiſe Thee, we laud Thee, we bleſs Thee, for thy great Glory, O Lord and King, the Father of Chriſt the unſpotted Lamb, that taketh away the Sin of the World. All Praiſes and Hymns, and Glory, are juſtly rendered unto Thee our God and Father, by thy Son, in the moſt Holy Spirit for all Ages, World without End.* Amen. *Lord, now letteſt Thou thy Servant depart in Peace, according to thy Word: for mine Eyes have ſeen thy Salvation, which Thou haſt prepared before the Face of all People; to be a Light to lighten the* Gentiles, *and to be the Glory of thy People* Iſrael.

It is not here ſaid, whether this Hymn was for publick or private Uſe. However, that there were ſuch ſort of Hymns in uſe among the Ancients at the firſt bringing in of Candles in the Evening, is evident from St. *Baſil*, who mentions one Part of ſuch an Hymn, which he ſtiles ἐπιλύχνιον εὐχαριστία, the Thankſgiving at ſetting up Lights. It ſeemed good, ſays he, to our Forefathers [*g*] not to receive the Gift of the Evening Light altogether with Silence, but to give Thanks immediately upon its Appearance. We cannot certainly tell, who was the firſt Author of that Thankſgiving at ſetting up Lights: But this we are ſure of, that the People have of old uſed this Form of Words (and no one ever charged them with Impiety for ſo doing) Αἰνοῦμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, We praiſe the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit of God.

Biſhop *Uſher* [*h*] and Dr. *Smith* [*i*] have given us an antient Form of this Kind more at large, out of the *Alexandrian* Manuſcript of the *Septuagint*, and ſome other antient Copies of the *Pſalter* in *Greek*, which it may not be improper to inſert in this Place. It goes in ſome Books under the Title of ὕμνος ἑσπερινὸς, the *Evening Hymn*; and in others it is call'd ὕμνος ἐπὶ λυχνικοῦ, the *Hymn ſaid at ſetting up Lights*. We cannot certainly ſay this is the ſame that St. *Baſil* refers to, but all that St. *Baſil* mentions out of that antient Hymn, is now found in this; which makes it probable that they are the very ſame. It is as follows: [*k*] *O Jeſus Chriſt, Thou joyful Light of the Sacred Glory of the Immortal, Heavenly, Holy, Bleſſed Father! We now being come to the ſetting of the Sun, and ſeeing the Evening Light, do laud and praiſe the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit of God.* Or, *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, that is God.*) *Thou art worthy to have Hymns at all Times ſung unto thee with holy Voices, O Son of God, that giveſt Life. Therefore the World glorifies thee.* Biſhop *Uſher*, by Miſtake, ſays this Hymn was the ſame as the ψαλμὸς ἐπιλύχνιος, the Evening Pſalm mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, Lib. 8. cap. 35. Whereas indeed that Evening Pſalm was quite another Thing from this Evening Hymn; that being one of *David's Pſalms*, as I ſhewed before out of *Chryſoſtom* and the *Conſtitutions* themſelves; and this an Hymn of human Compoſition. Neither is it the ſame Form with the Evening Hymn related before out of the *Conſtitutions*, but ſeems more likely to be that mentioned by St. *Baſil*, which I conceive was not a Form for publick, but only private Devotion, to be uſed at Home by all Chriſtians, as a pious Ejaculation or Hymn

[*] *Book* XIV. *Chap.* v. *n.* 3.
[*f*] Conſtit. lib. 7. cap. 48.
[*g*] Baſil. de Spir. ſancto. cap. 29.
[*h*] Uſſerii Diatriba de ſymbolis. p. 35.
[*i*] Smith's *Account of the* Greek *Church*. p. 302.
[*k*] Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου πατρὸς, ἐφανίς, ἁγίου, μάκαρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλίου δύσιν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινὸν, ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. (al. Θεὸν) ἄξιόν σε ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ὁσίαις, υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν διδοὺς. διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

to Christ, *the true Light that enlightens every Man that comes into the World.* But I only offer this as a Conjecture, because I find not this Hymn mentioned as inserted into the publick Offices, either by the Author of the *Constitutions*, or St. *Basil*, or any other.

SECT. VI. *Whether there were any Hymns, or Psalms, or Lessons read in the Evening Service besides the* cxliſt Psalm.

BUT then it may be asked, Were there no Hymns used in the Evening Service? Were there no Lessons read, nor *Psalms*, besides that called the *Evening Psalm*, sung in the Church? I answer, No doubt there were in many Churches: For the Customs of Churches varied in this Matter; and though the Author of the *Constitutions* mentions them not in the Rituals of the Churches he describes, yet other Accounts do. For *Cassian* [*l*] describing the customary Service of the *Egyptian* Monasteries, says, they sung Twelve *Psalms* every Morning and Evening in their solemn Meetings, and had two Lessons read, one out of the *Old Testament*, and the other out of the *New*, and had Prayers also between the *Psalms*; and sung the *Gloria Patri* at the End of the last *Psalm*. St. *Jerom* confirms this Account, and adds, that they had a Sermon made by the Abbot (who was always a Presbyter) every Day after Evening Prayer. For thus he describes their Evening Devotions: At nine a-Clock they meet together, then the Psalms are sung, and the Scriptures [*m*] are read; and Prayers being ended, they all sit down, and one among them, whom they call their Father, begins to discourse to them, whom they hear with the profoundest Silence and Veneration. But it may be said, This perhaps was only the Custom of the Monasteries, and not of the Churches. In answer to which *Epiphanius* [*n*] assures us, it was the Custom of the Church to have Psalms and Hymns continually both at Morning and Evening Prayer. St. *Austin* also mentions Hymns [*o*] as well as Prayers at Evening Service; which implies, that they had more Psalms than one sung upon that Occasion. St. *Hilary* upon those Words of the *Psalmist*, *The Out-goings of the Morning and Evening shall praise thee*; shews the same, when he says, The Progression of the Church to her Morning and Evening Hymns with Delight, is a great Sign of God's Mercy. The Day [*p*] is begun with Prayers, and the Day is closed with Hymns to God. St. *Hilary* himself is said to be the Author of some of those Hymns, and St. *Ambrose* of others, which were of publick Use in the Church: And though some would have rejected them, because they were only of human Composure, and not to be found in Scripture, yet the fourth Council of *Toledo* [*q*] ordered them to be retained in the publick Service of the Church, together with the Hymns, *Glory be to the Father*, and *Glory be to God on High*, which were likewise of human Composition. For the *Eastern* Churches, the like is said by *Chrysostom* [*r*], That they had Hymns at Night in their Evening Prayer, as well as Morning. In the *Gallican* Churches they had, besides their Collects and Prayers, both Hymns and *Antiphona's*, or Chapters, as they called them, collected out of the *Psalms*, to be said by way of Responses, as appears from the Council of *Agde* [*s*]. And the second Council of *Tours* orders, That at Evening Prayer, which they call the twelfth Hour of Prayer, Twelve Psalms should [*t*] be sung, answerable to the Order of Morning Service, which had Twelve Psalms, as the sixth Hour of Prayer had six Psalms, with the additional Psalm called the *Allelujah*. From all which it is apparent, that a considerable Number of Psalms and Hymns were used together with the Prayers, to make up the daily Course of Evening, as well as Morning Service in many Churches.

SECT. VII. *The Lord's Prayer used in some Churches as the Conclusion of the daily, both Morning and Evening Service.*

AND in some Churches the Lord's Prayer was always made a Part of the daily Worship both Morning and Evening. For the Council of *Girone* [*u*] made a general Decree for the *Spanish* Churches, That the Lord's Prayer should constantly be used by every Priest at the Close of the Mattins and Vespers in the daily Service. It had always been used before on *Sundays* in the Communion-Office; but it being in the very Title and Tenour of it, *Quotidiana Oratio*, a Quotidian or Daily Prayer, they thought it proper to make it a standing Part of their daily Offices. And when some Priests neglected to obey this Order, and still confined the Use of it to the Lord's Day, the fourth Council of

[*l*] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 6. Exin venerabilis Patrum senatus — decrevit hunc numerum (12 Psalmorum) tam in Vespertinis, quam in Nocturnis Conventiculis custodiri, quibus Lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris & aliam novi Testamenti, &c. vid. cap. 8. [*m*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustochium. cap. 15. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis Orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c. [*n*] Epiphan. Exposit. Fidei n. 23. p. 1106. Ἑωθινοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ δίνευκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἑωθιναὶ, λυχνικοί τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαὶ. [*o*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1485. Ad Vespertinos illuc Hymnos & Orationes cum ancillis suis & quibusdam sanctimonialibus ex more Domina possessionis intravit, atque Hymnos cantare ceperunt. [*p*] Hilar. in Psalm. 64. p. 231. Progressus Ecclesiæ in Matutinum (leg. Matutinorum) & Vespertinorum Hymnorum delectatione maximum misericordiæ Dei signum est. Dies in Orationibus Dei inchoatur, Dies Hymnis Dei clauditur. [*q*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. [*r*] Chrys. Hom. 18. in Act. p. 174. [*s*] Conc. Agathen. Can. 30. In conclusione Matutinarum vel Vespertinarum Missarum, post Hymnos, Capitella de Psalmis dici, & plebem, collecta oratione, ad Vesperam ab Episcopo cum Benedictione dimitti. [*t*] Conc. Turon. 2. Can. 19. Patrum Statuta præceperunt, ut ad Sextam Sex Psalmi dicantur cum Alleluja; & ad Duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluja. It. Can. 24. Et licet Ambrosianos habeamus Hymnos in Canone, &c. [*u*] Conc. Gerundense. Can. 10. Item nobis semper placuit observari, ut omnibus diebus post Matutinas & Vesperas Oratio Dominica à Sacerdote proferatur.

Toledo

Toledo [x] made a Decree, That all ſuch of the Clergy as contumaciouſly refuſed to uſe it daily both in their publick and private Offices, ſhould be degraded.

In the *French* Churches the Practice was the ſame. For by a Canon of the third Council of *Orleans* [y] the People are obliged to ſtay at Divine Service till the *Lord's Prayer* was ſaid; and if the Biſhop was preſent, to wait for him to pronounce the Benediction. Which ſhews that it was the Concluſion of the Prayers, ſince nothing came after but the Benediction. 'Tis true, the Word uſed for Divine Service in this Canon, is *Miſſa*: Which might ſeem to mean the Communion Service, where the *Lord's Prayer* was always uſed: But it has been ſhewed before, in the firſt Chapter of this Book, that *Miſſa* is a general Name for any Part of Divine Service; and in this Canon is particularly taken for the Morning and Evening Sacrifice of Prayers. For it immediately follows, that no one ſhould come to the Sacrifice of Morning or Evening Maſs, that is, Morning or Evening Prayers, with his Arms or Weapons, which only appertained to the Uſe of War. Beſides, that in the Communion Service, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the *Lord's Prayer* came always in the middle, and not, as here, in the Concluſion of the Service.

This is the Subſtance of what I have obſerved concerning the ſeveral Parts and Order of the daily Morning and Evening Service in the Writings of the Fathers and the Canons of the Councils, which are at preſent the chief Rituals of the antient Church: And I have been the more careful to ſeparate theſe Offices from the great Service of the Lord's Day, becauſe they are too often confounded in the Accounts of modern Authors. I now proceed to the Offices and Service of the Lord's Day, which muſt be the Subject of the two following Books.

[x] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 9. Nonnulli Sacerdotum in Hiſpaniis reperiuntur, qui Dominicam Orationem, quam Salvator noſter docuit & præcepit, non quotidie, ſed tantum Die Dominica dicant ——— Quiſquis ergo Sacerdotum, vel Subjacentium Clericorum, hanc Orationem Dominicam quotidie aut in publico aut in privato Officio præterierit, propter ſuperbiam judicatus, Ordinis ſui honore privetur. [y] Conc. Aurel. 3. Can. 28. De Miſſis nullus Laicorum ante diſcedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio. Et ſi Epiſcopus præſens fuerit, ejus Benedictio expectetur. Sacrificia vero Matutina (leg. Matutinarum) Miſſarum, vel Veſpertinarum, ne quis cum armis pertinentibus ad bellorum uſum, expetat.

ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

ORDINES ECCLESIASTICI:

OR THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XIV.

Of that Part of Divine Service which the Ancients comprized under the general Name of *Missa Catechumenorum*, The Service of the CATECHUMENS, or Ante-Communion Service.

CHAP. I.

Of the PSALMODY *of the antient Church.*

SECT. I. *That the Service of the antient Church usually began with Psalmody.*

IT has been observed before, That the Ancients comprized their whole Service under Two General Heads, to which they gave the distinguishing Names of *Missa Catechumenorum*, and *Missa Fidelium*, the Service of the Catechumens, and the Service of Communicants or Believers; that is, as we would now term them, The Ante-Communion Service, and the Communion Service. The Service of the Catechumens was that part of Divine Worship, at which the Catechumens, and all others who were not perfect and full Communicants, were allowed to be present; and it consisted of Psalmody, Reading the Scriptures, Preaching, and Prayers for such particular Orders of Men, as were not admitted to participate of the holy Mysteries: And under these several Heads we must now consider it.

The Service usually began with Reading or Singing of *Psalms*, as appears from that of St. *Jerom* [a], describing the Service of the *Egyptian* Monks: They meet at nine a-clock, and then the *Psalms* are sung, and the Scriptures are read, and after Prayers they all sit down, and the Father preaches a Sermon to them. And so *Cassian* represents it [b]: That first the *Psalms* were sung, and then followed two Lessons, one out of the *Old Testament*, and the other out of the *New*. Only on the Lord's Day and the fifty Days of *Pentecost*, and the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*, they read one Lesson out of the *Acts of the Apostles*, or the *Epistles*, and the other out of the *Gospels*. But probably there might be a Difference in the Order of Reading in different Churches. And that may reconcile the different Opinions of learned Men concerning the Order of their Service. For some think they began with Reading the Scriptures, and others with a Prayer of Confession. The Author of the *Constitutions*, it

[a] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. cap. 15. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis Orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c. [b] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 6. Quibus (Psalmis) Lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris & aliam novi Testamenti, &c. In die vero Sabbati vel Dominico utrasque de novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo, vel Actibus Apostolorum, & aliam de Evangeliis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt

is certain, preſcribes [c] firſt the reading of the *Old Teſtament*, and then the *Pſalms*, and after that the *Acts of the Apoſtles* and *Epiſtles*, and laſt of all the *Goſpels*. So that the *Pſalms* were intermingled with the Leſſons, according to the Rules and Preſcriptions which that Author had obſerved in ſome Churches. St. *Baſil* [d] ſpeaks of a Confeſſion made to God upon their Knees, after which they roſe up, and betook themſelves to ſing *Pſalms* to God. But that was in their Vigils or Morning Prayers before Day, and moſt probably only a private Confeſſion, which every Man made ſilently by himſelf, before they began the publick Service. But if we take it for a publick Confeſſion, as the learned *Hamon Leſtrange* [e] does, then it will argue, That the *Eaſtern* Churches began their Morning *Antelucan* Service with a Prayer of Confeſſion, and ſo went on to their Pſalmody, which was the great Exerciſe and Entertainment of their Nocturnal Vigils. And indeed it was their Exerciſe at all Times in the Church, as St. *Auſtin* [f] notes, to fill up all Vacuities, when neither the Reading of the Scriptures, nor Preaching, nor Prayers, interpoſed to hinder them from it. All other Spaces were ſpent in ſinging of *Pſalms*, than which there could not be any Exerciſe more uſeful and edifying, or more holy and pious, in his Opinion. And upon this Account (if the Obſervation of *Leſtrange* be rightly made out [g] of *Chryſoſtom*) the People were uſed to entertain the Time with ſinging of *Pſalms*, before the Congregation was complete and fully aſſembled. I take no Notice here of their Pſalmody at other Times, at their Meals, at their Labours, and in their private Devotions: Becauſe, though this is frequently mentioned by the Ancients with great and large Encomiums, yet it differed in many reſpects from the common Pſalmody, and we can draw little Light or Argument from that to explain the publick Service.

SECT. II. *The* Pſalms *intermixed with Leſſons and Prayers in ſome Churches.*

As to the publick Pſalmody of the Church, though we take it for the firſt and leading Part of the Service, yet we are not ſo to underſtand it, as if it was all performed at once in one continued Courſe of Repeating many *Pſalms* together without Intermiſſion, but rather with ſome Reſpite, and a Mixture of other Parts of Divine Service, to make the whole more agreeable and delightful. At leaſt, it was apparently ſo in the Practice of ſome Churches. For the Council of *Laodicea* made a Decree [h], That the *Pſalms* ſhould not be ſung one immediately after another, but that a Leſſon ſhould come between every *Pſalm*. And St. *Auſtin* plainly intimates, that this was the Practice of his own Church. For in one of his *Homilies* [i] he takes notice firſt of the reading of the Epiſtle, then of ſinging the xcvth *Pſalm*, *O come let us worſhip, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker*, and after that of a Leſſon read out of the Goſpel. And in another *Homily* [k] he ſpeaks of them in the ſame Order. In the Leſſon out of the Epiſtle, ſays he, Thanks are given to God for the Faith of the Gentiles. In the *Pſalm* we ſaid, *Turn us again, Thou Lord God of Hoſts, ſhew the Light of thy Countenance, and we ſhall be whole.* In the Goſpel we were called to the Lord's Supper. By comparing theſe two places of St. *Auſtin* together, we may obſerve, that it was not any particular *Pſalm* that was appropriated to come between the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*, but the *Pſalm* that was in the ordinary Courſe of Reading. For the xcvth is mentioned in one Place, and the lxxxth *Pſalm* in the other. *Mabillon* has obſerved the ſame Practice in the *French* Churches, out of the Collation between the *Catholicks* and *Arians* in the Reign of *Gundobadus* King of *Burgundy*, *An.* 499. For in the Relation of that Conference [l] it is ſaid, That on the Vigil before the Day of Diſputation, in celebrating the Divine Offices, it happened that the firſt Leſſon that was out of the *Pentateuch*, had thoſe Words, *I will harden* Pharaoh's *Heart*, &c. After which the *Pſalms* were ſung, and then another Leſſon was read out of *Iſaiah*, in which were theſe Words, *Go and tell this People, Hearing ye ſhall hear, and ſhall not underſtand.* After the *Pſalms* were ſung again, another Leſſon was read out of the *Goſpel*, wherein were thoſe Words of our Saviour upbraiding the *Jews* with their Infidelity, *Wo unto thee* Chorazin, *&c.* And laſt of all the *Epiſtle* was read, containing thoſe Words, *Deſpiſeſt thou the Riches of his Goodneſs*, &c. Where it is eaſy to obſerve, that as there were four Leſſons read out of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, ſo there were *Pſalms* ſung between each Leſſon, except the laſt which is not mentioned.

SECT. III. *Which Pſalms were called by a peculiar Name* Pſalmi Reſponſorii.

THESE *Pſalms* were ſtyled by a peculiar Name, *Reſponſoria*, and *Pſalmi Reſponſorii*, the Reſponſories; which was not a Name affixed to any particular Pſalms,

[c] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 57. lib. 5. cap. 19. [d] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. t. 3. p. 96. [e] Leſtrange, *Alliance of Div. Offic.* cap. 3. p. 75. [f] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. Quando non eſt tempus, cum in Eccleſia fratres congregantur, ſancta cantandi, niſi cum legitur, aut diſputatur, aut antiſtites clara voce deprecantur, aut communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicitur? [g] Leſtrange, *Alliance of Div. Offic.* cap. 3. p. 77. [h] Conc. Laodic. Can. 17. [i] Aug. Serm. 10. de Verbis Apoſtoli. p. 112. Hoc de Apoſtolica Lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus Pſalmum, exhortantes nos invicem una voce, una corde dicentes, Venite adoremus, &c. Poſthæc Evangelica Lectio decem leproſos mundatos nobis oſtendit. [k] Aug. Hom. 33. de Verb. Domini. p. 49. In Lectione Apoſtolica gratiæ aguntur Deo de fide gentium. In Pſalmo diximus, Deus virtutum converte nos, &c. In Evangelio ad cœnam vocati ſumus, &c. [l] Collat. &c. ap. Mabillon. de curſu Gallicano. p. 399. Evenit autem ut ea nocte, cum Lector ſecundum morem inciperet Lectionem à Moyſe, incidit in ea Verba Domini, Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, &c. Deinde cum poſt Pſalmos decantatos recitaret ex Prophetis, occurrerunt Verba Domini ad Eſaiam dicentis, Vade & dices populo huic Audite audientes, &c. Cumque adhuc Pſalmi fuiſſent decantati, & legeret ex Evangelio; incidit in Verba, quibus Salvator exprobrat Judæis Incredulitatem, Væ tibi Chorazin, &c. Denique cum Lectio fieret ex Apoſtolo, &c.

but

but was given to all ſuch as happened to fall in here, in the common courſe of Reading. The fourth Council of *Toledo* is to be underſtood of ſuch Pſalms, when it ſpeaks of Reſponſories [*m*], blaming ſome for neglecting to uſe the *Gloria Patri*, after them. And *Gregory Turonenſis* [*n*] often mentions them more expreſly under the Name of *Pſalmi Reſponſorii*, making it a Part of the Deacon's Office to repeat them. The antient Ritualiſts are not agreed about the Reaſon of the Name, why they were called *Reſponſoria*: Some ſaying [*o*] they were ſo called, becauſe one ſinging, the whole Quire did anſwer them: Whilſt others [*p*] ſay, they had their Name becauſe they anſwered to the Leſſons, being ſung immediately after them. Which ſeems to be the more likely Reaſon.

SECT. IV. *Some* Pſalms *appropriated to particular Services.*

BUT we are not to imagine, that theſe were the only *Pſalms* which the Ancients uſed in their Pſalmody. For ſome *Pſalms* were of conſtant Uſe in the Church, as being appropriated to particular Services. We have ſeen [*] before, that the lxiiid *Pſalm*, *O God, my God, early will I ſeek Thee*, was peculiarly ſtyled the *Morning Pſalm*, becauſe it was always ſung at Morning Service, as the xcvth *Pſalm* is now in our *Liturgy*. And the cxliſt *Pſalm*, *Let my Prayer be ſet forth in thy Sight as the Incenſe, and let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice*, was always ſung [†] at Evening Service. They had alſo ſome proper Pſalms adapted to the Nature of their Communion Service, and their Funeral Offices, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. And in the *French* Church, from the Time that *Muſæus* Presbyer of *Marſeilles* compoſed his *Lectionarium*, or Order of reading the *Pſalms* and Leſſons, at the Inſtance of *Venerius* his Biſhop, the Reſponſory Pſalms were all adapted to their proper Times and Leſſons, as *Gennadius* [*q*] informs us. And this, ſome learned Men [*r*] think, was at firſt peculiar to the *Gallican* Office, and a ſingular Uſage of the *French* Church. Which may be true as to the appropriating the ſeveral Pſalms to their proper Leſſons in the general Courſe of the Year: But it cannot be true, if it be meant only of particular and ſolemn Occaſions. For the Church had not only proper Leſſons, but proper Pſalms read upon greater Feſtivals, ſuitable to the Occaſion; and that long before the Time of *Muſæus*'s compoſing his *Kalendar* for the *Gallican* Church. For St. *Auſtin* [*s*] plainly informs us, that the xxiid *Pſalm*, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me*, &c. was always read upon the Day of our Saviour's Paſſion in the *African* Church, and he ſeems to intimate, that the *Donatiſts* did the ſame, though they were ſo ſtony-hearted as not to make a juſt Application of it. And there is little queſtion to be made, but that as they had proper Pſalms for this Occaſion, ſo they had for all the other ſolemn Feſtivals.

SECT. V. *Others ſung in the ordinary Courſe as they lay, without being appropriated to any Time or Day.*

THE other Pſalms were ſung in the ordinary Courſe of Reading from End to End, in the ſame Order as they lay in the Book, without being appropriated to any Times, or Leſſons, or Days, except thoſe particular *Pſalms*, which were appointed as proper for each Canonical Hour. *Caſſian* obſerves [*t*], That in *Egypt*, at the firſt Beginning of the Monaſtick Life, there were almoſt as many Types, Rules, or Orders about this Matter, as there were Monaſteries, ſome ſinging eighteen *Pſalms* immediately one after another, others twenty, and ſome more. But at laſt by common Conſent, the Number for Morning and Evening Service was reduced to twelve, which were read in one continued Courſe [*u*], without any Leſſons coming between them: For they had only two Leſſons, one out of the *Old Teſtament*, and the other out of the *New*, and thoſe read only when all the *Pſalms* were ended. He tells us alſo, That in ſome Places they ſung ſix *Pſalms* [*x*] every Canonical Hour, and ſome proportioned the Number of *Pſalms* to the Hour at which they met at their Devotions: So that at the third Hour they had only three *Pſalms*, but ſix at the Sixth, and nine at the ninth Hour; 'till upon more mature Deliberation they came at laſt to this Reſolution, to have only thee *Pſalms* at every diurnal Hour of Prayer [*y*], reſerving the greater Number of twelve for the more ſolemn Aſſemblies at Morning and Evening Prayer. Though the Cuſtom of conforming the Number of *Pſalms* to the Number of Hours continued in Uſe in ſome Parts of *France*, or elſe was taken up in the Time of the ſecond Council of *Tours*, *An.* 567, as appears from a ſingular Canon of that Council [*z*], which I have recited at large before in the laſt Book [‡].

SECT. VI. *And ſome Appointed occaſionally at the Diſcretion of the Biſhop or Precentor.*

BESIDES theſe, it was uſual for the Biſhop or Precentor to appoint any *Pſalm* to be ſung occaſionally in any Part of the Service at Diſcretion: As now

[*m*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 15. Sunt quidam qui in fine Reſponſoriorum, Gloria non dicunt, &c. [*n*] Greg. Turon. de Vitis Patrum. cap. 8. Diaconus Reſponſorium Pſalmum canere cœpit. It. Hiſt. Francor. lib. 8. cap. 3. Jubet Rex ut Diaconum noſtrum, qui ante diem ad Miſſas Pſalmum Reſponſorium dixerat, canere juberem. [*o*] Iſidor. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 8. [*p*] Rupert. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 15. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x. *n.* 1. [†] See *Book* XIII. *Chap.* xi. *n.* 2. [*q*] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Reſponſoria etiam Pſalmorum Capitula Tempori & Lectionibus congruentia excerpſit. [*r*] Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 218. [*s*] Aug. in Pſal. 21. in Præf. Serm. 2. p. 43. [*t*] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 2. [*u*] Caſſian. ibid cap. 4. Per univerſam Ægyptum & Thebaidem duodenarius Pſalmorum numerus tam Veſpertinis quam Nocturnis ſolennitatibus cuſtoditur, ita duntaxat ut poſt hunc numerum duæ Lectiones, Veteris ſcilicet ac novi Teſtamenti ſingulæ ſubſequantur. [*x*] Ibid. cap. 2. Sunt quibus in ipſis quoque Diurnis Orationum Officiis, id eſt, Tertia, Sexta, Nonaque id viſum eſt, ut ſecundum horarum modum, in quibus hæc Domino redduntur obſequia, Pſalmorum etiam & Orationum putarent numerum coæquandum: Nonnullis placuit ſenarium numerum ſingulis diei Conventibus deputari. [*y*] Caſſian. lib. 3. cap. 3. [*z*] Conc. Turon. 2. Can. 19. [‡] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ix. *n.* 9.

our Anthems in Cathedrals are left to the Choice of the Precentor, and the *Pſalms* in *Metre* to the Diſcretion of the Miniſter, to chuſe and appoint what *Pſalms* he pleaſes, and what Times he thinks moſt proper in Divine Service. Thus *Athanaſius* tells us he appointed his Deacon to ſing an Occaſional *Pſalm* [a] when his Church was beſet with the *Arian* Soldiers. And St. *Auſtin* [b] ſometimes ſpeaks of a particular *Pſalm*, which he ordered the Reader to repeat, intending himſelf to preach upon it: And it once happened, that the Reader miſtaking one of theſe *Pſalms*, read another in its Stead; which put St. *Auſtin* upon an *Extempore* Diſcourſe upon the *Pſalm* that was read by Miſtake to the People. And when we conſider that they ſometimes ſpent whole Days and Nights almoſt in Pſalmody; as when St. *Ambroſe*'s Church was beſet with the *Arian* Soldiers, the People within continued the whole Night and Day [c] in Singing of *Pſalms*; it will eaſily be imagined that at ſuch Times they did not ſing appropriated *Pſalms*, but entertained themſelves with ſuch as the Biſhop then occaſionally appointed, or left them at large to their own Choice, to ſing at Liberty and Diſcretion. Sometimes the Reader himſelf pitched upon a *Pſalm* as the Neceſſity of Affairs would allow him, or his own Diſcretion direct him. Thus St. *Auſtin* tells us in one of his *Homilies* [d], That he had preached upon a *Pſalm*, not which he appointed the Reader to ſing, but what God put into his Heart to read, which determined his Sermon to the Subject of Repentance, being the fifty firſt or *Penitential Pſalm*, which the Reader ſung of his own Accord, or rather as St. *Auſtin* words it, by God's Direction. *Sulpicius Severus* tells a remarkable Story to the ſame purpoſe in the Life of St. *Martin* [e]. He ſays, when St. *Martin* was to be elected Biſhop, one whoſe Name was *Defenſor* among the Biſhops, was a great Stickler againſt him. Now it happened, that in the Tumult, the Reader, whoſe Courſe it was to ſing the *Pſalm* that Day, could not come at his Place in due Time, and therefore another read the firſt *Pſalm* that he lighted upon when he opened the Book, which happened to be the viiith *Pſalm*, wherein were thoſe Words, *Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings Thou haſt perfected Praiſe, becauſe of thine Enemies, that thou mighteſt deſtroy the Enemy and Defenſor*, as the *Gallican* Verſion then read it, *Ut deſtruas inimicum & Defenſorem.* And this, though it ſeemingly were but a chance Thing, was looked upon as providential by the People, to overthrow the Machinations of *Defenſor*.

SECT. VII. *Prayers in ſome Places between every* Pſalm, *inſtead of a Leſſon.*

IN ſome Places, inſtead of Leſſons between every *Pſalm*, they allowed a ſhort Space for private Prayer to be made in Silence, and a ſhort Collect by the Miniſter, which *Caſſian* [f] ſays, was the ordinary Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Fathers. For they reckoned, that frequent ſhort Prayers were more uſeful [g] than long continued ones, both to ſollicit God more earneſtly by frequent Addreſſes, and to avoid the Temptations of Satan, drawing them into Laſſitude and Wearineſs, which was prevented by their ſuccinct Brevity. And therefore they divided the longer *Pſalms* into two or three Parts [h], interpoſing Prayers, between every Diſtinction.

SECT. VIII. *The* Gloria Patri *added at the End of every* Pſalm *in the* Weſtern, *but not in the* Eaſtern *Churches.*

IN all the *Weſtern* Churches, except the *Roman*, it was cuſtomary alſo at the End of every *Pſalm* for the Congregation to ſtand, and ſay, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt:* But in the *Eaſtern* Churches it was otherwiſe: For, as I have noted before [*] out of *Caſſian* [†], in all the *Eaſt* they never uſed this Glorification, but only at the End of the laſt *Pſalm*, which they called their *Antiphona* or *Allelujah*, which was one of thoſe *Pſalms* which had *Allelujah* prefixed to it, and which they repeated by way of *Antiphona* or Reſponſal, and then added, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.* But in the *Weſtern* Churches, he ſays, it was uſed at the End of every *Pſalm*. And ſo we are to underſtand thoſe Canons [i] of the Council of *Toledo*, which order, *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, to be ſaid at the End of the *Pſalms* and Reſponſories: But the Decretal of *Vigilius* [k], which orders the ſame at the End of the *Pſalms*, muſt be taken according to the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Church, to be uſed only at the Concluſion of all. Other Differences relating to the Uſe of this *Doxology* and its Original, ſhall be conſidered in the next Chapter in their proper Place.

SECT. IX. *The* Pſalms *ſometimes ſung by one Perſon only.*

AS to the Perſons concerned in this Service of ſinging the *Pſalms* publickly in the Church, we may conſider them in four different Reſpects, according to the different

[a] Athan. Apol. p. 2. 717. [b] Aug. in Pſal. 138. p. 650. Pſalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari à Lectore: Sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Malumus nos in errore Lectoris ſequi voluntatem Dei, quàm noſtram in noſtro Propoſito. Vid. Aug. Præfat. in Pſal. 31. [c] Ambroſ. Epiſt. 33. ad Marcellinam Sororem. [d] Aug. Hom. 27. ex 50. T. 10. p. 175. Proinde aliquid de Pœnitentiâ dicere divinitus jubemur. Neque enim nos iſtum Pſalmum cantandum Lectori imperavimus: Sed quod ille cenſuit vobis eſſe utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit. [e] Sulpic. Vit. Martin. cap. 7. p. 225. [f] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 5. Undecim Pſalmos orationum interjectione diſtinctos, &c. [g] Ibid. cap. 10. Utilius cenſent breves quidem Orationes, ſed creberrimas fieri, &c. [h] Ibid cap. 11. Et idcirco ne Pſalmos quidem ipſos, quos in Congregatione decantant, continuata ſtudent pronunciatione concludere: Sed eos pro numero verſuum duabus vel tribus interceſſionibus, cum orationum interjectione diviſos, diſtinctim particulatimque conſummant, &c. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x. *n.* 14. [†] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 8. Strabo de Reb. Eccleſ. cap. 25. [i] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 14, & 15. [k] Vigil. Ep. 1. ad Eutherum. cap. 2. In fine Pſalmorum ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dicatur, Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.

Ways

Ways of Pſalmody. 1. Sometimes the *Pſalms* were ſung by one Perſon alone, the reſt hearing only with Attention. 2 Sometimes they were ſung by the whole Aſſembly joining all together. 3. Sometimes alternately by the Congregation divided into diſtinct Quires, the one Part repeating on Verſe, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one Perſon repeated the firſt Part of the Verſe, and the reſt joyned all together in the Cloſe of it. The firſt of theſe Ways, *Caſſian* notes as the common Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Monaſteries. For he ſays, Except him [*l*] who roſe up to ſing, all the reſt ſat by on low Seats in Silence, giving Attention to him that ſang. And though ſometimes four ſang the twelve *Pſalms* in one Aſſembly, yet they did it not all together, but in Courſe one after another [*m*], each ſinging three *Pſalms*, and the reſt keeping Silence till the laſt *Pſalm*, which they all ſang by way of *Antiphona* or alternate Song, adding the *Gloria Patri* in the Cloſe.

SECT. X.
Sometimes by the whole Aſſembly joining all together.

SOMETIMES again the whole Aſſembly joined together, Men, Women and Children, united with one Mouth and one Mind in ſinging *Pſalms* and Praiſes to God. This was the moſt antient and general Practice, till the way of alternate Pſalmody was brought into the Church. Thus Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſung the Hymn at the laſt Supper, and thus *Paul* and *Silas* at Midnight ſung Praiſes unto God. *Bellarmin* [*n*] indeed, and ſome other Writers of the Romiſh Church, ſay, this Cuſtom was not in Uſe till the Time of St. *Ambroſe*: But they plainly miſtake the Introduction of the alternate way of ſinging Pſalms for this more antient way, which derives its Original from the Foundation of the Church. Thus St. *Hilary*, who lived before St. *Ambroſe*, takes Notice [*o*] that the People all prayed, and all ſang Hymns together. And St. *Chryſoſtom* comparing the Apoſtolical Times with his own, ſays [*p*], antiently they all met together, and all ſang in common. And ſo do we at this Day. And again [*q*], Women and Men, old Men and Children differ in Sex and Age, but they differ not in the Harmony of ſinging Hymns: For the Spirit tempers all their Voices together, making one Melody of them all. After the ſame manner St. *Auſtin* ſometimes [*r*] ſpeaks of ſinging the *Pſalms* between the Leſſons with united Voices, though before his time the way of alternate Pſalmody was become very common in all Parts of the Church.

SECT. XI.
Sometimes alternately, by the Congregation divided into two Parts.

THIS way of ſinging the *Pſalms* alternately was, when the Congregation dividing themſelves into two Parts, repeated the *Pſalms* by Courſes, Verſe for Verſe one after another, and not, as formerly, all together. As the other, for its common Conjunction of Voices, was properly called Symphony: So this, for its Diviſion into two Parts, and alternate Anſwers, was commonly called Antiphony, and ſometimes *Reſponſoria*, the ſinging by Reſponſals. This is plain from that noted *Iambick* [*s*] of *Gregory Nazianzen*, σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων ϛάσιν, where the Symphony denotes their Singing alternately Verſe for Verſe by Turns. *Socrates* [*t*] calls it ἀντίφωνον ὑμνωδίαν, the Antiphonal Hymnody; and St. *Ambroſe* [*u*] *Reſponſoria*, ſinging by way of Reſponſals. For, comparing the Church to the Sea, he ſays, from the Reſponſories of the *Pſalms*, and Singing of Men, Women, Virgins and Children, there reſults an harmonious Noiſe like the Waves of the Sea. He expreſly mentions Women in other Places [*x*], as allowed to ſing in Publick, though otherwiſe the Apoſtle had commanded them to keep Silence in the Church. St. *Auſtin* alſo frequently mentions [*y*] this way of Singing by Parts or alternately by Reſponſes: And he carries the Original of it in the *Weſtern* Church no higher than the Time of St. *Ambroſe*, when he was under the Perſecution of the *Arian* Empreſs *Juſtina*, Mother of the younger *Valentinian*; at which Time both he [*z*] and *Paulinus*, who writes [*a*] the Life of St. *Ambroſe*, tells us the way of Antiphonal Singing was firſt brought into the Church of *Milan*, in Imitation of the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Churches; and that from this Example it preſently ſpread all over the *Weſtern* Churches. What was the firſt Original of it in the *Eaſtern* Church, is not ſo certainly agreed upon by Writers either antient or modern. *Theodoret* ſays [*b*] that *Flavian* and *Diodorus* firſt brought in the way of ſinging *David*'s *Pſalms* alternately into the Church of *Antioch* in the Reign of *Conſtantius*. But *Socrates* [*c*] carries the Original of this way of Sing-

[*l*] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 12. Abſque eo qui dicturus in medium Pſalmos ſurrexerit, cuncti ſedilibus humillimis inſidentes, ad vocem Pſallentis omni cordis intentione dependent. [*m*] Ibid. cap. 5, & 8. [*n*] Bellarm. de Bonis Operibus. lib. 1. cap. 16. Tom. 4. p. 1077. [*o*] Hilar. in Pſal. 65. p. 232. Audiat orantis populi conſiſtens quis extra Eccleſiam vocem, ſpectet celebres Hymnorum Sonitus. [*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 653. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες κοινῇ. [*q*] Chryſ. in Pſal. 145. p. 824. [*r*] Aug. de Verb. Apoſt. Serm. 10. p. 112. Cantavimus Pſalmum exhortantes nos invicem una voce, uno corde, dicentes, Venite adoremus, &c. [*s*] Naz. Carm. 18. de Virtute. inter Iambica. tom. 2. p. 218. [*t*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. [*u*] Ambroſ. Hexamer. lib. 3. cap. 5. Reſponſoriis Pſalmorum, cantu Virorum, Mulierum, Virginum, Parvulorum, conſonans undarum fragor reſultat. [*x*] Ambroſ. expoſ. Pſal. 1. Mulieres Apoſtolus in Eccleſia tacere jubet: Pſalmum etiam bene clamant, &c. [*y*] Aug. Serm. in Pſal. 26. in Præfat. Voces iſtæ Pſalmi, quas audivimus, & ex parte cantavimus. Item in Pſal. 46. In hoc Pſalmo, quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando reſpondimus, ea ſumus dicturi quæ noſtis. [*z*] Aug. Confeſ. lib. 9. cap. 7. Tunc Hymni & Pſalmi ut canerentur ſecundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabeſceret, inſtitutum eſt: & ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus Gregibus tuis & per ceteras orbis partes imitantibus. [*a*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 4. Hoc in tempore primo Antiphonæ Hymni & Vigiliæ in Eccleſia Mediolanenſi celebrari cœperunt. &c. [*b*] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24. [*c*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8.

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ing Hymns to the Holy Trinity as high as *Ignatius*. *Valesius* thinks *Socrates* was mistaken: But Cardinal *Bona* [d] and *Pagi* [e] think both Accounts may be true, taking the one to speak of *David*'s *Psalms* only, and the other of Hymns composed for the Service of the Church. Some say the Custom was first begun by *Ignatius*, but destroyed by *Paulus Samosatensis*, and revived again by *Flavian*. But *Pagi*'s Conjecture seems most reasonable, that *Flavian* only introduced this way of Singing the *Psalms* in the *Greek Tongue* at *Antioch*, whereas it had been used in the *Syrian* Language long before, as he shews out of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, and *Valesius* himself confirms this out of the same Author, whose Testimony is preserved by *Nicetas* [f]. However this Matter be as to the first Original of this way of Antiphonal Psalmody, it is certain, that from the time that *Flavian* either instituted or revived it at *Antioch*, it prevailed in a short time to become the general Practice of the whole Church. St. *Chrysostom* [g] encouraged it in the Vigils at *Constantinople*, in Opposition to the *Arians*. St. *Basil* [h] speaks of it in his time, as the received Custom of all the *East*. And we have seen before, how from the time of St. *Ambrose* it prevailed over all the *West*. And it was a Method of Singing so taking and delightful, that they sometimes used it where two or three were met together for private Devotion. As *Socrates* [i] particularly remarks of the Emperor *Theodosius* Junior and his Sisters, that they were used to sing alternate Hymns together every Morning in the Royal Palace.

SECT. XII.

Sometimes by a single Præcentor *repeating the first part of the Verse, and the People all joining with him in the Close. Where also of* Diapsalms, *and* Acroteleuticks *and* Acrosticks *in Psalmody.*

BESIDES all these there was yet a fourth way of Singing, of pretty common Use in the fourth Age of the Church: Which was, when a single Person (whom that Age called a *Phonascus*, ὑποφάλτης, or *Præcentor*) [*] began the Verse, and the People joined with him in the Close. This the *Greeks* called ὑπηχεῖν, and ὑπακούειν, and the *Latins Succinere*. And it was often used for Variety in the same Service with alternate Psalmody. Thus St. *Basil* describing the different Manners of their Morning Psalmody, tells us, they one while divided themselves into two Parts, and sung alternately, answering to one another; and then again let one begin the Psalm, and the rest joined with him [k] in the Close of the Verse. This was certainly in Use at *Alexandria* in the time of *Athanasius*, as I have observed in the last Book [†]. For both he himself [l] and all the Historians [m] who relate the Story after him, in speaking of his Escape out of the Church when it was beset with the *Arian* Soldiers, tell us he avoided the Assault by setting the People to Psalmody, which Psalmody was of this kind: For he commanded the Deacon to read the Psalm, and the People ὑπακούειν, to repeat this Clause after him, *For his Mercy endureth for ever*. The common Translations of *Athanasius* make this ὑπακούειν to signify no more than the Peoples attending to what the Deacon read: But *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, the antient Author of the *Historia Tripartita*, having Occasion to relate this very Passage [n] of *Athanasius*, rightly renders ὑπακούειν by *Respondere*. The Deacon read, and the People answered in these Words, *For his Mercy endureth for ever*. *Valesius* [o] thinks it should be read ὑπηχεῖν, instead of ὑπακούειν, in all those Places of *Athanasius* and the Historians after him: But there is no need of that critical Correction; for both the Words among the *Greeks* are of the same Import, and signify to make Answer or Responses, as *Cotelerius* a judicious Critick has [p] observed. And so the Word ὑπακούειν is used both by *Theocritus* [q] and *Homer*. So that there is no Reason to dispute the Use of it in this Sense in Ecclesiastical Writers. St. *Chrysostom* uses the Word ὑπηχεῖν [r] when he speaks of this Practice. The Singer sings alone, and all the rest answer him in the Close, as it were with one Mouth and one Voice. And elsewhere he says [s] the Priests began the Psalm, and the People followed after in their Responses. Sometimes this way of Psalmody was called singing Acrosticks. For though an Acrostick commonly signifies the Beginning of a Verse, yet sometimes it is taken for the End or Close of it. As by the Author [t] of the *Constitutions*, when he orders one to sing the Hymns of *David*, and the People to sing after him the Acrosticks or Ends of the Verses. This was otherwise called *Hypopsalma* and *Diapsalma*, and ἀκροτελεύτιον, and ἐφύμνιον, which are all Words of the same Signification. Only we must observe, that they do not always denote precisely the End of a Verse, but sometimes that which was added at the End of a Psalm, or something that was repeated frequently in the Middle of it, as the Close of the several Parts of it. Thus St. *Austin* composed a Psalm for the common People to learn against the *Donatists*, and in Imitation of the cxixth

[d] Bona de Psalmod. cap. 16. Sect. 10. n. 1. [e] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 400. n. 10. [f] Nicet. Thesaur. Orthod. Fid. lib. 5. cap. 30. [g] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. [h] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. [i] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 22. [*] *See Book* III. *Chap.* vii. *n.* 3. & Sidon. Apollin. lib. 4. Ep. 11. Psalmorum hic modulator & Phonascus. [k] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. Νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες, ἀνὰ μέλεσιν ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπτρέψαντες ἐνὶ καλάρχειν τὰ μέλεσι, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχῶσι. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* v. *n.* 6. [l] Athanas. Apol. 2. p. 717. [m] Theodor. lib. 2. cap. 13. Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6. [n] Hist. Tripart. lib. 5. cap. 2. Præcepi ut Diaconus Psalmum legeret, Populi responderent, &c. [o] Vales. Not. in Theod. lib. 2. cap. 13. [p] Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. 2. cap. 57. p. 262. [q] Theocrit. Idyl. 14. de Hyla. τεὶς δ' ἀῤ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν. Ter puer respondit. Vid. Homer. Odyss. 4. & Stephani Lexicon. [r] Chrys. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 655. Ὁ μὲν ἄλλων ἄλλα μόνος, καὶ παῖδες ἀπηχῶσιν (leg. ὑπηχῶσιν) ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται. Vid. Hom. 11. in Mat. p. 108. ὑπηχήσαντες. &c. [s] Chrys. in Psal. 137. p. 518. Μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καλαρχομένων, προσηυξάμην ἔγωμαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ἄδω σοι, &c. [t] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 57. ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑπαλλέτω.

Psalm

Pſalm he divided it into ſo many Parts according to the Order of the Letters in the Alphabet (whence ſuch *Pſalms* were called *Abecedarii*) each Part having its proper Letter at the Head of it, and the *Hypopſalma* (as he calls it [*u*]) or Anſwer, to be repeated at the End of every Part of it, in theſe Words, *Omnes qui gaudetis de Pace, modo verum judicate*; as the *Gloria Patri* is now repeated not only at the End of every *Pſalm*, but at the End of every Part of the cxixth *Pſalm*. And in this reſpect the *Gloria Patri* it ſelf is by ſome antient Writers called the *Hypopſalma*, or *Epode*, and *Acroteleutick* to the *Pſalms*, becauſe it was alwas uſed at the End of the *Pſalms*. Thus *Sozomen*, giving an Account of the *Arians* Management of their Pſalmody at *Conſtantinople* in their Morning Proceſſions, ſays, they divided themſelves into Parts, and ſung after the manner of *Antiphona*, or alternate Song, adding in the Cloſe their *Acroteleuticks* [*x*], framed and modelled after their own way of Glorification. Where, as *Valeſius* rightly obſerves, 'tis plain, *Acroteleutick* is but another Name for the *Gloria Patri*, which they added at the End of the *Pſalms*, but perverſely modelled to favour their own Hereſy; not ſaying, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*; but *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt*. Again *Sozomen*, ſpeaking of the Pſalmody with which the Chriſtians brought the Body of the Martyr *Babylas* from *Daphne* to *Antioch* in the time of *Julian*, ſays, they who were beſt skilled, began the *Pſalms*, and the Multitude anſwered them with one harmonious Conſent, making theſe Words the *Epode* of [*y*] their Pſalmody, *Confounded be all they that worſhip graven Images, and boaſt themſelves in Images* or *Idol-gods*. Meaning that this Sentence was frequently repeated in the ſeveral Pauſes of their Pſalmody; which the Ancients, we ſee, ſometimes called an *Epode* or *Diapſalm*, like that of the cviith *Pſalm*, *O that Men would therefore praiſe the Lord for his Goodneſs, and declare the Wonders that he doth for the Children of Men!* Which in the diſtinct Parts of that one *Pſalm* is four times repeated.

SECT. XIII. *An Anſwer to an Objection made againſt the Peoples bearing a Part in Pſalmody.*

FROM all this, it is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that the People generally had a Share in the Pſalmody of the antient Church; and that this was not an Exerciſe ſtrictly confined to the Canonical Singers, or any particular Order in the Church; but that Men, Women, and Children were all allowed to bear a Part in it, under the Direction and Conduct of Precentors, or thoſe who preſided in this and all other Offices of the Church. Therefore the Reflexion which I have formerly made upon *Cabaſſutius* [*], I cannot chuſe but here again repeat, who charges this way of Singing as a mere Novelty and Proteſtant-whim, becauſe it differs from the preſent practice of his own Church; though it be exactly agreeable to the Practice of the antient Church in all its ſeveral Methods, and in all Ages ſince the Apoſtles. Neither is there any one Thing can be objected againſt it, ſave a ſingle Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*z*], which forbids all others to ſing in the Church, except only the Canonical Singers, who went up into the *Ambo* or Reading-Desk, and ſung out of a Book. This I have explained to be only a Temporary Proviſion of a Provincial Council, deſigned to reſtore or revive the antient Pſalmody, when it might be in ſome meaſure corrupted or neglected, and not intended to abridge or deſtroy the primitive Liberty of the People. Or if any thing more was intended by it, it was an Order that never took place in the Practice of the Church: It being evident, beyond all Contradiction, from what has now been ſaid, that the People always enjoyed their antient Privilege of joining in this Divine Harmony, and were encouraged in it by the greateſt Luminaries of the Church.

SECT. XIV. *Pſalmody always performed in the ſtanding Poſture.*

TO proceed then: We are to conſider farther, that Pſalmody was always eſteemed a conſiderable Part of Devotion, and upon that Account was uſually, if not always, performed by thoſe that were ingaged in it, in the ſtanding Poſture. *Caſſian* indeed ſeems to make an Exception in the Way of the Monaſteries of *Egypt*: But his Exception helps to clear the contrary Rule, and ſhews alſo that their Devotion was in the main performed in the ſtanding Poſture. For he ſays, though by reaſon of their continual Faſtings and Labour Night and Day, they were unable to ſtand all the time, while twelve *Pſalms* were reading, yet they that read in Courſe, always ſtood [*a*] up to read: And at the laſt *Pſalm*, they all ſtood up [*b*] and repeated it alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the End. In other Places it was always the Cuſtom to ſtand, as is plain not only from this Exception, but from the Teſtimony of St. *Auſtin* [*c*], who ſpeaks of the Pſalmody as an Act of Devotion, which all the People performed ſtanding in the Church.

SECT. XV. *Of the Uſe of plain Song, and its Commendation among the Ancients.*

AS to the Voice or Pronunciation uſed in Singing, it was of two Sorts, the plain Song, and the more artificial and elaborate Tuning of the Voice to greater variety of Sounds and Meaſures. The plain Song was only with a little gentle Inflexion, and a-

[*u*] Vid. Aug. Pſalmum contra partem Donati. tom. 7. p. 1. Et Retract. lib. 1. cap. 20. [*x*] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8. Καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων τρόπον ἐφάλλον, ἀκεσταλάτια συνῳδεῖσες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεποιημένα. [*y*] Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 19. ξυνεπῆχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ καὶ ταυτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῆδεν. &c. [*] *Book* III. *Chap.* vii. *n.* 2.

[*z*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 15. [*a*] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 12. Abſque eo qui dicturus in medium Pſalmos ſurrexerit, cuncti ſedilibus humillimis inſidentes, &c. [*b*] Caſſ. ibid. cap. 8. [*c*] Aug. Serm. 3. in Pſal. 36. p. 122. Certe verum eſt quod cantavi, certe verum eſt quod in Eccleſia ſtans tam devota voce perſonui, &c.

greeable Turn of the Voice, with a proper Accent, not much different from Reading, and much reſembling the muſical way of Reading the *Pſalms* now in our Cathedral Churches. This was the way of Singing at *Alexandria* in the time of *Athanaſius*. For St. *Auſtin* ſays [*d*], he ordered the Reader to ſing the *Pſalm* with ſo little Inflexion or Variation of the Tone, that it looked more like Reading than Singing. And this, St. *Auſtin* [*e*] ſeems to intimate to have been the common way of the *African* Churches, as moſt agreeable to the ſlow Genius of the *African* People. Whence ſome of the warmer *Donatiſts* made it a Matter of Objection, that the *Catholicks* ſung the Divine Hymns of the Prophets ſoberly in the Church, whilſt they ſung their own Pſalms of human Compoſition in a ranting way, and even trumpeted out, like Men that were drunk, their own Exhortations. St. *Auſtin* does not ſpeak this, as if he wholly diſapproved the other more artificial and melodious way of Singing, but only as it was intemperately abuſed by many, and particularly by the *Donatiſts*. For otherwiſe he commends this way of Singing, as very uſeful to raiſe the Affections, when performed with a clear Voice [*f*] and a convenient Sweetneſs of Melody: And ſays, it was that that melted him into Tears, when he firſt heard it in the Beginning of his Converſion, in the Church of St. *Ambroſe*.

SECT. XVI.

Artificial and melodious Tuning of the Voice allowed in Singing, when managed with Sobriety and Diſcretion.

THIS plainly implies, that the artificial and melodious way of Singing, with Variety of Notes for greater Sweetneſs, was uſed and allowed, as well as plain Song, in the *Italick* Churches: And they miſtake St. *Auſtin*, who think he ſpeaks in Commendation of the one, to the Derogation of the other. For he profeſſes to admire both Ways for their Uſefulneſs, and particularly the more melodious way, for this, *Ut per Oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum Pietatis aſſurgat*, that weaker Minds may be raiſed to Affections of Piety, by the Delight and Entertainment of their Ears. And whilſt it kept within due Bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general Approbation of pious Men throughout the Church.

SECT. XVII.

No Objection made againſt Plaſms and Hymns of human Compoſition, barely as ſuch.

NEITHER was it any Objection againſt the Pſalmody of the Church, that She ſometimes made uſe of Pſalms and Hymns of human Compoſition, beſides thoſe of the ſacred and inſpired Writers. For though St. *Auſtin*, as we have juſt heard before, reflects upon the *Donatiſts* for their Pſalms of human Compoſition, yet it was not merely becauſe they were human, but becauſe they preferred them to the divine Hymns of Scripture, and their indecent way of Chanting them, to the grave and ſober Method of the Church. St. *Auſtin* himſelf made a Pſalm of many Parts, in Imitation of the cxixth *Pſalm*, as has been obſerved above in this Chapter, *n.* 12. And this he did for the Uſe of his People, to preſerve them from the Errors of *Donatus*. And it would be abſurd to think, that he who made a Pſalm himſelf for the People to ſing, ſhould quarrel with other Pſalms merely becauſe they were of human Compoſition. It has been demonſtrated in the fifth Chapter of the laſt Book, that there were always ſuch Pſalms, and Hymns, and Doxologies compoſed by pious Men, and uſed in the Church from the firſt Foundation of it; nor did any, but *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, except againſt the Uſe of them: Which he did not neither becauſe they were of human Compoſition, but becauſe they contained a Doctrine contrary to his own private Opinions. St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambroſe* made many ſuch Hymns, which when ſome muttered againſt in the *Spaniſh* Churches, becauſe they were of human Compoſition, the fourth Council of *Toledo* [*g*] made a Decree to confirm the Uſe of them, together with the *Doxology*, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. and *Glory be to God on high:* Threatning Excommunication to any that ſhould reject them. The only thing of Weight to be urged againſt all this, is a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*h*], which forbids all ἰδιωτικὰς ψαλμὰς, all private Pſalms, and all uncanonical Books to be read in the Church. For it might ſeem, that by private Pſalms, they mean all Hymns of human Compoſition. But it was intended rather to exclude *Apocryphal Pſalms*, ſuch as went under the Name of *Solomon*, as *Balzamon* and *Zonaras* underſtand it; or elſe ſuch as were not approved by publick Authority in the Church. If it be extended farther, it contradicts the current Practice of the whole Church beſides, and cannot in Reaſon be conſtrued as any more than a private Order for the Churches of that Province, made upon ſome particular Reaſons unknown to us at this Day. Notwithſtanding therefore any Argument to be drawn from this Canon, it is evident the Ancients made no ſcruple of uſing Pſalms or Hymns of human

[*d*] Aug. Confeſ. lib. 10. cap. 33. Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat ſonare Lectorem Pſalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior eſſet quam canenti. [*e*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. Pleraque in Africa Eccleſiæ membra pigriora ſunt: Ita ut Donatiſtæ nos reprehendant, quod ſobrie Pſallimus in Eccleſia divina cantica Prophetarum, cum ipſi ebrietates ſuas ad canticum Pſalmorum humano ingenio compoſitorum quaſi tubas Exhortationis inflamment.
[*f*] Aug. Confeſ. lib. 10. cap. 33. Veruntamen cum reminiſcor lachrymas meas, quas fudi ad cantus Eccleſiæ tuæ ——— Et nunc ipſo commoveor ——— Cum liquida Voce & convenientiſſima Modulatione cantantur, magnam Inſtituti hujus utilitatem agnoſco.
[*g*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. Quia à nonnullis hymni humano ſtudio compoſiti eſſe noſcuntur in laudem Dei, & Apoſtolorum ac Martyrum triumphos, ſicut hi quos beatiſſimi Doctores Hilarius atque Ambroſius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam ſpecialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis ſanctorum Canonum, vel Apoſtolica Traditione non exiſtunt: Reſpuant ergo & illum Hymnum, quem quotidie publico privatoque Officio in fine omnium Pſalmorum dicimus, Gloria & Honor Patri, &c. ——— Sicut ergo Orationes, ita & Hymnos in laudem Dei compoſitos nullus noſtrum ulterius improbet, ſed pari modo in Gallicia Hiſpaniaque celebrent, Excommunicatione plectendi, qui Hymnos rejicere fuerint auſi.
[*h*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 59.

Compoſition, provided they were pious and Orthodox for the Subſtance, and compoſed by Men of Eminence, and received by juſt Authority, and not brought in clandeſtinely into the Church.

SECT. XVIII. *But two Corruptions ſeverely inveighed againſt: Firſt, Over great Niceneſs and Curioſity in Singing, in Imitation of the Modes and Muſick of the Theatre.*

BUT there were ſome Diſorders and Irregularities always apt to creep into this Practice, and corrupt the Pſalmody and Devotions of the Church: And againſt theſe the Fathers frequently declaim with many ſharp and ſevere Invectives. Chiefly they complain of the Lightneſs and vain Curioſity which ſome uſed in Singing, who took their Meaſures from the Mean and Practice of the Theatres, introducing from thence the Corruptions and Effeminacy of ſecular Muſick into the grave and ſolemn Devotions of the Church. We have heard St. *Chryſoſtom* before [*] complaining of Mens uſing theatrical Noiſe and Geſtures both in their Prayers and Hymns. And here I ſhall add the Reflection which St. *Jerom* makes upon thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Epheſ.* v. *Singing, and making Melody in your Hearts to the Lord.* Let young Men hear this, let thoſe hear it, who have the Office of Singing in the Church, that they ſing not with their Voice, but with their Heart to the Lord; not like Tragedians phyſically preparing their Throat and Mouth, that they may ſing after the Faſhion of the Theatre in the Church. He that has but an ill Voice, if he has good Works, is a ſweet Singer before God.

SECT. XIX. *And 2dly, Pleaſing the Ear, without raiſing the Affections of the Soul.*

THE other Vice complained of, was the regarding more the Muſick of the Words, and Sweetneſs of the Compoſure, than the Senſe and Meaning of them; pleaſing the Ear, without raiſing the Affections of the Soul, which was the true Reaſon for which Pſalmody and Muſick was intended. St. *Jerom* takes Notice of this Corruption in the ſame place [*i*], giving this Caution againſt it: Let the Servant of Chriſt ſo order his Singing, that the Words that are read, may pleaſe more than the Voice of the Singer: That the Spirit that was in *Saul*, may be caſt out of them, who are poſſeſſed with it, and not find Admittance in thoſe who have turned the Houſe of God into a Stage and Theatre of the People. St. *Auſtin* [*k*] confeſſes he was for ſome time thus moved to a faulty Complacency in the Sweetneſs of the Song, more than the Matter that was ſung, and then he rather wiſhed not to have heard the Voice of the Singer. St. *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* brings the Charge of theſe Abuſes more eſpecially againſt Women, and goes ſo far as to ſay, that though the Apoſtle had allowed them to ſing in the Church, yet the perverſe and licentious Uſe they made of this Liberty, was a ſufficient Reaſon [*l*] why they ſhould be totally debarred from it. And ſome are of Opinion, that it was Abuſes of this Kind, in Exceſs, and not in Defect, that made the Council of *Laodicea* forbid all but the Canonical Singers to ſing in the Church; as thinking, that they might be better regulated and reſtrained from ſuch Abuſes by the immediate Dependence they had upon the Rulers of the Church. But the Experience of later Ages rather proves, that this was not the true way to reform ſuch Abuſes; ſince there are greater Complaints made by conſidering Men, of the Exceſſes committed in Church Muſick after it was wholly given up to the Management of Canonical Singers, than there were before. Witneſs the Complaints made by *Polydore Virgil* [*m*], *Maldonat* [*n*], *Durantus* [*o*] and others in the Romiſh Church, and Biſhop *Wettenhal* [*p*] in the Proteſtant Communion, which it is none of my Buſineſs in this place any farther to purſue.

CHAP. II.

A Particular Account of ſome of the moſt noted Hymns in Uſe in the Service of the antient Church.

SECT. I. *Of the leſſer* Doxology, Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

BUT there is one Thing more may be of Uſe for the better underſtanding the Pſalmody of the antient Church, which is, to give a diſtinct Account of the moſt noted Hymns that made a Part of her Service. Among theſe, one the moſt antient and common was that which was called the leſſer *Doxology*, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.* Concerning which we are to note in the firſt place, that it was ſomething ſhorter than it is now: For the moſt antient Form of it was only a ſingle Sentence without a Reſponſe, running in theſe Words, *Glory be to*

[*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* viii. *n.* 11. [*i*] Hieron. in Epheſ. 5. Sic cantet Servus Chriſti, ut non vox canentis, ſed verba placeant quæ leguntur: Ut Spiritus qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab iis, qui ſimiliter ab eo poſſidentur, & non introducatur in eos, qui de Domo Dei ſcenam fecere populorum. [*k*] Aug. Confeſ. lib. 10. cap. 33. Cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius Cantus, quam res quæ canitur moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, & tunc mallem non audire cantantem. [*l*] Iſidor. lib. 1. Ep. 90. [*m*] Polyd. Virgil. de Rer. Invent. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 359. [*n*] Maldonat. de 7 Sacramentis. t. 2. p. 238. [*o*] Durant. de Ritibus, lib. 2. cap. 21. n. 11. [*p*] Wettenhal, *Gift of Singing. Chap.* i. p. 277 & 247.

the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen. Part of the latter Clauſe, *As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be*, was inſerted ſome time after the firſt Compoſition. This appears from the moſt antient Form uſed both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church without thoſe Words in it. The fourth Council of *Toledo*, *An.* 633, reads it thus [*a*]: *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End.* Amen. Where we may obſerve, that not only the Words, *As it was in the Beginning*, &c. are omitted, but the Word *Honour* is added to *Glory*, according [*b*] to another Decree made in that Council; that it ſhould not be ſaid, as heretofore ſome did, *Glory be to the Father*, but, *Glory and Honour be to the Father:* For as much as the Prophet *David* ſays, *Bring Glory and Honour to the Lord*, Pſal. xxviii. 2. And *John* the *Evangeliſt* in the *Reveiations*, heard the Voice of the heavenly Hoſt, ſaying, *Honour and Glory be to our God, who ſitteth on the Throne*, Rev. v. 13. From whence they conclude, that it ought to be ſaid on Earth as it is ſung in Heaven. The *Mozarabick Liturgy*, which was uſed in *Spain* a little after this time, has it in the very ſame [*c*] Form: *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End.* Amen. Which ſhews, that that was the received way of uſing this Hymn in the *Spaniſh* Churches. The *Greek* Church alſo for ſeveral Ages uſed it after the ſame manner, only they did not inſert the Word *Honour*, which ſeems to be peculiar to the *Spaniſh* Church. *Athanaſius*, or whoever was the Author of the Treatiſe of *Virginity* among his Works [*d*], repeats it thus, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End.* Amen. And *Strabo* [*e*] ſays of the *Greeks* in general, that they omitted thoſe Words in the latter Clauſe, *As it was in the Beginning.* So that it is not eaſy to tell what time they firſt began to be uſed in it. Some ſay, the Council of *Nice* ordered them to be inſerted againſt *Arius*: Others, that the Church by common Conſent admitted them, in compliance with the Doctrine of that Council, to confront the *Arian* Tenet, which aſſerted, that the Son was not in the Beginning, and that there was a time, when He was not. But if ſo, it is ſtrange we ſhould not hear of this additional Part of the Hymn in any *Greek* or *Latin* Writer for above two whole Centuries after. The firſt expreſs mention that is made of it, is in the ſecond Council of [*f*] *Vaiſon*, *An.* 529, which ſays, it was then ſo uſed at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, and *Africk*, and all the *Eaſt*, and therefore is now ſo ordered to be uſed in the *French* Churches. Whence it is plain, it was not in the *French* Churches before. And there is Reaſon to conjecture, that the *Eaſt* is here put for the *Weſt*, by a Miſtake of ſome Tranſcriber, ſince it appears from *Strabo*, that in his time the Cuſtom of the *Greek* Church was ſtill otherwiſe: And how long it had been the Cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Churches before the time of this Council, is uncertain. The *Spaniſh* Churches, as we have ſeen, did not admit it till afterwards.

There goes an Epiſtle indeed under the Name of St. *Jerom* to Pope *Damaſus*, which, if it were genuine, would make this Addition more antient, than now it can be allowed to be: For there he adviſes *Damaſus* to order, that in the *Roman* Church at the End of every *Pſalm* there ſhould be added, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt: As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be World without End.* Amen [*g*]. But this Epiſtle is rejected as ſpurious by learned Men of all Sides, *Bellarmin*, *Baronius*, *Bona*, and others of the Romaniſts, as well as Proteſtants in general, becauſe it contradicts the known Practice of the *Roman* Church in another Particular: For at *Rome* they did not uſe the *Gloria Patri* at the End of every *Pſalm* long after this, in the time of *Walafridus Strabo* [*h*], neither do they now by the *Rubricks* of the *Roman Breviary* at this Day: Whereas, if *Damaſus* had made thoſe Orders, as this Epiſtle directs, the *Gloria Patri* would have been uſed at *Rome* at the End of every *Pſalm*; which it was not, either there or in any of the *Eaſtern* Churches, but only in *France* and ſome few other Churches, as we have heard before in the laſt Chapter.

There was another ſmall Difference in the Uſe of this antient Hymn, which yet made no Diſpute among *Catholicks*, till the Riſe of the *Arian* Hereſy, and then it occaſioned no ſmall Diſturbance. The *Catholicks* themſelves of old were wont to ſay, ſome, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*; Others, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghoſt*; and others, *Glory be to the Father, in* or *by the Son, and by the Holy Ghoſt.* Now theſe different ways of expreſſing, were all allowed, ſo long as no heterodox Opinion was ſuſpected to be couched under them, as *Valeſius* [*i*] has obſerved in his Notes upon *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, and St. *Baſil* [*k*] ſhews more at large in his Book *De Spiritu Sancto.* But when *Arius* had broached his Hereſy in the World, his Followers would uſe no other Form of Glorification but the laſt, and made it a diſtinguiſhing Character of their

[*a*] Conc. Toler. 4. Can. 12. In fine omnium Pſalmorum dicimus, Gloria & Honor Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui ſancto in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen. [*b*] Ibid. Can. 14. In fine Pſalmorum, non ſicut à quibuſdam huc uſque, Gloria Patri, ſed Gloria & Honor Patri, dicatur, &c. [*c*] Miſſa Mozarab. in Nativ. Chriſti. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 453. Gloria & Honor Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui ſancto in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen. [*d*] Athan. de Virgin. p. 1051. [*e*] Strabo. de Reb. Eccleſ. cap. 25. [*f*] Conc. Vaſion. 2. Can. 5. Quia non ſolum in ſede Apoſtolica, ſed etiam per totum Orientem & totam Africam vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum aſtutiam, qua Dei Filium non ſemper cum Patre fuiſſe, ſed à tempore fuiſſe blaſphemant, in omnibus clauſulis poſt, Gloria Patri, &c. ſicut erat in principio, dicitur, etiam & nos in univerſis Eccleſiis noſtris hoc ita eſſe dicendum decrevimus. [*g*] Hieron. Ep. ad Damaſum. 53. & inter Decreta Damaſi ap. Crab. Conc. tom. 1. p. 383. Iſtud carmen laudis omni Pſalmo conjungi præcipias, &c. [*h*] Strabo de Reb. Eccleſ. cap. 25. [*i*] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 21. & Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24. [*k*] Baſil de Spir. Sanct. cap. 7, 25, & 29.

Party,

Party, to say, *Glory be to the Father, in* or *by the Son, and Holy Ghost:* Intending hereby to denote, that the Son and Holy Ghost were inferior to the Father in Substance, and, as Creatures, of a different Nature from him, as *Sozomen* [*l*] and other antient Writers inform us. And from this time it became scandalous, and brought any one under the Suspicion of Heterodoxy, to use it, because the *Arians* had now, as it were, made it the *Shibboleth* of their Party. *Philostorgius* indeed says [*m*], that the usual Form of the *Catholicks* was a Novelty, and that *Flavian* at *Antioch* was the first that brought in this Form of saying, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; whereas all before him said either, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost:* Or, *Glory be to the Father, in the Son and in the Holy Ghost.* But this is no more than what one might expect from the Partiality of an *Arian* Historian, and it is abundantly confuted by the antient Testimonies which St. *Basil* produces [*n*] in his own Vindication against some, who charged him with the like Innovation; in answer to which, he says, he did no more than what was done before by *Irenæus, Clemens Romanus*, the two *Dionysii* of *Rome* and *Alexandria, Eusebius* of *Cæsarea, Origen, Africanus, Athenogenes, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian* and *Meletius*, and what was done in the Prayers of the Church, and with the Consent of all the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches. Which would make a Man amazed to hear Cardinal *Bona* [*o*] charging St. *Basil* as Blame-worthy, for displeasing the *Catholicks* in using the Form of the Heterodox Party; when it is plain, it was the Heterodox Party that quarrelled with him for using the *Catholick* Form of the Church. And yet though he blames St. *Basil* without Grounds, telling us, That a *Catholick* Doctor ought to be without Rebuke, and abstain from Terms that have a suspected Sense, and offend pious Ears; yet he has nothing to say to Pope *Leo*, who, if either, was more certainly liable to his Censure, for using the *Arian* Form of *Doxology*, though in a *Catholick* Sense, in one of his *Christmas* Sermons, which he thus words, *Let us give Thanks, Beloved, to the Father* [*p*] *by his Son, in the Holy Ghost.* St. *Basil* never used this suspected Form (though he says it might be used with an Orthodox Meaning) but always, *Glory be to the Father, with the Son and Holy Ghost.* For which he was charged by some Heterodox Men as an Innovator; but there was no room for *Bona*'s Censure.

Having thus stated the antient Form and Modification of this Hymn in its first Original, and subsequent Progress that it made in the Church, we are next to see to what Use it was applied, and in what Parts of Divine Service. And here we may observe, that it was an Hymn of most general Use, and a *Doxology* offered to God in the Close of every solemn Office. The *Western* Church repeated it at the End of every *Psalm*, and the *Eastern* Church at the End of the last *Psalm*, as we have seen in the former Chapter. Many of their Prayers were also concluded with it, as we shall find in various Instances in the following Parts of this and the next Book; particularly the solemn Thanksgiving or Consecration-Prayer at the *Eucharist*, to which *Irenæus* [*q*] and *Tertullian* [*r*] refer, when they mention the Close of it ending in these Words, ἀιῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *World without End.* Amen. The whole *Doxology* commonly running thus: *To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all Glory, Worship, Thanksgiving, Honour and Adoration, now and for ever, throughout all Ages, World without End.* Amen. As it is in the *Constitutions* [*s*]. Or, if the Prayer ended, *by the Intercession of Christ*, then it was, *To whom with Thee*, or, *with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour, Glory*, &c. *World without End.* [*t*]. Amen. This was also the ordinary Conclusion of their Sermons, *That we may obtain eternal Life through Jesus Christ, To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all Glory and Power, World without End:* As may be seen in the *Homilies* of *Chrysostom, Austin, Leo*, and all others, of which more in the fourth Chapter of this Book.

SECT. II. *Of the* Great Doxology, Glory be to God on High.

ANOTHER Hymn of great Note in the antient Church, was that which they commonly called, *The Angelical Hymn*, or *Great Doxology*, beginning with those Words which the Angels sung at our Saviour's Birth, *Glory be to God on High*, &c. This was chiefly used in the Communion-Service, as it is now in our Church; and there we shall speak of it again in its proper Place. It was also used at Morning Prayer daily at Mens private Devotions, as I have shewed before out of *Athanasius* and the *Constitutions* [*], where the Reader may find it repeated at length under the Title of προσευχὴ ἑωθινὴ, the Morning Prayer. In the *Mozarabick Liturgy* it is appointed to be sung in publick before the Lessons on *Christmas*-Day. St. *Chrysostom* [*u*] often mentions it, and in one Place particularly observes [*x*] of those who retired from the World to lead an Ascetick Life, that they met together daily to sing their Morning Hymns with one Mouth to God, among which they sung this Angelical Hymn with the Angels in Heaven. But I have observed before, that this was not the common Practice of all Churches, to sing it every Day at Morning Prayer, but only in the Communion-Service; or at least only upon *Sundays*, and *Easter-day*, and such greater Festivals of the Church. Who first composed this Hymn, adding the remaining Part

[*l*] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 20. ἐδόξαζον πατέρα ἐν υἱῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. [*m*] Philostorg. lib. 3. cap. 13. [*n*] Basil. de Spir. sanct. cap. 29. [*o*] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 3. n. 2. [*p*] Leo. Serm. 1. de Nativ. Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri, per Filium ejus, in Spiritu sancto.

[*q*] Irenæ. lib. 1. cap. 1. [*r*] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. [*s*] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 12. [*t*] Ibid. cap. 13. [*] *See Book* XIII. *Chap.* x. *n.* 9. [*u*] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Colos. p. 1337. Hom. 9. in Colos. p. 1380. [*x*] Chrys. Hom. 68. vel 69. in Mat. p. 600.

to the Words ſung by the Angels, is uncertain. Some ſuppoſe [y] it to be as antient as the time of *Lucian*, who lived in the beginning of the ſecond Century, and is thought to mean it in one of his Dialogues, where he ſpeaks of the Hymn with many Names, πολυώνυμον ᾠδήν, as uſed by the Chriſtians: Others take it for the *Gloria Patri*; which is a Diſpute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the firſt Author and Original of this Hymn. And all I ſhall ſay farther of it, is only what was ſaid heretofore by the fourth Council of *Toledo* [z] againſt ſome, who rejected the Hymns of St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambroſe* and others, becauſe they were of human Compoſition: That by the ſame Reaſon they might have rejected both the leſſer *Doxology*, *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*, which was compoſed by Men; and alſo this greater *Doxology*, part of which was ſung by the Angels at our Saviour's Birth, *Glory be to God on High, and on Earth Peace to Men of good Will* (ſo they read it, as many other *Greek* and *Latin* Writers did;) but the reſt that follows, was compoſed and added to it by the Doctors of the Church.

SECT. III. *Of the* Triſagion *or* Cherubical *Hymn*, Holy, Holy, Holy, *&c.*

A third Hymn of great Note in the Church was the Cherubical Hymn, or the *Triſagion*, as it was called, becauſe of the thrice repeating, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts*, in Imitation of the Seraphims in the Viſion of *Iſaiah*. The Original Form of this Hymn was in theſe Words, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory, who art Bleſſed for ever*. Amen. Thus it is in the *Conſtitutions* [a], and frequently in St. *Chryſoſtom* [b], who ſays always, that it was in the ſame Words that the Seraphims ſung it in *Iſaiah*. Afterward the Church added ſome Words to it, and ſung it in this Form, ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us*. This Form is aſcribed by ſome to *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* and *Theodoſius* Junior, *An.* 446. And in this Form not long after we find it uſed by the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* [c] in their Condemnation of *Dioſcorus*. Which is alſo noted by *Damaſcen* [d], who ſays, the Church uſed this Form to declare her Faith in the Holy Trinity, applying the Title of *Holy God to the Father, and Holy Mighty to the Son, and Holy Immortal to the Holy Ghoſt:* Not as excluding any of the three Perſons from each of the Titles, but in Imitation of the Apoſtle, who ſays, *To us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we by him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all Things, and we by him.* And thus this Hymn continued to be applied to the whole Trinity, till *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor, as ſome [e] ſay, or as others relate [f], *Peter Gnapheus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, cauſed the Words, ὁ ſταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, *that was crucified for us*, to be added to it. Which was intended to bring in the Hereſy of the *Theopaſchites*, who aſſerted that the Divine Nature it ſelf ſuffered upon the Croſs, and was in effect to ſay, that the whole Trinity ſuffered, becauſe this Hymn was commonly applied to the whole Trinity. To avoid this Inconvenience, one *Calandio* Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the time of *Zeno* the Emperor, made another Addition to it, of the Words, *Chriſt our King*, reading it thus, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Chriſt our King, that was crucified for us, have Mercy on us*, as *Theodorus Lector* [g] and other Hiſtorians inform us. Theſe laſt Additions occaſioned great Confuſion and Tumults in the *Eaſtern* Church, whilſt the *Conſtantinopolitans* and *Weſtern* Churches ſtifly rejected them; and ſome of the *European* Provinces, the better to confront them and maintain the old Way of applying it to the whole Trinity, inſtead of the Words, *crucified for us*, expreſly ſaid, *Holy Trinity, have Mercy on us*, as we find it in *Ephrem Antiochenus* [h] recorded in *Photius*.

This is the ſhort Hiſtory and Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this celebrated Hymn in the Service of the Church, and of the heretical Corruptions and Interpolations that were intended to be made upon it. As to its Uſe, it was chiefly ſung in the Middle of the Communion-Service, as we ſhall ſee more expreſly hereafter in the next Book: But it was ſometimes uſed upon other Occaſions, as we have heard in the Council of *Chalcedon* before: And ſome *Greek Ritualiſts* [i] tell us, that it was always ſung before the Reading of the Epiſtle, which was antiently a Part of the Service of the Catechumens. But then they diſtinguiſh between the *Triſagion* and *Epinicion* or *Triumphal Hymn*; calling the ſimple Form, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts*, the *Epinicion*, which was ſung in the Communion-Service; and the other, the *Triſagion*, which was ſung in the Service of the Catechumens: But the more antient Writers do not obſerve this Diſtinction; and therefore I have here put both Forms under the common Name of the *Triſagion*. He that would ſee this Hiſtory more at large, may conſult *Chriſtianus Lupus* [k] upon the Council of *Trullo*, and Mr. *Allix* [l] who has written a peculiar Treatiſe upon the Subject.

[y] Smith's *Account of the* Greek *Church*, p. 226. [z] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. Nam & ille Hymnus, quem nato in carne Chriſto, angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra Pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis, reliquaque quæ ibi ſequuntur, Eccleſiaſtici Doctores compoſuerunt. [a] Conſt. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 402. [b] Chryſ. Hom. 1. de Verb. Eſai. t. 3. p. 834. Hom. 6. in Seraphim. ibid p. 890. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. & paſſim. Vid. Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5. Conc. Vaſens. 2. can. 4. [c] Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 310. t. 4. Labbe. [d] Damaſcen. de Orthod. Fide, lib. 3. cap. 10. [e] Evagr. lib. 3. cap. 44. [f] Damaſcen. ibid. [g] Theod. Lect. lib. 2. p. 566. Cedren. an. 16. Zenonis. [h] Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. 228. p. 773. [i] German. Theoria Eccleſ. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. 2. p. 145. [k] Lupus, Not. in Can. 81. Trullan. [l] Alix de Triſagio.

SECT. IV. *Of the* Allelujah *and* Alleluatick Pſalms.

NEXT to the *Triſagion* there is frequent mention made among the antient Writers of ſinging the *Allelujah*. By which they ſometimes mean the Repetition of this ſingle Word, which ſignifies, *Praiſe the Lord:* Which they did in imitation of the Heavenly Hoſt, ſinging and ſaying, again and again, *Allelujah*, *Rev.* xix. Sometimes they mean one of thoſe *Pſalms*, which were called *Alleluatick Pſalms* [*m*], becauſe they had the Word *Allelujah* prefixed before them in the Title, ſuch as the cxlvth, and thoſe that follow to the End. The ſinging of theſe, was ſometimes called ſinging the *Allelujah*, as has been obſerved out of *Caſſian* [*n*] more than once in the foregoing Parts of this and the former Book. But the more common Acceptation of *Allelujah*, is for the ſinging of the Word itſelf by a frequent ſolemn Repetition of it upon certain Days, and in ſpecial Parts of Divine Service; it being a ſort of Invitatory, or mutual Call to each other to praiſe the Lord. Therefore, as St. *Auſtin* [*o*] obſerves, they always uſed it in the *Hebrew* Language, becauſe that was the known Signification of it: And ſo it was in our firſt *Liturgy*, though now we ſay, *Praiſe ye the Lord*, with a Reſponſe of the People, *The Lord's Name be praiſed.* Antiently there was no Diſpute about the Lawfulneſs of the Hymn itſelf, but ſome Variation and ſome Diſpute there was about the Times of uſing it. St. *Auſtin* ſays, in ſome Churches it was never ſung but upon *Eaſter* Day, and the fifty [*p*] Days of *Pentecoſt:* But in other Churches it was uſed at other Times alſo. *Vigilantius* contended fiercely [*q*] againſt St. *Jerom*, that it ought never to be ſung but only upon *Eaſter* Day. And in this, he ſeems to have followed the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, where *Sozomen* [*r*] aſſures us, it was never ſung but once a Year, and that was upon *Eaſter* Day: In ſo much that it was the common Form of an Oath among the *Romans*, As they hoped to live to ſing *Allelujah* on that Day. Cardinal *Bona* [*s*] and *Baronius* [*t*] are very angry at *Sozomen* for this: But *Valeſius* [*u*] honeſtly defends him, for as much as *Caſſiodore*, who was a *Roman*, reports the ſame in his *Hiſtoria Tripartita*. But we muſt note, that antiently in thoſe Churches, where it was moſt frequented, there were ſome Exceptions in point of Time and Seaſon. For in the Time of *Lent* it was never uſed, as appears from St. *Auſtin* [*x*], who ſays, That was a Time of Sorrow, and therefore from the Beginning of *Lent* till *Eaſter* Day they always omitted it: The antient Tradition of the Church, being only to uſe it at certain Seaſons. The fourth Council of *Toledo* [*y*] forbids the Uſe of it not only in *Lent*, but upon other Days of Faſting, as particularly upon the firſt of *January*, which was then kept a Faſt in the *Spaniſh* Church, becauſe the Heathen obſerved it with great Superſtition of many idolatrous Rites and Practices. In the ſame Council the *Allelujah* is mentioned under the Name of *Laudes* [*z*], and appointed to be ſung after the Reading of the *Goſpel*; which, as *Bona* [*a*] and *Mabillon* [*b*] obſerve, was according to the *Mozarabick* Rite; for in other Churches it was ſung between the *Epiſtle* and the *Goſpel*. It was alſo ſung at Funerals, as St. *Jerom* acquaints us [*c*] in his Epitaph of *Fabiola*, where he ſpeaks of the whole Multitude ſinging *Pſalms* together, and making the golden Roof of the Church ſhake with ecchoing forth the *Allelujah*. The Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [*d*], ſpeaks of it alſo as uſed in the Confection of the Chriſm, or holy Oil to be uſed in the Unction of Confirmation. St. *Auſtin* [*e*] ſays, it was ſung every Lord's Day at the Altar, for the ſame Reaſon that they prayed ſtanding, as a Memorial of Chriſt's Reſurrection, and as a Figure of our future Reſt and Joyfulneſs, to ſignify that our Buſineſs in the Life to come, will be nothing elſe but to praiſe God, according to that of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Bleſſed are they that dwell in Thy Houſe, O Lord, they will be always praiſing Thee.* The meaning of *Allelujah* being nothing elſe but *Praiſe the Lord*, as both he and others [*f*] repreſent it. In the ſecond Council of *Tours* [*g*] it is appointed to be ſung immediately after the *Pſalms* both at the ſixth Hour, that is, Noonday, and the twelfth Hour, that is Evening Prayer. But whether they mean the ſhorter *Allelujah*, or one of thoſe *Pſalms* called the *Alleluatick Pſalms*, of which St. *Auſtin* and *Caſſian* ſpeak, is not very eaſy to determine. *Iſidore* [*h*] ſays, it was ſung every Day in *Spain*, except upon Faſt-Days: Though it was otherwiſe in the *African* Churches. St. *Jerom* [*i*] ſays, it was uſed in private Devotion: For even the Plow-man at his Labour ſung his *Allelujahs*. And this was the Signal or Call

[*m*] Aug. in Pſal. 105. p. 505. Pſalmi Alleluatici. It. in Pſal. 118. p. 542. [*n*] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 5 & 11. [*o*] Aug. Ep. 178. & Hom. 16. ex 50. T. 10. p. 165. [*p*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 17. Ut Alleluia per ſolos dies Quinquaginta cantetur in Eccleſia, non uſquequaque obſervatur. Nam & in aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi. Vid. Ep. 86. & Hom. in Pſal. 106. & Serm. 151. de Tempore. [*q*] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. 1. Exortus eſt ſubito Vigilantius, qui dicat—— nunquam niſi in Paſcha Alleluia cantandum. [*r*] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. [*s*] Bona de Pſalmod. cap. 16. §. 7. n. 4. [*t*] Baron. an. 384. n. 28. [*u*] Valeſ. in Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. [*x*] Aug. in Pſal. 110. Venerunt dies ut jam cantemus Alleluia, &c. Vid. in Pſal. 106 & 148. [*y*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 10. In omnibus Quadrageſimæ diebus (quia tempus non eſt gaudii, ſed mœroris) Alleluia non decantetur—— Hoc enim Eccleſiæ univerſalis conſenſio roboravit. In temporibus vero reliquis, id eſt, Kalendis Januarii, quæ propter errorem Gentilitatis aguntur, omnino Alleluia non decantabitur. [*z*] Ibid. Can. 11. Laudes ideo Evangelium ſequuntur propter gloriam Chriſti, quæ per idem Evangelium prædicatur. [*a*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 6. n. 4. [*b*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 12. [*c*] Hieron. Ep. 30. cap. 4. Sonabant Pſalmi, aurata tecta templorum reboans in ſublime quatiebat Alleluja. [*d*] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccleſ. cap. 4. [*e*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 15. Omnibus diebus Dominicis ad Altare ſtantes oramus, & Alleluja canitur, quod ſignificat actionem noſtram futuram non eſſe niſi Laudare Deum, &c. [*f*] Vid. Juſtin. Quæſt. ad Orthodox. Q. 50. [*g*] Conc. Turon. 2. Can. 19. Patrum ſtatuta præceperunt, ut ad ſextam, ſex Pſalmi dicantur cum Alleluja; & ad Duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluja. [*h*] Iſidor. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 13. In Africanis Eccleſiis non omni tempore, ſed tantum Dominicis diebus & 50 poſt Domini reſurrectionem Alleluja cantatur: Verum apud nos ſecundum antiquam Hiſpaniarum traditionem præter dies Jejuniorum & Quadrageſimæ omni tempore canitur Alleluja. [*i*] Hieron. Ep. 18. ad Marcellam. Quocunque te verteris, arator ſtivam retinens Alleluia decantat.

among

among the Monks [k] to their Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies. For one went about and ſung *Alleluiah*, and that was the Notice to repair to their ſolemn Meeting. Nay *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſeems to intimate [l], that the Seamen uſed it as their Signal or *Celeuſma* at their common Labour, making the Banks eccho while they ſung *Alleluiah* to Chriſt. I only obſerve farther, That in the Church *Alleluiah* was ſung by all the People, as appears not only from what is ſaid before by St. *Jerom*, that the Church ecchoed with the Sound of it; but alſo from that of *Paulinus* in his Epiſtle to *Severus* [m], *Alleluja novis balat Ovile choris*, The whole Sheepfold of Chriſt ſings *Alleluiah* in her new Choires. And St. *Auſtin* [n] alluding to this, ſays, it was the Chriſtians ſweet *Celeuſma* or *Call*, whereby they invited one another to ſing Praiſes unto Chriſt.

SECT. V. *Of the* Hoſanna *and the Evening Hymn, and* Nunc dimittis, *or the Song of* Simeon.

I do not here inſiſt upon the *Hoſannah*, or the Evening Hymn, becauſe it does not appear that either of theſe were uſed in the Service of the *Catechumens*. The *Hoſannah* was but a Part of the great *Doxology*, *Glory be to God on high*, and only uſed in the Communion Service, where we ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter. And the Evening Hymn has been mention'd [*] before in the former Book, where we have given an Account of the daily Evening Service, and ſhewed it to be rather a private Hymn, than any Part of the publick Worſhip of the Church. In it was contained the *Nunc dimittis*, or Song of *Simeon*, *Lord now letteſt Thou thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word*, &c. But whether any of this was uſed in publick, or only by Chriſtians in their private Devotions in their Families at their ſetting up of Lights, is what I ingenuouſly confeſs I am not yet able from any antient Records to determine. For though there is frequent mention of the λυχναψία among the *Greeks*, and of the *Lucernarium* among the *Latins*, as of a publick Office, for Veſpers or Evening Prayers; yet I will not aſſert, that this Hymn was a Part of that Office, without clearer Proof, but leave it to farther Diſquiſition and Enquiry. The only Thing we find more of the *Nunc dimittis*, is in the Life of *Maria Ægyptiaca*, who died about the Year 525, of whom it is ſaid, that a little before her Death ſhe received the *Euchariſt*, repeated the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer*, and ſung the *Nunc dimittis*, *Lord now letteſt Thou thy Servant* [o] *depart in Peace according to thy Word*. But this was only an Act of private Devotion, and whether it was then received into the publick Offices of the Church, remains uncertain.

SECT. VI. *Of the* Benedicite, *or the Song of the three Children.*

BUT we are more certain of the Uſe of the Hymn, called *Benedicite*, or Song of the Three Children in the burning fiery Furnace. For not only *Athanaſius* [p] directs Virgins to uſe it in their private Devotions, but the fourth Council of *Toledo* [q] ſays, it was uſed in the Church over all the World, and therefore orders it to be ſung by the Clergy of *Spain* and *Gallicia* every Lord's Day, and on the Feſtivals of the Martyrs, under Pain of Excommunication. *Leſtrange* [r] thinks this is the firſt Time there is any mention made of this Hymn, as of publick Uſe in the Church: But *Chryſoſtom* lived two hundred Years before this Council, and he makes the ſame Obſervation as the Council does, that it was ſung in all Places [s] throughout the World, and would continue to be ſung in future Generations. The *Lectionarium Gallicanum* publiſhed by *Mabillon* [t] appoints this Hymn to be ſung after the Reading of the Prophets, much after the ſame manner as it is now ordered to be ſung between the firſt and ſecond Leſſon in the Liturgy of our Church.

SECT. VII. *Of the* Magnificat, *or Song of the Holy Virgin.*

THE Uſe of the *Magnificat*, or Song of the Holy Virgin, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord*, &c. is not quite ſo antient: For the firſt Time we meet with it as preſcribed for publick Uſe, is in the Rules of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* and *Aurelian* [u], who order it to be ſung in the *French* Churches at Morning Service. And that was about the Year 506.

SECT. VIII. *When firſt the* Creed *began to be ſung as an Hymn in the Church.*

SOME learned Perſons reckon the ſinging of the *Creed* into the Pſalmody of the Church, and ſpeak of it as an antient Cuſtom: But herein they miſtake, by ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed upon by modern Authors. Biſhop *Wettenhal* [x] ſays, it is no improbable Conjecture, that the Hymn which the Primitive Chriſtians are ſaid by *Pliny* to have ſung to Chriſt as God, was their *Creed*; and that it is certain, the *Nicene Creed* has been ſung in the Church in a manner from the very compiling of it. For this he cites *Platina* in the Life of Pope *Mark*, who affirms, that it was ordained by that Pope, that on all ſolemn Days immediately after the *Goſpel*, the *Creed* ſhould be ſung

[k] Id. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. cap. 16. Poſt Alleluja cantatum, quo ſigno vocabantur ad Collectam, nulli reſidere licitum erat. [l] Sidon. lib. 2. Ep. 10. Curvorum hinc Chorus helciariorum, Reſponſantibus Alleluja ripis, ad Chriſtum levat amnicum Celeuſma. [m] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. [n] Aug. de Cantico Novo. cap. 2. Tom. 9. Celeuſma noſtrum dulce cantemus Alleluja. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* xi. *n.* 5 [o] Vita Mariæ Ægypt. ap. Durantum de Ritibus lib. 1. cap. 16. n. 9. [p] Athan. de Virgin. p. 1057. [q] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 13. Hymnum quoque trium puerorum, in quo univerſa cœli terræque creatura Deum collaudat, & quem Eccleſia Catholica per totum orbem diffuſa celebrat, quidam ſacerdotes in Miſſa Dominicorum dierum & in ſolennitatibus Martyrum canere negligunt. Proinde ſanctum Concilium inſtituit, ut per omnes Hiſpaniæ Eccleſias vel Galliciæ, in omnium Miſſarum ſolennitate idem in publico (al. Pulpito) decantetur, &c. [r] Leſtrange *Alliance of Div. Offic. Chap.* 3. *p.* 79. [s] Chryſ. Quod nemo læditur niſi à ſeipſo. tom. 4. p. 593. ὡδὴν παιδαχῆ τῆς ἀικμώσης ἀδομώσην, ἣ ἀεὶ ησομώσην εἰς τὰς μελὰ ταῦτα γενεὰς. [t] Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 2. p. 108. [u] Apud Mabillon. de Curſu Gallican. p. 407. [x] Wettenhal, *Gift of Singing*, Chap. 3. p. 330.

with a loud Voice by the Clergy and People, in that Form wherein it was explained by the *Nicene* Council. When yet it is certain on the other hand, that the *Creed* was never ſo much as barely repeated in the *Roman* Church in Time of Divine Service, till the Year 1014, when *Benedict* the eighth brought it into Uſe, to comply with the Practice of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Churches, as has been ſhewed at large in a former Book [*], where we have noted, that it was never read publickly in the *Greek* Church, but once a Year, till *Peter Fullo* brought it into the Church of *Antioch*, An. 471; and *Timotheus* into the Church of *Conſtantinople*, An. 511. From whoſe Example it was taken by the third Council of *Toledo*, An. 589, and brought into Cuſtom in the *Spaniſh* Churches. After which it was four whole Centuries before it gained Admittance in the Church of *Rome*. So little Reaſon is there to depend upon the Authority of modern Authors, in Caſes where they plainly contradict the Teſtimony of more antient and credible Writers. And this is a good Argument, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [y] well urges it, to ſhew the Differences betwixt the old *Gallican* and *Roman* Offices, and that the Church of *England* did not follow preciſely the Model of the *Roman* Offices, but thoſe that were more antiently received in the general Practice of the *Gallican* and *Britiſh* Churches.

SECT. IX. *Of the Author and Original of the Hymn* Te Deum.

THERE remains one Hymn more, the *Te Deum*, which is now in Uſe among us, the Author and Original of which is variouſly diſputed. The common Opinion aſcribes it to St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtin* jointly; others to St. *Ambroſe* ſingly [z], becauſe he is known to have compoſed Hymns for the Uſe of the Church. Two things are chiefly ſaid in Favour of theſe Opinions, which have no real Weight or Force in them. 1. That the Chronicle of *Dacius*, one of St. *Ambroſe*'s Succeſſors, ſays, He compoſed it. 2. That it is approved as his Hymn in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, *An.* 633. But to the firſt it is reply'd by learned Men, That the pretended *Chronicon* of *Dacius* is a mere Counterfeit, and altogether ſpurious. *Mabillon* [a] proves it to be at leaſt 500 Years younger than its reputed Author: Whence the Story that is ſo formally told in it, is concluded to be a mere Fiction and Invention of later Ages. The Story is this, as *Spondanus* [b], a Favourer of it, reports it out of *Dacius*: That when St. *Auſtin* was baptized by St. *Ambroſe*, whilſt they were at the Font, they ſung this Hymn by Inſpiration, as the Spirit gave them Utterance, and ſo publiſhed it in the Sight and Audience of all the People. But the Authority of the Story reſting merely upon the Foundation of this fabulous Writer, there is no Credit to be given to it. Neither is there any greater Weight to be laid upon what is alledged from the Council of *Toledo*: For the Council only ſays, That ſome Hymns were compoſed for the Uſe of the Church, by St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambroſe*; without any particular mention of this Hymn; ſo that it might as well be aſcribed to St. *Hilary*, as St. *Ambroſe*, for any thing that is ſaid in that Council. The Truth of the Matter is, that it was compoſed by a *French* Writer about an hundred Years after St. *Ambroſe*'s Death, for the Uſe of the *Gallican* Church. *Pagi* [c] ſays, *Gavantus* found it in ſome MSS. aſcribed to St. *Abundius*; and others have the Name of *Siſebutus* prefixed to it. Biſhop *Uſher* [d] found it in two MSS. aſcribed to *Nicettus* Biſhop of *Triers*, who liv'd about the Year 535. And he is now by learned Men generally reputed the Author of it. The learned *Benedictins*, who lately publiſhed St. *Ambroſe*'s Works, judge St. *Ambroſe* not to be the Author of it: And Dr. *Cave*, though he was once [e] of a different Judgment; yet upon maturer Conſideration [f] ſubſcribes to their Opinion. Wherefore the moſt rational Concluſion, is that of Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, [g] That it was compoſed by *Nicettus*, and that we muſt look on this Hymn as owing its Original to the *Gallican* Church; ſince not long after the Time of *Nicettus* it is mentioned in the *Rule of* St. *Benedict*, cap. 11. and the *Rule of Cæſarius Arelatenſis*, cap. 21. and the *Rule of Aurelian*, where they preſcribe the Uſe of it: But *Menardus* [h] is confident, there is no mention of this Hymn in any Writers of Credit before them.

SECT. X. *The Hymns of St.* Ambroſe.

BUT though St. *Ambroſe* cannot be allowed to be the Author of this Hymn, yet there is no doubt to be made but that he compoſed Hymns for the Uſe of the Church, ſome of which are yet extant. For St. *Auſtin* [i] mentions one of his Evening Hymns in ſeveral Places, *Deus Creator omnium*, &c. Which I forbear to relate here at length, becauſe I have done it in the former Book [†]. Again, St. *Auſtin* in his *Retractations* [k] ſpeaks of another Hymn compoſed by St. *Ambroſe* upon the Repentance of *Peter* after the crowing of the Cock, Part of which he there relates, and ſays, it was uſed to be ſung by many in his Time.

[*] *Book* X. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 17. [y] Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 237. [z] Comber *of Liturgies*, p. 180. [a] Mabil. Analecta Veterum. Tom. 1. p. 5. [b] Spondan. an. 388. n. 9. In quibus Fontibus, prout Spiritus ſanctus dabat eloqui illis, Te Deum laudamus, cantantes, cunctis qui aderant audientibus & videntibus, ediderunt. Ex Chronico Dacii, lib. 1. c. 10. [c] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 388. n. 11. [d] Uſſer. de Symbolo p. 3. [e] Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 215. [f] Id. Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 2. p. 75. Ambroſii eſſe, nullo idoneo teſtimonio probari poteſt, & Fabulam pro origine habere videtur. [g] Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. chap 4. p. 222. [h] Menard. Not. in Gregor. Sacramentar. p. 351. [i] Aug. Confeſs. lib. 9. cap. 12. It. de Muſica lib. 6. cap. 2. & 17. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* v. *n.* 7. [k] Aug. Retract. lib. 1. cap. 21. Cantatur ore multorum in verſibus Beatiſſimi Ambroſii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait, Hoc, ipſa Petra Eccleſia, canente, culpam diluit.

Du Pin thinks [*l*] moſt of thoſe Hymns which are now the daily Office of the Roman Service, are taken from St. *Ambroſe*, but that the reſt are in a different Style, and owing to other Authors. Particularly that the Hymn, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, is none of his, which is now uſed in the Romiſh Church in the fourth Week of *Lent*, ſo notorious for their kneeling down to the Croſs, and worſhipping it in theſe Words [*m*]: *Hail, Croſs, our only Hope, in this Time of Paſſion, increaſe the Righteouſneſs of the Pious, and grant Pardon of Sins to the Guilty.* We are ſure this could not be the Compoſition of St. *Ambroſe*, nor any Writer of that Age; being ſo much the reverſe of the Practice of the antient Church, in whoſe Hymns or other Devotions there is not the leaſt Footſtep of worſhipping the Croſs, or any Material Image of God, as has been demonſtrated in a former Part [†] of this Work, where the Hiſtory of Images has been handled *ex profeſſo*, in conſidering the Way of adorning the antient Churches.

SECT. XI. *The Hymns of St. Hilary, Claudianus Mamercus, and others.*

THERE were many other Hymns, and ſome whole Books of Hymns compoſed by other Writers of the Church, of which we have little remaining beſides the bare Names, and therefore it will be ſufficient juſt to mention them. St. *Jerom* ſays [*n*], St. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, compoſed a Book of Hymns: And theſe we are ſure were many Years after his Death of famous Note and Uſe in the Spaniſh Churches, being ratified and confirmed in the fourth Council of *Toledo* [*o*]. But none of theſe are come to our Hands, except a Morning Hymn [*p*] prefixed before his Works, which he ſent with an Epiſtle to his Daughter *Abra*. It is a Prayer to Chriſt for Preſervation from the Perils of Day and Night, ſavouring of antient Piety, and concluding with the common Glorification of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [*q*] ſays alſo that *Claudianus Mamercus* collected the Pſalms and Hymns and Leſſons proper for the Feſtivals in the Church of *Vienna* in *France*, and made ſome Hymns of his own, one of which he highly [*r*] commends for its Elegancy, Loftineſs, and Sweetneſs, as exceeding any of the antient *Lyricks*, in the greatneſs of its Compoſure and Hiſtorical Truth. *Savaro* ſays in his Notes upon the Place, that it is the ſame which is now in the Roman *Breviary*; and becauſe it anſwers the Character which *Sidonius* gives it, and has none of the Superſtition of a modern Compoſure in it (ſuch as the *Vexilla Regis*, fathered upon St. *Ambroſe*) I think it not improper to tranſcribe in the Margin here [*s*], for the Uſe of the learned Reader. And ſay farther, that if every Thing in the Roman *Breviary* had been in this Strain, it had much more reſembled the Piety and Simplicity of the antient Hymns, and been free from thoſe Marks of Superſtition and Idolatry, which now it labours under, by mixing the Follies of the modern ſuperſtitious Admirers of the Worſhip of the Virgin *Mary* and the Croſs, which were ſo great a Deviation from the antient Worſhip, and ſtood ſo much in need of Reformation. There were many other Hymns for the Uſe of particular Churches, compoſed by learned Men, as *Nepos*, and *Athenogenes*, and *Ephrem Syrus*, not to mention thoſe ſpoken of by *Pliny* and *Tertullian*, and frequently by *Euſebius*; nor thoſe which *Paulus Samoſatenſis* cauſed in his Anger to be caſt out of the Church of *Antioch*; nor thoſe which *Sozomen* [*t*] ſays were made upon a ſpecial Occaſion, when the People of *Antioch* had incenſed *Theodoſius* by throwing down his Statues; which were both ſung in the Church, and before *Theodoſius* himſelf by the ſinging Boys as he ſat at Table. Of all which we have no farther Account but only the bare mention of them in their ſeveral Authors. As for thoſe compoſed by *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Paulinus*, *Prudentius*, and other Chriſtian

[*l*] Du Pin. Bibliothec. Cent. 4. p. 231.

[*m*] Breviar. Rom. Hebdom. 4. Quadrageſimæ. Die Sabbati.

O Crux ave ſpes unica,
Hoc Paſſionis tempore,
Auge piis juſtitiam,
Reiſque dona veniam.

[†] *Book* VIII. *Chap.* viii. *n.* 6. &c. [*n*] Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. cap. 100. [*o*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 12. [*p*] Hilar. Epiſt. ad Fil. Abram. Interim tibi Hymnum Matutinum & Serotinum miſi, ut memor mei ſemper ſis. *The Hymn begins thus*: Lucis Largitor optime, &c. *And ends in theſe Words of the* Doxology:

Gloria tibi Domino,
Gloria Unigenito,
Cum Spiritu Paracleto
Nunc & per omne ſæculum.

[*q*] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 11. Pſalmorum hic modulator & Phonaſcus, Inſtructas docuit ſonare claſſes. Hic ſolennibus annuis paravit, Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent. [*r*] Id. lib. 4. Ep. 3. Jam vero de Hymno tuo ſi percunctere quod ſentiam, commaticus eſt, copioſus, dulcis, elatus, & quoſlibet lyricos Dithyrambos amœnitate poetica & hiſtorica veritate ſupereminet. [*s*] Breviar. Rom. Dominica 5. Quadrageſimæ, ſive in Paſſione Domini ad Matutinum.

Pange lingua glorioſi
Prælium certaminis,
Et ſuper crucis trophæum
Dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter Redemptor orbis
Immolatus vicerit.

De Parentis Protoplaſti
Fraude Factor condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis
Morſu in mortem corruit,
Ipſe lignum tunc notavit,
Damna ligni ut ſolveret.

Hoc opus noſtræ ſalutis
Ordo depopoſcerat,
Multiformis Proditoris
Ars ut artem falleret,
Et medelam ferret inde,
Hoſtis unde læſerat.

Quando venit ergo ſacri
Plenitudo temporis,
Miſſus eſt ab arce Patris
Natus orbis Conditor:
Ac de ventre Virginali
Caro factus prodiit.

Vagit infans inter arcta
Conditus preſepia:
Membra pannis involuta
Virgo mater alligat;
Et manus pedeſque & crura
Stricta cingit faſcia.

Gloria & honor Deo
Uſquequaque altiſſimo,
Una Patri, Filioque,
Inclyto Paraclyto,
Cui Laus eſt & Poteſtas
Per æterna ſæcula. Amen.

[*t*] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 23.

Poets,

Poets, they were not designed for publick Use in the Church, but only to antidote Men against the Poison of Heresies, or set forth the Praises of the Martyrs, or recommend the Practice of Virtue in a private way: For which Reason I take no Notice of them in this Place, being only concerned to give an Account of such Hymns as related to the antient Psalmody, as a Part of the publick Service of the Church. And so I have done with the first Part of their Worship in the *Missa Catechumenorum*, or Service of the Catechumens.

CHAP. III.

Of the Manner of Reading the Scriptures in the publick Service of the Church.

SECT. I. *Lessons of the Scripture sometimes mixed with Psalms and Hymns, and sometimes read after them.*

NEXT to the Psalmody and Hymns, we are to take a View of their way of Reading the Scriptures, which was another Part of the Service of the Catechumens, at which (as has been observed before) all sorts of Persons were allowed to be present for Instruction. Which is an Argument of it self, sufficient (if there were no other) to prove, that they were always read in a known Tongue: Of which I need say no more here, because it has been so fully evinced by great Variety of Arguments in the last Book. What we are now to observe farther, relates to the Manner and Circumstances of this Service. Where first of all it is proper to remark, that tho' many times the *Psalms*, and Lessons, and Hymns, were so intermixed (as now they are in our *Liturgy*) that it is hard to tell which came first in order, or with which the Service began; yet in some Places it was plainly otherwise: For the *Psalms* were first sung all together, only with short Prayers between them, and then the Lessons were read by themselves, to such a Number as the Rules of every Church appointed. Of which I have given sufficient Proof out of *Cassian* and St. *Jerom* in the Beginning of the last Chapter, which may supersede all farther Confirmation in this Place.

SECT. II. *The Lessons read both out of the* Old *and* New Testament, *except in the Church of* Rome, *where only* Epistle *and* Gospel *were read.*

THE next Thing worthy of our Observation, is the Number of the Lessons, which were always two at least, and sometimes three or four, and those partly out of the *Old Testament*, and partly out of the *New*. Only the Church of *Rome* seems to have been a little singular in this Matter: For, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* observes [*a*] out of *Walafridus Strabo* [*b*] and others of her old Ritualists, for 400 Years, till the Time of Pope *Celestine*, they had neither *Psalms* nor *Lessons* out of the *Old Testament* read before the Sacrifice, but only *Epistle* and *Gospel*. In other Churches they had Lessons out of the *Old Testament* as well as the *New*. *Cassian* [*c*] says, in *Egypt*, after the Singing of the *Psalms*, they had two Lessons read, one out of the *Old Testament*, and the other out of the *New*: Only on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, and the fifty Days of *Pentecost* they were both out of the *New Testament*, one out of the *Acts of the Apostles*, or the *Epistles*, and the other out of the *Gospels*. The Author of the *Constitutions* [*d*] speaks of four Lessons, two out of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, besides the *Psalms*, and then two out of the *Epistles* or *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Gospels*. Again [*e*], he mentions the Reading of the *Prophets* on *Sundays*. And in another Place [*f*], the *Law* and the *Prophets*, the *Psalms* and the *Gospels*. And again, the *Law* and the *Prophets* [*g*], and the *Epistles*, and the *Acts*, and the *Gospels*. So *Justin Martyr* describing the Business of the Christian Assemblies on the Lord's Day, speaks of the Reading of the Writings of the Prophets, as well as the Apostles [*h*]. In like manner *Chrysostom* reproving some who were very negligent at Church, says [*i*], Tell me what Prophet was read to-day, what Apostle? implying that the one was read as well as the other. Particularly he tells us, that the Book of *Genesis* was always read in *Lent*, of which more by and by, in the following Observation. St. *Basil* in one of his *Homilies* [*k*] upon Baptism in *Lent*, takes notice of the several Lessons that were read that Day, besides the *Psalms*, whereof one was out of the first of *Isaiah*, the second out of *Acts* ii, and the third out of *Matthew* xi. And in another *Homily* [*l*] he speaks of the *Psalms*, and *Proverbs*, and *Epistles* and *Gospels*, as read that Day. *Maximus Taurinensis* in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Epiphany* [*m*] says, The Lessons were out of *Isaiah* lx. *Matthew* ii. and *John* i. for that Festival. St. *Austin* sometimes only mentions *Epistle* and *Gospel*. But in other Places he expresly mentions [*n*] the Reading of the *Prophets*, and particularly mentions the Prophet *Micah*, and those Words of the vith Chap-

[*a*] Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 215. [*b*] Strabo de Reb. Eccl. cap. 12. [*c*] Cassian. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 6. [*d*] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 57. [*e*] Idem. lib. 2. cap. 59. [*f*] Idem lib. 5. cap. 19. [*g*] Idem. lib. 8. cap. 5. [*h*] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [*i*] Chrys. Hom. 24. in Rom. p. 270. Hom. 3. de David & Saul. T. 2. p. 1037. [*k*] Basil. Hom. 13. de Bapt. T. 1. p. 409. [*l*] Basil. Hom. 21. in Lacizis. p. 460. [*m*] Maxim. Taurin. Hom. 4. in Epiphan. [*n*] Aug. Hom. 237. de Temp. p. 384.

ter, *What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God*; which were the Theme for his Diſcourſe upon the Leſſon for the Day. In the *French* Churches there is ſtill more Evidence for this Practice: For *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* [o], in one of his *Homilies* cited by *Mabillon*, uſes this Argument to the People, why they ſhould ſtay the whole Time of Divine Service, becauſe the Leſſons were not ſo properly called *Miſſa* or Divine Service, as was the Oblation or Conſecration of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: For they might read at Home, or hear others read the Leſſons, whether out of the Prophets, or Apoſtles, or Evangeliſts; but they could not hear or ſee the Conſecration any where elſe but only in the Houſe of God. Where it is plainly implied, that the Leſſons were then read in the Church as well out of the *Prophets*, as the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels*. And ſo in the Relation of the Conference between the *Catholicks* and *Arians* in the Time of *Gundobadus* King of *Burgundy*, which we have had Occaſion to mention before [*] out of the ſame learned Writer, it is ſaid, that in the Vigil held the Night before the Conference, four Leſſons were read, one out of *Moſes*, another out of the Prophet *Eſaias*, a third out of the *Goſpel*, and the laſt out of the *Epiſtles*. And in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, publiſhed by *Mabillon*, there is always a Leſſon out of the *Old Teſtament* before the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*: And on the *Sabbatum ſanctum*, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter* [p], there are no leſs than Twelve Leſſons appointed out of *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Joſhua*, *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* and *Jonah*, beſide the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel* which follow after. It farther appears from the Canons of the Council of *Laodicea* [q] and the third Council of *Carthage* [r], and St. *Cyril*'s *Catechetical Diſcourſes* [s], that all the Books of the *Old Teſtament* were then read in the Church, as well as the *New*. For they give us Catalogues of what Books might, or might not be read in the Church, among which all the Books of the *Old Teſtament* are ſpecified as ſuch as were then actually read in the publick Service; and *Cyril* allows his Catechumens to read no other Books in private but the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, which he thought they might ſafely read, becauſe they were both publickly read in the Church.

SECT. III. *Proper Leſſons for certain Times and Feſtivals.*

THE next Obſervation to be made is, upon their Method of reading the Scriptures, which ſeems always to be done by ſome Rule, though this might vary in different Churches. St. *Auſtin* tells us [t] there were ſome Leſſons ſo fixed and appropriated to certain Times and Seaſons, that no others might be read in their Stead. And he particularly inſtances in the Feſtival of *Eaſter*, when for four Days ſucceſſively the Hiſtory of Chriſt's Reſurrection [u] was read out of the four *Goſpels*. On the Day of his Paſſion [x] they read the Hiſtory of his Sufferings out of St. *Matthew*'s *Goſpel* only. And all the Time between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt* [y] he ſays, they read the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. This laſt Particular is frequently mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom*, who has a whole Sermon to give an Account of the Reaſons of it. There he takes Notice of many Things together relating to this Matter of Reading the Leſſons by Rule and Order. Firſt he tells us [z] how by the Appointment of the Church, on the Day of our Saviour's Paſſion all ſuch Scriptures were read, as had any Relation to the Croſs; then how on the great Sabbath, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter*, they read all ſuch Portions of Scripture as contained the Hiſtory of his being betrayed, crucified, dead and buried. He adds alſo [a], that on *Eaſter* Day they read ſuch Paſſages as gave an Account of his Reſurrection; and on every Feſtival the Things that related to that Feſtival. But it ſeemed a Difficulty, why then the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which contain the Hiſtory of their Miracles done after *Pentecoſt*, ſhould not rather be read after *Pentecoſt*, than before it? To this he anſwers, that the Miracles of the Apoſtles, contained in that Book, were the great Demonſtration of our Saviour's Reſurrection: and therefore the Church appointed that Book to be read always between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, immediately after our Saviour's Reſurrection, to give Men the Evidences and Proofs of that holy Myſtery, which was the Completion of their Redemption. So that though the Leſſons for other Feſtivals related the Things that were done at thoſe Feſtivals, yet for a particular Reaſon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which contained the Hiſtory of Things done after *Pentecoſt*, were read before *Pentecoſt*, becauſe they were more proper for the Time immediately following our Saviour's Reſurrection. And upon this Account it became a general Rule over the whole Church to read the *Acts* at this Time, as not only *Chryſoſtom* teſtifies here, but in many other Places of his Writings. In his *Homily* upon thoſe Words, *Saul yet breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter againſt the Diſciples*, Acts ix. he gives this Reaſon why he could not preach in order upon every

[o] Cæſar. Arelat. De non recedendo ab Eccleſia, &c. ap. Mabillon de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 4. Non tunc fiunt Miſſæ, quando divinæ Lectiones in Eccleſia recitantur, ſed quando munera offeruntur, & Corpus vel Sanguis Domini conſecratur: Nam Lectiones, ſive Propheticas, ſive Apoſtolicas, ſive Evangelicas, etiam in domibus veſtris aut ipſi legere, aut alios legentes audire poteſtis; Conſecrationem vero Corporis & Sanguinis Domini non alibi, niſi in Domo Dei, audire vel videre poteritis [*] *Book* XIV. *Chap* i. *n.* 2. [p] Lectionar. Gallican. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 2. p. 138. [q] Conc. Laodic. Can. 59, & 60. [r] Conc. Carth. 3. Can. 47. [s] Cyril Catech. 4. n. 22. p. 67. [t] Aug. Expoſ. in 1 Joan. in Præfat. T. 9. p. 235. Interpoſita eſt ſolennitas ſanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex Evangelio Lectiones oportet in Eccleſia recitari, quæ ita ſunt Annuæ, ut aliæ eſſe non poſſint. [u] Vid. Aug. Serm. 139, 140, 141, 144, 148. de Tempore. Item Chryſ. Hom. 88. in Mat. p. 731. [x] Aug. Serm. 144. de Tempore. p. 320. [y] Aug Tract. 6. in Joan. Tom. 9. p. 24. & Hom. 83. de Diverſis. [z] Chryſ. Hom. 63. Cur in Pentecoſte Acta legantur. T. 5. p. 949. [a] Chryſ. ibid. p. 951.

part

Part of that Book [b], becauſe the Law of the Church commanded it to be laid aſide after *Pentecoſt*, and the Reading of it to conclude with the End of the preſent Feſtival. In another Place [c] he ſays, it was appointed by Law to be read on that Feſtival, and not uſually read in any other Part of the Year. And in another Place [d] he gives this Reaſon why he broke off his Sermons upon *Geneſis* in the *Paſſion Week*, becauſe the Intervention of other Solemnities obliged him to preach then upon other Subjects, agreeable to what was read in the Church, as againſt the Traitor *Judas*, and upon the Paſſion, and our Saviour's Reſurrection, at which Time he took in hand the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and preached upon them from *Eaſter* to *Pentecoſt*. *Caſſian* [e] ſays, the ſame Order was obſerved among the *Egyptians*: And it appears from the antient *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, that it was ſo in the *French* Churches: For there almoſt on every Day between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, except the *Rogation* Days, and ſome few others, two Leſſons are ordered to be read out of the *Apocalyps* and the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Whence it may be concluded farther, that the Reading of the *Apocalyps* was alſo in a great meaſure appropriated to this Seaſon in the *Gallican* Church. And ſo it was in the *Spaniſh* Churches by an Order of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, which enjoyns the Reading of it [f] in this Interval under Pain of Excommunication. In *Lent* they uſually read the Book of *Geneſis*, as is plain from *Chryſoſtom*, whoſe famous *Homilies* called ἀνδριάντες, (becauſe they are about the Statues of the Emperor, which the People of *Antioch* had ſeditiouſly thrown down,) were preached in *Lent:* And in one of theſe [g] he ſays, he would preach upon the Book that had been read that Day, which was the Book of *Geneſis*; and the firſt Words, *In the Beginning God created Heaven and Earth*, were the Subject of his Diſcourſe. In another Sermon [h] preached upon the ſame Text in the Beginning of *Lent*, he ſays, the Words had been read in the Leſſon that Day. And for this very Reaſon he preached two whole *Lents* upon the Book of *Geneſis*, becauſe it was then read of courſe in the Church. For the thirty two firſt of thoſe *Homilies* were preached at *Conſtantinople* in *Lent* in the third Year after he was made Biſhop, *an.* 400, or 401; but the Feſtivals of the *Paſſion*, and *Eaſter*, and *Pentecoſt* coming on, this Subject was interrupted, and he preached upon other Subjects, as he himſelf [i] tells us, ſuitable to thoſe Occaſions. Afterward he reſumed his former Work, and finiſhed his *Comment* upon *Geneſis* in thirty two Sermons more in the Year enſuing. Which makes it plain, that *Geneſis* was then read in *Lent*, as the *Acts* were in *Pentecoſt*, and that *Chryſoſtom* conformed his Diſcourſes according to the Order of Reading then eſtabliſhed in the Church. It appears farther from St. *Ambroſe*, that the Book of *Job* and *Jonah* were both read in the *Paſſion Week*. For ſpeaking of a Sermon which he made to the People at this Time, he ſays [k], Ye have heard, Children, the Book of *Job* read, which is in Courſe appointed to be read at this Time. And [l] again, ſays he, the Book of *Jonah* was read. That is, as *Pagi* [m] critically remarks, on the third Day of the *Paſſion Week*. And that this was an antient Rule of the Church, appears from *Origen*'s Comment upon *Job*, which St. *Jerom* [n] ſays, St. *Hilary* tranſlated into *Latin*. For there [o] he not only tells us, that the Book of *Job* was read in the Church in *Paſſion Week*, but alſo gives us the Reaſon of it, becauſe it was a Time of Faſting and Abſtinence, a Time in which they that faſted and abſtained, had as it were a ſort of Fellow-Suffering with admirable *Job*, a Time in which Men by Faſting and Abſtinence followed after the Paſſion of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord: And becauſe the Paſſion of *Job* was in a great meaſure a Type and Example of the Paſſion and Reſurrection of Chriſt, therefore the Hiſtory of *Job*'s Paſſion was with good Reaſon read and meditated upon in theſe Days of Paſſion, theſe Days of Sanctification, theſe Days of Faſting. Thus far *Origen*. But in the [p] *Lectionarium Gallicanum* there is no mention of the Book of *Job*, but only of *Jonah* on the *Sabbatum magnum*, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter* Day. [q] St. *Jerom* ſeems to ſay, that the Prophet *Hoſea* was alſo read on the Vigil of our Saviour's Paſſion. For he mentions a long Diſcourſe of *Pierius*, which he had read, made by that Martyr on the Beginning of that Book, in an elegant but extemporary Style, on the Vigil before the Paſſion. St. *Chryſoſtom* [r] in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Goſpel of St. John*, which he was then expounding, adviſes his Auditors to read at Home in the Week-days before, ſuch Portions of the Goſpel as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord's Day following in the Church. Which implies ſome certain Rule and Order. So that though we have not any compleat *Lectionarium*, or *Kalendar* of Leſſons now remaining, yet we are ſure their Reading of Scripture was ſome Way methodized and brought under Rule, eſpecially for the greater Solemni-

[b] Chryſ. Hom. 47. tom. 5. p. 637. ἅπαξ πατέρων ὁ νόμος κελεύει μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ βιβλίον, &c.
[c] Hom. 48. In Inſcriptionem Altaris. Act. 17. t. 5. p. 650. τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ νενομοθέτηται αὐτὴ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. &c.
[d] Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 478. [e] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 6. [f] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 16. Si quis Apocalypſin à Paſcha uſque ad Pentecoſten Miſſarum tempore in Eccleſia non prædicaverit, Excommunicationis ſententiam habebit.
[g] Chryſ. Hom. 7. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 107. τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθὲν μεταχειρίσομαι βιβλίον. [h] Serm. 1. in Gen. 1. t. 2. p. 880. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη σήμερον. Vid. Chryſ. Hom. 6. de Pœnitentia in Edict. Latinis.
[i] Chryſ. Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 480. Vid. Severiani Gabalenſis Hom. 1 in Gen. ap. Combefiſ. Auctar. Noviſſ. p. 214. Et Aug. Serm. 71. de Temp. [k] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Soror. p. 160. Audiſtis, Filii, librum legi Job, qui ſolenni & munere eſt decurſus & Tempore. [l] Ibid. p. 162. Sequenti die lectus eſt de more Liber Jonæ. [m] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 387. n. 4. [n] Hieron. cont. Vigilant.
[o] Origen in Job. lib. 1. p. 366. In conventu Eccleſiæ in diebus ſanctis legitur Paſſio Job, in diebus Jejunii, in diebus Abſtinentiæ, &c. [p] Lectionar. Gallic. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 139. [q] Hieron. Procem. in Hoſea ad Pammach. Pierii quoque legi Tractatum longiſſimum, quem in exordio hujus Prophetæ die Vigiliarum Dominicæ Paſſionis extemporali & diſerto Sermone profudit. [r] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in Joan. al. 11. edit. Savil. p. 597.

ties and Festivals of the Church. The first *Kalendar* of this Kind is thought by some to be *Hippolytus*'s *Canon Paschalis*, which, as I have shewed before [*], no less Men than *Scaliger* and *Gothofred* take to be a Rule appointing Lessons proper for the Festivals. But *Bucherius* and others give another Account of it, which leaves the Matter uncertain. There goes also under the Name of St. *Jerom*, a Book called his *Comes* or *Lectionarium*; but Criticks of the best Rank [s] reckon this a Counterfeit, and the Work of a much later Writer, because it mentions Lessons out of the *Prophets* and *Old Testament*, whereas in St. *Jerom*'s Time, as we have noted before, there were no Lessons read besides *Epistles* and *Gospels* in the Church of *Rome*. However, some Time after there were several Books of this kind composed for the use of the *French* Churches. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [t] says, *Claudianus Mamercus* made one for the Church of *Vienna*, *An.* 450. And *Gennadius* [u] says, *Musæus* made another for the Church of *Marseilles* about the Year 458. But both these are now lost, and the oldest of this kind is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which *Mabillon* lately published from a Manuscript, which he judges by the Hand to be above a thousand Years old, but wrote after the Time of *Gregory the Great*, because it mentions the Festival of *Genouefa* [x], who is supposed to live after his Time. But though we have no more antient *Kalendar* now remaining, yet the Authorities alledged before do indisputably evince the Thing it self, that the Lessons of Scripture were generally appropriated to Times and Seasons, according as the Festivals required: And for the rest, they were either read in order as they lie in the Bible, as *Mabillon* [y] shews from the Rules of *Cæsarius* and *Aurelian*; or else were arbitrarily appointed by the Bishops at Discretion, as sometimes particular *Psalms* were upon emergent Occasions, according to the Observation that has been made [†] in speaking of that Subject. St. *Austin* says expresly [z], he sometimes ordered a Lesson to be read agreeable to the Subject of the *Psalm* upon which he was preaching. And *Ferrarius* [a] gives several other Instances both out of St. *Austin* [b] and *Chrysologus* [c], to the same Purpose, which need not here be repeated.

SECT. IV. *By whom the Scriptures were anciently read in the Church.*

THE next Question may be concerning the Persons by whom the Scriptures were publickly read in the Church. Which is a Question that has been in some measure answered before, in speaking of the Order of Readers [‡]: Where I shewed, that for the two first Centuries, before the Order of Readers was instituted, it is probable the Scriptures were read by the Deacons, or else in Imitation of the *Jewish* Church, by such as the Bishop or President for that Time appointed. But in the Time of St. *Cyprian* it was the peculiar Office of the Readers, which were become an inferior Order of the Clergy, to read all the Lessons of Scripture, and even the *Gospel*, as well as other Parts, as appears from several [d] of *Cyprian*'s Epistles. Here I must add, that in After-ages the Reading of the *Gospel* was in some Churches confined to the Office of the Deacons and Presbyters. For so the Author of the *Constitutions* [e] words it, After the other Lessons are read by the Readers, let a Deacon or a Presbyter read the *Gospels*. And so St. *Jerom* reminds *Sabinianus* [f] the Deacon, how he had read the *Gospels* in the Church. And *Socrates* [g] notes the same of *Sabbatius*, a Presbyter in the *Novatian* Church. *Sozomen* says [h], at *Alexandria* the *Gospel* was read only by the Archdeacon; in other Places by the Deacons; in others only by the Presbyters; and on the greater Festivals by the Bishop, as at *Constantinople* on *Easter* Day. In the *French* Churches it was the ordinary Office of Deacons, as appears from that Canon of the Council of *Vaison*, which [i] says, that if the Presbyter was sick, the Deacon might read an *Homily*, giving this Reason for it, that they who were thought worthy to read the *Gospels* of Christ, were not unworthy to read the *Expositions* of the Holy Fathers. Yet in the *Spanish* Churches the antient Custom continued, that the Readers read the *Gospel* as well as other Lessons. Which may be collected from that Canon of the first Council of *Toledo* [k] which allows no one that had done publick Penance, ever to be ordained, unless it were to the Office of a Reader, in case of great Necessity, and then he should read neither the *Epistle* nor the *Gospel*. Which implies, that other Readers who were never under Penance, read both the *Gospel* and all other Lessons, as *Albaspinæus* [l] in his Notes rightly observes upon it.

SECT. V. *Whether the* Epistle *and* Gospel *were read twice, first to the Catechumens and then to the Faithful at the Altar.*

BUT in one Thing that Learned Person seems to be mistaken, when he supposes that [m] Reading of the *Gospel* to have been in the Communion-Service. For antiently the Scriptures, and even

[*] *Book* XIII. *chap.* v. *n.* 6. [s] Vid. Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 229. & Cave Hist. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 225. [t] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 11. Hic solennibus annuis paravit, quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent. [u] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Excerpsit de Scripturis Lectiones totius anni Festivis diebus aptas; Responsoria Psalmorum Capitula Temporibus & Lectionibus congruentia. [x] Lectionar. Gallic. ap. Mabil. p. 114. [y] Mabil. de Cursu Gallicano. p. 406. [†] *Book* XIV. *chap.* i. *n.* 6. [z] Aug. in Psal. 90. Ser. 2. p. 412. Propterea fecimus ipsam Lectionem Evangelii recitari, ubi Dominus tentatus est, per ea verba Psalmi quæ hic audistis. [a] Ferrar. Ritu Concionum. lib. 1. cap. 17. [b] Aug Ser. 23. de Verbis Domini. Ser. 121. de Diversi. Tract. 12. in Joan. [c] Chrysolog. Ser. 66, & 118. [‡] *Book* III. *Chap.* v. [d] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Ep. 38. [e] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 57. [f] Hieron. Ep. 48. ad Sabinian. Evangelium Christi quasi Diaconus lectitabas. [g] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 5. [h] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. [i] Conc. Vasens. 2. Can. 2. Si enim digni sunt Diaconi, quæ Christus in Evangelio locutus est, legere, quare indigni judicentur sanctorum Patrum Expositiones publice recitare? [k] Conc. Tolet. 1. Can. 2. Pœnitentes non admittantur ad Clerum, nisi tantum si necessitas aut usus exegerit, & tunc inter Lectores deputentur, ita ut Evangelia aut Apostolum non legant. Vid. Can. 4. ibid. [l] Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Tol. 1. Can. 2. Liquido ex his constat Lectores non Evangelium tantum, sed & Lectiones pronunciasse. [m] Albaspin. Not. in Can. 4. Conc. Carthag. 3.

the *Goſpel* it ſelf, were only read in the Service of the Catechumens. Cardinal *Bona* [n] indeed ſays, the antient Cuſtom was to read the *Goſpel* only to the Faithful, and that the Council of *Orange* in *France* [o], and the Council of *Valentia* in *Spain* [p], were the firſt that ordered it otherwiſe. But nothing is plainer, than that the Reading of the *Goſpel* was always before the Sermon, and the Sermon was always before the Communion-Service began, in the Preſence of the Catechumens, and before their Diſmiſſion ordinarily, being deſigned chiefly for their Inſtruction. Therefore though ſome ill Cuſtom might have crept into the Churches of *France* and *Spain*, excluding the Catechumens from hearing the *Goſpel* and the Sermon, which thoſe Councils endeavoured to correct; yet that is far from proving it to be the antient Cuſtom, to confine the Hearing of the *Goſpel* to the Faithful only: And a Man cannot look into the *Homilies* of St. *Auſtin* or St. *Chryſoſtom*, but he will find this Miſtake every where confuted. For they always ſpeak of reading the *Goſpel* before the *Homily*, and the *Homily* made in the Preſence of the Catechumens: And the contrary Suppoſition is merely owing to a common Prejudice and Conceit, that the antient Service was in all Things like the modern, where the *Goſpel* is twice read, firſt among the Leſſons, and then with the *Epiſtle*, by itſelf in the Communion-Service; whereas antiently they were both read in the ordinary Courſe of the Leſſons, in that Part of the Service only, which was properly called the *Service of the Catechumens*.

SECT. VI.

The Solemnity and Ceremonies of Reading the Leſſons. Where firſt of the Salutation, Pax vobis, *before Reading.*

THE next Thing worthy our Obſervation is the Solemnity and Ceremony, with which the Ancients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The Reader, before he began to read, was commonly uſed to ſay, *Pax vobis*, *Peace be with you*, which was the uſual Form of Salutation at the Entrance of all Offices in the Church. St. *Cyprian* [q] plainly alludes to this, when ſpeaking of a new Reader whom he had ordained to the Office the Lord's Day before, he ſays, *Auſpicatus eſt Pacem, dum dedicat Lectionem*, he began to uſe the Salutation, *Peace be with you*, when he firſt began to read. I know none of the Commentators that take Notice of this Cuſtom in *Cyprian*, or make any Remark upon the Phraſe: But this is evidently the Senſe of it, and ſo the learned *Albaſpinæus* [r] underſtands it. This Cuſtom ſeems to have continued in *Africk*, till the third Council of *Carthage* [†] made an Order to the contrary, that the Readers ſhould no longer ſalute the People. This Form of Salutation, *Peace be with you*, to which the People uſually anſwered, *And with thy Spirit*, was commonly the Office of a Biſhop or Presbyter or Deacon in the Performance of their ſeveral Functions in the Church, as is noted by *Chryſoſtom* [s] in many Places: And therefore this Council took away this Power from the Readers, and put it into the Hands of the Deacons or the other ſuperior Miniſters of the Church. So that as the Reader had uſed to ſay before Reading, *Peace be with you*, this Canon only ordered that it ſhould be ſaid by ſome other Miniſter. For that it was uſed either by the Reader, or ſome other Miniſter before he began to read, appears from St. *Auſtin*, who writing againſt the *Donatiſts*, ſays [t], nothing could be more perverſe than their own Practice, who before the Reader began to read the *Epiſtle*, ſaid to him, *Peace be with thee*, and yet ſeparated from the Peace of thoſe Churches to which the *Epiſtles* were written.

SECT. VII.

This Salutation ſometimes uſed by the Biſhop immediately before the Reader began to read.

ST. *Auſtin* in another Place mentions the Biſhop's uſing this Form of Salutation as ſoon as he came into the Church, immediately before the Reader began to read the Leſſons, which in *Africk* in thoſe Days was the firſt Part of the Service, with a *Reſponſory Pſalm* between every Leſſon. I went to Church, ſays he [u], I ſaluted the People, that is, ſaid *Peace be unto you*, and then Silence being made, the ſolemn Leſſons of the Holy Scriptures were read in Order. This Cuſtom of ſaluting the People in this Form is alſo mentioned by *Chryſoſtom* in ſeveral Places. When we are come [x] into the Church, ſays he, we ſay immediately, *Peace be unto you*, according to this Law, and ye anſwer, *And with thy Spirit*. Again [y], the Biſhop at his Entrance into the Church ſays always, *Peace be unto you*, as a proper Salutation when he comes into his Father's Houſe. And in another Place [z], When the Biſhop enters the Church, he immediately ſays, *Peace be with you all*: When he begins his Sermon, he ſays again, *Peace be with you all*, &c. Now conſidering that this was the common Salutation at the Beginning of all Offices, and that the Scriptures began to be read as ſoon as the Biſhop came into the Church, it is plain that ſuch a Form of Salutation was always uſed by one or other before the Reading of the Scriptures.

[n] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 7. n. 1. [o] Conc. Arauſican. 1. Can. 18. [p] Conc. Valentin. Can. 1.
[q] Cypr. Ep. 33. al. 38. ad Cler. Carthag. p. 75. [r] Albaſpin. Not. in Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 4. [†] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 4. Ut Lectores Populum non ſalutent. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1337, & 1338.
[t] Aug. Ep. 165. Quid autem perverſius & inſanius, quam Lectoribus eaſdem Epiſtolas legentibus dicere, Pax tecum, & ab earum Eccleſiarum Pace ſeparare, quibus ipſæ Epiſtolæ ſcriptæ ſunt.
[u] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1489. Procedimus ad populum, plena erat Eccleſia, perſonabat vocibus gaudiorum: Deo gratias, Deo Laudes.—— Salutavi populum.—— Facto tandem ſilentio, Scripturarum divinarum ſunt lecta ſolennia. [x] Chryſ. Hom. 33. in Mat. p. 318. κοινὴ πᾶσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιλέγομεν εἰσιόντες εὐθέως κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον.
[y] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 653. [z] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1338.

ST.

SECT. VIII. *The Deacon injoined Silence, before the Reader began, and required Attention: As the Reader also did before every Lesson, saying,* Thus saith the Lord.

ST. *Chrysostom* takes Notice of two other Customs relating to this Matter, as introductory to the reading and hearing the Scriptures with greater Advantage: That is, the Deacons enjoining Silence and requiring Attention, and the Reader himself after the naming any Lesson, saying, *Thus saith the Lord.* The Deacon, says he, who is the common Minister of the Church, first stands up [a] and cries with a loud Voice, προσχωμεν, *Let us give Attention*: This he repeats several times, and after that the Reader names the Prophet, *Isaiah* suppose, or any other; and before he begins to read, he also cries aloud, τάδε λέγει κύριος, *Thus saith the Lord.* So again in another Place [b], When the Reader rises up and says, *Thus saith the Lord:* and the Deacon stands up, and commands all Men to keep Silence; he does not say this to honour the Reader, but God who speaks to all by him. This enjoining of Silence is spoken of by St. *Ambrose* [c] and others: But it differed from another Act of the Deacons under the same Name, *Silentium indicere*, which was calling upon the People to fall to their private Prayers, of which we shall have Occasion to say more in the next Book, *Chap.* i.

SECT. IX. *At the naming of the Prophet or* Epistle, *the People in some Places said* Deo gratias, *and* Amen, *at the End of it.*

MABILLON [d] observes, That at the naming of the Lessons out of the *Prophets* or *Epistles* the People sometimes said, *Deo Gratias, Thanks be to God*, as it is in the *Mozarabick Liturgy*. But we have little Notice of this elsewhere. Only St. *Austin* says, it was a very common Phrase among the Monks [e] when they met a Brother-Christian, to say, *Deo Gratias, Thanks be to God*; for which the *Circumcellions*, or *Agonistici*, as they called themselves, among the *Donatists*, were wont to insult them, though they themselves often used to say, *Deo Laudes*, which in their Mouth was more to be dreaded than the roaring of a Lion. Is appears also from the Acts of *Eradius* his Election to be his Successor, that it was an usual Acclamation upon many other Occasions: For as soon as he had nominated *Eradius* to be his Successor, the People cried out [f] for a long Time together, *Deo Gratias, Christo Laudes, Thanks be to God, Praise be to Christ.* What therefore was so common upon other Occasions, might very probably be said by way of Acclamation at the naming of the Lessons of the Holy Scriptures. *Grotius* [g] says it was also customary at the End of the *Epistle* for the People to answer *Amen*: And that hence it was, that at the End of all St. *Paul*'s *Epistles* the Word, *Amen*, was added by the Church. I know not upon what Grounds he asserts this, and therefore I shall let it rest upon the Authority of that learned Man, without affirming or denying his Assertion.

SECT. X. *At the reading of the* Gospel *all stood up, and said in some Places,* Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

AT the reading of the *Gospel* it was a general Custom for all the People to stand up: And some of the middle Age *Ritualists* take Notice of their saying, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, at the naming of it. The Author of the *Homily de Circo vel Hippodromo* [h] under the Name of St. *Chrysostom*, says, When the Deacon goes about to read the *Gospel*, we all presently rise up, and say, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord.* But as that *Homily* is known to be none of *Chrysostom*'s, we cannot certainly say, it was the Custom in his Days. But the Custom of rising up at the reading of the *Gospel* is certainly as old as *Chrysostom:* For he speaks of it in one of his *Homilies* [i] on St. *Matthew*. If the Letters of a King are read in the Theatre with great Silence: Much more ought we to compose our selves, and stand up with attentive Ears, when the Letters not of an earthly King, but of the Lord of Angels are read to us.

The Author of the *Constitutions* [k] mentions the same: When the *Gospel* is read, let the Presbyters and Deacons and all the People stand with profound Silence. And so *Isidore* of *Pelusium* [l], When the true Shepherd appears at the opening of the Holy *Gospels*, then the Bishop himself rises up and lays aside his Pastoral Habit or Authority, signifying thereby, that then the Lord himself, the Author of the Pastoral Function, his God and his Master, is present. This was every where observed, except at *Alexandria*, where it is noted by *Sozomen* [m] as a singular Thing in that Church, That the Bishop did not use to rise up, when the *Gospel* was read. And *Cassian* [n] observes it as no less singular in the Monks of *Egypt*, that excepting the Reader who always stood up, the rest sat upon low Seats both when the Psalms and the Lessons out of the *Old* or *New Testament* were reading. Which was only indulged them because of their excessive Watchings and Fastings and Labours. In other Places sitting at the Gospel was reckoned a Corruption and Abuse: Insomuch that *Philostorgius* [o] tells us, That *Theophilus* the *Arian* Bishop, who went to the *Indies*, corrected it as an Indecency that had crept in there against the Rules of the Church. And *Anastasius* did the same at *Rome*, as is said in his Life by the Author [p] of the *Pontifical*. For he made a Decree that as often

[a] Chrys. Hom. 19. in Act. Apost. [b] Chrys. Hom. 3. in 2 Thes. [c] Ambros. Præfat. in Psalmos. Quantum laboratur in Ecclesia ut fiat silentium, cum lectiones leguntur, &c. Vid. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. [d] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 1. cap. 2. n. 10. [e] Aug. in Psal. 132. p. 630. A quibus plus timetur, Deo Laudes, quam fremitus leonis, hi etiam insultare nobis audent, quia fratres, cum vident homines, Deo gratias, dicunt. [f] Aug. Ep. 110. de Actis Eradii. A populo acclamatum est trigesies sexies; Deo gratias, Christo Laudes. [g] Grot. Annot. in Philem. ver. 25. [h] Chrys. Hom. 52. de Circo. tom. 6. p. 491. [i] Chrys. Hom. 1. in Mat. p. 11. [k] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 57. [l] Isidor. Pelus. lib. 1. Ep. 136. [m] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. [n] Cassian. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 12. [o] Philostorg. lib. 3. c. 5. [p] Pontifical. Vit. Anastas. Hic constituit, ut quotiescunque sancta Evangelia recitarentur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent.

as the Holy *Goſpels* were read, the Prieſts ſhould not ſit, but ſtand in a bowing Poſture. In *Africk* the general Cuſtom was, not only to ſtand at the *Goſpel*, but at all the other Leſſons out of Scripture: For they gave equal Honour to every Part of the Word of God, inſomuch as that their *Sermons* and *Homilies* and whatever was rehearſed in the Church, was heard ſtanding, as we ſhall ſee more in the next Chapter. Here it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that *Cyprian*'s Readers not only ſtood up to read, but that all the People ſtood [q] about them when they read the Scriptures. And in St. *Auſtin*'s Time the Cuſtom was the ſame: For he ſays [r] the longeſt Leſſons were then heard by all Sorts and Sexes ſtanding, except only ſuch as through ſome Infirmity in their Feet or Weakneſs of Body were diſabled, who upon that Account were indulged ſitting, but no others whatſoever. *Bona* [s] thinks there was no certain Anſwer made, when the *Goſpel* was ended. For ſome ſaid only, *Amen*, as it is in the *Mozarabick Liturgy* and the Rule of St. *Benedict*. Which *Alexander Hales* interprets the ſame as ſaying, *God grant we may perſevere in the Doctrine of the* Goſpel. Others ſaid, *Deo Gratias*, *Thanks be to God*; and others *Laus tibi Chriſte*, *Praiſe be to Thee, O Chriſt*. But all this is ſaid only out of the Middle-age Writers, whilſt there is a perfect Silence as to this Matter in the more antient Writers of the Church.

SECT. XI. *Lights carried before the* Goſpel *in the* Eaſtern *Churches.*

THERE was one Ceremony more antient, which St. *Jerom* makes peculiar to the *Eaſtern* Churches, which was the carrying Lights before the *Goſpel* when it was to be read. He ſays [t], they had no ſuch Cuſtom in the *Weſtern* Church, either as burning Candles by Day at the Monuments of the Martyrs (as *Vigilantius* falſely accuſed them); nor at any other Time, ſave only when they met in the Night, to give Light to their Aſſemblies: But in the *Eaſtern* Church it was otherwiſe: For without any Regard to the Relicks of the Martyrs, whenever the *Goſpel* was read, they lighted Candles, partly to demonſtrate their Joy for the good News which the *Goſpel* brought, and partly by a corporeal Symbol to repreſent that Light of which the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, *Thy Word is a Lamp to my Feet, and a Light unto my Paths.* I know no other Author beſide St. *Jerom*, that mentions this, and as far as his Authority will prevail, it may be credited, and no farther. Dr. *Cave* [u] judges, it might not be much elder than his Time; however it was, it is no Argument to patronize the burning of Lamps and Wax-Candles, without the ſame Reaſon, in Churches at Noon-day.

SECT. XII. *Three or four Leſſons ſometimes read out of the* Goſpels *on the ſame Day.*

IT is farther obſervable, That in ſome Churches, upon ſome ſolemn Occaſions, they had three or four Leſſons read out of the *Goſpels* on the ſame Day. St. *Auſtin* [x] ſays, he would have had four Leſſons read out of the four *Goſpels* on the Day of our Saviour's Paſſion; but the People were diſturbed at it, as what they had not been accuſtomed to, ſo he was forced to wave it. But the Cuſtom prevailed in the *French* Churches. For in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum* publiſhed by *Mabillon*, the Leſſons of ſeveral Feſtivals are thus appointed: On the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, there is one Leſſon out of St. *Matthew* ii. for Morning Service, and three more out of *Matthew*, *Luke* and *John*, for the Communion-Service. So on the *Paraſceve* or Day of our Saviour's Paſſion, there is one Leſſon of the *Goſpel* for Morning Service, another for the ſecond, another for the third, another for the ſixth, another for the ninth Hours [y] of Prayer, collected out of the four *Goſpels* by way of Harmony or *Catena*. Whence we may obſerve, that the old *Gallican Liturgy* (from whence our *Engliſh* Service is thought chiefly to be derived, and not from the *Roman* [*], by learned Men) had diſtinct Offices for Morning and Communion-Service, and diſtinct *Goſpels* for each Service on ſolemn Days, as ours now has for all the Feſtivals, which probably were deſigned at firſt for diſtinct Offices, tho' they are now commonly read together in the greateſt Part of our Churches.

SECT. XIII. *Of longer and ſhorter Leſſons, and their diſtinct Uſe, according to* Durantus.

THERE is another Diſtinction made by ſome between the longer and ſhorter Leſſons. The longer Leſſons are ſaid [z] by *Durantus* to be uſed at the long Nocturnal or *Antelucan* Service, and the leſſer at the other Canonical Hours of Prayer. So that this Diſtinction could have no Place till the Canonical Hours were ſettled in the Church. Which was not till the fourth or fifth Century, as has been ſhewed in another [†] Place. *Radulphus Tungrenſis* [a], whom *Durantus* cites, ſpeaks ſomewhat of this Diſtinction in his Time, and ſays the leſſer ſort of Leſſons

[q] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 78. In loco altiore conſtitui oportet, ubi ab omni populo circumſtante conſpecti, &c. [r] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. t. 10. p. 174. Quando Paſſiones prolixæ aut certe aliquæ Lectiones longiores leguntur, qui ſtare non poſſunt, humiliter & cum ſilentio ſedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. *Note that this* Homily *is by* Mabillon *and the* Benedictins *in their* New Edition *aſcribed to* Cæſarius Arelatenſis: *If it be his, it proves the Cuſtom of ſtanding to hear the Leſſons, to have been according to the Uſage of the French Churches.* [s] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 7. n. 4. [t] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. 3. Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, ſicut fruſtra calumniaris, ſed ut noctis tenebras hoc ſolatio temperemus——— Abſque Martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis Eccleſias, quum legendum eſt Evangelium, accenduntur Luminaria jam ſole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, ſed ad ſignum lætitiæ demonſtrandum, &c. [u] Cave Prim. Chriſt. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 203. [x] Aug. Serm. 144. de Tempore. p. 320. [y] Vid. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 116, & 134. [*] Vid. Stillingfleet. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. [z] Durant. de Ritib. lib. 3. cap. 18. n. 4, & 5. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ix. *n.* 8. [a] Radulph. de Canon. Obſervant. Propoſ. 8, & 13.

were

were called vulgarly *Capitula*, Chapters, and designed for the Praise of God. Which makes it more probable, that these lesser Lessons were no other than the *Psalms*, or Antiphonal Hymns collected out of the *Psalms* for the Service of the several Hours of Devotion. Which are expressly called *Capitella de Psalmis*, Chapters out of the *Psalms*, by the Council of *Agde* [b], and were the same as Antiphonal Hymns, collected out of the *Psalms*, and to be said alternately by way of Responses. So that whatever may be said of the middle Ages, there seems to be no Ground for this Distinction of greater and lesser Lessons in the antient Service, save only as we take the Reading of the *Psalms* for Lessons of Scripture.

SECT. XIV. *What might or might not be read by way of Lessons in the Church.*

'TIS true indeed, St. *Austin* in one of his *Homilies* [c], which *Mabillon* and the *Benedictins* in their late Edition ascribe to *Cæsarius* Bishop of *Arles*, speaks of longer and shorter Lessons; but it is not in relation to the long Morning Service, and the shorter Service of the Canonical Hours, but upon a quite different Occasion. For there it is supposed, that beside the Lessons of Scripture, sometimes other Lessons were read out of the *Homilies* of the Fathers, or the *Acts of the Martyrs*, which because they were sometimes very prolix, an Indulgence was therefore granted to infirm Persons to sit down to hear them read. And this leads us to a new Observation and farther Remark upon the antient Practice, that in some Churches at least other Things were allowed to be read by way of Lesson and Instruction beside the Canonical Scriptures, such as the Passions of the *Martyrs* on their proper Festivals, and the *Homilies* of the Fathers, and the *Epistles* and *Tracts* of pious Men, and the Letters Communicatory of one Church to another, with other Things of the like nature. That the Passions of the *Martyrs* were sometimes read among the Lessons in the Church, appears not only from the foresaid *Homily* of *Cæsarius* or St. *Austin*, but from a Rule made in the third Council [d] of *Carthage*, which forbids all other Books to be read in the Church besides the Canonical Scripture, except the Passions of the *Martyrs* on their *Anniversary-Days* of Commemoration. *Eusebius* probably collected [e] the Passions of the *Martyrs* for this very Purpose; as *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola* did after him, which *Johannes Diaconus* [f] says were used to be read in the Churches. Thus *Gelasius* [g] says the Acts of Pope *Sylvester* were read in many of the *Roman* Churches, though not in the *Lateran*, because they were Apocryphal and written by an unknown Author. And *Mabillon* [h] gives several other such Instances out of *Avitus* and *Ferreolus*; and in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which he published, there are frequently Lessons appointed out of St. *Austin* and others upon the Festivals of St. *Stephen* and the *Holy Innocents*, and *Julian* the Martyr, on *Epiphany*, and the Festivals of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. Whence some learned Men [‡] conjecture not improbably, that such sort of Histories and Passions of the Martyrs had particularly the Name of *Legenda*, *Legends*: For though now that Name be commonly taken in a worse Sense, for a fabulous History, because many Lives of Saints and Martyrs were written by the Monks of later Ages in a mere fabulous and romantick Way, yet antiently it had a good Signification, and in its original Use denoted only such Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs as were allowed by Authority to be read in the Church. The curious Reader may find frequent References made by St. *Austin* in his *Homilies* [†] to such Lessons read out of the Passions of the Martyrs on their Anniversary-Days in the Church: As also in the *Homilies* of Pope *Leo* [||] and others, which it is needless to recite in this Place.

But besides the *Passions of the Martyrs* and *Homilies* relating to them, there were also many other pious Books read by way of moral Exhortation in many Churches. Thus *Eusebius* [i] says the Book called *Hermes Pastor*, was antiently read in the Church. He says the same of *Clemens Romanus*'s first Epistle [k] to the *Corinthians*, that it was read in many Churches, both in his own Time, and the Ages before him. And *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* [l] says, they read not only that Epistle of *Clemens*, but another written by *Soter* Bishop of *Rome*, which they would always continue to read. *Sozomen* says [m], The Book called the *Revelations of Peter*, was read once a Year on *Good-Friday* in many of the Churches of *Palestine*. *Athanasius* [n] testifies the same of the Book called Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*. And St. *Jerom* [o] says, The *Homilies of Ephrem Syrus* were in such Honour as to be read in the Church after the Reading of the Scriptures. St. *Austin* [p] assures us, That the *Acts of the Collation of Carthage*, were read always in the Church in *Lent*. And in one of his Epistles [q] he desires of *Mar-*

[b] Conc. Agathen. can. 30. in conclusione Matutinarum vel Vespertinarum & Missarum, post Hymnos Capitella de Psalmis dici, &c. [c] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. quæ est Hom. 300. in Appendice Edit. Benedictin. [d] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 47. Liceat legi Passiones Martyrum cum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur. [e] Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 4. *Speaks of these Collections.* [f] Joan. Diac. Præfat. ad Vit. Gregor. Magni. [g] Gelas. Decret. ap. Crab. conc. tom. 1. p. 992. [h] Mabil. de cursu Gallicano. p. 403, & 407. [‡] Vid. Chamier. Panstratia. tom. 1. de Canon. Script. lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 1. p. 101. [†] Vid. Aug. Serm. 12. de Sanctis. p. 408. Serm. 45. de Diversis. p. 508. Item Serm. 63. p. 553. Serm. 93. p. 564. Serm. 101. 103. 105. 109. de Diversis. [||] Leo. Serm. de Maccabæis. [i] Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 3. Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 10. [k] Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 16. [l] ap. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23. [m] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. [n] Athan. Ep. ad Ruffin. tom. 2. p. 39. [o] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115. [p] Aug. de Gestis cum Emerito. t. 7. p. 215. [q] Aug. Ep. 158. Gesta quæ promisit Præstantia tua, vehementer expecto, & in Ecclesia Hipponensi jam jam cupio recitari, ac si fieri potest, per omnes Ecclesias etiam in nostra Diœcesi constituas.

cellinus Comes, that the *Acts of the Tryal of the Donatists*, who were convict of the Murder of the *Catholicks*, might be sent him, to be read in all the Churches of his Diocese. And it is remarkable, that in the Accounts we have of the burning of the Bible in the *Diocletian* Persecution, there is sometimes mention [r] made of burning the Salutary or Communicatory Letters, which were sent from one Church to another. St. *Austin* adds farther, that when any one received a signal Mercy from God, the Relation of it was many times [s] read publickly in the Church. Of which he gives several Instances in his own and other Churches of *Africk*. And St. *Chrysostom* says, sometimes the Emperor's Letters [t] were read in the Church, and heard with great Attention, which he urges as an Argument, why Men should hear with Reverence the Writings of the Prophets, because they come from God, and their Epistles are from Heaven. Such circular Epistles also as were sent from one Church to another, to notify the Time of keeping *Easter* (which were called *Heortastical* or *Festival Epistles)* were generally published [†] in their Churches: But these I mention not as Lessons, but only hint the Custom incidentally, corresponding to that of our reading Briefs for Charity, or the circular Letters of Bishops, or notifying Holidays, or Bans of Marriage, or Things of the like kind relating to the Publick.

SECT. XV.

Those which we now call Apocryphal *Books, were antiently read in some Churches, but not in all.*

As to those Books which we now call *Apocryphal*, they were read in some Churches, but not in all. For in the Church of *Jerusalem* they were utterly forbidden, as appears plainly from *Cyril*'s *Catechisms*, where he directs [u] the Catechumens to read no Apocryphal Books, but only such Books as were securely read in the Church: And then he specifies what Books were then read in the Church, *viz.* all the Canonical Books which are now in our Bibles, except the *Revelations*, without any mention at all of the *Apocryphal* Books; which is a certain Argument that they were not allowed to be read in the Church of *Jerusalem*, as I have more fully demonstrated in another Place [*]. The like Determination was made for some other Churches by the Council of *Laodicea* [x], which forbids all but the Canonical Books to be read in the Church, and likewise specifies what the means by Canonical Books, *viz. Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, 4 *Books of Kings*, 2 *of Paralipomena or Chronicles*, 2 *Of Esdras*, *The Book of* 150 *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Job*, 12 *Prophets*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations and Epistles of Baruch*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *the* 4 *Gospels*, *The Acts of the Apostles*, *the* 7 *Catholick Epistles*, 14 *Epistles of St. Paul.* Where none of the *Apocryphal* Books nor the *Revelations* are mentioned, which is a plain Evidence that none of them were read in the Churches of that District. After the same manner the Author of the *Constitutions* [y] giving Orders about what Books of the *Old Testament* should be read in the Church, mentions the five Books of *Moses*, and *Joshua* and *Judges*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (which he means by the Histories of their Return from *Babylon*) the Books of *Job* and *Solomon*, the sixteen *Prophets* and the *Psalms*: But says nothing of any of the *Apocryphal* Books; which argues, that he did not find them to be read in the Rituals of those Churches whence he made his Collections.

However in other Churches they were allowed to be read [z] with a Mark of Distinction, as Books of Piety and moral Instruction, to edify the People; but they neither gave them the Name of Canonical Books, nor made Use of them to confirm Articles of Faith. This is expresly said by St. *Jerom.* And *Ruffin* [a], who was Presbyter of *Aquileia*, delivers the same as the antient Tradition and Practice of that Church, when these Books were neither reckoned Canonical, nor yet in the worst Sense *Apocryphal*, but called Ecclesiastical, because they were read in the Church, but not used to confirm Matters of Faith. Among these he reckons the Wisdom of *Solomon*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Tobit* and *Judith* and *Maccabees*, and *Hermes Pastor*, and the Book called the two Ways, or the Judgment of *Peter*. *Athanasius* [b] also ranks these Books, not among the Canonical, but among those that might at least be read to or by the Catechumens, among which he reckons *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Tobit* and *Judith* and *Esther*, and the Doctrine of the *Apostles*, and the Shepherd, that is, *Hermes Pastor*. So in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum* published by *Mabillon*, there are Lessons appointed out of *Tobit* and *Judith* and *Esther*, particularly in the *Rogation-Week* for several Days together.

[r] Gesta Purgationis Felicis & Cæciliani. ad calcem Optati. p. 276. Inde Cathedram tulimus, & Epistolas salutatorias, & ostia omnia comburimus secundum sacrum præceptum. [s] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1489. Libelli eorum, qui beneficia percipiunt, recitantur in populo, &c. [t] Chrys Hom. 3. in Thes. p. 1501. [†] Vid. Cassian. Collat. 10. cap. 2. [u] Cyril. Catech. 4. n. 22. p. 66, & 67. [*] *Book* X. *Chap.* i. *n.* 7. [x] Conc. Laodic. can. 59. [y] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 57. [z] Hieron. Præfat. in Libros Salomonis. Sicut ergo Judith & Tobiæ & Macchabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eos inter Canonicas scripturas non recipit: Sic & hæc duo volumina (Sapientiam & Ecclesiasticum) legit ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum confirmandam. [a] Ruffin. in Symbolum. ad calcem Cypriani. Oxon. p. 26. Sciendum tamen est, quod & alii Libri sunt, qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici a Majoribus appellati sunt; Ut est Sapientia Solomonis, & alia Sapientia quæ dicitur Filii Syrach—— Ejusdem ordinis est Libellus Tobiæ, & Judith, & Maccabæorum libri. In novo vero Testamento Libellus, qui dicitur, Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur, Duæ Viæ, sive judicium Petri; quæ omnia legi quidem in Ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. [b] Athan. Ep. Heortastic. ad Ruffin. t. 2. p. 39. It. Synops. Scriptur. ib. p. 55.

SECT. XVI. *And in some Churches, under the Title of Canonical Scripture, taking that Word in a larger Sense.*

IN some Churches these Books were also read under the general Name of Canonical Scripture, taking that Word in a large Sense, for such Books as were in the Rule or Canon or Catalogue of Books authorized to be read in the Church. Thus at least we must understand the Canon of the third Council of *Carthage*, [c] which ordered that nothing but the Canonical Writings should be read in the Church under the Name of the Divine Scriptures; among which Canonical Scriptures there are reckoned *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* under the Name of *Solomon*, together with *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Hester*, and the *Maccabees*. St. *Austin* seems to have followed this Canon, making all these Books Canonical, but giving Preference to some above the other, as they were more or less generally received by the Churches. In his Book of *Christian Doctrine* [d] he calls all the *Apocryphal* Books Canonical, but he does not allow them so great Authority as the rest, because they were not generally received as such by the Churches. He says the Books [e] of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* were none of *Solomon*'s, but yet received into Authority by the *Western* Church. By which he must mean the Roman Church, where Pope *Innocent* had [f] received them. For in the *Eastern* Church their Canonical Authority was always rejected: And in many of the *Western* Churches: For neither *Ruffin* at *Aquileia* nor *Philastrius* at *Brixia* in *Italy* [g], nor *Hilary* at *Poictiers* in *France* [h] grant them any Authority in the Canon of Scripture. Nay *Hilary* of *Arles* [i] expressly told St. *Austin*, That the Churches of *France* were offended at him, because he had used a Proof out of the Book of *Wisdom*, which was not Canonical. And it is remarkable, that at *Rome* it self *Gregory* the Great, having Occasion to quote a Text out of *Maccabees*, makes a Prefatory Excuse for alledging a Text out of a Book that was not Canonical [k], but only published for the Edification of the Church. And even St. *Austin* himself [l] in answer to the *French* Divines, pleads no farther for the Divine Authority of the Book of *Wisdom*, which he had cited as Canonical, but that it was so received by the Christians of *Africk* before him. Which by his own Rule, laid down before in his Book of *Christian Doctrine*, did not make it in the highest Sense Canonical, because it was rejected by all the Churches of the *East*, and a great part of the *West*, from the Authority of Canonical Scripture. So that though these Books were read in the *African* Church under the Name of Canonical Scripture, yet they were not esteemed of equal Authority with the rest, because they were reputed by all the World besides as *Apocryphal*, or as some call them, Ecclesiastical only, being such as were allowed to be read in the Church for Moral Instruction and Edification, but not used to confirm Articles of Faith. And this is the Account which *Cajetan* himself gave of the Practice of the Church, before the Council of *Trent* defined a new Canon of Scripture. He says, They are not [m] Canonical, that is, Regular, to confirm Articles of Faith: Yet they may be called Canonical, that is, Regular, for the Edification of the People, as being received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible only for this End. And with this Distinction he thinks we are to understand both St. *Austin* and the Council of *Carthage*, all whose sayings are to be reduced to the Rule of St. *Jerom*. But if any think that St. *Austin* or the *African* Church meant more, it may be said, their Authority is of no Weight against the general Consent of the whole Church in all Ages besides, from the first settling of the Canon down to the Council of *Trent*; the Proof of which Consent is so fully and unanswerably made out by Bishop *Cosins* in that excellent Book, called his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, where he produces the Testimonies of the Writers of every Age distinctly in their Order, that little more can be added [*] to it, and

[c] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 47. Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem Canonicæ scripturæ, id est, Genesis, &c. Salomonis libri quinque ——— Tobias, Judith, Hester, Esdræ libri duo, Maccabæorum libri duo. [d] Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. 2. cap 8. Tenebit hunc modum in scripturis Canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minorisque authoritatis Ecclesiæ tenent. [e] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 17. cap. 20. Non esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores, eos tamen in authoritatem maxime Occidentalis antiquitus recepit Ecclesia. [f] Innocent. Ep. 3. ad Exuper. cap. 7. [g] Philastr. de Hæres. cap. 40. de Apocryphis. Et cap. 9. [h] Hilar. Præfat. in Psalmos. [i] Hilar. Arelat. Epist. ad Aug. inter Oper. Aug. t. 7. p. 545. Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti, Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, tanquam non Canonicum definiunt omittendum. [k] Greg. Magn. Moral. in Job. lib. 19. cap. 13. Qua de re non inordinate agimus, si ex libris licet non Canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus. [l] Aug. de Prædestin. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. 7. p. 553. Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in Ecclesia Christi de gradu Lectorum Ecclesiæ Christi tam longa annositate recitari, & ab omnibus Christianis, ab Episcopis usque ad extremos Laicos, Fideles, Pœnitentes, Catechumenos, cum veneratione Divinæ authoritatis audiri. [m] Cajetan. in fine Comment. in Histor. Vet. Test. Ad Hieronymi limam reducenda sunt tam verba Conciliorum quàm Doctorum. Et juxta illius sententiam Libri isti non sunt Canonici, id est, Regulares, ad firmandum ea quæ sunt fidei: possunt tamen dici Canonici, id est, Regulares, ad Ædificationem fidelium, utpote in Canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti & authorati. Cum hac distinctione discernere poteris dicta Augustini & scripta in Provinciali Concilio Carthaginensi. [*] *To the Testimonies cited by Bishop* Cosins *the learned Reader may add this of* Franciscus Georgius Venetus, *a* Franciscan, *who lived a little before the* Reformation: Problem. in Script. tom. 6. Sect. 5. Problem. 184. Par. 1622. 4°. Cur Raphael venit in comitatum Tobiæ? Respond. Quamvis Historia sit sine certo auctore, nec in Canone habeatur, tamen quia admittitur legenda in Ecclesia tanquam vera, hujus quoque rei rationem assignare conabimur. *Here he plainly rejects the Book of* Tobit *out of the Canon, and speaks of it no otherwise than as of a common History, which was allowed to be read in the Church. Which Words are so displeasing to the Curators of the* Roman *Index* Expurgatorius, *that they order it to be struck out, with many other Passages of the same Author where he reflects on the vulgar Translation as corrupt and false, and corrects its Errors from the Original* Hebrew, *of which he was a considerable Master, though in other Things he had his Failings.* Vid. Index Libror. Prohibitorum & Expurgandorum. per Sotomajor. p. 417. Madriti. 1667. Fol.

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it is wholly needleſs to detain the Reader upon that Subject; it being ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe, to have obſerved, that theſe Books of controverted Authority were read, either under the Name of *Apocryphal*, or Eccleſiaſtical, or Canonical, in moſt of the antient Churches.

SECT. XVII. *A ſhort Account of the Tranſlations of Scripture uſed in the antient Church.*

THERE is one Thing more, which it will not be improper to give a ſhort Account of, before we put an End to this Chapter: That is, of the Tranſlations of Scripture that were commonly uſed in the antient Church. I mean not here to prove again (what has been abundantly done before in the laſt Book) that the Scriptures were tranſlated and read in the vulgar Language in every Church: But the Thing I would obſerve in this Place, is only this: That they generally read the Tranſlations of the *Septuagint*, where *Greek* was the vulgar Language, or elſe ſuch Tranſlations into other Languages, as was derived from it. For they had no Tranſlation of the Bible from the *Hebrew*, till the time of St. *Jerom* in the *Latin* Church, but only ſuch as were made from the *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*. The *Septuagint* was uſed all over the *Greek* Church, except perhaps that Part of *Syria* where *Syriack* was the moſt vulgar Language, that is, in *Oſdroene* and *Meſopotamia*, where they had a *Syriack* Tranſlation made from the *Hebrew* not long after the time of the Apoſtles. This was called the old Tranſlation, in oppoſition to another, which was made from the *Septuagint* in After-ages. In all other Parts of the *Eaſt* the *Septuagint* was the common Tranſlation. But this by Tract of Time and Variety of Copies was much corrupted, upon which Account it was reviſed and corrected by ſeveral Learned Men, which laboured in this Work, particularly by *Origen*, and *Heſychius* the Egyptian, and *Lucian* of *Antioch*, two Martyrs who ſuffered in the *Diocletian* Perſecution. Hence, as St. *Jerom* [*n*] informs us, there came to be three famous Exemplars or Editions of the *Septuagint* uſed in the *Eaſtern* Churches. *Alexandria* and *Egypt* followed the Copy reviſed by *Heſychius*. *Conſtantinople* and all the *Aſiatick* Churches as far as *Antioch* uſed that of *Lucian*: The Churches of *Paleſtine* and *Arabia* read the Copy corrected by *Origen* and publiſhed by *Euſebius* and *Pamphilus*. And ſo between theſe three Editions, the whole World was divided. *Origen* did two Things farther in this Matter. 1. He publiſhed an Edition of the Bible, which he called his *Hexapla*, becauſe it was in ſix Columns, the firſt was the *Hebrew* in *Hebrew* Characters [*o*], the ſecond the *Hebrew* in *Greek* Characters, the third the Tranſlation of *Aquila* the *Jew*, the fourth the Tranſlation of *Symmachus*, the fifth the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, and the ſixth the Tranſlation of *Theodotion* the *Ebionite*. To theſe he afterward added two other Tranſlations found at *Nicopolis* and *Jericho*, and theſe made up his *Octapla*. And in proceſs of time, he publiſhed another leſſer Edition containing only the four Tranſlations, of the *Septuagint*, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, which he called his *Tetrapla*. Secondly, He publiſhed the *Septuagint* with the Additions of *Theodotion* mixed with it, to ſupply the Places where it was defective, which Additions he marked with an *Aſterisk* to diſtinguiſh them; and ſuch Places as were redundant in the *Septuagint*, and not to be found in the *Hebrew*, nor in *Theodotion*, he alſo marked with an *Obelisk* or ſtrait Line for Diſtinction alſo. But this mixing of the two Tranſlations together in proceſs of time occaſioned ſome Confuſion, and St. *Jerom* complains of it [*p*] as a bold Undertaking, and therefore he ſet about a new Edition and Tranſlation [*q*] of the *Septuagint* for the Uſe of the *Latin* Church. Hitherto all Churches uſed the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, except the *Syrian* Churches, as was ſaid before, and except on the Book of *Daniel*, which in all Churches was read according to the Tranſlation of *Theodotion*, as the ſame St. *Jerom* [*r*] informs us in ſeveral Places, particularly in his *Preface* upon *Daniel* [*s*], becauſe by ſome Means or other, the *Septuagint* Tranſlation of that Book was more corrupt than any other Part of Scripture. But there were abundance of Faults in that Tranſlation in other Places, partly by the Deſign of the Interpreters (who added ſome Things of their own, and left out others, and often changed the Senſe at Pleaſure, eſpecially in Texts that had any Relation to the Holy Trinity, as St. *Jerom* ſhews at large in his *Preface* upon the *Pentateuch*, where he expoſes the Story of their having diſtinct Cells, and their being eſteemed inſpired Writers;) and partly from the great variety of Copies, and the great Corruptions that were crept into them by the Ignorance or Negligence of Tranſcribers: And this both in the *Septuagint* Copies themſelves, and the *Latin* Tranſlations that were made from them. Upon this Account St. *Jerom*, by the Inſtigation of *Chromatius* and *Heliodore*, and other pious Biſhops of the *Latin* Church, ſet about a Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* and *Old Teſtament* from the Original *Hebrew*: But this met with great Oppoſition for ſome time: For though many applauded it, and read it in the Churches, yet others oppoſed it, and *Ruffin* and others bitterly inveighed againſt it, as reflecting on the Church, which had uſed and recommended the *Septuagint*, and the Tranſlations made from it,

[*n*] Hieron. Præfat. in Librum Paralipomenon. Alexandria & Ægyptus in Septuaginta ſuis Heſychium laudat Auctorem. Conſtantinopolis uſque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has Provinciæ Palæſtinos Codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Euſebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt: Totuſque orbis hac inter ſe veritate compugnat. [*o*] Vid. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 16. [*p*] Hieron. Præfat. in Paralipom. [*q*] Hieron. Præfat. in Joſue. [*r*] Hieron. Præfat. in Joſue. It. Com. in Daniel. 4. & Apolog. 2. cont. Ruffin. [*s*] Hieron. Præfat. in Daniel. Danielem Prophetam juxta Septuaginta Interpretes Domini ſalvatoris Eccleſiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis Editione: Et hoc cur acciderit neſcio.——Hoc unum affirmare poſſum, quod multum à veritate diſcordet, & recto judicio repudiatus ſit.

ever ſince the time of the Apoſtles. St. *Auſtin* [*t*] himſelf diſſuaded him from the Undertaking, and when it was finiſhed, he would not ſuffer it to be read in his Dioceſe for fear of giving Scandal to the People; telling him farther [*u*] what a Tumult had been raiſed in one of the Churches of *Africa*, by a Biſhop's introducing his Tranſlation, which he was forced to lay aſide again for fear all his People ſhould have deſerted him. But in other Places it met with a kinder Reception. For by degrees it came to be uſed by learned Men in their *Expoſitions*. *Gregory the Great* makes uſe [*x*] of both Tranſlations, calling St. *Jerom*'s the New Tranſlation, and the other the Old; which was otherwiſe called the *Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, becauſe it was the moſt common and vulgar Tranſlation uſed in all the *Latin* and *Italick* Churches. The preſent *vulgar Latin* Tranſlation is ſuppoſed by learned Men neither to be the antient *Vulgar*, nor St. *Jerom*'s *New One*, but a Mixture of both together [*y*]. The *Pſalms* in the preſent *Vulgar*, are not from the *Hebrew*, but are of St. *Jerom*'s Tranſlation from the *Septuagint* of *Lucian*'s *Emendation*. The other Books come nearer the *Hebrew*, than they do to the *Septuagint*, which ſhews that they have ſomething of St. *Jerom*'s Tranſlation. But the *Pſalms* were always read at *Rome* according to the old Verſion, and continued ſo to be uſed till Pope *Pius* V. ordered St. *Jerom*'s Verſion with Emendations from the *Septuagint* to be put in its Place. And ſo the old Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* came to be called the *Roman Pſalter*; and St. *Jerom*'s new Tranſlation, the *Gallican Pſalter*, becauſe it was immediately received in the *Gallican* Church. This is obſerved both by *Mabillon* [*z*] and *Bona* [*] out of *Berno Augienſis* and *Strabo*, who ſay, the *French* and *Germans* took the new Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* corrected from the *Septuagint* by St. *Jerom*, whilſt the *Romans* continued to uſe the old vulgar corrupt Edition: Which is ſtill read in the *Vatican* Church at *Rome*, and the *Ambroſian* Church at *Milan*, and St. *Mark*'s at *Venice:* And *Bona* is ſo free as to ſay, he thinks it had been more for the Honour and Benefit of the Church to have kept ſtill to the old Verſion of the *Pſalter*, ſince now there is a great Diſagreement between the *Breviary* and the *Miſſal*, whilſt the ſame *Pſalms* are ſung different ways [†], in the *Miſſal* according to the Old Tranſlation, and in the *Breviary* according to the New one: Which he ſpeaks of as a Miſtake, but tenderly, becauſe though it was a Deviation from the old Rule obſerved in *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, and the *Miſſa Mozarabica*, and the *Ambroſian Liturgy*, yet it was Pope *Pius*'s Order that made the Correction.

I might here have added ſeveral other Things relating to the antient way of dividing the ſeveral Books of Scripture into Chapters, and Verſes, and Canons, and Sections and Sub-ſections, very much differing from the preſent way of dividing them into Chapter and Verſe: But becauſe Obſervations of this kind are very intricate of themſelves, and have no Relation to the Service of the Church, which is the Subject in hand, I ſhall omit them here, with many other Miſcellany Rites of the ſame nature, which will be more proper to be explained in a Critical Diſcourſe by themſelves; and now proceed to the next Part of the Service of the Church in the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, which was the *Sermon* or *Homily*, immediately after the Reading of the *Pſalms* and other Scriptures, before any Prayers were made either for particular Orders of Men, ſuch as Catechumens, Energumens, Penitents, *&c.* or for the General State of Chriſt's Church.

CHAP. IV.

Of Preaching, and the Uſages relating to it, in the antient Church.

SECT. I. *All Sermons antiently called* Homilies, Diſputations, Allocutions, Tractatus, &c.

IMMEDIATELY after the Reading of the *Pſalms* and Leſſons out of the Scriptures, before the Catechumens were diſmiſſed, followed the Sermon, which the Biſhop, or ſome other appointed by him, made to the People. This being done in the Preſence of the Catechumens, was therefore uſually reckoned a Part of the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or *Ante-Communion Service*. Such Diſcourſes were commonly termed *Homilies* from the *Greek* ὁμιλία, which ſignifies indifferently any Diſcourſe of Inſtruction to the People, whether compoſed by the Preacher himſelf, or read out of a Book compoſed by another; though we now generally reſtrain it to the latter Senſe in our modern way of ſpeaking. Among the *Latins*, they were frequently called *Tractatus*, as appears from many Paſſages of *Cyprian*, *Optatus*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Jerom*, *Gaudentius*, *Chryſologus*, and many others collected by *Ferrarius* [*a*], which I think it needleſs to recite. Only I ſhall obſerve one Thing, that this Word ſignifies any Expoſition or handling of Scripture, as well by way of Writing, as Preaching: And in both Senſes the *Tractatores*, the Preachers and Expoſitors of Scripture, were oppoſed to the *Canonici & Authentici*, the *Prophets*, *Evangeliſts* and *Apoſtles*, who wrote by Inſpiration, and whoſe Authority was abſolutely

[*t*] Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. [*u*] Aug. Ep. 10. ad Hieron. [*x*] Greg. M. Ep. ad Leandr. ante Moral. in Job. & lib. 20. Moral. cap. 3. [*y*] Vide Walton. Prolegom. 10. n. 9. [*z*] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 396. [*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 3. n. 4. [†] Bona ibid. n. 5. Hæc autem Diſſonantia, ablato nunc Veteri Pſalterio, ſæpe occurrit, Cæterum iſta hoc loco notare libuit, non ut quenquam carperem, ſed ne priſca Eccleſiæ Diſciplina ignoraretur. [*a*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Infallible and Authentick; which could not be ſaid of any Expoſitors, however excellent or learned, who dictated their Thoughts without any ſuch peculiar Aſſiſtance. This Diſtinction is often inculcated by St. *Auſtin*: I confeſs, ſays he, writing to St. *Jerom* [*b*], I have learned to pay this Reverence and Honour only to thoſe Books of Scripture which are called *Canonical*, that I moſt firmly believe none of the Authors of them was guilty of any Error in Writing. And if I find any thing in thoſe Books, which ſeems contrary to Truth, I make no doubt but that it is either a Corruption of the Copy, or that the Tranſlator did not hit the Senſe, or that I myſelf do not underſtand it. But I read all others with this Caution and Reſerve, that however eminent they be for Piety and Learning, I do not believe what they ſay to be true merely becauſe it was their Opinion; but becauſe they perſuade me either by thoſe Canonical Authors, or by probable Reaſon, which carries the Appearance of Truth. So again, in his Book *De Catechizandis Rudibus* [*c*] he diſtinguiſhes the inſpired Writers, by the Name of *Canonical*, from all others, whom he calls *Tractators* and *Expoſitors* of Scripture. As *Claudianus Mamertus* ſpeaks [*d*] of all Expoſitors under the Name of *Tractators*, but of the holy Pen-men themſelves under the Title of *Authenticks*. St. *Auſtin* [*e*] and St. *Jerom* [*f*] often ſpeak of Preaching under the Name of Diſputations; *Tertullian* [*g*] calls them *Allocutions*; dividing the whole Service into theſe four Parts, reading the Scriptures, ſinging the Pſalms, making Allocutions, and ſending up Prayers. Among the *Greeks* they are frequently called λόγοι, which anſwers to the *Latin* Word, *Sermones*, and the *Engliſh* Sermons. The moſt antient Name is that of *Evangelium*, and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, appropriated more peculiarly to the Preaching of the Apoſtles; and therefore ſeldom or never aſcribed to any others by Eccleſiaſtical Writers. A more general Name in Scripture, is that of διδασκαλία, Doctrine and Teaching: Whence Preachers of the Word are called διδάσκαλοι, Doctors and Teachers by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28, 29. which *Vincentius Lirinenſis* obſerves to be the ſame as *Tractatores* [*h*] in After-ages. St. *Paul* alſo uſes the Word κήρυγμα, for Preaching, 1 *Cor.* ii. 4 and in many other Places [*i*] of his *Epiſtles*. And ſo it is ſometimes uſed by Eccleſiaſtical Writers after him. But we muſt carefully note, that more commonly the Words κηρύσσειν and κήρυγμα among the *Greeks*, as alſo *Prædicatio* and *Prædicare* among the *Latins*, ſignify a very different thing, *viz.* That Part of the Deacon's Office, which he performed as the common κήρυξ or *Præco* of the Church, dictating the uſual Forms of Prayer to the People, in which they were to join, and calling upon them as their Guide and Director in all other Parts of Divine Service. This I have had Occaſion to ſpeak more largely of in a former Book [*], where we have particularly conſidered the ordinary Office of Deacons, and ſhewed, that they had no Authority in ordinary Caſes either to preach, or conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, or baptize, but whatever they did of this Kind, was either in caſe of great Neceſſity, or by ſpecial Commiſſion and Direction. And therefore thoſe antient Canons which ſpeak of their Predication [*k*], are not to be underſtood of their Preaching Sermons, but of their Proclaiming to the People ſuch Directions in performing Divine Offices, as they were concerned to give them by vertue of their Office, as the common Heralds and Cryers of the Church.

SECT. II.
Preaching the proper Office of Biſhops and Presbyters in ordinary Caſes, and not of Deacons.

THE Deacons indeed, in caſes of Exigence, were allowed to read the *Homilies* of the Fathers, as they did the Leſſons of Scripture: Which is the Reaſon aſſigned by the Council of *Vaiſon* [*l*] for permitting them ſo to do, when the Presbyter was ſick or infirm. For if Deacons were worthy to read what Chriſt has ſpoken in the *Goſpel*, why ſhould they be thought unworthy to rehearſe publickly the *Expoſitions* or *Homilies* of the Fathers? But excepting ſuch Caſes, we very rarely find any Permiſſion ſo much as to read an *Homily* granted them. For Preaching antiently was one of the chief Offices of a Biſhop: Inſomuch that in the *African* Churches a Presbyter was never known to preach before a Biſhop in his Cathedral Church till St. *Auſtin*'s time, but the Biſhop always diſcharged this Office himſelf, and St. *Auſtin* was the firſt Presbyter in that Part of the World, that ever was allowed to preach in the Preſence of his Biſhop, as has been ſhewed out of *Poſſidius* [*m*] the Wri-

[*b*] Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. cap. 1. Ego enim fateor Charitati tuæ, ſolis eis Scripturarum Libris qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, & nullum eorum Auctorem ſcribendo aliquid erraſſe firmiſſime credam. Ac ſi aliquid in eis offendero Literis, quod videatur contrarium veritati: Nihil aliud, quam vel mendoſum eſſe codicem, vel Interpretem non aſſequutum eſſe quod dictum eſt, vel me minime intellexiſſe, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut, quanta libet Sanctitate Doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipſi ita ſenſerunt; ſed quia mihi per illos auctores Canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod à vero non abhorreat, perſuadere potuerunt.

[*c*] Aug. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 8. t. 4. p. 298. Si libris ei perſuaſum eſſe videris, ſive Canonicis ſive utilium Tractatorum, &c. [*d*] Mamert. de Statu Animæ, lib. 2. cap. 10. Sed nunc locus & tempus eſt, ut ſicut à Philoſophis ad Tractatores, à Tractatoribus ad Authenticos gradum conſequar. ita. It. lib. 1. cap. 2. Poſt Authenticorum plurimos Tractatores, &c. [*e*] Aug. Tract. 89. in Joan. Confeſſ. lib. 5. cap. 13. Hom. 50, & 81. de Diverſis. [*f*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15.

[*g*] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 9. Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Pſalmi canuntur, aut Adlocutiones proferuntur, aut Petitiones delegantur, &c. *So frequently in* Gregory the Great *the Sermon is called ſimply,* Locutio. Hom. 5, 9, 14, & 22, *in* Ezekiel.

[*h*] Vincent. Commonitor. cap. 40. Doctores, qui Tractatores nunc appellantur. [*i*] Vid. 1 Cor. i. 21. It. 1 Cor. 14. 15. 2 Tim. 4. 17. Tit. 1. 3. [*] *Book* II. *Chap.* xx. *n.* 10 & 11.

[*k*] Conc. Ancyran. Can. 2. Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 39.

[*l*] Conc. Vaſenſ. 2. Can. 2. Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare, ſanctorum Patrum Homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni ſunt Diaconi, quæ Chriſtus in Evangelio loquutus eſt, legere: Quare indigni judicentur, ſanctorum Patrum Expoſitiones publice recitare?

[*m*] Poſſid. Vit. Auguſt. cap. 5.

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ter of his Life, in a former [*] Book. 'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Churches Presbyters were ſometimes allowed to preach in the great Church before the Biſhop; but that was not to diſcharge him of the Duty; for ſtill he preached a Sermon at the ſame time after them, as we ſhall ſee from the Practice of *Chryſoſtom* and *Flavian* at *Antioch*, and other Examples hereafter.

In the leſſer Churches of the City, and Country about, this Office was devolved upon Preſbyters, as the Biſhop's proper Aſſiſtants; and the Deacons, except in the forementioned Caſes, were not authorized to perform it. So that this Office of Preaching the *Goſpel*, was then eſteemed the proper Office of Biſhops and Presbyters; the Biſhop diſcharging it perſonally in his Cathedral Church, in Conjunction with his Presbyters, or alone without them; and vicariouſly by his Preſbyters, where he could not be preſent, in the leſſer Churches. There are a great many ſerious Paſſages in the antient Records relating to this Matter, as well in the Imperial Laws, as the Canons of the Church, and the Writings of the moſt conſiderable Fathers, partly impreſſing this as a neceſſary Duty of the Epiſcopal and Paſtoral Function, and partly complaining of the Neglect of it, and partly threatning Cenſures and Puniſhments to the Offenders. St. *Chryſoſtom* [n] on thoſe Words to *Timothy*, *A Biſhop muſt be apt to teach*, διδακτικὸν, ſays, Other Qualifications, ſuch as thoſe, *He muſt be ſober*, *vigilant*, *of good Behaviour*, *given to Hoſpitality*, &c. may be in Subjects: But becauſe a Biſhop ought to have thoſe Qualifications that belong to Rulers, the Apoſtle therefore added, *He muſt be apt to teach:* For this is not required of Subjects; but is moſt eſpecially required of thoſe who have the Office of Governing committed to them. And again, on thoſe Words to *Titus*, *Holding faſt the faithful Word*, *as he hath been taught* (or, *which relates to Teaching*, τῆ κατ' διδαχὴν λόγῳ) *that he may be able by ſound Doctrine both to exhort and to convince the Gainſayers*, he ſays, St. *Paul* converted the World, not ſo much by his Miracles, as by his continual Preaching: and therefore a Biſhop muſt be able to exhort by ſound Doctrine, that is, to preſerve his Flock, and overthrow its Enemies. And unleſs he be ſuch an one, all is loſt. For he that knows not how to oppoſe the Enemy, and captivate every Thought to the Obedience of Chriſt, and pull down the vain Imaginations of Men, as he knows not how to teach according to ſound Doctrine, ſo he ought to be far [o] from the Teaching Throne, πόῤῥω ἴσω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ; where it is obſervable, that *Chryſoſtom* therefore calls the Biſhop's Throne, the Throne of Doctrine, or Teaching Throne, becauſe Preaching ſound Doctrine was ſo neceſſary a Part of the Biſhop's Office, that he could not be without it. St. *Ambroſe* likewiſe deſcribing the Office of a Biſhop, does it chiefly by ſtyling it the Office of Teaching; complaining modeſtly of his own hard Fate, in being forced againſt his Will to take upon him the Office of the Prieſthood [p], that is, to be made a Biſhop; which obliged him to teach others, before he had well learned himſelf. For he was made Biſhop of a Catechumen. *Sidonius Apollinaris* makes the ſame deſcription of the Office of a Biſhop, complaining in the like modeſt way with St. *Ambroſe*, of the Weight of the Profeſſion that was laid upon his Shoulders, when by being made a Biſhop againſt his Will, he was forced to teach before he had learned, and preach Good to others, before he had done any himſelf: Like a barren Tree, when he had no Works to ſhew for Fruit, he was forced to ſcatter Words for Leaves: Meaning the Neceſſity of Preaching, that was laid upon him by taking the Office of a Biſhop. St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* in like manner calls the Office of a Biſhop [r] ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικὸν, the Dignity or Honour of Teaching. And in the ſixth general Council, where *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* was degraded for his Hereſy, he is ſaid to be removed [s] from the Throne of Teaching, that is, from the Epiſcopal Office, of which Preaching was a ſpecial Ingredient. The Rule of the *Apoſtolical Canons* is, That a Biſhop who neglects his Clergy or his People, and teaches them not [t] the Rules of Piety, ſhall be ſuſpended; and if he perſiſts in his Neglect, ſhall be depoſed. For it was his Office to teach the Clergy as well as the People, and to expound the Scriptures to them. Whence St. *Jerom* gives it as Part of the Character of *Gregory Nazianzen*, That he was an Eloquent Teacher, and the Maſter under whom he learned the Scriptures, as he explained [u] them. Some would have excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, They would teach the People by their Example. To which St. *Jerom* replies [x], That a Biſhop's innocent Converſation without Preaching did as much Harm by its Silence, as it did Good by its Example. For the Barking of the Dogs is as neceſſary as the Shepherd's Staff, to terrify and beat off the Fury of the Wolves. *Athanaſius* [y] gives a very pathetical Exhortation to *Dracontius* a Biſhop newly ordained: Now that you are made Biſhop, ſays he, the People expect that you ſhould bring them Food from the Doctrine of the Scriptures: But if while they expect it, they ſuffer Want, and you only feed

[*] *Book* II. *Chap.* iii. *n.* 4. [n] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. 3. p. 1569. [o] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in Tit. p. 1703. [p] Ambroſ. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 1. Titul. Capitis. Epiſcopi proprium munus docere populum. Item, Cum jam effugere non poſſimus Officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus impoſuit ſacerdotii neceſſitudo, &c. [q] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 3. Indigniſſimo tantæ Profeſſionis pondus impactum eſt, qui miſer ante compulſus docere, quàm diſcere, & ante præſumens bonum prædicare, quàm facere, tanquam ſterilis arbor, cum non habeam opera pro pomis, ſpargo verba pro foliis. [r] Cyril. Ep. ad Monachos in Conc. Epheſ. Part. 1. cap. 28. [s] Conc. 6. Gener. Act. 12. p. 937. ἐδαμῶς ὁ θεῖος κανὼν ἀφῆκέ τινα τῶν λοιπῶν εἰς διδασκαλικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον &c. [t] Canon. Apoſt. c. 58. [u] Hieron de Scriptor. cap. 117. Vir eloquentiſſimus Præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici. [x] Id. Ep. 83. ad Oceanum. Sacerdotis innocens, ſed abſque ſermone Converſatio, quantum Exemplo prodeſt, tantum ſilentio nocet. Nam & latratu canum, baculoque Paſtoris luporum rabies deterrenda eſt. Vid. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. [y] Athan. Ep. ad Dracont. tom. 1. p. 954.

yourſelf;

yourſelf; what Excuſe will you have, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall come, and find his Sheep ſtarving for want of Food? St. *Auſtin*, in one of his *Homilies* [z] upon the Anniverſary of his Ordination, repreſents this Part of a Biſhop's Office with great Concern, as a Matter in which he was deeply intereſted, and nearly affected. Firſt, he tells his People what a Burden was laid upon him by God in the Prophet *Ezekiel* Chap. xxiii, which was the Leſſon appointed for that Solemnity, wherein were theſe Words ſo full of Terror: *I have made thee a Watchman. If I ſay to the Sinner, Thou ſhalt ſurely die, and thou holdeſt thy Peace, and he die in his Sins; he indeed dies juſtly, and according to his Deſert in his Sins: but his Blood will I require at thy Hands*, &c. Upon which he makes this Reflection with regard to his own Office: I am a Steward: If I lay not out my Lord's Money, but keep it by me, the *Goſpel* terrifies me. I might ſay indeed, What have I to do to be troubleſome unto Men, to ſay to the Wicked, Do not thus; Do thus: Deſiſt from doing Evil? What have I to do to be thus troubleſome unto Men? I have received, how I ought to live myſelf, as I am enjoined, as I am commanded. I will return what I have received. What have I to do to give Account of others? But the *Goſpel* terrifies me. There is nothing more pleaſant than to ſeek after the Divine Treaſure in quiet. This is ſweet and good: But to preach, to reprove, to correct, to ediſy, to take the Care of every other Man upon myſelf, this is a great Burden, a great Weight, a great Labour. Who would not fly from ſuch a Labour? But the *Goſpel* terrifies me. There we read of a certain Servant, who ſaid to his Lord, *I knew thee to be an hard Man, reaping where thou haſt not ſowed, therefore I kept thy Money*, I would not lay it out, *Take that which is thine.* To whom the Lord anſwered, *Out of thine own Mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked Servant. Thou oughteſt to have given my Money to the Bank, that when I came, I might have received my own with Uſury.* The Curious Reader may find a great deal more to the ſame Purpoſe in St. *Baſil*'s Epiſtles [a], and *Gregory Nazianzen*'s [b] Complaints, and thoſe of *Cyprian* [c], which I care not here to tranſcribe. But nothing is more remarkable than what is ſaid by St. *Chryſoſtom* [d] in his *Homily upon the Man, who was to account to God for Ten thouſand Talents:* Where he thus repreſents the Account which Biſhops muſt make to God: Not only ſecular Magiſtrates, ſays he, but the Rulers of the Church, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρεσβύτερος, muſt render an Account of their Government and Adminiſtration; and they above all others ſhall ſuffer bitter and grievous Puniſhment. For they who are intruſted with the Miniſtry of the Word, ſhall be examined moſt ſtrictly and ſeverely in the next World, Whether they have not through Sloth or Envy neglected to ſpeak any Thing which they ought to have ſpoken; and whether they have demonſtrated by their Works and Labour, that they have delivered all Things faithfully, and concealed nothing that was profitable unto Men. Again, He that has obtained the Office of a Biſhop, by how much he is exalted to greater Dignity, ſo much the more ample Account ſhall he be required to give, not only of his Doctrine or Teaching, and Care of the Poor, but alſo of his Examination and Tryal of thoſe who are ordained, with a thouſand other Things of the like nature. Where it is evident, that Teaching is reckoned as neceſſary a Part of the Biſhop's Function, as Ordination: And as he proves the one from thoſe Words of St. *Paul* to *Timothy, Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Mens Sins*; ſo he proves the other from thoſe Words of the ſame Apoſtle to the *Hebrews, Obey them that have the Rule over you, and ſubmit yourſelves unto them: for they watch for your Souls, as they that muſt give Account*, Heb. xiii. 17. Which, as he truly obſerves, is an Argument full of Terror. St. *Chryſoſtom* has abundance more to the ſame Purpoſe in thoſe excellent Books of the Prieſthood, which were compoſed on purpoſe to deſcribe the Offices and Duties of a Biſhop, among which he reckons the laborious Work of making continual *Homilies* [e] and ſet Diſcourſes to the People. And whereas ſome were ready to plead, That a good Life was the main Thing required, to excuſe their want of Knowledge, and Study, and Preaching, and Diſputing, he anſwers, That both theſe Qualifications were required; They muſt not only do, but teach the Commands of Chriſt, and guide others [f] by their Word and Doctrine, as well as their Practice: Each of theſe had their Part in the Epiſcopal Office, and were neceſſary to aſſiſt one another, in order to conſummate Mens Edification. With much more to the ſame Purpoſe, which I here omit, becauſe I have more fully repreſented it in another Book [*], where I had occaſion to treat of the general Duties of the Eccleſiaſtical Function.

What is thus pathetically preſs'd by private Men, is more authoritatively enjoyned by the Laws of the Church and State, both concurring to enforce this Duty. The Council of *Laodicea* [g] ſpeaks of it as a cuſtomary Thing, for the Biſhop to make always a Sermon before the Catechumens were diſmiſſed. And the Council of *Valentia* in *Spain* does the ſame, when it orders, that Catechumens and Penitents, and even Heathens, ſhould be allowed to hear the Biſhop's Sermon [h], becauſe they had experienced how that by this means many Infidels had been brought over to the Faith. Theſe Councils do not ſo much enjoyn Biſhops to preach, as preſuppoſe it to be their conſtant and general Practice. But

[z] Aug. Serm. 25. ex 50. T. 10. p. 173. [a] Baſil. Ep. 61, 69, 185, 293. [b] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga p. 15, &c. It. Tract. de Epiſc. Latine. T. 2. p. 304. & Orat. 32. p. 519. [c] Cypr. de Lapſis, p. 123. [d] Chryſ. Hom. 1. tom. 5. p. 9. [e] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib. 5. cap. 1. [f] Chryſ. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. [*] *Book* VI. *Chap.* iii. *n.* 2. [g] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. περὶ τοῦ δεῖν, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν καθηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. [h] Conc. Valentin. Can. 1. Sic enim Pontificum Prædicatione audita nonnullos attractos ad Fidem evidenter ſcimus.

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the Council of *Trullo* [*i*] ſpeaks more expreſly by way of Injunction, that the Rulers of Churches, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας, ought every Day, but eſpecially on the Lord's Day, to teach all the Clergy and People the Words of Truth and Godlineſs, gathered out of the Holy Scriptures. And in the Imperial Laws there are ſeveral Edicts of the Secular Power to the ſame purpoſe. In the *Theodoſian Code* there is one jointly made by the three Emperors, *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, which bears this Title, *De Munere ſeu Officio Epiſcoporum in prædicando Verbo Dei*, Of the Duty and Office of Biſhops in preaching the Word of God. And the Body of the Edict [*k*] charges all thoſe with Sacrilege, who either confound the Sanctity of the Divine Law by Ignorance, or violate it by neglecting to preach it. And the ſame Law now ſtands inſerted [*l*] into the *Juſtinian Code* under the Charge of Sacrilege, both in the Title, and the Body of it alſo. In another Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* [*m*], Biſhops are ſtiled, the Men, who in their ſeveral Diſtricts are to govern the People, by inſtilling into them the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, and more eſpecially the Principles of Subjection and Obedience to Civil Magiſtrates, which were often violated by the tumultuous Practices of the Monks, who were under their Inſpection. And in another Law [*n*] of *Theodoſius*, all Hereticks are forbidden either to teach or hear their profane Doctrines in their unlawful Aſſemblies: More particularly they, who were called Biſhops among them, ſhould not preſume to teach the Faith, which they themſelves had not, nor ordain Miniſters, when they themſelves were really none. This ſuppoſes that the Offices of Ordination and Preaching were equally the Duties of Catholick Biſhops, and that the Pretence in Heretical Biſhops to perform them, was mere Uſurpation. And upon the whole it appears, that as Preaching was an Office originally inveſted in Biſhops, as ſupreme Paſtors of the Flock of Chriſt: So by all the Rules and Laws of Church and State, and all the Ties of Religion, they were obliged to perform this Duty with all Aſſiduity and Diligence, as we find they generally did out of the Senſe of the great Obligation that was laid upon them. And ſome in the *Romiſh* Church (where this Part of the Epiſcopal Function was for many Ages ſcandalouſly neglected) have earneſtly wiſhed and laboured for the Reſtoration and Revival of it. *Habertus* pleads hard for it, and ſays one Thing [*o*] particularly remarkable, to excite thoſe to whom he writes, that he could aver upon certain Experience in *France*, that there was more Weight in the Words of every Biſhop to the People, than in ſix hundred of the moſt eloquent and elaborate Diſcourſes of other Men. But I return to the antient Church.

SECT. III.
The ſingular Practice of the Church of Rome, *in having no Sermons for ſeveral Ages, noted out of* Sozomen *and* Caſſiodore.

IT being thus certain from what has been related, that the Work of Preaching was ordinarily performed by Biſhops themſelves in their own Church, either in Conjunction with their Presbyters, or without them: It is very wonderfully ſtrange, and even aſtoniſhing and ſurprizing to hear what *Sozomen* [*p*] relates of the Church of *Rome* in his Time, that they had no Sermons either by the Biſhop, or any other; which was contrary to the Cuſtom of all other Churches. For at *Alexandria*, the Biſhop alone preached without his Presbyters from the Time of *Arius*: And in other Churches it was done by the Biſhop and Presbyters together: But in the Church of *Rome* by neither the one nor the other. *Pagi* [*q*] and *Queſnel* [*r*] think *Sozomen* muſt needs be miſtaken, and that being a *Greek*, he took this Report up by uncertain Rumour; becauſe Pope *Leo*, in whoſe Time *Sozomen* lived, not only preached conſtantly to the People, but declared it his Duty ſo to do, profeſſing that he was afraid [*s*] it ſhould be imputed to him as a Crime, if he was wanting in this Part of his Office and Miniſtry. But *Valeſius*, on the other hand, is very confident that *Sozomen*'s Relation is true, becauſe *Caſſiodore*, who was a Senator and Conſul, and *Præfectus Prætorio* at *Rome*, has the ſame out of *Sozomen* in his *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, without any Correction; and he ſays farther, that no one can produce any Sermons preached to the People by any Biſhop of *Rome* before thoſe of *Leo*, which were not preached till after *Sozomen* wrote his Hiſtory. I will not pretend to decide this Controverſy among theſe learned Men; but only ſay, that however it was in *Sozomen*'s Time, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe in the Days of *Juſtin Martyr*, when he preſented his Apology to *Antoninus Pius* and the Senate of *Rome*, where he lived and wrote at that Time: For there deſcribing the Buſineſs of the Chriſtian Aſſemblies on the Lord's Day, he expreſly ſays, that after the reading of the Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets, the προεστὼς, the Biſhop or Preſident of the Aſſembly [*t*] made a Sermon to exhort and excite the People to the Imitation of the good Things they had heard read out of them. Where

[*i*] Conc. Trull. can. 19. *See alſo in* Conc. Nic. 2. can. 2. & Conc. Ticinenſe. can. 5. [*k*] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Epiſcopis. leg. 25. Qui divinæ Legis ſanctitatem, aut neſciendo confundunt, aut negligendo violant & offendunt, Sacrilegium committunt. [*l*] Cod. Juſtin. lib. 9. tit. 29. de Crimine Sacrilegii. leg. 1. [*m*] Cod. Theod. lib. 9. tit. 40. de Pœnis. leg. 16. Ad Epiſcoporum ſane culpam (ut cætera) redundabit, ſi quid forte in ea parte Regionis, in qua ipſi populo Chriſtianæ Religionis, Doctrinæ inſinuatione moderantur, ex his quæ fieri hac Lege jubemus, à Monachis perpetratum eſſe cognoverint, nec vindicaverint. [*n*] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 5. de Hæreticis, leg. 24. Nuſquam profana præcepta vel docere vel diſcere: Ne Antiſtites eorundem audeant fidem inſinuare, quam non habent, & Miniſtros creare, quod non ſunt. [*o*] Habert. Archieratic. Part. 5. Obſerv. 7. p. 91. Id ſcio expertuſque ſum, plus eſſe momenti in unius Epiſcopi ad Populum, quam in ſexcentis aliorum quantumvis Orationibus atque elaboratis. [*p*] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. [*q*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 57. n. 3. [*r*] Queſnel. Diſſert. 6. de Jejunio Sabbati. & Diſſert. 1. de Vita Leonis. [*s*] Leo Serm. 3. de Epiphania. Ut noſtri nihil deſit Officii, &c. [*t*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98.

it must reasonably be supposed, that writing at *Rome*, and to the *Roman* Senate, he spake at least of the usual Custom and Practice of the *Roman* Church. And if it was otherwise in the Time of *Sozomen*, some Alteration must have happened in the Interval. Perhaps they might have taken up the Custom of Reading the *Homilies* of famous Writers among the Lessons, or immediately after, by the Deacon, (as I have shewed before, they read in some Churches the *Homilies* of *Ephrem Syrus*, and the Books of *Clemens Romanus* and *Hermes Pastor* [*]; and in the old *Lectionariums*, there are frequently Lessons appointed out of the *Homilies* of St. *Austin*, St. *Ambrose* and others, as it is now in the *Roman Breviary*) and this might supply the Place of a Sermon, till *Leo* brought up the antient Way of Preaching in the *Roman* Church again, which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred Years together, till *Pius Quintus*, like another *Leo*, revived the Practice, as we are told by *Surius* one of their own Writers (*u*).

SECT. IV. *Whether Laymen were ever allowed to preach in the antient Church.*

BUT there is another Question must be resolved with relation to the antient Church, that is, whether Laymen were ever allowed by Authority to make Sermons to the People? That they did it in a private Way as Catechists, in their Catechetick Schools at *Alexandria* and other Places, there is no Question. For *Origen* read Lectures in the Catechetick School of *Alexandria*, before he was in Orders [*x*], by the Appointment of *Demetrius*, and St. *Jerom* says [*y*] there was a long Succession of famous Men in that School, who were called *Ecclesiastical Doctors* upon that Account. But this was a different Thing from their publick Preaching in the Church. Sometimes the Monks, who were only Laymen, took upon them to preach publickly in the Church: But this was opposed, and censured as an Usurpation of an Office that did not belong to them. All Monks antiently, considered only as Monks, were no more than Laymen, as I have fully shewed [‡] in another Place: And therefore, as Monks, they had no Title to any Part of the Ecclesiastical Office or Function. Particularly St. *Jerom* [*z*] says, The Office of a Monk was not to teach, but to mourn. And that the case of the Monks and Clergy was very different from each other: The Clergy [†] are those that feed the Sheep, the Monks are among those that are fed. And therefore when some Monks in the *Eastern* Parts about *Antioch*, presuming on their own Qualifications and Knowledge, took upon them to preach publickly in the Churches, Pope *Leo* wrote two Letters to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* [*a*] and *Theodoret*, to ingage them to lay a Restraint upon them, telling them, that besides the Priests of the Lord, none ought to presume to take upon them the Power of Teaching or Preaching, whether he were Monk or Layman, whatever Knowledge he could pretend to. Yet in some Cases a special Commission was given to a Layman to preach, and then he might do it by the Authority of the Bishop's Commission for that Time. Thus *Eusebius* [*b*] says *Origen* was approved by *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem* and *Theoctistus* of *Cæsarea*, to preach and expound the Scriptures publickly in the Church, when he was only a Layman. And when *Demetrius* of *Alexandria* made a Remonstrance against this, as an Innovation, that had never been seen or heard of before, That a Layman should preach to the People in the Presence of Bishops; *Alexander* replied in a Letter, and told him, he was much mistaken; for it was an usual Thing in many Places, where Men were well qualified to edify the Brethren, for Bishops to intreat them to preach to the People. As *Euelpis* was requested by *Neon* at *Laranda*, and *Paulinus* by *Celsus* at *Iconium*, and *Theodorus* by *Atticus* at *Synada*. These had all special Directions from their Bishops to preach: And therefore whatever other Irregularity or Novelty there might be in the Thing, it was not liable to the Charge of Usurpation. *Hallier*, a famous *Sorbon* Doctor, is of Opinion, that they might do it [*c*] by Permission: and he thinks this may be deduced from that Canon of the fourth Council of *Carthage* [*d*] which forbids a Layman to teach in the Presence of the Clergy, except they request him to do it. If this relate to publick Teaching in the Church, it implies, that they might do it by special Indulgence and Concession. The antient Author of the *Comment* [*e*] *upon the Epistles*, under the Name of St. *Ambrose*, says, that in the Beginning of Christianity, for the Augmentation and Increase of the Church, a general Commission was granted unto all, both to preach the *Gospel*, and baptize, and explain the Scriptures in Ecclesiastical Assemblies. But when the Church had spread itself into all Places, Buildings were erected, and Rulers and other Officers were appointed, that no one among the Clergy should

[*] *Chap.* iii. *n.* 14. [*u*] Surius Hist. ap. Blondel. Apolog. pro Sentent. Hieronymi. p. 58. [*x*] Vid. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 3. [*y*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 36. [‡] *Book* III. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 7. [*z*] Hieron. Ep. 55. ad Riparium. Monachus non Docentis, sed plangentis habet Officium. [†] Id. Ep. 1. ad Heliodor. Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum: Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor. [*a*] Leo Ep. 60. al. 62. ad Maximum Antioch. Illud quoque convenit præcavere, ut præter eos qui sunt Domini sacerdotes, nullus sibi jus Docendi & Prædicandi audeat vendicare, sive sit ille Monachus, sive Laicus, qui alicujus Scientiæ nomine glorietur. It. Ep. 61. al. 63. ad Theodorit. [*b*] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 19. Epiphan. Hær. 64. *seems to say he was then a Presbyter: But it must be a Mistake.* [*c*] Hallier. de Hierarch. Ecclesiast. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 67. Laicis non nisi ex Indulgentia illud attingere debere. It. p. 79. ibid. [*d*] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 98. Laicus, præsentibus Clericis, nisi ipsius rogantibus, docere non audeat. [*e*] Ambros. Com. in Epheſ. 4. p. 948. Ut crescerent Plebs & multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est & Evangelizare & Baptizare, & Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est Ecclesia, Conventicula constituta sunt, & Rectores & cætera Officia in Ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de Clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere Officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque Diaconi in populo prædicant, neque Clerici vel Laici baptizant.

preſume to meddle with any Office, which he knew was not committed to his Truſt. And hence it was that Deacons in his Time did not preach to the People, nor the inferior Clergy or Laymen baptize. What he ſays of the Apoſtles Days, muſt reſt upon his Authority: If he means an unlimited Commiſſion to all in general without previous Qualifications, and Examination of them, his Opinion is certainly ſingular. But if he means only, that all who had extraordinary Meaſures of ſpiritual Gifts, were allowed to exerciſe thoſe Gifts ſometimes in Preaching in publick Aſſemblies, without any external Ordination, beſides the Gift of the Spirit of Prophecy; that is no more than what the beſt Interpreters of thoſe Words of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. xiv. 31. *Ye may all prophecy one by one*, commonly allow: That is, all who had the Gift of Prophecy, not every Chriſtian, might uſe the Word of Exhortation in the Church [*f*]. But then, as ſuch extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit of Prophecy were in a manner peculiar to the Apoſtolical Age, this could not be a Rule to the following Ages of the Church. And therefore when once theſe Gifts were ceaſed, the Church went prudently by another Rule, to allow none but ſuch as were called by an ordinary Commiſſion, to perform this Office, except where ſome extraordinary natural Endowments (ſuch as were in *Origen*) anſwering in ſome meaſure to thoſe ſpiritual Gifts, made it proper to grant a Licence to Laymen to exerciſe their Talents for the Benefit of the Church. Or elſe when Neceſſity impoſed the Duty on Deacons to perform the Office of Preaching, when the Biſhop and Presbyters were by Sickneſs or other Means debarred from it. For the foreſaid Author plainly ſays, That Deacons in his Time did not ordinarily *Prædicare in Populo*, Preach to the People; as being an Office to which they had no ordinary Commiſſion. And the ſame is ſaid by the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*g*], and many others. Therefore ſince Deacons were not allowed this Power, but only in ſome ſpecial Caſes, it is the leſs to be wonder'd that after the ceaſing of ſpiritual Gifts, it ſhould generally be denied to Laymen.

SECT. V. *Women never allowed to preach.*

As to Women, whatever Gifts they could pretend to, they were never allowed to preach publickly in the Church, either by the Apoſtles Rules, or thoſe of ſucceeding Ages. The Apoſtle ſays expreſly, *Let your Women keep Silence in the Churches: for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak: but they are commanded to be under Obedience, as alſo ſaith the Law*, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. And, *if they will learn any Thing, let them ask their Husbands at home: for it is a ſhame for Women to ſpeak in the Church.* And again, 1 *Tim.* ii. 11. *Let the Woman alſo learn in Silence with all Subjection. But I ſuffer not a Woman to teach, nor to uſurp Authority over the Man, but to be in Silence.* And this Rule was always ſtrictly obſerved in the antient Church. The ſame Council of *Carthage*, which allows Laymen to teach by Permiſſion, expreſly forbids Women to do it in any Caſe: Let not a Woman, however learned [*h*] or holy, preſume to teach Men in a publick Aſſembly. But they might teach Women in private, as private Catechiſts, to prepare Catechumens for Baptiſm. For the ſame Council of *Carthage* requires [*i*] this as one Qualification in Deaconeſſes when they were ordained, that they ſhould be ſo well inſtructed and expert in their Office, as to be able to teach the ignorant and ruſtick Women, how to make their Reſponſes to the Interrogatories, which the Miniſter ſhould put to them in Baptiſm, and how to order their Converſation afterward. And the Author of the *Short Notes upon St.* Paul's *Epiſtles*, under the Name of St. *Jerom* [*k*], ſays, that Deaconeſſes were thus employed in all the Eaſtern Churches, both to miniſter to their own Sex in Baptiſm, and in the Miniſtry of the Word, to teach Women privately, but not in publick. This Matter was carried much farther in many heretical Aſſemblies: For they ordained Women-Prieſts, which the Author of the *Conſtitutions* calls an heathenish [*l*] Practice: For the Chriſtian Law allowed of no ſuch Cuſtom. *Tertullian* ſays, they allowed [*m*] Women to teach and diſpute in their Aſſemblies, and to exorciſe Demoniacks, and adminiſter Baptiſm: All which was expreſly, he ſays [*n*], againſt the Rule of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 35. which is ſo far from allowing them to teach, that it does not allow them to ask Queſtions or diſpute publickly in the Church. And whereas ſome pretended the Authority of St. *Paul* for this, from a Book called, *The Acts of* Paul *and* Thecla, he ſays, that was a ſpurious Book, and the Author of it was convict, and confeſſed the Forgery, and was cenſured for it by the Church. The *Montaniſts* were a noted Sect for giving this Liberty to Women, under Pretence of Inſpiration by the Spirit: So that they had not only their Propheteſſes, ſuch as *Priſca* and *Maximilla*, the firſt Followers of *Montanus*, but alſo their Women Biſhops, and Women-Presbyters, as *Quintilla* and *Priſcilla*, who, as *Epiphanius* [*o*] and St. *Auſtin* [*p*] inform us, were dignified among the *Pepuzians* (a Subdiviſion of the *Montaniſts*) with the higheſt Offices of

[*f*] Vide Bezam & Eſtium in Loc. [*g*] Conſtit. lib. 3. cap. 20. Vigil. Ep. ad Ruſticum. Conc. tom. 5. p. 554.
[*h*] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 99. Mulier, quamvis docta & ſancta, viros in conventu docere non præſumat. [*i*] Ibid. can. 12. Viduæ vel ſanctimoniales, quæ ad Miniſterium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam inſtructæ ſint ad Officium, ut poſſint apto & ſano Sermone docere imperitas & ruſticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ ſunt, qualiter Baptizatori interrogatæ reſpondeant, & qualiter, accepto baptiſmate, vivant. [*k*] Hieron. Com. in Rom. 16. 1. Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus Diaconiſſæ mulieres in ſuo Sexu miniſtrare videntur in Baptiſmo, ſive in Miniſterio Verbi, quia privatim docuiſſe feminas invenimus, &c.
[*l*] Conſtit. lib. 3. cap. 9. [*m*] Tertul. de Præſcript. cap. 41.
[*n*] Idem de Baptiſmo. cap. 17. Vid. De Velandis Virgin. cap. 9.
[*o*] Epiphan. Hær. 49. Pepuzian. n. 2. [*p*] Aug. Hær. 27. Pepuzian. Tantum dantes mulieribus Principatum, ut Sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur.

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the Prieſthood. *Epiphanius* brings [q] the ſame Charge againſt the *Collyridians*, ſo called from their offering *Collyria* or Cakes, in Sacrifice to the Virgin *Mary*, againſt whom he diſputes at large, not only for their Idolatry in offering Sacrifice to her, but alſo for their Preſumption in putting Women into the Prieſt's Office; which was a Thing never done among the People of God from the Beginning of the World; and if it had been allowed to any, would doubtleſs have been granted to the Virgin *Mary*. *Firmilian* in his Letter to *Cyprian* [r], mentions another ſuch Woman among the *Cataphrygians*, who pretended by the Spirit of Prophecy, to preach, and pray, and baptize, and offer the *Euchariſt* in their publick Aſſemblies. So that this was a common Practice among the Hereticks, but always refuted and oppoſed by the Church of God, which always kept ſtrictly to the Apoſtle's Rule, not to ſuffer a Woman to teach publickly in the Church, whatever Sanctity or Learning ſhe could pretend to, but to reſerve this Office to Men, for whom it was originally appointed.

SECT. VI. *Two or three Sermons ſometimes in the ſame Aſſembly.*

HAVING thus examined what Perſons were allowed to execute this Office, we are next to enquire after what manner it was performed. And here we may obſerve, that they had ſometimes two or three Sermons preached in the ſame Aſſembly, firſt by the Presbyters, and then by the Biſhop, who uſually, when preſent, cloſed up this Part of the Service with his Paternal Exhortation. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [s] gives this Rule about it: When the *Goſpel* is read, let the Presbyters one by one, but not all, ſpeak the Word of Exhortation to the People, and laſt of all the Biſhop, who is the Governor or Pilot of the Ship. And that thus it was in the *Eaſtern* Churches, whoſe Cuſtoms that Author chiefly repreſents, appears evidently from St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons which he preached when he was Presbyter at *Antioch*. For in theſe he plainly ſpeaks of *Flavian* the Biſhop as deſigning to preach after him, whom he uſually complimented in ſome ſuch Form as this: It is now time [t] for me to keep Silence, that our Maſter may have time to ſpeak. And again [u], Let us remember theſe Things, and now attend to the more perfect Admonition of our good Maſter. It would be as endleſs, as it is needleſs, to relate all the Paſſages that [x] occur in *Chryſoſtom* or other Writers, ſuch as St. *Baſil*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Theodoret*, St. *Auſtin* [y] and St. *Jerom* [z], who particularly reflects upon the contrary Practice in ſome Churches, (meaning *Egypt* and *Africa*) where the Biſhops allowed none to preach but themſelves; which he thought was an indecent Contempt of their Presbyters, as if they either envied or diſdained to hear them; when yet the Apoſtolical Rule was, *If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his Peace: for ye may all prophecy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted*, 1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31. When two or more Biſhops happened to be preſent in the ſame Aſſembly, it was uſual for ſeveral of them to preach one after another, reſerving the laſt Place for the moſt honourable Perſon; as St. *Jerom* [†] tells us, that *Epiphanius* and *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* preached together in the Church of *Jeruſalem*: And nothing was more common than this Practice at *Conſtantinople*, where a Multitude of Biſhops were often preſent to attend the Court, or adviſe with the Patriarch about the Affairs of the Church.

SECT. VII. *Sermons every Day in ſome Times and Places.*

IN ſome Places they had Sermons every Day, eſpecially in *Lent*, and the Feſtival Days of *Eaſter*. St. *Chryſoſtom*'s *Homilies* upon *Geneſis* were preached in a running Courſe of two *Lents* one Day after another, as any one may perceive that peruſes them. His famous *Homilies de Statuis* were preached in *Lent* after the ſame manner. And it were eaſy to note ſome Scores of Paſſages in his other Sermons, eſpecially in his firſt, third and fifth Volumes [a], which make mention of their being preached ſucceſſively one Day after another. St *Jerom* [b] obſerves the ſame Practice among the Monks of *Egypt*, where it was cuſtomary every Day, after the Singing of the *Pſalms*, and Reading of the Scriptures, and Repeating of their Prayers, for the Father (that was the Title of the Presbyter that preſided over them) to make them a Sermon to elevate their Minds to the Contemplation of the Glory of the next World, which made every one of them, with a gentle Sigh, and Eyes lift up to Heaven, to ſay within himſelf, *O that I had Wings like a Dove, for then would I flee away and be at Reſt! Pamphilus*, in his Apology for *Origen*, relates the ſame Thing of him, that he was uſed to make Sermons *Extempore* almoſt every Day [c] to the People: And a Man cannot look into St. *Auſtin*'s *Homilies*, but he will find References made almoſt every where to the Sermon made *Heri*, *& Heſterno*

[q] Epiphan. Hær. 78. Antidicomarian. n. 23. & Hær. 79. Collyridian. [r] Firmil. Ep. 75. ad Cypr. p. 223. [s] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 57. [t] Chryſ. Hom. 2. de Verbis Eſai. t. 3. p. 853. [u] Hom. 3. ibid. p. 864. [x] Hom. 31. de Philogonio. t. 1. p. 399. Hom. 48. de Romano. t. 1. p. 621. Hom. 53. de Pœnitentia. tit. 1. p. 662. Hom. 59. de Babyla. p. 721. Hom. 31. de Natali Chriſti. t. 5. p. 476. Hom. 47. & 66. ibid. Hom. in Pſal. 48. p. 813. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. [y] Baſil. Hom. 18. in Barlaam. tom. 1. p. 443. Nyſſen. Orat. in ſui Ordinat. tom 2. p. 41. Theod. in 1 Cor. 14. 31. Aug. Ser. in Pſal. 94, & 95, & 131. [z] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. [†] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. cap. 4. [a] Chryſ. t. 1. Hom. 9, 25, 32, 40, 42, 46, 49, 71. tom. 3. in Pſal. 44, & 50. Hom. 1, 2, 4, & 5. de Verbis Eſaiæ. tom. 5. Hom. 2. de Lazaro. Hom. 30, 34, 48, 56, 62, 63, &c. [b] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. Poſt horam nonam in commune concurritur, Pſalmi reſonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis Orationibus, cunctiſque reſidentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit diſputare, &c. [c] Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. inter Opera Orig. t. 1. p. 756. Tractatus pene Quotidie habebat in Eccleſia, &c.

Die, the Day before [*d*], which either denotes ſome Day in the weekly Courſe, or at leaſt ſome Feſtival of a Martyr. For the Feſtivals of the Martyrs were always kept with great Solemnity, and they never omitted to make a *Panegyrical Homily* upon thoſe Days, to excite the People to imitate the Virtue of the Martyrs. As appears from St. *Auſtin*'s Sermons *de Sanctis*, and Abundance throughout St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works upon ſuch [*e*] Occaſions. In *France* alſo *Cæſarius* the famous Biſhop of *Arles* preached almoſt every Day. For he is ſaid, by the Writer of [*f*] his Life, to have made *Homilies* to the People frequently both at Morning and Evening Prayer, that none of them might have the Excuſe of Ignorance to plead in their Behalf. And the Council of *Trullo* [*g*] has a Canon to promote this Practice.

SECT. VIII. *Sermons twice a-day in many Places.*

AND this leads us to another Obſervation proper to be made in this Matter, which is, that in many Places they had Sermons twice a-day for the better Edification of the People. Mr. *Thorndike* [*h*] and *Hamon Leſtrange* [*i*] make a little Queſtion of this, as to the Extent of the Practice. The former ſays, there are Examples of Preaching as well Evening as Morning in the antient Church, but only at particular Times, and on particular Occaſions, and therefore he is not ſatisfied of any Rule or Cuſtom of the Church. The other ſays, the Cuſtom only prevailed at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where St. *Baſil* lived, and at *Cyprus*. St. *Baſil* preached ſome of his *Homilies* upon the *Hexameron* [*k*] at Evening Prayer. But he thinks *Socrates* [*l*] confines the Cuſtom to thoſe Places, becauſe he ſpeaks of it as a peculiar Uſage of thoſe Places to have Sermons made by Biſhops and Presbyters on *Saturdays* and *Sundays* at Candle-light in the Evening. Biſhop *Wettenhal* was of a different [*m*] Judgment: He thinks that in Cities and greater Churches, it was uſual for the Paſtors to preach on *Sundays* both Morning and Afternoon. And he ſupports his Opinion from ſeveral Teſtimonies of *Chryſoſtom*, who entitles one of his *Homilies* [*n*] *An Exhortation to thoſe who were aſhamed to come to Sermon after Dinner.* And in another [*o*] he inveighs againſt them who condemned his Uſage of Preaching after Dinner, as a new and ſtrange Cuſtom, telling them he had much more Reaſon to condemn that wicked Cuſtom then prevailing among ſome, to riſe from Table to ſleep. In another Place he defends his Practice from our Saviour's long Sermon to his Diſciples after his laſt Supper [*p*]. And in another Homily preached to the People of *Antioch* [*q*], he highly commends them for coming to Church in the Afternoon in a full Audience. All theſe are cited by *Wettenhal*, to which may be added what he ſays in his *Homily of Satan's Temptations* [*r*], that the Biſhop attended his Sermons which he preached both Morning and Afternoon. For that Sermon was preached in the Afternoon the ſame Day that he had preached his twenty firſt Sermon to the newly Baptized, as he there expreſly tells us. So again it appears that the fifteenth and nineteenth *Homilies* to the People of *Antioch* againſt Oaths, were preached on the ſame [*s*] Day. And his *Homily of bearing Reproof patiently*, was an Evening Sermon. For there [*t*] he thus addreſſes himſelf to the People. Be not weary, though the Evening now be come upon us. For all our Diſcourſe is in Defence of *Paul*, that *Paul*, who taught his Diſciples three Years Night and Day. In his *Homily* [*u*] upon *Elias and the Widow*, he ſays, One of his *Lent* Diſcourſes was broken off by the Evening coming upon them. And in one of his *Homilies* upon *Geneſis* [*x*], he as plainly intimates, that he was then preaching an Evening Sermon. For he makes this Apoſtrophe to the People: I am expounding the Scriptures, and ye all turn your Eyes from me to the Lamps, and him that is lighting the Lamps. What Negligence is this, ſo to forſake me, and ſet your Minds on him? For I am lighting a Fire from the holy Scriptures, and in my Tongue is a burning Lamp of Doctrine. This is a greater and a better Light than that. For we do not ſet up a Light like that moiſtened with Oil, but we inflame Souls that are watered with Piety, with a Deſire of Hearing. The whole Alluſion and Similitude ſhews, that he was preaching an Evening Sermon, when Candles were lighting, which gave him the Hint to draw the Compariſon between the material Light of the Lamps, and the ſpiritual Light of the Scriptures. And in his third *Homily of Repentance* [*y*], to name no more, he ſays, he would continue his Diſcourſe to the Evening, ἕως ἑσπέρας, that he might finiſh the Subject he was then handling. From all which it is apparent, this was no occaſional Uſage in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Church, but his conſtant and ordinary Practice. And in the *Latin* Church we ſometimes meet with Examples of this Kind, though not ſo frequent. St. *Auſtin* not only preached every Day, but ſometimes twice on the

[*d*] Vid. Aug. Serm. in Pſal. 50. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 58. Serm. in Pſal. 63. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 68. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 70. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 90. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 101. & paſſim in Sermonibus de Tempore & de Sanctis. [*e*] Chryſ. tom. 1. Serm. 31. de Philogonio. Serm. 40. de Juventino. Et ſequentes de Pelagia, Ignatio, Romano, Melitio, Juliano, Luciano, Bernice, Euſtathio, &c. Aug. Serm. in Pſal. 81. *See alſo what has been obſerved before of their Preaching on* Saturdays, *and the* Stationary Days, *in the former Book.* [*f*] Cyprian. Tolonenſis, Vit. Cæſarii. cap. 4. ap. Mabillon. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 404. Frequenter etiam ad Matutinos, & Lucernarium propter advenientes recitabat Homilias, ut nullus eſſet qui ſe de Ignorantia excuſaret. [*g*] Conc. Trullan. Can. 19. [*h*] Thorndike *of Religious Aſſemblies*, chap. 10. p. 405. [*i*] Leſtrange *of Divine Offices*, chap. 4. p. 98. [*k*] Vide Baſil. in Hexameron. Hom. 2, 7, 9. [*l*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 21. [*m*] Wettenhal *Duty of Preaching*, chap. 3. p. 779. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in Geneſ. [*o*] Hom. 1. de Lazaro. [*p*] Hom. 9. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 121. [*q*] Hom. 10. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 132. [*r*] Hom. 25. de Diabolo Tentatore. t. 1. p. 318, & 319. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 15. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 198. [*t*] Hom. 13. de ferendis Reprehen. t. 5. p. 194. [*u*] Hom. 54. in Heliam & Viduam. t. 5. p. 722. [*x*] Hom. 4. in Gen. t. 2. p. 902. [*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. de Pœnit. t. 4. p. 559.

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ſame Day. As is evident from the two Sermons on the lxxxviiith *Pſalm*, in the latter of which [z] he ſays, He had preached before in the Morning, and remained in their Debt for the Afternoon. *Gaudentius* alſo Biſhop of *Brixia* [a] ſpeaks of his having preached twice on the Vigil before *Eaſter*. And it is probable, the ſame Solemnity was obſerved in like manner in other Places. For at this Solemnity eſpecially they made a Diſtinction in their Sermons, preaching one to the Catechumens, and another to the *Neophytes*, or Perſons newly baptized. As *Gaudentius* ſays in the ſame Place, that his ſecond Sermon was preached to the *Neophytes*. The like is ſaid by St. *Ambroſe* [b], and *Theodoret* [c], and St. *Auſtin* [d], as I have had Occaſion to ſhew in another Place in ſpeaking of the Diſtinction that was made [†] between the Catechumens and the Faithful: To the former they preached only upon moral Subjects, to the latter upon myſtical Points of Religion, and abſtruſer Articles of Faith. Therefore St. *Auſtin* [e] ſays in another Place, There were ſome Points which required more intent Auditors, and therefore the Preacher was not to haſten them, but defer them to another Opportunity. And in another *Homily* [f] upon *Eaſter* Day, he excuſes the Shortneſs of it, becauſe he was to preach again to the Infants, as they then called all Perſons newly baptized. *Cyril*'s *Myſtical Catechiſms* were of this kind. And probably thoſe *Myſtical Homilies* of *Origen*, whereof he wrote two Books, mentioned by *Ruffin* [g] and St. *Jerom*, were of the ſame Nature. However, we have ſeen ſufficient Evidence otherwiſe for more Sermons than one upon the ſame Day upon many Occaſions.

SECT. IX. *Not ſo frequent in Country Villages.*

BUT this is chiefly to be underſtood of Cities and large Churches. For in the Country Pariſhes there was not ſuch frequent Preaching. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, they that lived in the City [h] enjoyed continual Teaching; but they that dwelt in the Country, had not ſuch Plenty: Therefore God compenſated this Want of Teachers with a greater Abundance of Martyrs, and ſo ordered it, that more Martyrs lay buried in the Country, than in the City: Where tho' they could not hear the Tongues of their Teachers continually, yet they always heard the Voice of the Martyrs ſpeaking to them from their Graves, and that with greater Force of Eloquence and Perſuaſion, than living Teachers could do; as he there goes on after his manner to deſcribe it. There were ſometimes great Aſſemblies held at theſe Monuments of the Martyrs: For on their Anniverſary Feſtivals the whole City went forth to celebrate their Memorials in the Churches where they lay buried; as *Chryſoſtom* tells us both here and in other Places [i]: But at other times their chief Reſort for Preaching was to the City Churches. It was not till the beginning of the ſixth Century, that Preaching was generally ſet up throughout the Country Pariſhes in the *French* Church: But about that time an Order was made in the Council of *Vaiſon*, *An.* 529, That for the Edification of all the Churches, and the greater Benefit of the whole Body of the People, Presbyters ſhould have Power [k] to preach not only in the Cities, but in all the Country Pariſhes: And if the Preſbyter was infirm, a Deacon ſhould read one of the *Homilies* of the holy Fathers. So that in this reſpect the State of the preſent Church may be reckoned happier than that of the antient Church; ſince there is ſcarce a Country Pariſh among us but has a Sermon preached every Lord's Day throughout the Year by a Presbyter or Deacon.

SECT. X. *Of their different Ways of Preaching.*

THE next Thing to be obſerved, is, Their different Sorts of Sermons, and different Ways of Preaching. I have already noted [*] ſome Difference to have been made between Sermons to the Catechumens, and Sermons to the Faithful; but that was chiefly in the Matter and Subject of them. What I obſerve here, relates more to the Manner and Method of Preaching, in which reſpect they were diſtinguiſhed into four Kinds. 1. Expoſitions of Scripture. 2. Panegyrical Diſcourſes upon the Saints and Martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular Times, Occaſions and Feſtivals. 4. Sermons upon particular Doctrines, and moral Subjects, to illuſtrate the Truth againſt Hereſy, and recommend the Practice of Virtue in Oppoſition to Immorality and Ungodlineſs. There are Examples of all theſe Kinds in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s and St. *Auſtin*'s *Homilies*, the two great Standards and Patterns of Preaching in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church. St. *Auſtin* has ſome *Homilies* upon whole Books of Scripture, as thoſe upon the *Pſalms*, and St. *John*'s *Goſpel*. He has others, ſtyled, *De Sanctis*, which are Panegyricks upon the Saints and Martyrs: Others, ſtyled, *De Tempore*, which are upon the Feſtivals and great Solemnities of the Church, ſuch as the *Nativity*, *Epiphany*, *Lent*, *Paſſion*, *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, and the *Lord's Days* throughout the Year; others, ſtyled, *De Diverſis*, which are a Miſcellany upon Doctrinal Points and Mo-

[z] Aug. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 88. Ad reliqua Pſalmi, de quo in Matutino locuti ſumus, animum intendite, & pium debitum exigite. [a] Gaudent. Tract. 4. Carnalem Judaicæ Paſchæ obſervantiam, ſpiritualibus Typis refertam, trino jam Tractatu docuimus; ſemel heſterno die, & bis in Vigiliis. It. Tract. 5. Oportebat in illa nocte Vigiliarum ſecundo Tractatu ——— congrua Neophytis explanari. [b] Ambroſ. de iis qui Myſteriis initiantur, cap. 1. [c] Theod. Quæſt. 15. in Num. [d] Aug. Serm. 1. ad Neophytos. in Append. t. 10. p. 845. [†] *Book* I. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 8. [e] Aug. Tract. 62. in Joan. Intentior flagitatur auditor: Et ideo eum præcipitare non debet, ſed differre potius Diſputator. [f] Aug. Hom. 82. de Diverſis. Satis ſint vobis pauca iſta, quoniam & poſt laboraturi ſumus, & de Sacramentis altaris hodie Infantibus diſputandum eſt. [g] Ruffin. Invect. 2. cont. Hieron. *cited by* Valeſius Not. in Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 24. [h] Chryſ. Hom. 65. de Martyribus. t. 5. p. 973. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 67. de S. Droſide. t. 5. p. 989, & 990. [k] Conc. Vaſenſ. 2. Can. 2. Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium Eccleſiarum, & pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, & non ſolum in Civitatibus, ſed etiam in omnibus Parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus Presbyteris proteſtatem, &c. [*] *See before*, Num. 8.

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ral Subjects. So likewise in *Chryſoſtom*, we have his *Homilies* by way of Expoſition on the whole Book of *Geneſis*, the *Pſalms*, the *Goſpels* of St. *Matthew* and St. *John*, and all St. *Paul*'s *Epiſtles*. Then again, his Panegyricks upon the Saints and Martyrs; his *Homilies* upon the noted Feſtivals, *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, &c. and laſtly, his Moral and Doctrinal Diſcourſes upon various Subjects, Repentance, Faith, Charity, Humility, the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, the Divinity of Chriſt, and ſuch important Subjects, as the Occaſion of the Times, and the Oppoſition of *Jews*, *Gentiles* and *Hereticks* required him to diſcourſe upon, in a plain and familiar way to the People. His *Homilies* by way of Expoſition of any Book of Scripture, uſually conſiſt but of two Parts, an Expoſition of ſome Portion of a Chapter, and an *Ethicon*, or Moral Concluſion upon ſome uſeful Subject, which the laſt Part of the Words expounded gave him the Hint or Occaſion to diſcourſe upon. But his other *Homilies* are commonly introduced with an uſeful *Preface*, not relating always to the Subject that was to follow, but ſuch as the Occaſional Neceſſities of his Auditory, either in Matters of Reproof or Commendation ſeemed to require. But in both theſe Ways, he ſtill excelled in this, that he always expounded the Scripture in its moſt natural and genuine Senſe (not giving way to Tropological Deſcants, as too many others did) and made ſuch uſeful Obſervations and Reflexions upon it, as were pertinent and proper, which he applied to his Hearers with the ſtrongeſt Reaſoning, and utmoſt Force of divine Eloquence, becoming the Seriouſneſs and Gravity of a Chriſtian Orator. 'Tis a juſt Character, which a late learned Critick [*l*] gives him, and therefore I think it not improper here to tranſcribe it for the Encouragement of all young Students to read him. "His Eloquence is popular, and very proper for "Preaching; his Style is natural, eaſy and grave; "he equally avoids Negligence and Affectation; "he is neither too plain, nor too florid; he is "Smooth, yet not Effeminate; he uſes all the "Figures that are uſual to good Orators very "properly, without employing falſe Strokes of "Wit; and he never introduces into his Diſ"courſes any Notions of Poets or Prophane "Authors; neither does he divert his Auditory "with Jeſts. His Compoſition is noble, his Ex"preſſions elegant, his Method juſt, and his "Thoughts ſublime; he ſpeaks like a good Fa"ther, and a good Paſtor; he often directs his "Words to the People, and expreſſes them with "a Tenderneſs and Charity becoming an holy "Biſhop; he teaches the principal Truths of "Chriſtianity with a wonderful Clearneſs, and "diverts with a marvellous Art, and an agreeable "way of ranging his Notions, and perſuades by "the ſtrength and ſolidity of his Reaſons; "his Inſtructions are eaſy, his Deſcriptions and "Relations pleaſant; his Inducements ſo meek "and inſinuating, that one is pleaſed to be ſo "perſuaded; his Diſcourſes, how long ſoever, "are not tedious, there are ſtill ſome new Things "that keep the Reader awake, and yet he hath "no falſe Beauties nor uſeleſs Figures; his only "Aim is to convert his Auditors, or to inſtruct "them in neceſſary Truths; he neglects all Re"flections that have more of Subtilty than Pro"fit; he never buſies himſelf to reſolve hard "Queſtions, nor to give myſtical Senſes, to "make a ſhew of his Wit or Eloquence; he "ſearches not into Myſteries, neither endeavours "to comprehend them; he is contented to pro"poſe, after an eaſy Way, palpable and ſenſible "Truths, which none can be ignorant of with"out danger of failing of Salvation; he particu"larly applies himſelf to Moral Heads, and very "ſeldom handleth Speculative Truths; he af"fects not to appear Learned, and never boaſts "of his Erudition; and yet whatever the Sub"ject be, he ſpeaks with Terms ſo ſtrong, ſo "proper, and ſo well choſen, that one may ea"ſily perceive he had a profound Knowledge "of all ſorts of Matters, and particularly of true "Divinity." This is the Character which that judicious Critick gives that famous and eloquent Preacher: And he that will diligently peruſe his *Homilies* (eſpecially thoſe of his firſt and fifth Volumes, which contain his moſt elaborate Diſcourſes, as alſo thoſe on St. *Matthew*, St. *John*, and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, where he excels in his Moral Applications) will find his Sermons to anſwer the Character that is given of them, only making ſome Allowances for the different Way and Method then uſed, not ſo agreeable to the Model of Sermons in the preſent Age. I had once ſome Thoughts of publiſhing a Volume of his ſelect Diſcourſes, which I tranſlated for my own Entertainment, when I was unfortunately cut off from other Studies for a whole Year: But becauſe they are not altogether of the preſent Stamp, and many Men have a different Taſte and Reliſh of Things, I chuſe rather to encourage Men to read them in the Original, where they may ſelect what they find proper for their Uſe or Imitation. As for thoſe who can endure to read nothing but what is either Modern, or dreſſed up in the modern Dreſs, I neither court them to read *Chryſoſtom*, nor any other antient Father; but to others, who can be at Pains to peruſe, and judiciouſly ſelect the Beauties of Style, the Strains of Piety, and the Flights of divine and manly Eloquence, that almoſt every where diſplay themſelves in this Author, I dare venture to ſay, they will never think their Time loſt, nor find themſelves wholly diſappointed in their Expectation. St. *Baſil*'s *Homilies* come the neareſt to St. *Chryſoſtom*'s in ſolidity of Matter, beauty of Stile, ingenuity of Thought, and ſharpneſs and vivacity of Expreſſion. A Vein of Piety runs equally through them both, and by ſome St. *Baſil*'s are reckoned to come nearer to the *Attick* Purity and Perfection. Next after theſe, the two *Gregories*, *Nyſſen* and *Nazianzen*, are eſteemed the greateſt Maſters of divine Eloquence; though the latter

[*l*] Du Pin Bibliothec. Vol. 3. p. 34.

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is rather luxuriant and tedious, by his too frequent and long Similitudes and Digreſſions. Thoſe of *Ephrem Syrus* were alſo of great Repute in the antient Church, having the Honour to be read as Leſſons after the reading of the Scriptures in many Churches, as has been noted before out of St. *Jerom* [*m*]. They are highly commended by *Sozomen* [*n*] and *Photius* [*o*] for the beauty of their Style and ſublime Thoughts, which were not wholly loſt by being tranſlated out of *Syriack* into *Greek*. *Gregory Nyſſen* [*p*] is more copious in his Praiſe, and he particularly obſerves, that his Diſcourſes of Morality were ſo full of compaſſionate and affecting Expreſſions, that they were able to move the hardeſt Heart. For who that is proud, ſays he, would not become the humbleſt of Men, by reading his Diſcourſe of Humility? Who would not be inflamed with a divine Fire, by reading his Treatiſe of Charity? Who would not wiſh to be chaſte in Heart and Spirit, by reading the Praiſes he has given to Virginity? Who would not be frighted, to hear the Diſcourſe he has made upon the laſt Judgment, wherein he has repreſented it ſo lively, that nothing can be added to it but the real Appearance of Judgment it ſelf? This is a Character that would tempt any Man to look into them: 'Tis diſputed now among the Criticks, whether thoſe *Homilies* that go under his Name, be his genuine Off-ſpring? Some utterly reject them, and they who ſay moſt in their Defence, own that they may have loſt ſomething of their native Beauty and Majeſty, by being tranſlated firſt out of *Syriack* into *Greek*, and then out of *Greek* into *Latin*. And therefore I will not ſo confidently aſſert, they deſerve the Character which *Gregory Nyſſen* gives of thoſe that were ſo much admired in his time. As for thoſe of *Origen*, and others who followed him, though they have ſome Flights of Rhetorick, and a Vein of Piety in them, yet they are ſo full of Allegorical and Tropological Interpretations, that they are neither good *Expoſitions*, nor good *Homilies*, and fall far ſhort of the Majeſty and Simplicity of thoſe of *Chryſoſtom*. Among the *Latins*, thoſe few moral Diſcourſes we have of *Cyprian*'s, whether *Homilies* or *Treatiſes*, are excellent in their Kind. And ſo are many of St. *Auſtin*'s, and St. *Ambroſe*, and *Leo the Great*, and *Petrus Ravennas*, who for his Eloquence had the Name of *Chryſologus*, or the *Latin Chryſoſtom*; though his Eloquence is of a different Kind, being more like that of *Seneca*, than of *Tully* or *Demoſthenes*, whom *Chryſoſtom* copied after.

Diſcourſes frequent among the Ancients.

though many of them were ſtudied and elaborate Diſcourſes, penned and compoſed before-hand, yet ſome were alſo *Extempore*, ſpoken without any previous Compoſition, and taken from their Mouths by the ταχυγράφοι, or Men who underſtood the Art of writing Short-hand in the Church. *Origen* was the firſt that began this way of Preaching in the Church. But *Euſebius* [*q*] ſays, he did it not till he was above ſixty Years old, at which Age, having got a confirmed Habit of Preaching by continual Uſe and Exerciſe, he ſuffered the ταχυγράφοι, or Notaries, to take down his Sermons which he made to the People, which he would never allow before. *Pamphilus* in his Apology [*r*] for *Origen*, ſpeaks the Matter a little more plainly: For he makes it an Inſtance of his Sedulity in Studying and Preaching the Word of God, that he not only compoſed a great number of laborious Treatiſes upon it, but preached almoſt every Day *Extempore* Sermons in the Church, which were taken from his Mouth by the Notaries, and ſo conveyed to Poſterity by that Means only. The *Catechetical Diſcourſes* of St. *Cyril* are ſuppoſed to be of this Kind: For at the beginning of every one almoſt, it is ſaid in the Title to be χειδιαδέασα, which *Suidas* and other Criticks expound, *An Extempore Diſcourſe*. St. *Jerom* ſays, *Pierius* thus expounded the Scripture [*s*]. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo ſometimes uſed this way of Preaching, being of a ready Invention and fluent Tongue. *Sozomen* [*t*] ſays, after his Return from Baniſhment, the People were ſo deſirous to hear him, that he was forced to go up to the Epiſcopal Throne, and make an *Extempore* Diſcourſe to them, which is now extant [*u*] in his ſecond Tome in *Latin*. *Suidas* alſo gives him this Character [*x*], that he had a Tongue flowing like the Cataracts of *Nile*, whereby he ſpake many of his *Panegyricks* upon the Martyrs *Extempore*, without any Heſitation. And it appears from ſeveral of his Sermons, that he often took Occaſion in the middle of a Diſcourſe, from ſome accidental Hint that was caſually given, to turn his Eloquence from the Subject in hand, and make ſome *Extempore* Apoſtrophe to the People, either of Praiſe and Commendation, or of Reproof and Correction, as the Occaſion of the Thing required; as in that Sermon we have already mentioned, *n.* 8. where he takes Occaſion, from the Peoples turning their Eyes to ſee the lighting of the Candles, to reprove their Negligence [*y*] in turning away their Attention from him, who was holding forth to them a greater Light from the Holy Scriptures. And there are many other ſuch Apoſtrophes and Occaſional Reflections throughout

SECT. XI. *Of* Extempore

BUT of all theſe we muſt obſerve another Diſtinction, that

[*m*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115. [*n*] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 16. [*o*] Phot. Cod. 196. [*p*] Nyſſen. Vit. Ephrem Syri. t. 3. p. 603. [*q*] Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 36. [*r*] Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. inter Opera Origen. t. 1. p. 756. Quod præ cæteris Verbo Dei & Doctrinæ operam dederit, dubium non eſt & ex his quæ ad nos laboris & ſtudii ejus certiſſima deſignantur Indicia: Præcipue vero per eos Tractatus, quos pene Quotidie in Eccleſia habebat Extempore, quos & deſcribentes Notarii ad monimentum Poſteritatis tradebant. *Dr.* Cave *reckons his* Homilies *upon* Gen. Exod. Levit. *and* Numbers, *to be all* Extempore. Vid. Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 78. [*s*] Hieron. Procem. in Hoſe. [*t*] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 18. [*u*] Chryſ. Sermo poſt Reditum. t. 2. p. 49. in Appendice. [*x*] Suidas, Voce Joannes. t. 1. p. 1258. τὰς τῶν μῦθλύρων ὃ παννηγύρεις ἐπηύξησεν ἐν τῶν χειδιάζειν ἀνεμπεδίσως, &c. [*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Gen. t. 2. p. 902.

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his *Homilies*, which muſt needs be *Extempore*, becauſe the Occaſion of them could not be foreſeen, being they were pure Contingencies, and Things altogether accidental. But *Chryſoſtom* was not the only Man, whoſe Fluency inabled him to make *Extempore* Diſcourſes. For *Ruffin* ſpeaking in Praiſe of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and St. *Baſil*, ſays, there were ſeveral of their Sermons extant [z], which they ſpake *Extempore* in the Church, twenty of which he himſelf had tranſlated into *Latin*. *Socrates* gives the ſame Account of *Atticus*, that though whilſt he was a Presbyter, he was uſed to preach compoſed and ſtudied Sermons, yet afterwards by Induſtry and continued Exerciſe having gained Confidence and a Freedom or Fluency of Speaking, he preached *Extempore* to the People [a]: And his Sermons were ſo well received by his Auditors, that they took them down in Writing. *Sozomen* indeed gives a different Account of them: For he ſays [b], his Performances were ſo mean, that though they had a Mixture of heathen Learning in them, yet his Auditors did not think 'em worth Writing. However, they both ſeem to agree in this, that whatever Characters they bare, they were *Extempore* Diſcourſes. *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſeems to give the like Account of *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez* in *France*: For he ſays [c], ſome of his Diſcourſes were *Repentinæ*, and others *Elucubratæ*, that is, the one ſpoken off-hand, and the others elaborate and ſtudied. And there is nothing more certain, than that St. *Auſtin* did often uſe the *Extempore* way. For he ſometimes preached upon Places of Scripture that were accidentally read in the Church, and which he knew nothing of before he came thither. Of which we have an undeniable Inſtance in one of his *Homilies* [d], where he tells us, he was determined to preach upon a certain *Pſalm* about Repentance, which he thought nothing of before the Reader chanced to read it of his own Accord in the Church. And in another place he tells us [e], when he had appointed the Reader to read a certain *Pſalm*, upon which he intended to preach, the Reader in ſome Hurry read another in its room; and this obliged him to preach an *Extempore* Sermon upon that *Pſalm* that was ſo accidentally read in the Church. *Poſſidius* alſo in his Life mentions a Sermon, wherein he left his Subject that he was diſcourſing upon, to diſpute againſt the *Manichees*, which he had no Thoughts [f] to have done when he firſt began to preach; but he reckoned it was the Providence of God that directed him ſo to do, to cure the Error of ſome latent *Manichee* in the Congregation. And it is very probable, that many of his Sermons upon the *Pſalms* were *Extempore*, becauſe he ſo often uſes the Phraſe, *Quantum Deus donaverit*, as God ſhould inable him to ſpeak: Which ſeems to imply, that he ſpake without any previous Study or Compoſition. It is evident his Sermon on the lxxxvith *Pſalm* was of this kind: For he ſays, he would explain it [g] as God ſhould inable him, ſeeing it was appointed by his holy Father the Biſhop then preſent: But ſuch a ſudden Appointment would have been an Oppreſſion, were it not that the Prayers of the Proponent gave him continual Aſſiſtance. For indeed they looked upon it as ſo neceſſary a Work to preach continually, that when they had not time to compoſe before-hand, they doubted not but that the Grace of God, and a peculiar Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, would concur with their honeſt Endeavours in ſuch ſudden Undertakings. Nay, *Gregory the Great*, who alſo uſed this way in explaining ſome of the moſt difficult Books of Scripture, as particularly *Ezekiel*, ſcruples [h] not ſo ſay, that he often found thoſe obſcure Places of Scripture, which he could not comprehend in his private Study, to flow in upon his Underſtanding when he was Preaching in publick to his Brethren.

SECT. XII. *What meant by Preaching by the Spirit.*

AND in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, both in compoſing and preaching their Sermons. Thus *Chryſoſtom* [i] ſays in one of his Sermons, when he had the Happineſs to ſee a large Auditory and a Table well furniſhed with Gueſts, that then he expected the Grace of the Spirit to ſound in his Mind. In another [k], I do not think that I ſpake thoſe Words of my ſelf, but God that foreſaw what would happen put thoſe Words into my Mind. And again [l], ſpeaking of the Preaching of *Flavian* his Biſhop, he ſays, It was not human Thought that poured forth his Diſcourſe, but the Grace of the Holy Spirit: As it was not the Nature of the Vine, but the Power of Chriſt, that made the Water Wine. St. *Auſtin* alſo often ſpeaks of ſuch Illapſes and Aſſiſtances of the Spirit in Preaching; which he ſometimes calls the Gift of God [m], ſometimes the Revelation of the Spirit [n]; and ſometimes the Help of God, and his Divine Aſſiſtance. In one place more particularly, ſpeak-

[z] Ruffin. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 9. Extant quoque utriuſque ingenii monimenta magnifica Tractatuum, quos extempore in Eccleſiis declamabant, &c. [a] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 2. [b] Sozom lib. 8. cap. 27. [c] Sidon. lib. 9. Ep. 3. ad Fauſtum Regienſem. Licet Prædicationes tuas, nunc Repentinas, nunc, cum Ratio proponcerit, Elucubratas, raucus plauſor audierim, &c. Gennadius de Scriptor. cap. 40. *gives the ſame Account of* Maximus Taurinenſis. [d] Aug. Serm. 27. ex 50. t. 10. p. 175. *See before Book* XIV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 6. [e] Aug. in Pſal. 138. p. 650. [f] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. cap. 15. [g] Aug. in Pſal. 86. p. 390. Hic nobis, quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum veſtra Charitate tractandus modo eſt, propoſitus à Beatiſſimo præſente Patre noſtro. Repentina propoſitio me gravaret, niſi me continuò proponentis ſublevaret Oratio. [h] Greg. magn. Hom. 14. in Ezek. p. 1144. Non hoc temeritate aggredior, ſed humilitate. Scio enim, quia plerumque multa in ſacro Eloquio, quæ ſolus intelligere non potui, coram Fratribus meis poſitus intellexi, &c. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 23. de Verbis Apoſt. Habentes eandem Fidem, &c. t. 5. p. 331. προσδοκῶ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος χάριν ἐπιχυθῆναι ἡμῶν τῇ διανοίᾳ. [k] Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 30. [l] Hom. 2. de Verbis Eſaiæ, t. 2. p. 331. [m] Aug. Serm. 17. de Verbis Apoſt. t. 10. p. 132. Donante illo, &c. Et paſſim Sermon. in Pſalmos, 34, 96. [n] Aug. Serm. 15. de Verb. Apoſt. Ut ea quæ ille nobis revelare dignantur, ad vos apte & ſalubriter proferre poſſimus. Vid. ibid. Serm. 14, & 15.

ing of his Unwillingneſs to preach before certain Biſhops when he was but young, he brings them in making this Anſwer: If thou art in Want of Words, *Ask and it ſhall be given* [o] *thee: for it is not ye that ſpeak*, but ye miniſter what is given unto you. If a Man would diſingenuouſly interpret theſe and the like Expreſſions of the Ancients, he might make them ſeem to countenance that Preaching by the Spirit, which ſome ſo vainly boaſt of, as if they ſpake nothing but what the Spirit immediately dictated to them, as it did to the Apoſtles, by extraordinary Inſpiration. Which were to ſet every *Extempore*, as well as compoſed Diſcourſe upon the ſame Level of Infallibility with the *Goſpel*. Which ſort of Enthuſiaſm the Ancients never dreamed of. For notwithſtanding the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit they ſpeak of, they always put a wide Difference between the Apoſtles Preaching and their own, ſtyling the one infallible and authentick, as we have heard before [p] out of St. *Auſtin* and others, and themſelves only fallible Expoſitors of the Scripture. All therefore they pretended to from the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, was only that ordinary Aſſiſtance which Men may expect from the concurrence of the Spirit with their honeſt Endeavours, as a Bleſſing upon their Studies and Labours; that whilſt they were piouſly ingaged in his Service, God would not be wanting to them in ſuch Aſſiſtance as was proper for their Work, eſpecially if they humbly asked it with Sincerity by fervent Supplication and Prayer.

SECT. XIII. *What ſort of Prayers they uſed before Sermons, and in, and after them.*

AND upon this Account it was uſual for the Preacher many times to uſher in his Diſcourſe with a ſhort Prayer for ſuch divine Aſſiſtance, and alſo to move the People to pray for him. St. *Auſtin* in the aforeſaid *Homily* having mentioned the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, immediately adds, Whither ſhall I betake my ſelf, thus violently preſſed in theſe Straits, but to the Footſtool of Charity, or Grace of the Holy Spirt? And to that I make [q] now my Supplication, that he would grant me Ability to ſpeak ſomething worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my Miniſtry, and ſatisfy your Deſire. And in his Book of Inſtructions of the Chriſtian Orator [r], where he preſcribes many excellent Rules for Preaching, he lays down this among others, that the Chriſtian Orator ſhould pray both for himſelf and others before he begins to Teach; that he may be able to ſpeak thoſe Things that are Holy, Juſt, and Good; and that his Auditors may hear him with Underſtanding, with Willingneſs, and with an obedient Heart. To this End, before he looſes his Tongue to ſpeak, he ſhould lift up his thirſting Soul to God, that he may be able to diſcharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himſelf. And this the rather, becauſe both we and all our Words are in the Hand of God, who teaches us both what to ſpeak, and after what manner to ſpeak. And therefore though Eccleſiaſtical Men ought to learn what they are to Teach, and to get the Faculty of Speaking; yet when the Hour of Speaking comes, they ſhould imagine that what our Lord ſays [s], belongs to every good Soul: *Take no thought how or what ye ſhall ſpeak, for it ſhall be given to you in that Hour what ye ſhall ſpeak: for it is not ye that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father that ſpeaketh in you.* If therefore the Holy Spirit ſpeak in them, who are delivered up to Perſecutors for the Name of Chriſt, why ſhould he not alſo ſpeak in thoſe who preach Chriſt to them that are diſpoſed to learn him? I have related this Paſſage at length, both becauſe it ſhews us, to what Degree they depended on the Spirit's Aſſiſtance in Preaching, and alſo what ſort of Prayers thoſe were which they commonly made before Sermon: *viz.* not the Common Prayers of the Church, (as ſome miſtake, who meaſure all Uſages of the antient Church by the Cuſtoms of the preſent) but theſe ſhort Prayers for the Aſſiſtance and Conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the People in Speaking and Hearing. And where-ever we meet with any mention of Prayer before Sermon, it is to be underſtood only of this ſhort ſort of Prayers, in antient Writers. Such as that of St. *Auſtin*'s in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Pſalms*, which begins with theſe Words: *Attend to the* Pſalm, *and the Lord* [t] *grant us Ability to open the Myſteries that are contained in it.* He begins another thus: *My Lords and Brethren*, (meaning the Biſhops then preſent) *and the Lord of all by them, have commanded me to diſcourſe upon this* Pſalm, *that you may underſtand it* [u] *ſo far as the Lord ſhall grant us Underſtanding. And may he by your Prayers aſſiſt me, that I may ſpeak ſuch Things as I ought to ſpeak, and ſuch as ye ought to hear: that the Word of God may be profitable to us all.* In this Senſe we are to underſtand St. *Chryſoſtom*, when he ſays, we muſt firſt

[o] Aug. Serm. 46. de Tempore, t. 10. p. 240. Si Sermo deeſt, pete & accipies. Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini: Sed quod datur vobis, hoc miniſtratis nobis. It. de Doctrina Chriſti. lib. 4. cap. 15. *he has more to the ſame Purpoſe.* [p] Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. *See before in this Chap. n.* 1. [q] Aug. Hom. 46. de Tempore. His coarctatus anguſtiis, quo me conferam, niſi ad ſancta Veſtigia Charitatis? Eamque deprecor, ut donet mihi aliquid dignum de ſe dicere, quo & meum Miniſterium, & Veſtrum ſatiem Deſiderium. Vid. Hom. 51. de Diverſis.

[r] De Doctrin. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 15. Noſter Eloquens, orando pro ſe, ac pro illis quos eſt allocuturus, ſit Orator antequam Dictor. (al. Doctor,) Ipſa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priuſquam exerat proferentem Linguam, ad Deum levet animam ſitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat, &c. [s] Ibid. Ad horam vero ipſius Dictionis illud potius bonæ menti cogitet convenire quod Dominus ait: Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini: dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini: Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed Spiritus Patris veſtri qui loquitur in vobis. Si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus Sanctus qui perſequentibus traduntur pro Chriſto, cur non & in eis qui tradunt diſcentibus Chriſtum? [t] Aug. in Pſal. 91. p. 417. Attendite ad Pſalmum: Det nobis Dominus aperire myſteria quæ hic continentur. [u] In Pſal. 139. Juſſerunt Domini fratres, & in ipſis Dominus omnium, ut ipſum Pſalmum afferam ad vos intelligendum, quantum Dominus donat. Adjuvet orationibus veſtris, ut ea dicam quæ oportet me dicere & vos audire: uti omnibus nobis ſit utilis ſermo divinus.

[x] pray, and then preach: So St. *Paul* does, praying in the Prefaces of his Epiſtles, that the Light of Prayer, as the Light of a Candle, may lead the way to his Diſcourſes. Such is that Prayer, which St. *Ambroſe* [y] is ſaid to uſe before his Sermons: *I beſeech thee, O Lord, and earneſtly intreat thee, give me an humble Knowledge, which may edify; give me a meek and prudent Eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt it ſelf upon its own Worth and Endowments above its Brethren. Put into my Mouth, I beſeech thee, the Word of Conſolation, and Edification, and Exhortation, that I may be able to exhort thoſe that are Good to go on to greater Perfection, and reduce thoſe that walk perverſely to the Rule of thy Righteouſneſs, both by my Word and by my Example. Let the Words, which thou giveſt to thy Servant, be as the ſharpeſt Darts and burning Arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the Minds of my Hearers to thy Fear and Love.* But this ſeems rather to have been a private Prayer of St. *Ambroſe* between God and himſelf, as Biſhop *Wettenhall* [z] and Mr. *Thorndike* [†] underſtand it: Who are yet miſtaken in one Thing, when they ſuppoſe that the Common Prayers of the Church came before the Sermon, and that there were no other Prayers before Sermon but thoſe: For nothing is more certain, than that the Common Prayers did not begin till the Sermon was ended; and yet there were ſuch ſhort Prayers for Grace and Aſſiſtance, as we are ſpeaking of, peculiarly adapted to the Buſineſs of Preaching and Hearing, and not reſpecting any other Subject. And ſometimes the Peoples Prayers were required to be joyned with them, as appears from that of St. *Auſtin* [a] in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Pſalms*, where he deſires the People to aſſiſt him with their Prayers to the Lord, that he would grant him Ability to explain the latent Myſteries and Difficulties of the *Pſalms*, as well for their Sakes as his own. In *Origen*'s *Homilies* upon *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Kings*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel* and St. *Luke*, there are abundance of ſuch ſhort Prayers, not only in the beginning of his Diſcourſes, but ſometimes alſo in the middle of them, when any more abſtruſe Paſſage of Scripture preſented it ſelf to Conſideration; and generally in the Cloſe, he makes another ſuch ſhort Prayer in a few Words ſuitable to the Subject; ſometimes praying for himſelf and the People, and ſometimes exhorting them to pray for themſelves and him. All which being produced at large in a noted Book of Mr. *Daille*'s [b], I ſhall not think it needful to tranſcribe them in this Place. But I cannot omit to obſerve, that as St. *Auſtin* often began his Sermon with a ſhort Prayer, ſo he uſually ended it with another of the like Nature: The Forms of which are ſome of them now to be found at the end of ſeveral of his *Homilies*. In ſome of them [c] we have this Form at length, *Let us now turn to the Lord God, our Father Almighty, with a pure Heart, and give him Thanks with all our Might, beſeeching his ſingular Clemency, with our whole Soul, that of his good Pleaſure he would vouchſafe to hear our Prayers; that he would drive away the Enemy from all our Thoughts and Actions by his Power; that he would increaſe our Faith, govern our Minds, grant us ſpiritual Thoughts, and conduct us to everlaſting Happineſs, through Jeſus Chriſt his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in the Unity of the Holy Ghoſt, one God, World without End.* Amen. And in many other *Homilies* this Prayer is referred to as a known Form [d] uſed frequently by him in the Cloſe of his Sermons. *Converſi ad Dominum*, &c. But he ſometimes varied and ſhortned this Form, as the Matter of his Sermon required. Thus in his long Sermon upon the Reſurrection [e], having ſaid that the Saints in the next World will keep a perpetual Sabbath, and have nothing to do but to ſing *Allelujah*; and applying the Words of the *Pſalmiſt* to this Purpoſe, *Bleſſed are they that dwell in thy Houſe, for they will be always praiſing Thee*; he concludes his Sermon with this Prayer: *Let us turn to the Lord, and beſeech him for our ſelves, and all the People that ſtand with us in the Courts of his Houſe: Which Houſe may he vouchſafe to preſerve and protect, through Jeſus Chriſt his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him, World without End.* Amen. In another of his *Homilies* (a Fragment of which is cited by *Sirmond* [f] as it is preſerved in *Eugippius*'s Collections out of St. *Auſtin*'s Works) he has another Form in theſe Words: *Let us turn to the Lord, and bleſs his Name, that we may have Grace to perſevere in his Commandments, to walk in the Way of his Inſtructions, and pleaſe him in every good Work*, &c. From all which it is manifeſt, they uſed ſuch ſhort Prayers both in the Beginning and Concluſion of their Sermons, and ſometimes, as Occaſion required, in the Middle of them alſo, and that theſe were diſtinct from the Common Prayers of the Church.

SECT. XIV.

The Salutation, Pax vobis, *The Lord be with you, commonly uſed before Sermons.*

BEFORE they began to preach, it was uſual alſo in many Places, to uſe the common Salutation, *Pax vobis*, *Peace be unto you*, or, *The Lord be with you*, which was the uſual Preface and Introducti-

[x] Chryſ. Hom. 28. de Incomprehenſibili Dei Natura, t. 1. p. 363. πρότερον εὐχὴ καὶ τότε λόγος, &c. [y] Ambroſ. Orat. ap. Ferrarium de Concionib. Veter. lib. 1. cap. 8. Obſecro Domine, & ſuppliciter rogo, da mihi ſemper humilem Scientiam, quæ ædificet, ad mitiſſimam ſapientem Eloquentiam, quæ neſciat inflari, & de ſuis bonis ſuper Fratres extolli, &c. [z] Wettenhal, *Gift of Prayer, Chap. 4. p. 116.* [†] Thorndike's *Juſt Weights and Meaſures, Chap. 16.* [a] Aug. in Pſal. 147. p. 699. Aſſit ergo nobis apud Dominum Deum noſtrum iſte affectus Precum veſtrarum: Etſi non propter nos, certe propter vos donare dignetur, quod hic abſconditum latet. Vid. Homil. 50. de Diverſis. Orate ut poſſimus, &c. [b] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Relig. lib. 3. cap. 13. [c] Aug. Serm. 30. de Verb. Dom. t. 10. Et Serm. 102. de Diverſis, & 120. Et Serm. 18. ex editis a Sirmondo. [d] Aug. de Verb. Dom. 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 31, 32, 37, 40, & paſſim Homiliis de Diverſis. [e] De Diverſ. Ser. 121. [f] Fragment. Homil. ex Eugippii Theſauro, lib. 2. cap. 288. ap. Sirmond. Not. in Aug. Homil. 18. a ſe edit. Audiſtis me, credo, fratres mei, quando dico, Converſi ad Dominum benedicamus nomen ejus, de nobis perſeverare in mandatis ſuis, ambulare in via Eruditionis ſuæ, placere illi in omni opere bono, &c. ne vos ſine cauſa Amen ſubſcribatis.

on to all holy Offices, to which the People answered, *And with thy Spirit.* This the Author of the *Constitutions* calls προόρησιν, the *Salutation*, giving this Rule to the Bishop newly ordained: After the reading of the *Law*, and the *Prophets*, and the *Epistles*, and the *Acts*, and the *Gospels*, let him [g] salute the Church, saying, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God the Father, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all:* And let all the People answer, *And with thy Spirit:* And after this Salutation, μετὰ τὴν προόρησιν, let him speak to the People the Words of Exhortation. And that this Author did not impose any new Custom upon the Church, appears from *Chrysostom*, who in several of his *Homilies* makes mention of it. In his third *Homily* upon the *Colossians*, he says, The Bishop when he first entred the Church, said, *Peace be unto you all*; and when he began [h] to preach, *Peace be unto you all.* And a little before he says, the Bishops used it ἐντεῦθεν προῤῥήσεσι, by which he means their Sermons, or at least, the Form of Salutation it self ushering in the Sermon, as we have seen the Author of the *Constitutions* understands it. *Chrysostom* [i] adds, that the People returned the Salutation of Peace to him that gave it, saying, *And with thy Spirit.* In another place he says, nothing is comparable to Peace and Unity: And for this Reason the Father, the Bishop, when he enters the Church, before he goes up to his Throne, prays for Peace to all; and when he rises up to preach, he does not begin to Discourse [k] before he has given the Peace to all. In other places he opens the Reason of this Practice by declaring the original Intent and Design of it. For, he says, it was an antient Custom in the Apostles Days, when the Rulers of the Church had the Gift of Inspiration, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, for the People to say to the Preacher, *Peace be with thy Spirit:* Therefore now when we begin to preach [l], the People answer, *And with thy Spirit:* Shewing, that heretofore they spake not by their own Wisdom, but as they were moved by the Spirit. And though this Gift of extraordinary Inspiration was ceased, yet all Preachers still were presumed to be under the Conduct and Assistance of the Spirit in a lower Degree: And therefore he says [m] in another Place, that the Holy Ghost was in their common Father and Teacher, meaning the Bishop, when he went up into the Episcopal Throne, and gave the Peace to them all, and they with one Voice answered, *And with thy Spirit.* And this, not only when he went into his Throne, but also when he preached to them, when he prayed, and when he stood by the Holy Table to offer the Oblation. And by this we may understand what *Sozomen* [n] and others say of *Chrysostom* after his Return from Banishment, that the People forced him against his Will, before he was Synodically re-instated, to go up into the Throne, and give them the Peace in the usual Form, and preach to them. *Optatus* speaks of the same Custom in *Africk* both in the Beginning and End of their Sermons. For he says [o], they used a double Salutation: The Bishop never began to speak to the People, before he had first saluted them in the Name of God. Every Sermon in the Church began in the Name of God, and ended in the Name of the same God. And by this he proves, that *Macarius*, the Emperor's Officer, did not take upon him the Office of a Bishop among the *Catholicks*, as the *Donatists* falsely objected against them. For tho' he spake to the People in the Church, yet it was upon some other Business, and not by way of Preaching, which was the Office of Bishops, which they always began and ended with this Salutation: But *Macarius* used no such Salutation: And from thence he argues that he did not preach. *Bona* [p] cites also *Athanasius*'s Epistle to *Eustathius*, where he inveighs against the *Arian* Bishops, who in the beginning of their Sermons used that kind Word, *Peace be with you*, and yet were always harassing others, and tragically ingaged in War. But as there is no Epistle under that Title among *Athanasius*'s Works, I let it rest upon the Credit of our Author.

SECT. XV. *But the Use of* Ave Maries *before Sermons, unknown to the Ancients.*

BUT I cannot but observe, That among all the short Prayers used by the Ancients before their Sermons, there is never any mention of an *Ave Mary*, now so common in the Practice of the *Romish* Church. Their Addresses were all to God; and the Invocation of the holy Virgin for Grace and Assistance before Sermons, was a Thing not thought of. They who are most concerned to prove its Use, can derive its Original no higher than the Beginning of the fifteenth Century. For *Ferrarius* [q] ingenuously confesses, that *Vincentius Ferrerius* was the first Ecclesiastical Writer that ever used it before his Sermons. *Baronius* has not a Syllable of its Antiquity in all his Twelve Centuries; there being a perfect Silence both among the Ancients and all the Ritualists about it, till that *Dominican* Preacher in his abundant Zeal for the Worship of the holy Virgin, began to use it before his Sermons; from whose Example (for he was a celebrated Preacher in the Age he lived) it gained such Reputation and Authority, as not only to be prefixed before all their Sermons, but to be adapted and joyned with the *Lord's Prayer* in the *Roman Breviary*. *Ferrarius* says all he can

[g] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 5. ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, λέγων, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου. &c. [h] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Colos. p. 1338. ὅταν ὁμιλῇ, λέγει εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 1339. ἀντιδόντες τῷ διδόντι τὴν εἰρήνην, &c. [k] Hom. 52. in eos qui Pascha jejunant, t. 5. p. 713. ἀναστὰς ὁ πρότερον ἀρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπιδείξηται. [l] Chrys. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. [m] Hom. 36. de Pentecost. t. 5. p. 553. [n] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 18. [o] Optat. lib. 3. ad calcem. lib. 7. p. 112 Episcopalis Tractatus probatur Salutatione geminata. Non enim aliquid incipit Episcopus ad populum dicere, nisi primò in nomine Dei populum salutaverit. Similes sunt Exitus Initiis. Omnis Tractatus in Ecclesia à nomine Dei incipitur, & ejusdem Dei nomine terminatur, &c. It. lib. 3. p. 73. Salutas de Pace, qui non amas. [p] Bona. Rerum Liturgic. lib. 2. cap. 2. n. 1. [q] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 30.

can to justify a Novelty; but nothing can clear this *Hyperdulia* of Idolatry; and he might have spared his Censure of *Erasmus*, who says a witty Thing upon it, That their Preachers were used to invoke the Virgin Mother in the Beginning of their Discourses, as the Heathen Poets were used to do their Muses: For *Epiphanius* would have said much severer Things against it, had he had the like Occasion given him to inveigh against this Idolatry, as he had to censure that of the *Collyridians*: But then this Idolatry was confined to the weaker Sex, and had not yet made its way into the Pulpits, or any part of the Liturgy of the antient Church, when Preachers were used to pray for Grace and Assistance only from Him, who is the proper Donor of it.

SECT. XVI. *Sometimes their Sermons were prefaced with a Benediction.*

I observe farther, That as their Sermons were thus usually prefaced with a short Prayer, so they were sometimes introduced with a short Form of Benediction. This seems to have been peculiar to Times of Calamity and Distress, or to happy Deliverances out of them. There are Instances of both kinds in *Chrysostom*'s Sermons to the People of *Antioch*, when they were under Apprehensions of being destroyed by the Emperor's Displeasure. His fourth Sermon begins thus: Blessed be God, who hath comforted your sorrowful Souls, and comforted your wavering Minds. His eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and twentieth *Homilies* begin much after the same manner. And his *Homily* after his return from Banishment [*r*] is thus prefaced: What shall I say? What shall I speak? Blessed be God. This was the Word which I spake when I went away; and this I repeat now at my Return. And this he tells them, he did after the Example of *Job*, who in Adversity, as well as Prosperity, said always, *Blessed be the Name of the Lord.*

SECT. XVII. *Sometimes preached without any Text, and sometimes upon more Texts than one.*

IT appears farther from those *Homilies* [*s*], and several others both in him and other Writers, that they sometimes preached without any Text; only treating of such Matters as they thought most proper for the Occasion. But most commonly they took their Text out of some Paragraph of the *Psalms* or Lessons, as they were read. And sometimes they so ordered the Matter, as to preach upon the *Psalm*, the *Epistle* and *Gospel* all together, when they were either accidentally, or by their own Appointment, upon the same Subject. Thus St. *Austin* preached upon the Subject of Praise and Thanksgiving out of the *Epistle*, the *Psalm*, and the *Gospel* [*t*] together, because they had all something relating to his Subject. But they never shewed so little Reverence for Scripture, as to chuse their Text out of *Aristotle*'s *Ethicks*, as *Sixtinus Amama* [*u*] tells us one of the Romish Preachers did at *Paris* in the hearing of *Melancthon*.

SECT. XVIII. *Their Sermons always upon Important Subjects.*

NEITHER did they entertain their Auditory with light and ludicrous Matters, or fabulous and romantick Stories, such as those with which Preaching so much abounded in the Age before the Reformation; of which *Erasmus* [*x*], and *Faber* [*y*], and *Hottinger* [*z*] and many other learned Men have made so great and so just Complaints. There is one Instance given by *Hottinger* out of one of their authentick Books of *Homilies*, which for its singular Vanity, and to shew the Difference between the antient and the modern Way of Edifying a Popular Auditory, I shall here transcribe out of him, as he relates it in his History. He says, in a Book of Sermons [*a*] composed by the *Theological Faculty* of *Vienna*, *An.* 1430, which was read in their Monasteries and their Churches, this ridiculous Story is told, to recommend their Reliques to the People; That the 30 Pieces of Gold (though the Scripture calls them Silver) which *Judas* had for betraying his Master, were coined by *Terah*, *Abraham*'s Father; who was a famous Artificer under King *Nimrod*; that he gave them to his Son *Abraham*; that *Abraham* therewith purchased the Field of *Ephron* the *Hittite*; from whence they came into the Hands of the *Ishmaelites*, who therewith bought *Joseph* when his Brethren sold him into *Egypt*; that *Joseph*'s Brethren paid them to *Joseph*, when they went to buy Corn in *Egypt*, and so they came into the King of *Egypt*'s Treasury; that hence they were given to *Moses*, when the King of *Egypt* sent him with an Army to subdue *Ethiopia*; that *Moses* upon this Occasion gave them as a Dowry to the Queen of *Sheba*; and the *Ethiopian* Queen afterward made a Present of them to King *Solomon*; who put them into the Treasury, where they continued, till *Nebuchadnezzar* among the Spoil seized them in the Devastation of *Jerusalem*; *Nebuchadnezzar* having an *Arabian* King among his Auxiliaries, made a Present of them unto him; and of him sprang one of those *Eastern* Kings, who came to worship Christ at his Birth, and made a Present of them to the Virgin *Mary*; and the Virgin, when she presented her Son in the Temple, made them an Offering for her Purification. So this very Silver (which was Gold before) was the Price which *Judas* had for betraying his

[*r*] Chrys. Homil. post Reditum. T. 2. [*s*] Chrys. Hom. 3, 4, 5, 6. ad Popul. Antioch. [*t*] Aug. de Verbis Apost. Serm. 10. T. 10. p. 112. Has tres Lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis, & quantum conari possumus, adjuvante Domino, non in aliqua earum immorantes, &c. [*u*] Sixtin. Amama, Orat. de Barbarie. *Cited by Mr.* Seller, *Life of* Justin Martyr. p. 123. [*x*] Erasm. Moriæ Encomium. p. 176, &c. [*y*] Joannes Faber, Declamat. de Humanæ Vitæ miseria. ap. Hottinger. Hist. Eccl. Sæcul. 16. Part. 4. p. 1271. [*z*] Hotting. 16. Sæcul. Par. 3. p. 263, &c. [*a*] Id. Sæcul. 15. p. 63. *St.* Bernard's *Censure of such Trifles is*, Inter Seculares nugæ, nugæ sunt: in ore Sacerdotis Blasphemiæ. De Consider. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Maſter. And theſe ſilver Pieces are there ſaid to be diſperſed over all the World, and kept as ſacred Relicks, one of which in Gold as big as an *Engliſh Noble* is ſhewed at *Rome* in the Entrance of St. *Peter*'s Church. One would hardly believe, that ſuch abſurd and ridiculous Fictions ſhould have been authorized from the Pulpit among the Rules of Eternal Life, had not undeniable Proof been often made [*b*], that their *Breviaries* and *Legends*, as well as Sermons, before the Reformation, were ſtuffed with ſuch Fables; though I believe, this Story out-does any in the *Golden Legend*, (of which *Ludovicus Vives* [*c*] and *Melchior Canus* [*d*] ſo much complain) and *Jacobus de Voragine* was but an Aſs to theſe Men for Invention. Now let us ſee how the antient way of Preaching differed from this. *Juſtin Martyr* makes it a plain, but a very edifying Way of Inſtruction. For he ſays, When the Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets were read, the Biſhop made a Diſcourſe to exhort and excite the People to imitate and tranſcribe into their Practice the good [*e*] Things they had heard read out of them. Their Subjects, as *Gregory Nazianzen* [*f*] deſcribes the Choice of them, were commonly ſuch as theſe, Of the World's Creation, and the Soul of Man; of Angels, as well thoſe that kept, as thoſe that loſt their firſt Integrity; of Providence, and its wiſe Laws and Conſtitutions; of the Formation of Man and his Reſtoration; of the two Covenants, the Types of the Old, and the Antitypes of the New; of Chriſt's firſt and ſecond Coming; of his Incarnation and Paſſion; of the general Reſurrection and End of the World; of the Day of Judgment, and the Rewards of the Juſt, and the Puniſhment of the Wicked; and above all of the Doctrine of the Trinity, which was the principal Article of the Chriſtian Faith. In like manner *Chryſoſtom* puts his Auditors [*g*] in mind of what Matters he had uſed to preach to them, of the Nature of the Soul, of the Fabrick of the Body, of the State of Immortality, of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Torments of Hell, of the Long-ſuffering of God, and the Methods of Pardon, of the Powers of Repentance, of Baptiſm, and the Forgiveneſs of Sins, of the Creation of the Superior and Inferior World, of the Nature of Men and Angels; of the Subtilty of Satan, and his Methods and Policies; of the different Opinions of the Chriſtian World; of the true Faith, and the Gangrene of Hereſies, and other ſuch Myſteries, which it behoves a Chriſtian to be acquainted with.

SECT. XIX. *And delivered in a Way moſt affecting and ſuitable to the Capacities of their Hearers, with Perſpicuity, Pleaſure, and Force of Argument.*

AND as they were thus careful in the Choice of their Subjects, ſo they were no leſs careful to put their well-choſen Matter into the moſt uſeful and pleaſing Dreſs; that they might anſwer the true Ends of Chriſtian Oratory, and (as the wiſe Man words it) make their Apples of Gold appear the more beautiful by being ſet in Pictures of Silver. The Deſign of Chriſtian Oratory, as St. *Auſtin* [*h*] obſerves, is either to inſtruct Men in the Truth, or to refute their Errors, or to perſwade them to the Practice of Holineſs and Virtue, and diſſuade them from the contrary Vices. The firſt of theſe requires plain Narration: The ſecond, Strength of Argument and Ratiocination: And the third, the Art and Power of moving the Mind and Affections. And in doing each of theſe, the Chriſtian Orator, as he never ſpeaks any thing but what is holy, juſt, and good, ſo he endeavours to ſpeak theſe in ſuch a Manner, as that he may be heard with Underſtanding, with Pleaſure, and with Obedience [*i*], as the chief Thing of all. That he may be heard with Underſtanding, he ſpeaks every thing with a natural Plainneſs and Perſpicuity, and alſo a Regard to Mens Capacities and Apprehenſions. He reckons the greateſt Oratory of no Uſe, if it cannot be underſtood: For what ſignifies a golden Key [*k*], if it cannot open what we intend? A wooden Key is of more Uſe, if it will anſwer the true Deſign of a Key, which is only to open what is locked up and ſhut before. Therefore the Chriſtian Orator labours chiefly at Perſpicuity in his Speech, never thinking he has done Juſtice to any Truth by his Eloquence, unleſs he has alſo delivered it with a ſufficient Evidence to Men of reaſonable Capacities and Comprehenſions. There are ſome things, which are unintelligible in their own Nature, or not to be underſtood by the ordinary Sort of Men, though they be ſpoken with never ſo much Plainneſs of the Orator: And therefore ſuch things are ſeldom or never, without great Neceſſity, to be handled in a popular [*l*] Audience. For the ſame Reaſon, he that ſtudies Perſpicuity and Evidence, will ſometimes neglect rhetorical Expreſſions, and not regard how ſonorous, but how ſignificant his Words are, to intimate and declare his Senſe to the Minds of his Hearers. For there is a *diligens Negligentia*, an uſeful Negligence, proper in this Caſe to Eccleſiaſtical Teachers, who muſt ſometimes condeſcend to Improprieties of Speech, when they cannot ſpeak otherwiſe to the Apprehenſions of the Vulgar. As he notes, that they were uſed to ſay *Oſſum* inſtead of *Os*, to diſtinguiſh a Mouth from a Bone in *Africk*, to comply with the Underſtandings [*m*] of their Hearers. For what Advantage is there in Pu-

[*b*] *See* Patrick's *Devotions of the Rom. Church.* Lond. 1674. 8°. [*c*] Lud. Vives de Tradend. Diſciplinis. lib. 5. p. 360. [*d* Canus, Loci Theolog. lib. 11. cap. 6. p. 533. [*e*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [*f*] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga. p. 15. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. de Baptiſmo Chriſti. t. 1. p. 309. [*h*] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 4. [*i*] Ibid. cap. 15. Agit noſter Eloquens, cum & juſta, & ſancta & bona dicit (neque enim alia debet dicere): Agit ergo quantum poteſt, cum iſta dicit, ut Intelligenter, ut Libenter, ut Obedienter audiatur. [*k*] Ibid cap. 11. Quid enim prodeſt clavis aurea, ſi aperire quod volumus non poteſt? Aut quid obeſt lignea, ſi hoc poteſt, quando nihil quærimus, niſi patere quod clauſum eſt? [*l*] Aug. Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. [*m*] Ibid. cap. 10. Cur Pietatis Doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem Oſſum potius quam Os dicere, &c.

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rity of Speech, when the Hearer underſtands it not, ſeeing there is no Occaſion at all of ſpeaking, if they, for whoſe ſake we ſpeak to be underſtood, apprehend not what we ſay? And for this Reaſon, I doubt not, there are ſo many Africaniſms, or Idioms of the *African* Tongue in St. *Auſtin*, becauſe he thought it more commendable ſometimes to deviate a little from the ſtrict Grammatical Purity and Propriety of the *Latin* Tongue, than not be underſtood by his Hearers. This was a laudable Condeſcenſion in every reſpect, and much valued by the Ancients, who thought it the firſt Office of a Preacher, to ſpeak always to the Capacity and Underſtanding of his Hearers. 'Tis this, which *Nazianzen* [n] ſo highly commends in *Athanaſius*, That he tempered his Style according to the Difference of his Auditory: He condeſcended to ſpeak to mean Capacities in a lower way, whilſt to the Acute, his Words and Notions were more ſublime. And there was but one Caſe in which they affected to ſpeak any thing darkly and obſcurely, and that was when they preached in a mixed Auditory, where the Catechumens were preſent, from whom they purpoſely intended to conceal the profounder Knowledge of ſome of the Chriſtian Myſteries for a Time, and therefore they uſually ſpake of them in a covert Way, with an ἴσασιν ὁι μεμυημένοι, *the Initiated know what we mean*, as being well underſtood by them, though they ſpake only by Hints and dark Terms upon the account of the Catechumens: Of the Reaſons of which Diſcipline and Practice, I have ſpoken largely heretofore [*], and therefore need ſay no more of it in this Place.

The next Thing which St. *Auſtin* commends in his Chriſtian Orator, is, That he labours to be heard with Pleaſure. *Ut Intelligenter, ut Libenter*. For though a plain Declaration of Truth may ſatisfy thoſe, who regard nothing but Truth; yet the greater Part of Men love Sweetneſs and Ornament of Speech: And therefore if it be unpleaſant, the Benefit of it will reach but very few, who are deſirous to hear what they ought to learn, though it be in a mean and uncomely [o] Dreſs: But the Generality of Men are not pleaſed with this: Some Similitude between Eating and Speaking: And therefore becauſe weak Stomachs cannot reliſh their moſt neceſſary Food, without which they cannot live, their Food is to be ſeaſoned to make it pleaſant for them. Upon this account he commends the Saying of an antient Orator, who ſaid truly, That an Orator [p] ought ſo to ſpeak, as not only to teach and inſtruct, but alſo to delight and move. And ſome Hearers are to be induced to hear by the Pleaſure of a Diſcourſe, which ariſes from the Sweetneſs, and Beauties, and Ornaments of it. St. *Chryſoſtom* inculcates the ſame Rule, in deſcribing the Office of a Biſhop, whoſe Task, he ſays, was ſomething the more difficult upon this Account [q], becauſe Men had generally nice and delicate Palates, and were inclined to hear Sermons as they heard Plays, rather for Pleaſure than Profit: Which added to the Preacher's Study and Labour; who, though he was to contemn both popular Applauſe and Cenſure, yet was he alſo to have ſuch a Regard to his Auditory, as that they might hear him with Pleaſure, to their Edification and Advantage. It was not required, indeed, that every Preacher ſhould ſpeak with the Smoothneſs of *Iſocrates*, or the Loftineſs of *Demoſthenes*, or the Majeſty of *Thucydides*, or the Sublimity of *Plato*, as the ſame St. *Chryſoſtom* [r] words it. Lower Degrees of Eloquence, ſays St. *Auſtin*, would pleaſe a Chriſtian Auditory, provided he had a decent Regard to the common Rules of Eloquence, to ſay nothing *Obtusè*, *Deformiter*, *Frigide*, nothing that was blunt, nothing that was indecent or unbecoming, nothing that was cold or languid; but every thing *Acutè*, *Ornatè*, *Vehementer*, with Sharpneſs, and Handſomeneſs, and Force: Which are St. *Auſtin*'s Rules in this very Caſe [s]. Or if Men could not attain to this Perfection of exotick Eloquence, yet there was a manly and majeſtick Eloquence, an Art of Speaking wiſely, which no one could fail of, that would diligently ſtudy the Holy Scriptures. For there the Subject is not only great and divine, but the Diction alſo eloquent and beautiful, as St. *Auſtin* ſhews in ſeveral [t] Inſtances out of the Apoſtles and Prophets; the Style not glittering with Sallies, and Flaſhes of Juvenile Wit (which would not become a manly Eloquence) but altogether agreeable to the Dignity and Authority of the Perſons who were the inſpired Authors of it; who ſpake with an Eloquence becoming both themſelves and their Subjects; ſuch as is no ways inferior to the Eloquence many times of the greateſt Maſters and Pretenders to it, and for its Wiſdom (which is the moſt true divine Eloquence) far exceeds them. They therefore who were well verſed both in the Phraſe and Senſe of the Scriptures, and knew how to make a proper Uſe and Application of them, could never want true Eloquence to recommend their Diſcourſes with Pleaſure to their Hearers. And indeed the very Cuſtom of applauding the Preachers

[n] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. p. 396. [*] *Book* x. *Chap.* v. [o] Aug. de Doctrin. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 11. Si fiat inſuaviter, ad paucos quidem Studioſiſſimos ſuus pervenit fructus, qui ea quæ diſcenda ſunt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dicantur, ſcire deſiderant——Sed quoniam inter ſe habent nonnullam ſimilitudinem Veſcentes atque Dicentes, propter faſtidia plurimorum etiam ipſa ſine quibus vivi non poteſt, alimenta condienda ſunt.
[p] Aug. ibid. cap. 12. Dixit ergo quidam Eloquens, & verum dixit, ita dicere debere Eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat.—Ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus eſt Auditor: Et delectatur, ſi ſuaviter loquaris. [q] Chryſ. de Sacerdotio. lib. 5. cap. 1. [r] Chryſ. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 6. [s] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 5. Cum alii faciant Obtuſe, Deformiter, Frigide; alii Acute, Ornate, Vehementer; illum ad hoc opus jam oportet accedere, qui poteſt diſputare vel dicere Sapienter, etiamſi non poteſt Eloquenter.——Sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis ſanctis magis minuſve profecit.
[t] Ibid. cap. 6. & 7.

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publickly in the Church (of which more by and by) is a certain Evidence that they were commonly heard with Pleaſure.

The laſt Thing which St. *Auſtin* commends in the Chriſtian Orator, is, That he endeavours to be heard *Obedienter*; that is, ſpeaks to the Conviction and Perſuaſion of his Hearers; Convincing their Judgments by ſound and ſolid Reaſonings; and raiſing the Affections, and drawing them into Compliance, by ſuch Motives, and Methods, and Addreſſes, as are proper to work upon the ſeveral Paſſions of human Nature, and bend and ſubdue the Will, and lead it Captive into the Obedience of Faith. When the ſacred Orator has done this, he is at his utmoſt Height: Then he leads his Hearers, as it were willingly in Triumph, having gained a compleat and pleaſing Victory over them. For, as St. *Auſtin* again obſerves, till Men are wrought into Compliance and Obedience by the Orator, they are not properly conquered by him. For they may be taught [*u*] and pleaſed, and yet yield no Compliance or practical Aſſent; without which, the two former are of no Advantage: But when his Oratory has gained their Wills, it has then ſubdued all Oppoſition, and gotten a compleat Victory. Now this is done, as St. *Auſtin* there goes on to intimate, when the Orator can bring Men to love what he promiſes, to fear what he threatens, to hate what he rebukes, to embrace what he commends, to ſorrow for what he aggravates as ſorrowful, to rejoice at what he amplifies as Matter of Rejoicing, to commiſerate thoſe whom he repreſents before their Eyes as Objects of Compaſſion, to avoid and fly from thoſe whom he brands and ſtigmatizes as dangerous Perſons, and gives them terrible Apprehenſions of, as Men with whom it is not ſafe to converſe: And whatever elſe may be done by Force of grand Eloquence, to move the Minds of the Hearers, not to know what they are to do, but to do what they already know to be their Duty to do. This he calls by the Name of *Grandis Eloquentia, & gravis* [*x*], grand and grave Eloquence, and oppoſes it to what he calls *ſpumeus Verborum ambitus*, that light and frothy ſort of Eloquence, which conſiſts only in a jingling Multiplicity of Words, which does not become any Subject, much leſs the Gravity of a Chriſtian Diſcourſe upon the weightieſt and moſt ſerious of all Subjects, where nothing is ſaid but what is great, as having no regard to the Affairs of this temporal Life, but to the Things of eternal Happineſs and eternal Miſery. For if a Chriſtian Orator ſpeaks of temporal Things, though they be ſmall in themſelves, yet they are great in his way of handling them; becauſe he treats of them with Reſpect to Juſtice, and Charity, and Piety in the uſe of them, which are great Things in the ſmalleſt Matters. As when the Apoſtle ſpeaks of going to Law for pecuniary Matters, 1 *Cor.* vi. 1, *&c.* he uſes all the Force of grand Eloquence, raiſing his Indignation, Correcting, Upbraiding, Rebuking, Threatning, and ſhewing the Concern of his Soul by ſharpning his Style into the utmoſt Keeneſs and Quickneſs of Expreſſion; not becauſe ſecular Affairs deſerved all this, but for the ſake of Juſtice, Charity and Piety, that were ſo deeply concerned in them. Thus he obſerves again [*y*], That a Cup of cold Water is but a ſmall Thing in it ſelf, but it was great in our Lord's Mouth, when he ſaid, He that gives it to a Diſciple, ſhall not loſe his Reward. He adds, That he himſelf once ſpake ſo movingly and affectionately, by the Help of God, upon that Subject to the People, that out of that cold Water there aroſe a Flame, which warmed the cold Hearts of Men, and inflamed them to do Works of Mercy in Hopes of an heavenly Reward. But he obſerves farther, That although a Preacher upon this account ought never to ſpeak but of great Things, yet he is not always obliged to do this *Granditer*, in the way of vehement and grand Eloquence, or the elated and lofty Style; but when he ſpeaks only to inform the Judgment [*z*], the ſubmiſs or low Style is to be uſed, as more proper for doctrinal Inſtruction; and the temperate or middle Style, when he ſpeaks to praiſe or diſpraiſe: But when any thing is to be done, and they to whom he ſpeaks are unwilling to do it, when they ought to do it, then thoſe Things which are Great in themſelves, are to be ſpoken *Granditer*, in a grand and vehement Style, or in ſuch a way as is proper to incline and bend the Wills of the Hearers. And ſometimes every one of theſe three Ways is uſed about the ſame Subject; The ſubmiſs Style, when any Doctrine is delivered about it; The temperate Style, when any Commendation is to be given to it; and the grand Style, when the Mind that is averſe from its Duty is to be converted and forcibly induced to practiſe it. Thus; if a Man is diſcourſing concerning God: To ſhew the Unity of the Trinity, he ought only to reaſon in the ſubmiſs and plain Way, that what is difficult to be conceived, may be underſtood, as far as Men are capable of underſtanding it. Here is no Ornament required, but only plain Documents and Inſtruction. But when God is to be praiſed, either in himſelf or his Works, then there is a fair Occaſion for beautiful and ſplendid Oratory, to extol him whom no Man can ſufficiently praiſe. And again, if his Worſhip be neglected, or other Things be taken in to rival him in his Worſhip, whether they be Idols, or Devils, or any other Creature, than the Evil of the Practce is

[*u*] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 12. Ideo autem Victoriæ eſt flectere, quia fieri poteſt ut doceatur, & delectetur, & non aſſentiatur. Quid autem illa duo proderint, ſi deſit hoc tertium? [*x*] Ibid. cap. 13, & 14. [*y*] Aug. ibid. cap. 18. [*z*] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 19. Et tamen cum Doctor iſte debeat rerum Dictor eſſe magnarum, non ſemper eas debet Granditer dicere; ſed Submiſsè, cum aliqu'd docetur; Temperatè, cum aliquid vituperatur ſive laudatur. Cum vero aliquid agendum eſt, & ad eos loquitur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea quæ Magna ſunt, dicenda ſunt Granditer, & ad flectendos animos congruenter.

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to be aggravated with all the Grandeur and Vehemence of Oratory, to diſſuade and turn Men from it. And he gives us ſeveral Inſtances of of all the three Kinds, both out of Scripture and the antient Writers, *Cyprian* and *Ambroſe*, aſſuring us, in the End, That what he had ſaid of thoſe two, might be found in the Writings and Diſcourſes of other Eccleſiaſtical Men [*a*], who treated always of weighty Subjects in a proper Manner, that is, as the Matter required, with Perſpicuity and Acuteneſs, with Ornament and Beauty, with Ardency and Grandeur in their Applications. So that if we will take St. *Auſtin*'s Character of the antient Preachers, it was in ſhort this; That their Diſcourſes were always upon weighty and heavenly Matters, and their Style anſwerable to the Subject, that is, Plain, Elegant, Majeſtick and Nervous; fitly adapted to Inſtruct, to Delight and Charm, and to Convince and Perſuade their Hearers. And if their Method was different from ours, or not ſo exact, and viſible to the Hearers; that muſt be imputed to Cuſtom and the Times they lived in: For every Age has its Peculiarities and proper Taſte of Things: And though I believe the modern Way of methodizing Sermons to be moſt uſeful to the Hearers: yet if the Queſtion were to be determined by the Rules and Practice of the moſt famous Orators, Whether an open or a concealed Method were fitteſt to be choſen, the Judgment and Deciſion would fall upon the Side of the Ancients. However, if they failed in this, they made it up in other Excellencies, by their Perſpicuity and Clearneſs, their Elegancy and Fineneſs, their Sublimity of Thought and Expreſſion, and above all, by the flaming Piety of their Lives, correſponding to their Doctrine, and giving the greateſt Force and Energy to all their Diſcourſes. For, as St. *Auſtin* truly obſerves in the laſt Place [*b*], The Life of the Preacher has more Weight in it, than the greateſt Grandeur and Force of Eloquence, to induce his Hearers to Obedience: For he that preaches wiſely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify ſome, who are deſirous to learn and obſerve the Commands of Chriſt; as many will learn from the *Scribes* and the *Phariſees*, who ſit in *Moſes*'s Chair, and ſay, and do not; but he that lives as he ſpeaks, will advantage Abundance more. For Men are very apt to ask this Queſtion, *Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipſe non facis?* Why doſt not thou do that which thou commandeſt me to do? And ſo it comes to paſs, that they will not obediently hear him, who does not hear himſelf, but contemn both the Word of God and the Preacher together. But he whoſe Life is unblameable, his very Example is grand Oratory, and his Form of Living, an eloquent Diſcourſe. *Copia dicendi, Forma vivendi* [*c*.] And by theſe Methods, what by their Oratory, what by their Example, the Ancients gained ſo much upon their Hearers, as often to receive their publick Acclamations, and hear their Groanings, and ſee their Tears, and what was moſt delightful of all, found the happy Effects of their Labour in their holy Obedience, and ſincere Converſion. But of theſe, more preſently, when we come to the Hearers, having made two or three Remarks more concerning the Preachers.

SECT. XX. *That it was no Part of the antient Oratory to move the Paſſions by Geſticulations and vain Images of Things.*

AND among theſe, I muſt obſerve one Thing negatively, That it was no Part of the antient Oratory to raiſe the Affections of their Hearers, either by Geſticulations, or the Uſe of external Shews and Repreſentations of Things in their Sermons, as is now very common in the *Romiſh* Church, eſpecially when they preach upon our Saviour's Paſſion, to produce a Croſs, and the Image of Chriſt bound to a Pillar, and whip it to Death, and ſhew the Nails, and tear a Veil, and many other the like Things to create Sorrow in their Hearers. *Ferrarius* [*d*] owns, there was no ſuch Practice among the Ancients, and confeſſes, that except it be done very appoſitely and prudently, it is more apt to excite Laughter than Sorrow. And which of the two it oftner produces, is eaſy to gueſs, as well from the Nature of the Thing, as the Complaints of wiſe Men againſt it. What *Ferrarius* produces out of *Chryſoſtom* [*e*], bidding the People take St. *John Baptiſt*'s Head into their Hands, and carry it home with them, and hear it ſpeak, is nothing to the Purpoſe: For this is only a Rhetorical Scheme, made up of two uſual Figures among Orators, an *Hypotypoſis* and *Proſopopœia*, that is, a lively Deſcription of a Thing, and an Introduction of a Perſon ſpeaking; which are Figures that have a mighty Influence upon the Mind to raiſe in it a juſt Concern, but are no Precedents for ſuch Practices as rather incline Men to Ridicule and Laughter, of which there is no Footſtep in the antient Oratory of the Church.

SECT. XXI. *Of the Length of their Sermons.*

NEXT to the Matter and Style of their Sermons, the Queſtion may be ask'd concerning the Length of 'em. *Ferrarius* [*f*] and ſome others are very poſitive, that they were generally an Hour long: But *Ferrarius* is at a Loſs to tell by what Inſtrument they meaſured their Hour; for he will not venture to affirm, that they preached, as the old *Greek* and *Roman* Orators declaimed, by an Hour-glaſs; which yet he might have ſaid with as much Truth, as that all their Sermons were an Hour long, from no better Proof, than

[*a*] Aug. ibid. cap. 21. In his autem, quos duos ex omnibus proponere volui, & in aliis Eccleſiaſticis Viris, & Bona & Bene id eſt ſicut res poſtulat, Acute, *Ornate*, Ardenterque dicentibus, per multa eorum Scripta vel Dicta poſſunt hæc tria genera reperiri, & aſſidua Lectione vel Auditione, admixta etiam Exercitatione, Studentibus inoleſcere. [*b*] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 27. Habet autem ut obedienter audiatur quantacunque granditate dictionis majus pondus Vita dicentis, &c. [*c*] Aug. ibid. cap. 29. [*d*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. 1. cap. 31. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 14. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 177. [*f*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. 1. cap. 33.

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their mentioning ſometimes the Hour of Preaching, which ſignifies no more than the Time in general; as, *the Hour of Temptation*, and *the Hour cometh*, and *my Hour is not yet come*, are often uſed in Scripture. It is a more juſt and pertinent Obſervation of Biſhop *Wettenhal*'s [g], That their Sermons were often very ſhort: There are many in St. *Auſtin*'s tenth Tome, which a Man may pronounce diſtinctly and deliver decently in eight Minutes, and ſome almoſt in half the Time: And ſuch are many of thoſe of *Leo*, *Chryſologus*, *Maximus*, *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* and other *Latin* Fathers. Some of St. *Auſtin*'s are much longer, and ſo are the greater Part of *Chryſoſtom*'s, *Nazianzen*'s, *Nyſſen*'s and *Baſil*'s; but ſcarce any of them would laſt an Hour, and many not half the Time: And when it is conſidered, that they had many times two or three Sermons at once, as I have ſhewed it was very uſual in *Chryſoſtom*'s Church, it would be abſurd to think, that each of them was an Hour long, when the whole Service laſted not above two Hours in the whole; as *Chryſoſtom* [h] often declares in his Sermons, making that an Argument to the People, why they ſhould cheerfully attend Divine Service, ſince of ſeven Days in the Week God had only reſerved one to Himſelf, and on that Day, exacted no more than two Hours, like the Widow's two Mites, to be ſpent on His Service.

SECT. XXII.

Whether every Man was obliged to preach his own Compoſition, or the Homilies *and* Sermons *compoſed by others.*

IT may be enquired farther, Whether all Preachers were obliged to deliver their own Compoſitions, or were at Liberty to uſe the Compoſitions of others? To this, it has been already anſwered in ſome meaſure, That the *Homilies* of famous Preachers, ſuch as *Chryſoſtom*, and *Ephrem Cyrus*, were often read inſtead of other Sermons from the Pulpit in many Churches. And *Mabillon* ſays [i], Thoſe of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* were read in the *French* Churches; where alſo Deacons were authorized by the Council of *Vaiſon* [k] in Caſes of Neceſſity, when the Preaching Presbyter was diſabled, to read the *Homilies* of the antient Fathers in Country Churches. Neither was this only the Practice of Deacons, but Biſhops ſometimes alſo did the ſame. For *Gennadius* [l] ſays, *Cyril* of *Alexandria* compoſed many *Homilies*, which the *Grecian* Biſhops committed to Memory, in order to preach them. He ſays the ſame of *Salvian* [m], the Eloquent Preſbyter of *Marſeilles*, That he wrote many *Homilies* for Biſhops, *Homilias Epiſcopis factas multas*, which *Ferrarius* [n] and Dr. *Cave* underſtand, not of *Homilies* made before Biſhops, but for their Uſe: Whence he is alſo ſtyled by *Gennadius* in the ſame Place, *Epiſcoporum Magiſter*, the Teacher or Maſter of Biſhops, becauſe they preached the eloquent *Homilies* which he compoſed. *Ferrarius* and *Sirmondus* [o] obſerve the ſame of ſome of the *Dictiones Sacræ*, or Sermons of *Ennodius*, which are ſaid to be written by him, and ſpoken by others: *Honoratus* Biſhop of *Novaria* is named for one. St. *Auſtin* more particularly conſiders this Queſtion, and makes a Caſe of Conſcience of it. For having laid down all the Rules of Chriſtian Oratory for thoſe who had Ability to compoſe, he at laſt confeſſes, there were ſome, who though they could ſpeak well, were not able to invent and compoſe an handſome Diſcourſe of their own: And he does not ſeverely condemn them, or with a magiſterial Air debar them from Preaching, but with a great deal of Tenderneſs ſays favourably in their Caſe [p], That if they take that which was elegantly and wiſely written by others, and commit it to Memory, and preach it to the People, if they are called to that Office, they are not to be blamed as doing an ill Thing. For by this Means there are many Preachers of Truth, which is very uſeful, and not many Maſters, whilſt they all ſpeak Things of the one true Maſter, and there are no Schiſms among them. Neither ought ſuch Men to be deterred by the Words of the Prophet *Jeremy* (xxiii. 30.) by whom God rebukes thoſe who ſteal his Words every one from his Neighbour. For they which ſteal, take away that which they have no Right or Property in: Which cannot be ſaid of thoſe who obey the Word of God, but rather belongs to thoſe who ſpeak well, and live ill. From whence he concludes, it is very lawful for a Man to preach the Compoſition of other more eloquent Men, provided he compoſe his own Life anſwerable to God's Word, and earneſtly pray to God, that He would make his Word in his Mouth edifying to others.

SECT. XXIII.

Their Sermons always concluded with a Doxology to the Holy Trinity.

I muſt note alſo, That they always concluded their Sermons, as we now do, with a *Doxology* to the Holy Trinity, as may be ſeen not only in the Sermons of St. *Auſtin*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Baſil*, *Leo*, *Fulgentius*, and others who lived after *Arius* broach'd his Hereſy againſt the Divintty of our Saviour; but alſo in thoſe of *Origen*, and others who lived before, ſuch as *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and the reſt that are mentioned by St. *Baſil*, who had ſeen their *Homilies*, out of which he wrote a Vindication [q] of that antient Form againſt ſome, who pretended

[g] Wettenhal's *Gift of Preaching*, *chap.* 2. *p.* 666. [h] Chryſ. Hom. 48. de Inſcript. Altaris. T. 5. p. 648. Hom. 50. de Util. Lection. Script. ibid. p. 676. Hom. 24. de Bapt. Chriſti. T. 1. p. 309. [i] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. 2. p. 99. [k] Conc. Vaſens. 2. Can. 2. [l] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 57. Homilias etiam compoſuit plurimas, quæ ad declamandum Græciæ Epiſcopis commendantur. [m] Gennad. ibid. cap. 67. [n] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. 2. cap. 7. Cave Hiſt. Literar. Vol. I. p. 346. Du Pin. Centur. 5. p. 146. [o] Sirmond. Not. in Ennodium, Dictio 2. miſſa Honorato in Dedicatione Baſilicæ, &c. [p] Aug. de Doctrin. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 29. Sunt ſane quidam, qui bene pronunciare poſſunt, quid autem pronuncient, excogitare non poſſunt. Quod ſi ab aliis ſumunt eloquenter ſapienterque conſcriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant, ſi eam Perſonam gerunt, non improbe faciunt, &c. [q] Baſil. de Spir. ſancto. cap. 29.

to charge him with Innovation for using a Form, which, he says, the Ancients had always used before him.

SECT. XXIV. *Sermons delivered by the Preacher sitting, for the most part.*

THERE are some other incidental Things taken notice of by *Ferrarius*, which are either very minute in themselves, or are more proper to be spoken of in other Places; such as the Deacons causing Silence to be made before Sermons; and the Preacher's Reading his Text over again after the Readers; and his Appointing Lessons to be read agreeable to his Subject; and giving Notice of them the Week before to the People; as also the Reading of the *Acts of the Martyrs* before Sermon upon their proper Festivals; the giving Notice of *Easter* and *Lent* on the Day of *Epiphany* in their Sermons; the Notification of Vigils, and Fasts, and Festivals; and Appointing Collections for the Poor; Preaching covertly of the Mysteries of Religion before the Catechumens; Complementing the Bishops that were present, in the Sermons; the Distinction of Places for their Hearers; the usual Appellations of Love and Respect that were given them; the usual Place of the Sermon, some Eminency in the Church, the *Ambo* or Reading Desk, or else the Bishop's Throne, or the Steps of the Altar; the usual Days of Preaching, the Lord's Day, the Saturday or Sabbath, the Vigils and Festivals, the Anniversaries of Bishops Consecrations, and Dedication of Churches; with some other Things of the like Nature, some of which are so minute, that they are scarce worth the Reader's Notice; and others that are more material, are accounted for and explained in other Parts of this Work. I shall therefore speak of one Thing more relating to the Preachers: Which is, of the Posture, in which their Sermons were delivered. The general received Custom now is for the Preacher to stand, and the People to sit: But the antient Custom was usually the Reverse of this. For the Preacher commonly delivered his Sermon Sitting, and the People heard it Standing; though there was no certain Rule about this, but the Custom varied in several Churches. In *Africk* the Preacher commonly sat, as appears from that of *Optatus* [r] to the *Donatist* Bishops: When God reproves a Sinner, and rebukes him that sits, the Admonition is specially directed unto you; for the People have not liberty to sit in the Church. He says this upon occasion of those Words of the *Psalmist*, *Thou satteſt and spakeſt against thine own Mother's Son.* St. *Austin* in like manner speaks of his own Preaching Sitting: Why do I sit here? Why do I live, but with this Intention [s], that I may live with Christ? And again [t], That I may not detain you, especially considering that I speak Sitting, and ye labour Standing. And he intimates, that in some [u] Churches Sitting was allowed both to the Preacher and the People. St. *Chrysostom* also [x] speaks of his own Sitting when he preached. And this he did usually in the *Ambo* or Reading-Desk, where he sat when he preached that famous Sermon upon *Eutropius*, when he fled to take Sanctuary in the Church [y], and lay trembling before the Altar, as all the Historians inform us. *Gregory Nyssen* speaks also of himself as Sitting when he preached, and rising up to Prayer [z] in the Conclusion. Which is also noted by *Justin Martyr* [a], and *Origen* [b], and *Athanasius* [c], and *Chrysostom* [d], whom *Ferrarius* cites, and remarks upon them, That their Rising up in the Close of the Sermon to Prayer, implies that they preached Sitting before. Which is certainly a very just Observation. Yet, after all, he pretends to assert, That Standing to preach was the more common Posture, and that they never used Sitting but only in case of Infirmity or old Age. Which shews us only how far Prejudice will carry a Man, against the clearest Evidence, in Favour of a modern Custom. The Observation made by the Author of the *Comments upon St.* Paul's *Epistles* [*] under the Name of St. *Ambrose*, has much more of Truth and Solidity in it, That the Christian Bishops used to preach Sitting, and that this Custom was taken from the Tradition of the Synagogue: Where *Ferrarius* himself owns, and proves it to have been the more usual Custom for the Scribes and Doctors of the Law to expound the Scriptures Sitting, though there may be some Instances to the contrary. *Matth.* xxiii. 2. it is said, *That the* Scribes *and* Pharisees *sat in* Moses's *Chair.* *Luke* ii. 46. *Our Saviour was found Sitting and Disputing among the Doctors in the Temple.* Again, *Chap.* iv. 20. *After he had stood up to read the Prophet* Esaias, *he sat down to teach the People.* And *Chap.* v. 3. *He sat down and taught the People out of the Ship.* Joh. viii. 2. *He sat down and taught the People in the Temple.* Matth. v. 1. *He sat and taught his Disciples in the Mountain.* And *Matth.* xxvi. 55. *I sat daily with you teaching in the Temple.* This was according to the Custom of the *Jewish* Synagogue, which was generally followed by the Christian Church. And the Instances which *Ferrarius* brings out of St. *Chrysostom*'s [e] and St. *Austin*'s *Homilies* [f] to the contrary, are rather Exceptions to a general Rule, than proper Evi-

[r] Optat. lib. 4. p. 78. Dum peccatorem arguit, & sedentem increpat Deus, specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat, non ad Populum, qui in Ecclesia sedendi non habent licentiam. [s] Aug. Hom. 28. ex 50. T. 10. p. 179. Quare loquor? Quare hic sedeo? Quare vivo, nisi hac intentione, ut cum Christo simul vivamus? [t] Hom. 49. de Diversis. Ut ergo vos non diu teneam, præsertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis. [u] Aug. de Catechizandis Rudibus. cap. 13. tom. 4. p. 300. Longe consultius in quibusdam Ecclesiis transmarinis non solum Antistites sedentes loquuntur, sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subjacent. [x] Chrys. Hom. 1. de Pœnit. T. 1. p. 662. [y] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 5. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 5. Cassiodor. Hist. Tripartita. lib. 10. cap. 4. Residens super Ambonem, &c. [z] Nyssen. Hom. 5. de Orat. Dominica. T. 1. p. 761. [a] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [b] Orig. Hom. 20. in Num. Hom. 3. in Esai. Hom. 36. in Luc. Hom. 19. in Jerem. [c] Athan. Hom. de Semente. [d] Chrys. Hom. cont. Hæreticos. ap. Ferrarium. lib. 2. cap. 9. [*] Ambros. Com. in 1 Cor. 14. 29. Hæc Traditio Synagogæ est, quam nos vult sectari—— ut sedentes disputent Seniores dignitate in Cathedris, &c. [e] Chrys. Hom. 16. ad Pop. Antioch. & Hom. 33. in Mat. [f] Aug. Ser. 122. de Diversis. Tract. 19. in Joan. & Ser. 2. in Psalm. 32. ap. Ferrar. lib. 2. cap. 9.

dences for his own Aſſertion. The Matter is not indeed great in itſelf, it being a very indifferent Thing, whether a Preacher delivers his Sermon Standing or Sitting: But when Men are repreſenting antient Practices, they ought not to make every Thing conform to the Cuſtoms and Model of the preſent Age, but repreſent Things nakedly as they find them.

SECT. XXV. *And heard by the Auditors Standing, in ſome Churches, but not in all.*

WE have hitherto conſidered what relates to the Preachers, and a few Things muſt be added concerning the Hearers. Of whom it has been already obſerved in the laſt Paragraph out of *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*, That in the *African* Churches the People had no Licenſe to ſit down, but were generally obliged to ſtand to hear the Sermon. *Ferrarius* [g] has collected a Multitude of Teſtimonies more out of St. *Auſtin* to the ſame Purpoſe, which it is needleſs to relate here. But we may obſerve, that the ſame Cuſtom prevailed alſo in many other Churches. *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſpeaks of it as the Uſage of the *Gallican* Church in thoſe Lines to *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez*, where he ſpeaks of his Preaching from the Steps of the Altar, the People ſtanding about him [h]: *Seu te conſpicuis gradibus venerabilis Aræ Concionaturum Plebs ſedula circumſiſtit.* Which is farther confirmed by an *Homily*, that uſed to go under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [i], but is now more certainly determined by *Mabillon* and the *Benedictines* in their new Edition of St. *Auſtin*'s *Works*, to belong to *Cæſarius* Biſhop of *Arles*, where he grants an Indulgence to ſuch as were diſeaſed or infirm in their Feet, that they ſhould have liberty to ſit, when the *Paſſions of the Martyrs*, or long Leſſons were read, or the Sermon was preached: But to all others, Women as well Men, this Privilege is utterly denied. Which implies that Standing was then the uſual Poſture of the Hearers in the *French* Churches. And that it was uſual alſo in ſome of the *Greek* Churches, may be inferred from that famous Story which *Euſebius* reports of *Conſtantine*, That when he made a Diſcourſe before him in his own Palace, he ſtood all the Time [k] with the reſt of the Hearers: And when *Euſebius* requeſted him to ſit down in the Throne that was prepared for him, he refuſed, ſaying, It was fit that Men ſhould ſtand to hear Diſcourſes of divine Things. But in the Churches of *Italy* the contrary Cuſtom prevailed: For St. *Auſtin* ſays, in the *Tranſmarine* Churches (by which he certainly means thoſe of *Italy*) it was prudently ordered, That not only the Biſhops ſat when they preached to the People, but that the People alſo had Seats to ſit upon, leſt any weak Perſon through Wearineſs grow remiſs in his Attention [l], or be forced to leave the Aſſembly. And he thinks it more adviſable, that the ſame Indulgence ſhould be granted, where it could prudently be done, in the *African* Churches. That it was ſo in *Rome* in the Time of *Juſtin Martyr*, ſeems pretty plain from his *Second Apology*, where he ſays [m], That as ſoon as the Biſhop's Sermon was ended, they all roſe up to Prayer together. And the ſame Thing being noted by *Origen* [n], and *Athanaſius* [o], makes it probable, that the ſame Cuſtom prevailed in many of the *Eaſtern* Churches. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſays expreſsly [p], That the People heard his Diſcourſes Sitting. Conſider, ſays he, how many ſit here now, how many Souls are preſent; and yet the Spirit works conveniently in them all. He is in the Midſt of us, and ſees our Behaviour, and diſcerns our Hearts and Conſciences, and what we ſpeak, and what we think. And the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [q], who chiefly relates the Cuſtoms of the *Eaſtern* Churches, repreſents the People as Sitting alſo to hear the Sermon. And ſo *Caſſian* [r] and St. *Jerom* [s] ſay, it was in all the Monaſteries of *Egypt*, where they ſat not only at Sermon, but at the Reading of the *Pſalms* and other Leſſons out of Scripture. So that this muſt be reckon'd among thoſe indifferent Rites and Cuſtoms, about which there was no general Rule of the univerſal Church; but every one followed the Cuſtom of the Place where he lived, and every Church appointed what She judged moſt proper for the Edification of the People.

SECT. XXVI. *A peculiar Cuſtom of the* African *Church to quicken the Attention of the Hearers.*

IT was a peculiar Cuſtom in the *African* Church, when the Preacher chanced to cite ſome remarkable Text of Scripture in the Middle of his Sermon, for the People to joyn with him in Repeating the Cloſe of it. St. *Auſtin* takes Notice of this in one of his Sermons [t], where having begun thoſe Words of St. *Paul*, *The End of the Commandment is*——before he would proceed any farther, he called to the People to repeat the Remainder of the Verſe with him; upon which they all cried out immediately, *Charity out of a*

[g] Ferrar. lib. 2. cap. 15. ex Aug. Tract. 19, & 112. in Joan. Hom. 28. ex 50. Ser. 49, & 112. de Diverſis. Ser. 2. in Pſal. 32, & 147. Ser. 20. de Verb. Domini, &c. [h] Sidon. Carmen 16. ad Fauſtum Reienſem. [i] Aug. Ser. 26. ex 50. qui eſt 300. Novæ Editionis. Propter eos qui aut pedibus dolent, aut aliqua corporis inæqualitate laborant, paterna pietate ſolicitus conſilium dedi, & quodam modo ſupplicavi, ut quando aut Paſſiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ Lectiones longiores leguntur, qui Stare non poſſunt, humiliter & cum ſilentio ſedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. Ut quando aut Lectiones leguntur, aut Verbum Dei prædicatur, nulla (Fœmina) ſe in terram projiciat, niſi forte quam nimium gravis infirmitas cogit. [k] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 33. [l] Aug. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 13. Sine dubitatione melius fiat, ubi decenter fieri poteſt, ut à principio ſedens audiat. Longeque conſultius in quibuſdam Eccleſiis Tranſmarinis non ſolum Antiſtites ſedentes loquuntur, ſed ipſi etiam populo ſedilia ſubjacent, &c. [m] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p 98. [n] Orig. Hom. 3. in Eſai. Hom. 19. in Jerem. [o] Athan. Hom. de ſemente. [p] Cyril. Catech. 16. n. 11. λόγισαι πῶσοι καθήξεσθε νῦν, &c. [q] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 58. [r] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 12. [s] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. Completis Orationibus, cunctiſque reſidentibus, medius quem Patrem vocant, incipit diſputare, &c. [t] Aug. 36. ex editis à Sirmondo. T. 10. p. 837. Finis præcepti eſt (Jam vos dicite mecum: A populo acclamatum eſt) Caritas de corde puro. Omnes dixiſtis, quod non infructuoſe ſemper audiſtis. Vid. Ser. 13. de Verbis Dom. Ser. 2. de Verb. Apoſt.

pure Heart. By which, he ſays, they ſhewed that they had not been unprofitable Hearers. And this, no doubt, was done to encourage the People to hear, and read, and remember the Scriptures, that they might be able upon Occaſion to repeat ſuch uſeful Portions of them, having then Liberty not only to hear, but to read and repeat them in their Mother Tongue. Whether this was a Cuſtom in any other Place, I cannot ſay; having met with it only in St. *Auſtin*: For which Reaſon I have ſpoken of it only as a particular Cuſtom of the *African* Church, deſigned to quicken the Attention of the Hearers, and ſhew that they read and remembred the Holy Scriptures.

SECT. XXVII. *How the People were uſed to give publick Applauſes and Acclamations to the Preacher in the Church.*

IT was a much more general Cuſtom for the People to teſtify their Eſteem for the Preacher, and expreſs their Admiration of his Eloquence, or Approbation of his Doctrine, by publick Applauſes and Acclamations in the Church. This was done ſometimes in expreſs Words, and ſometimes by other Signs and Indications of their Conſent and Approbation. The *Greeks* commonly call it κρότος, which denotes both Kinds of Approbation, as well by clapping of Hands, as by vocal and verbal Acclamations. The firſt Uſe of it, as *Suicerus* [*u*] obſerves out of *Caſaubon* [*x*], was only in the Theatres. From thence it came into the Senate; and in proceſs of time, into the Acts of the Councils, and the ordinary Aſſemblies of the Church. We are not concerned at preſent to enquire after Synodical Acclamations, but only ſuch as were uſed toward the Preachers in the Church. This was ſometimes done in Words of Commendation, as we find in one of the *Homilies* of *Paulus Emiſenus* [*y*], ſpoken in the Preſence of *Cyril* at *Alexandria*, where when *Paul* had uſed this Expreſſion, agreeing with *Cyril*'s Doctrine that had been preached before, *Mary*, the Mother of God, brought forth *Emanuel*; the People immediately cried out, O Orthodox *Cyril*, the Gift of God, the Faith is the ſame, this is what we deſired to hear, if any Man ſpeak otherwiſe, let him be *Anathema*. Sometimes they added other Indications of their Applauſe, as clapping of their Hands, *&c.* Thus St. *Jerom* tells *Vigilantius*, the Time was [*z*] when he himſelf had applauded him with his Hands and Feet, leaping by his Side, and crying out, *Orthodox*, for his Sermon upon the Reſurrection. And ſo *George* of *Alexandria* tells us [*a*], the People applauded the Sermons of St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſome by toſſing their thin Garments, others moving their Plumes, others laying their Hands upon their Swords, and others waving their Handkerchiefs, and crying out, Thou art worthy of the Prieſthood, thou art the thirteenth Apoſtle, Chriſt hath ſent thee to ſave our Souls, *&c.* In like manner, *Gregory* repreſents in his Dream [*b*], how the People were uſed to applaud him when he preached, ſome by their Praiſes, and others by their ſilent Admiration, ſome in their Words, and ſome in their Minds, and others moving their Bodies as the Waves of the Sea raiſed by the Wind. St. *Jerom* refers to this, when he tells us [*c*], how *Gregory Nazianzen*, his Maſter, once anſwered a difficult Queſtion, which he put to him concerning the *Sabbatum*, δευτερόπρωτον, the ſecond *Sunday* after the firſt, mentioned *Luke* vi. I will inform you, ſays he, of this Matter in the Church, where when all the People are applauding me, you ſhall be forced to confeſs, you underſtand what you do not; or if you alone be ſilent, you ſhall be condemned of Folly by all the reſt. The ſame Cuſtom is often hinted by *Sidonius Apollinaris* [*d*], and *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* [*e*], and in abundance of Places of St. *Auſtin* [*f*] and St. *Chryſoſtom*, cited at length by *Ferrarius* [*g*], which after what has been ſaid, I think it needleſs to recite in this Place. The Curious Reader may either conſult *Ferrarius*, or the Paſſages referred to in their Authors. To which he may add many other Paſſages of *Chryſoſtom* [*h*], and *Socrates* [*i*], and *Proſper* [*k*], not mentioned by that diligent Writer, though he ſpends four whole Chapters upon this Subject.

SECT. XXVIII. *But more Chriſtian-like expreſs their Approbation by Tears and Groans and Compunction and Obedience.*

I think it more material to obſerve out of the chief of thoſe Paſſages, that though the Ancients did not utterly refuſe or diſallow thoſe ſorts of Applauſes, but received them with Humility and Thankfulneſs to God, as good Indications of a towardly Diſpoſition in their Hearers; yet foraſmuch as they were often but fallacious Signs, they neither much commended thoſe that gave them, nor thoſe Preachers that barely by their Eloquence obtained

[*u*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce κρότος, Vol. 2. p. 173. [*x*] Caſaub. Notis in Vulcatium Gallican. Vit. Avidii Caſſii, p. 89. [*y*] Paul. Emiſen. Hom. de Incarnat. Conc. tom. 3. p. 1096. in Actis Concilii Epheſ. Par. 3. cap. 31. [*z*] Hieron. Ep. 75. cont. Vigilant. Recordare quæſo illius diei, quando, me de Reſurrectione & Veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere ſubſultabas, & plaudebas manu, & applodebas pede, & Orthodoxum conclamabas. [*a*] Georg. Alex. Vit. Chryſ. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Concionum. lib. 2. cap. 20. [*b*] Naz. Somnium de Templo Anaſtaſiæ. t. 2. p. 78. [*c*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus rogatus à me, ut exponeret, quid ſibi vellet in Luca Sabbatum δευτερόπρωτον, eleganter luſit, Docebo te, inquiens, ſuper hac re in Eccleſia; in qua, mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus ſcire quod neſcis; aut certe, ſi ſolus tacueris, ſolus ab omnibus Stultitiæ condemnaberis. [*d*] Sidon. lib. 9. Ep. 3. [*e*] Iſid. lib. 3. Ep. 343, & 382. [*f*] Aug. Serm. 5. de Verb. Domini. Serm. 19, & 28. de Verb. Apoſtoli. Serm. 25. ex Quinquaginta. Serm. 45. de Tempore. Tract. 57. in Joan. Serm. 27. de Diverſis. Serm. in Pſal. 147. De Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 13. de Doctr. Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 26. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 1, 4, & 54. in Geneſ. Hom. 2, 5, 6. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 2. in Lazar. Hom. 2. in Joan. Hom. 3, & 5. De Incomprehenſib. Hom. 30. in Act. ap. Ferrar. lib. 2. cap. 18. [*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. de Verbis Eſai. t. 3. p. 910. Hom. 6. in Gen. p. 918. Hom. 27. in Gen. p. 358. Hom. 1. cont. Judæos. t. 1. p. 433. Hom. 16. in illud, Si eſurierit inimicus. t. 5. p. 220. Hom. 56. Quod non ſit deſperandum. t. 5. p. 742. [*i*] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 13. [*k*] Proſper. de Vita Contemplativa. lib. 1. cap. 23.

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them; much leſs thoſe that out of a worldly Spirit, and a popular and vain Ambition laboured at nothing elſe but to court and affect them: But what they chiefly deſired to effect by their grand Eloquence, was to warm their Hearts, and melt them into Tears, to work them into Groans, and Sorrow, and Compunction for Sin, to bring them to Reſolutions of Obedience, and Compliance with the Holy Rules they preached to them, to work in them a Contempt of earthly Things, and raiſe their Souls, by all the Arts of moving the Affections, to a longing Deſire and Aſpiration after the Things of another World. This was their grand Aim in all their elaborate, and all their free and fluent Diſcourſes, and this they valued far above all the popular Applauſes that could be given them. This they reckoned their grand Eloquence, and rejoiced in nothing more, than when they could triumph in the Conviction and Converſion of their Hearers. To this purpoſe, St. *Jerom* [*l*] in his Directions to *Nepotian*, lays it down as a Rule, that in Preaching, he ſhould labour to excite the Groans of the People, rather than their Applauſes; and let the Tears of the Hearers be the Commendation of the Preacher. And ſo he obſerves [*m*] it was in fact among the Fathers of *Egypt*; when they diſcourſed of the Kingdom of Chriſt and the Glories of the World to come, then one might behold every one, with a gentle Sigh, and Eyes lift up to Heaven, ſay within himſelf, *Oh that I had Wings like a Dove, for then I would flee away, and be at Reſt!* In like manner *Proſper* [*n*] bids the Preacher, not place his Confidence in the Splendor of his Words, but in the Power of their Operation; nor be delighted with the Acclamations of the People, but their Tears; nor ſtudy to obtain their Applauſes, but their Groans. St. *Auſtin* did not refuſe theſe Acclamations of the People, yet he always takes Care to remind them rather to repay him with the Fruit of their Lives and Actions. You praiſe the Preacher [*o*] of the Word, ſays he, but I deſire the Doer of it. Thoſe Praiſes [*p*] are but the Leaves of the Tree, I deſire the Fruit of it. I would not be praiſed by ill Livers [*q*], I abhor it, I deteſt it; it is a Grief to me, and not a Pleaſure. But if I ſay, I would not be praiſed by good Livers, I ſhould tell a Lie; if I ſhould ſay, I deſire it, I am afraid of ſeeming deſirous more of Vanity than Solidity. Therefore what ſhall I ſay? I neither perfectly deſire it, nor perfectly refuſe it. I do not deſire it abſolutely, for fear I ſhould be inſnared by humane Praiſe; I do not utterly refuſe it, for fear I ſhould be ungrateful to thoſe, to whom I preach. In his Book of *Chriſtian Doctrine* [*r*], where he ſpeaks of that ſort of Eccleſiaſtical *Rhetorick*, which is called *Grand Eloquence*, he ſays, A Man ſhould not think he had attained to it, becauſe he frequently received the loud Acclamations of the People: For thoſe were often gained by the Acumens and Ornaments of the ſubmiſs and moderate Style; and the grand Eloquence did often ſuppreſs thoſe Acclamations by its Weight, and extort Tears in their room. He gives there a remarkable Inſtance of his own Preaching once an Occaſional Sermon with ſuch Effect to the People of *Cæſarea* in *Mauritania*. It ſeems, in that Place a very barbarous and unnatural Cuſtom had for a long time prevailed, that at a certain Seaſon of the Year for ſome whole Days together, the whole City dividing themſelves into two Parties, were uſed to maintain a bloody Fight by throwing Stones at one another; and this without any Regard to Kindred or Relation. For ſometimes a Man ſlew his Brother, or a Father his Son, or a Son his Father. Now, ſays St. *Auſtin*, I ſet my ſelf with all the Force of grand Eloquence to root out and expel this cruel and inveterate Evil out of their Hearts and Practice: Yet I did not take my ſelf to have made any Impreſſion to purpoſe upon them, whilſt I heard their Acclamations, but when I ſaw their Tears. For they ſhewed indeed by their Acclamations, that they were inſtructed and pleaſed; but by their Tears, that they were ſenſibly affected and really converted. Which when I perceived, I then began to think I had got the Victory over that barbarous Cuſtom, which had ſo long by Tradition from their Anceſtors poſſeſſed their Souls; before I ſaw any more viſible Proof in their Actions. Whereupon, as ſoon as Sermon was ended, I turned both their Mouths and Hearts to give God Thanks for it. And ſo, by the Help of Chriſt, there are now almoſt eight Years paſs'd, ſince any Thing of this Kind was ever attempted among them. He adds, that he had made many other Experiments of the like nature, by which he had learned, that Men ordinarily ſhewed what Impreſſions the Force of wiſe and powerful *Rhetorick* made upon them, not ſo much by their Acclamations as by their Groans, and ſometimes by their Tears, and finally by their real Change of Life and ſincere Converſion. So that in the Judgment of this pious Father, the beſt Praiſe of a Sermon, and its *Rhetorick*, is the Compunction of its Hearers, and melting them into Tears, and ſubduing their Minds by bending them to Obedience, which far exceeds the Honour of the greateſt Acclamations and Applauſes. After the ſame manner the great Orator of the *Eaſt*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, often tells his Hearers, he rejoiced not in their Applauſes, but in the Effects which his Diſcourſes had on their Minds, in making them

[*l*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Docente te in Eccleſia, non Clamor populi, ſed Gemitus ſuſcitetur; Lachrymæ auditorum Laudes tuæ ſint. [*m*] Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15.

[*n*] Proſper de Vita Contemplativa, lib. 1. cap. 23. Non in verborum ſplendore, ſed in operum virtute totam prædicandi fiduciam ponat; Non vocibus delectetur populi acclamantis ſibi, ſed Fletibus: nec Plauſum à populo ſtudeat expectare, ſed Gemitum.

[*o*] Aug. Serm. 19. de Verbis Apoſtoli. Tu laudas tractantem: Ego quæro facientem. [*p*] Serm. 5. De Verbis Domini. Laudes iſtæ folia ſunt arborum, fructus quæritur. [*q*] Hom. 25. ex 50. Laudari à male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, deteſtor, dolori mihi eſt, non voluptati, &c. [*r*] De Doctrina Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 24. Non ſane, ſi dicenti crebrius & vehementius acclametur, ideo Granditer putandus eſt dicere: Grande autem genus plerumque pondere ſuo voces premit, ſed Lachrymas exprimit.

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become new Men. He says in one place [*s*], they had made him happy in receiving his Discourses about Prayer with a ready Mind. For happy is the Man that speaks to an obedient Ear. And he judged of their Obedience, not so much from their Acclamations and Praises, as from what he had observed in their Actions. For when he had used this Argument, why they should not pray against their Enemies, because it was a Provocation of God, and setting up a new Law in Opposition to his Law: (For God says, *Pray for your Enemies*; but they that pray against them do in Effect pray God to disanul his own Law:) he says, upon his mentioning this and the like Arguments, he had observed many of them to smite upon their Face and Breast, and mourn bitterly, and lift up their Hands to Heaven, and ask God Pardon for such unlawful Prayers. Which made him at the same time lift up his own Eyes to Heaven, and give God Thanks, that the Word of his Doctrine had so quickly produced Fruit in them. In another place [*t*], says he, What do your Praises advantage me, when I see not your Progress in Virtue? Or what Harm shall I receive from the Silence of my Auditors, when I behold the Increase of their Piety? The Praise of the Speaker is not the κρότος, the Acclamations of his Hearers, but their Zeal for Piety and Religion; not their making a great Stir in Time of Hearing, but shewing Diligence at all other Times. Applause, as soon as it is out of the Mouth, is dispersed into the Air, and vanishes; but when the Hearers grow better, this brings an incorruptible and immortal Reward both to the Speaker and the Hearers. The Praise of your Acclamations may render the Orator more illustrious here, but the Piety of your Souls will give him great Confidence before the Tribunal of Christ. Therefore if any one love the Preacher (or if any Preacher love his People) let him not be enamoured with Applause, but with the Benefit of the Hearers. It were easy to transcribe many other such Passages out of *Chrysostom*, where he shews a great Contempt of such popular Applauses, in Comparison of their Obedience. I will only relate one Passage more, where he gives a severe Rebuke to all Preachers, who made this the only Aim of their Discourses. Many, says he [*u*], appear in publick, and labour hard, and make long Sermons to gain the Applause of the People, in which they rejoice as much as if they had gained a Kingdom; but if their Sermon ends in Silence, they are more tormented about that Silence, than about the Pains of Hell. This is the Ruin of the Church, that ye seek to hear such Sermons, as are apt not to move Compunction, but Pleasure, hearing them as you would hear a Musician or a Singer, with a tinkling Sound, and Composition of Words. And we act miserably and coldly, whilst we indulge our own Affections, which we ought to discard. We curiously seek after Flowers of *Rhetorick* and Composition and Harmony, that we may sing to Men, and not profit them; that we may be had in Admiration by them, and not teach them; that we may raise Delight, and not godly Sorrow; that we may go off with Applause and Praise, and no ways edify them in their Morals. Believe me, for I would not otherwise say it, when I raise Applause in Preaching, I am then subject to human Infirmity (for why should not a Man confess the Truth?) I am then ravished and highly pleased. But when I go home, and consider, that my Applauders are gone away without Fruit, though they might have done otherwise, I weep, and wail, and lament that they perish in their Acclamations and Praises, and that I have preached all in vain: And I reason thus with my self, What Profit is there in all my Labours, if my Hearers reap no Fruit from my Words? I have often thought of making it a Law to forbid such Acclamations, and to persuade you to hear in Silence. By this it appears, that St. *Chrysostom* could rather have wished to have had this Custom wholly banished out of the Church, because it was so frequently abused by vain and ambitious Spirits, who regarded nothing else but to gain the Applause of their Hearers: To which Purpose they sometimes suborned Men to applaud them in the Church, as is complained of *Paulus Samosatensis* by the Council of *Antioch* [*x*]: And sometimes affected to preach in such a manner upon abstruse Subjects, as neither the People nor themselves understood, only to be admired by the ignorant Multitude, who, as St. *Jerom* complains [*y*] in this very case, are commonly most prone to admire what they do not understand. For which Reason, it was the Care of all pious Preachers, to shew a tender Regard to the Understandings of Men; and, whether it gained Applause or not, to speak usefully, and as far as might be, to the Capacities and Apprehensions of their Hearers; and by all the Powers of divine Eloquence, and proper Arts of Edification and Persuasion, incline them to Obedience and an heavenly Temper. Without which they imagined the Success and Event of their Preaching, however eloquent and pleasing to the Ear, was no better received than that of the Prophet, complained of *Ezek.* xxxiii. 32. *Thou art unto them as a very lovely Song of one that hath a very pleasant Voice, and can play well on an Instrument: for they hear thy Words, but they will not do them.*

SECT. XXIX. *Sermons antiently penned by the Hearers.*

THERE is one Thing more must be taken Notice of with relation to the Hearers, because it expressed a great deal of Zeal and Diligence in their Attention: Which is, that many of them learned the Art of Notaries, (the *Greeks* call them ὀξυγράφοι and ταχυγράφοι, *ready Writers*) that they might be able to take down in Writing the Sermons of famous Preachers, Word for Word, as they delivered them. By

[*s*] Chrys. 56. Quod non sit desperandum. t. 5. p. 742.
[*t*] Hom. 16 Ibid. p. 220.
[*u*] Chrys. Hom. 30. in Act.
[*x*] Ap. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.
[*y*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

this

this Means ſome of their *Extempore* Diſcourſes were handed down to Poſterity, which otherwiſe muſt have died with the Speaking. As has been obſerved before [*a*] out of *Euſebius* concerning ſome of *Origen*'s, which he preached in his latter Years. St. *Auſtin* makes the ſame Obſervation [*b*] concerning his own Sermons upon the *Pſalms*, that it pleaſed the Brethren not only to receive them with their Ears and Heart, but with their Pens likewiſe: So that he was to have Regard not only to his Auditors, but his Readers alſo. [*c*] *Socrates* ſays the ſame of *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons, that ſome of them were publiſhed by himſelf, and others by Notaries, who took them from his Mouth as he ſpake them. But they did not thus honour all Preachers, but only thoſe that were moſt celebrated and renowned. For *Sozomen* [*d*] obſerves of the Sermons of *Atticus*, that they were ſo mean after he gave himſelf to preach *Extempore* when he was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that the Notaries did not think fit to write them. Theſe Notaries were ſome of them allowed by the Preacher himſelf, and were therefore a Sort of publick Notaries appointed for this Purpoſe: But others did it privately, according to their Inclination and Diſcretion. This Difference is hinted by *Euſebius*, when he ſays, *Origen* allowed no Notaries to take his Sermons, till he was ſixty Years old; and by *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Farewel Sermon; where he thus takes his Leave of his Church, Farewel ye Lovers of my Sermons, and ye Pens [*e*] both publick and private. In which he plainly alludes to the two Sorts of Notaries that wrote his Sermons in the Church. The publick Notaries were generally allowed by the Author's Conſent to publiſh what they wrote: In which caſe, it was uſual for the Preacher to review his own Dictates, and correct ſuch Miſtakes, and ſupply ſuch Deficiencies, as might be occaſioned by the Haſte of the Scribe, or ſome Things not ſo accurately ſpoken by themſelves in ſudden and *Extempore* Diſcourſes. This is evident from what *Gregory the Great* [*f*] ſays in his *Preface* to his *Homilies* upon *Ezekiel*, That thoſe *Homilies* were firſt taken from his Mouth, as he ſpake them to the People, and after eight Years he collected them from the Papers of the Notaries, and reviewed, and corrected, and amended them. So again, in his *Preface* upon *Job*, he ſays, ſome of his *Homilies* were compoſed by himſelf, and others taken by the Notaries; and thoſe which were taken by the Notaries, when he had Time, he reviewed, adding ſome [*g*] Things, and rejecting others, and leaving many Things as he found them, and with ſuch Emendations he compoſed them into Books, and publiſhed them. But many Times the Notaries publiſhed what they had written, without the Author's Knowledge or Conſent. In which caſe, we ſometimes find them remonſtrating againſt this as a clandeſtine Practice [*h*]. Thus *Gaudentius* ſays, he did not own thoſe *Homilies*, which were firſt taken by the Notaries latently and by ſtealth, and then publiſhed by others imperfectly, and only by Halves, with great Chaſms and Interruptions in them. He would not acknowledge them for his Diſcourſes, which the Notaries had written in extreme Haſte, and publiſhed, without giving him any Opportunity to ſuperviſe and correct them. And probably, there may be Reaſon for the ſame Complaint in other Writers. However, it ſhews a great Diligence and Attention in the Hearers of thoſe Days, and a great Reſpect and Honour paid to their Teachers, that they would be at ſo much Pains to treaſure up and preſerve their pious Inſtructions.

SECT. XXX.

Two Reflections made by the Ancients upon ſome of their corrupt Auditors. 1. The negligent and prophane Hearers.

THESE Things may be juſtly ſpoken to their Honour, and it is no Reflection on them, or Diminution of their good Character, that there were ſome others in thoſe Times (as there will be in all Times) who deſerved a contrary Character, either for their Deficiency and want of Zeal in this Matter, or for their indiſcreet and intemperate Zeal, in placing all Religion in a Sermon, and ſpeaking contemptuouſly of Prayer, or other Parts of Divine Service without it. The two Errors in the contrary Extremes, the one in Exceſs, the other in Defect, the Ancients had ſometimes occaſion to rebuke, and they did it with a becoming Sharpneſs. Though St. *Chryſoſtom* was ſo much admired, that the People generally ſaid, when he was ſent into Baniſhment, that it was better [*i*] the Sun ſhould withdraw its Rays, than his Mouth be ſhut up in Silence; yet he was often forced with Grief to complain of ſome for their abſtaining from religious Aſſemblies [*k*], where they were ſcarce ſeen once a Year; of others, that they ſpent their Time there in nothing but idle Diſcourſe, or Laughing and Jeſting, or tranſacting worldly Buſineſs [*l*], laying themſelves open to the Aſſaults of the wicked Spirit, who found their Houſe fit for his

[*a*] Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 36. & Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. *cited before* n. 11. [*b*] Aug. in Pſal. 51. p. 201. Placuit fratribus, non tantum aure & corde, ſed & ſtylo excipienda quæ dicimus: Ut non Auditorem tantum, ſed & Lectorem cogitare debeamus. [*c*] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 4. [*d*] Sozom. lib. 8 cap. 27. [*e*] Naz. Orat. 32. p. 528. Χαίρετε γραφίδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι. [*f*] Greg. Præfat. in Ezek. Homilias, quæ in Beatum Ezekielem Prophetam, ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ ſunt, multis curis irruentibus in abolitione reliqueram. Sed poſt annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum Schedulas requirere ſtudui, eaſque favente Domino tranſcurrens, in quantum ab anguſtiis tribulationum licuit, emendavi, &c. [*g*] Id. Præfat. in Job. Cumque mihi ſpatia largiora ſuppeterent, multa augens, pauca ſubtraherem, atque ita ut inventa ſunt nonnulla derelinquens, ea, quæ me loquente excepta ſub oculis fuerant, per Libros emendando compoſui, &c. [*h*] Gaudent. Præfat. ad Benevolum. Bibl. Patr. tom. 2. p. 3. De illis vero Tractatibus, quos Notariis, ut comperi, latentur adpoſitis, proculdubio interruptos & ſemiplenos otioſa quorundam ſtudia colligere præſumpſerunt, nihil ad me attinet. Mea jam non ſunt, quæ conſtat præcipiti Excipientium feſtinatione eſſe conſcripta. [*i*] Chryſ. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum. [*k*] Hom. 46. in Lucian. Martyr. t. 1. p. 597. Hom. 48. In Inſcript. Altaris. t. 5. p. 648. [*l*] Hom. 4. De Incomprehenſibili, t. 1. p. 374.

Reception,

Reception, empty, ſwept and garniſhed; of others, that they turned the Church into a Theatre [*m*], and ſought for nothing there, but to pleaſe their Ears, without any other Advantage; and finally, of others, who extolled his Diſcourſes by great Applauſe in Words, but diſgrac'd them by the Diſobedience of their Lives and Actions; of whom we have heard ſo much before. In one Place he more particularly reproaches them that abſented from Church, with the Example of the *Jews*, who could abſtain from Work, for Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Days together, without Contradiction [*n*], at the Command of their Prieſts, and neither open their Doors, nor light a Fire, nor carry in Water for any neceſſary Uſe, which yet they ſubmitted to, though it was an intollerable corporal Slavery; whereas Chriſtians were only required to ſet apart one Day in ſeven, and only two Hours of the Day for religious Aſſemblies, to obtain the greateſt ſpiritual Advantages to the Soul; and yet they neglected ſuch Opportunities, and choſe any Meetings rather than the Church. St. *Ambroſe* in like manner upbraids thoſe, who ſpent their Time in Talking in the Church, from the Example of the Heathen [*o*], who reverenced their Idols by their Silence, whilſt Chriſtians even drowned the Voice of the Divine Oracles, and the Declaration of them, by their confuſed Noiſe and Confabulations in the Church. This, *Cæſarius* tells them [*p*], was in effect to offer Men Poyſon or a Sword. For ſuch an one neither heard the Word of God himſelf, nor ſuffered others to hear it: And ſuch muſt expect not only to give Account of their own, but other Men's Deſtruction at the Day of Judgment. *Origen* [*q*] and ſome others tell theſe Men, their own Practice, in another Caſe, would riſe up in Judgment againſt them: For they themſelves ſhewed a great Reverence to the Body of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*; and yet it was no leſs a Piacular Crime, to ſhew Contempt to the Word of God, than to his Body; and they would be held guilty for a Diſreſpect in the one Caſe as well as the other. Thus they ſhewed Men, what Reverence was due to the Preaching of the Word of God, by ſetting before them the Sin and Danger of thoſe Abuſes ſome were apt to run into, by an Error in Defect and Want of a juſt Reverence to it.

SECT. XXXI. *And ſecondly, the Intemperate Zealots, who placed all Religion in a Sermon.*

ON the other hand, they were no leſs careful to guard Men againſt Superſtition in the other Extreme. For there was an Error in Exceſs, as well as in Defect of Reverence for Preaching. Some were ſo over-run with an indiſcreet Bigotry and intemperate Zeal for Preaching, as to reckon all other Parts of Divine Service uſeleſs and inſignificant, if they were not accompanied with a Sermon. Theſe Men had their Arguments to plead in their own Behalf, which are thus propoſed and anſwered by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*r*]: Why ſhould I go to Church, ſaid they, if I cannot hear a Preacher? This one Thing, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, has ruined and deſtroyed all Religion. For what Neceſſity is there of a Preacher? That Neceſſity ariſes only from our Sloth and Negligence. For why otherwiſe ſhould there be any Need of an *Homily*? All Things are clear and open in the Holy Scriptures; all Things neceſſary are plainly revealed. But becauſe ye are Hearers that ſtudy only to delight your Ears and Fancy, therefore ye deſire theſe Things. Tell me, I pray, with what Pomp of Words did St. *Paul* preach? And yet he converted the World. What Pomp did the illiterate *Peter* uſe? But, ſay they, we cannot underſtand the Things that are written in Scripture. Why ſo? are they ſpoken in *Hebrew*, or *Latin*, or any other ſtrange Tongue? Are they not ſpoken in *Greek*, to you that underſtand the *Greek* Tongue? Yea, but they are ſpoken darkly. How darkly? What Difficulties do the Hiſtories contain? You underſtand the plain Places, that you may take Pains and enquire about the reſt. There are a thouſand Hiſtories in the Bible: Tell me one of them. But you cannot tell one of theſe. Therefore all this is mere Pretence and Words. Oh but, ſay they, we have the ſame Things read to us every Day out of Scripture. And do you not hear the ſame Things every Day in the Theatre? Have you not the ſame Sight at the Horſe-race? Are not all Things the ſame? Does not the ſame Sun riſe every Morning? Do you not eat the ſame Meat every Day? I would ask you, ſeeing you ſay you hear the ſame Things every Day, What Portion of the Prophets, what Apoſtle, what Epiſtle was read? But you cannot tell: They are perfectly new and ſtrange to you. When therefore you are diſpoſed to be idle, you pretend the ſame Things are read: But when you are asked concerning them, you are as Men that never heard them. If they are the ſame, you ſhould have known them: But you know nothing of them. This is a Thing to be lamented, that the Workman labours in vain. For this Reaſon you ought to attend, becauſe they are the ſame, becauſe we bring nothing ſtrange or new to your Ears. What then, becauſe ye ſay the Scriptures are always the ſame, but what we preach are not ſo, but always contain ſomething new, do ye attend to them? In no wiſe. And if we ask you, why do you not remember them? Ye anſwer, How ſhould we, ſeeing we hear them but once? If we ſay, Why do you not remember the Scriptures? Ye anſwer, They are always the ſame. Theſe are nothing but Pretences for Idleneſs, and mere Indications of a ſceptical Temper. Thus that holy Father rebukes that intemperate Zeal, which ſet up

[*m*] Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 31. [*n*] Hom. 48. De Inſcript. Altaris. t. 5. p. 648. [*o*] Ambroſ. de Virgin. lib. 3. An quicquam eſt indignius, quam Oracula divina circumſtrepi, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur? circumſonare Sacramenta confuſis vocibus, cum Gentiles Idolis ſuis Reverentiam tacendo deferant? [*p*] Cæſar. Arelat. Hom. 34. [*q*] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. t. 1. p. 102. Quomodo putatis minoris eſſe Piaculi, Verbum Dei neglexiſſe, quam Corpus ejus? Vid. Aug. Hom. 26, ex 50. [*r*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in 2 Theſ. p. 1502.

Preaching in Oppoſition to Reading of the Scriptures, under various Pretences of their being obſcure, or tedious Repetitions of the ſame things, when in Truth a fanatical Affectation of Novelty, and a fantaſtical Scepticiſm, and a vicious Deſire of being freed from all the Burden of Attending upon religious Aſſemblies, was really at the Bottom of all their Objections.

SECT. XXXII. *How Men were treated, who thought their Sermons too long.*

THERE is but one thing more to be obſerved upon this Head: which is, That as there were ſome who complained, that their Sermons were not frequent enough, or too ſhort; ſo there were others that complained, they were too long, and were diſpoſed to leave the Aſſembly before Sermon was ended. Some Canons are pretty ſevere upon ſuch Auditors. The fourth Council of *Carthage* orders them to be proceeded againſt [*s*] with Excommunication. But others uſed a more gentle way, contenting themſelves to admoniſh their Auditors of their Duty, and ſometimes uſing ingenious Stratagems, and feign'd Apologues to detain them; and ſometimes ordering the Doors of the Church to be kept ſhut, till all was ended. Which is particularly remarked of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis*, by the Author of his Life [*t*]. St. *Chryſoſtom* conſiders the Matter with ſome Diſtinction. He makes ſome Allowance for the Weakneſs of ſuch as were unable to hold out the whole time at a long Sermon: And for as much as many were more deſirous of long Sermons than ſhort ones, he thinks the Matter was ſo to be ordered, as to accommodate both. Seeing there are ſome, ſays he, in ſo great a Multitude, who cannot [*u*] bear a long Diſcourſe, my Advice to ſuch is, that when they have heard as much as they can contain, and as much as ſuffices them, they ſhould depart, (for no one hinders them, or compels them to ſtay longer than their Strength is able to bear) that they may not impoſe a Neceſſity on us of making an End before the proper time. For thou art ſatisfied, but thy Brother is yet hungry: Thou haſt drunk thy Fill of what is ſpoken, but thy Brother is yet athirſt. Therefore neither let him burden thy Weakneſs, by compelling thee to receive more than thy Strength will bear; neither be thou injurious to his Deſire of Hearing, by hindring him from taking as much as he is able to receive. For ſo it is at a common Table, ſome are filled ſooner, ſome later, and neither do theſe accuſe thoſe, nor they condemn the other. But there is a Commendation to depart quickly; but here to depart quickly is not commendable, but only pardonable. To ſtay long at a carnal Feaſt, is a Matter worthy of Reproof, becauſe it proceeds from an intemperate Appetite: But to ſtay long at a ſpiritual Feaſt, deſerves the higheſt Praiſe and Commendation, becauſe it proceeds from a ſpiritual Deſire and holy Appetite, and argues Patience and Conſtancy in giving Attention. Thus that holy Father decides the Controverſy about long and ſhort Sermons, and prudently divides the Matter between ſtrong and weak Hearers; commending the one, without condemning the other; and making ſome Apology for the length of his Sermons, without Offence to either Party. I ſhall make the ſame Apology to my Readers for the length of this Chapter: If there be any whoſe Curioſity leads them to know all that relates to the Preaching of the Ancients, they may read the whole, and perhaps will not think it too long; but they whoſe Appetite is not ſo ſharp, may ſhorten it as they pleaſe, and accommodate it to their own Uſe, by ſelecting ſuch Parts as are moſt agreeable to their own Taſte, and proper for their own Inſtruction. And ſo I end the Diſcourſe about Preaching in the antient Church.

CHAP. V.

Of the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes or Candidates of Baptiſm, and Penitents.

SECT. I. *That Prayers in the antient Church were not before, but after the Sermon.*

AS ſoon as the Sermon was ended, the publick Prayers of the Church began, and not before. For antiently the Order of Divine Service was a little different in its Method from what it is uſually now in the Church. For antiently the greateſt Part of the publick Prayers came after Sermon. This is expreſly ſaid by *Juſtin Martyr* in his *Apology*, where he is giving an Account of the Chriſtian Worſhip on the Lord's Day. He ſays, they firſt read the Scriptures, then the Preſident or Biſhop made a Diſcourſe or Exhortation; after which they roſe up all together and made their common [*a*] Prayers: And then when theſe were ended, the Biſhop prayed again, and gave Thanks for the Conſecration of the Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt*, the People anſwering, *Amen*. And ſo St. *Chryſoſtom* affirms alſo, ſaying in one place [*b*], the Exhortation comes firſt, and then im-

[*s*] Conc. Carth. 4. Can. 24. Sacerdote Verbum faciente in Eccleſia, qui egreſſus de Auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur.

[*t*] Cyprian Vit. Cæſar. cap. 12. Sæpiſſime oſtia, lectis Evangeliis, occludi juſſit; donec propitio Deo ipſi gratularentur, ea coercitione ſe profeciſſe, qui ſolebant eſſe fugitivi. Vid. Cæſar. Hom. 12.

[*u*] Chryſ. 60. Dæmones non gubernare Mundum. t. . p. 784.

[*a*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. ὁ προεστὼς τὴν νουθεσίαν ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. &c.

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 28. quæ eſt 3. de Incomprehenſibili. t. 1. p. 364. μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνεσιν ἐυδέως εὐχή.

mediately Prayer. And in another [c] place, You need both Advice and Prayer: Therefore we adviſe you firſt, (meaning in the Sermon) and then we make Prayers for you. They that are initiated know what I ſay. So that when *Chryſoſtom*, or any others ſay, Prayer went before Sermon, they are to be underſtood either of that ſhort Salutation, which the Miniſter uſed at the Entrance upon every Office, *The Lord be with you*, the People anſwering, *And with thy Spirit*: Or of ſome ſhort Prayer of the Preacher; or of the private Prayers of People intermingled with the Pſalmody; and not of the common Prayers of the Church. For many Orders of Men might be preſent at the Sermon, and to hear the Scriptures read, who might not join in Prayers with the Faithful; and for that Reaſon the Sermon and reading of the Scriptures went before, that ſuch Perſons might have the Benefit of them, who were to be diſmiſſed when the Prayers begun, becauſe they had as yet no Title to communicate in them.

SECT. II. *Who might, or might not be preſent at theſe Prayers. Infidels and mere Hearers obliged to withdraw.*

THESE Prayers were of two Sorts: Prayers peculiar to the Faithful or Communicants only, at which neither Catechumens, nor Penitents, nor Energumens, nor any Perſons yet unbaptized might be preſent: And Prayers made particularly for theſe ſeveral Orders, at which therefore they were allowed to be preſent, and both hear the Prayers, and pray for themſelves. But even from theſe Prayers ſome were obliged to withdraw, who were allowed to be preſent at Sermons for their Inſtruction. Such were all *Jews* and Infidels, and ſuch of the Catechumens and Penitents as were known by the diſtinct Name of ἀκροώμενοι among the *Greeks*, and *Audientes* among the *Latins*, that is, Hearers only. Therefore as ſoon as Sermon was ended, before any of theſe Prayers began in the Service of the Catechumens, a Deacon was uſed to make Proclamation from ſome Eminency in the Church. *Ne quis Audientium*, *Ne quis Infidelium*, *Let none of the Hearers*, *Let none of the Unbelievers be preſent*, as it is worded in the *Conſtitutions* [d].

SECT. III. *Of the Prayers for the Catechumens. The genuine Forms of them out of St.* Chryſoſtom *and the* Conſtitutions.

THIS ſaid, and Silence being made, the Deacon cried again, *Pray, ye Catechumens*: And, *Let all the Faithful with Attention pray for them, ſaying, Lord have mercy upon them.* Then the Deacon began a Prayer for them, which in the *Conſtitutions* is called προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, a Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens, becauſe it was both an Exhortation and Direction how they were to pray for them. We have two antient Forms of this Prayer ſtill remaining, one in St. *Chryſoſtom*, and another in the *Conſtitutions*. That in the *Conſtitutions* is in theſe Words [e]: *Let us all beſeech God for the Catechumens; that he who is Gracious, and a Lover of Mankind, would mercifully hearken to their Supplications and Prayers, and accepting their Petitions would help them, and grant them the Requeſts of their Souls according to what is expedient for them; That he would reveal the Goſpel of Chriſt to them; That he would enlighten and inſtruct them, and teach them the Knowledge of God and divine Things; That he would inſtruct them in his Precepts and Judgments; That he would open the Ears of their Hearts to be occupied in his Law Day and Night; That he would confirm them in Religion; That he would unite them to, and number them with his holy Flock, vouchſafing them the Laver of Regeneration, with the Garment of Incorruption, and true Life; That he would deliver them from all Impiety, and give no place to the Adverſary to get Advantage againſt them; but that he would cleanſe them from all Pollution of Fleſh and Spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them by Chriſt; That he would bleſs their going out and their coming in, and direct all their Deſigns and Purpoſes to their Advantage. Farther yet, Let us earneſtly pray for them, that they may have Remiſſion of Sins by the Initiation of Baptiſm, and be thought worthy of the holy Myſteries, and remain among his Saints.*

Then the Deacon addreſſing himſelf to the Catechumens themſelves, ſaid, *Catechumens ariſe. Pray for the Peace of God, that this Day, and all the time of your Life may paſs in Quietneſs and without Sin; that you may make a Chriſtian End, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain Remiſſion of your Sins. Commend your ſelves to the only unbegotten God by his Chriſt.*

To every Petition of this Bidding Prayer, the People, and eſpecially Children, are appointed to ſubjoin, κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon them.*

After this the Deacon bids them bow down, and receive the Biſhop's Benediction; which is in the following Form of direct Invocation.

O Almighty God, who art without Original and Inacceſſible, the only true God, thou God and Father of Chriſt thy only-begotten Sin, God of the Comforter [*], *and Lord of all things; who by Chriſt didſt make Learners become Teachers for the Propagation of Chriſtian Knowledge; Look down now upon theſe thy Servants, who are Learning the Inſtructions of the Goſpel of thy Chriſt: And give them a new Heart, and renew a right Spirit within them, that they may know*

[c] Id. Hom. 11. in 1 Theſ. p. 1480. πρότερον συμβεβλώνεις, τότε τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐυχὰς ποιώμεθα. καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι. [d] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 5. [e] Conſtit. lib. 8. c. 6. [*] *This Phraſe,* ὁ Θεὸς τῶν παρακλήτων, *and a like Phraſe, which occurs in the Prayer of this Author in the Daily Evening Service,* lib. 8. cap. 37. *where the Father is ſtyled,* ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων κύριος, *the Lord of the Spirit, are harſh Expreſſions, and not very uſual in Catholick Writers; which makes ſome ſuſpect this Author, as if he were tainted with the* Macedonian *Hereſy, which denies the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and makes him a mere Creature. But this ſeems not to have been the Intent of our Author, who no where denies the true Divinity of the Son or Holy Ghoſt, but only gives ſuch Titles of Pre-eminence to the Father, as* Juſtin Martyr *did before him, in regard to the Father's being the Fountain of the Deity, and the Origin of Exiſtence in the Son and Holy Spirit, not as Creatures, but as his Eternal Son and Eternal Holy Spirit, equal to him*

know and do thy Will with a perfect Heart and a willing Mind. Vouchsafe them thy holy Baptism, and unite them to thy holy Church, and make them Partakers of thy holy Mysteries, through Christ our Hope, who died for them, by whom be Glory and Worship unto thee, World without End. Amen. After this, let the Deacon say, *Catechumens, depart in Peace.*

St. *Chrysostom* in one of his *Homilies* gives us a like Form of the Deacons Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens. The Law [g] of the Church, says he, moves the Faithful to pray for those who are yet unbaptized. For when the Deacon says, *Let us pray fervently for the Catechumens*, he does nothing else but excite the whole Multitude of the Faithful to pray for them. For the Catechumens are as yet Aliens: They are not yet engrafted into the Body of Christ, nor made Partakers of the holy Mysteries, but remain divided from the spiritual Flock. And for that Reason he says, *Let us pray fervently*; that you may not reject them as Aliens, that you may not disown them as Strangers. For they are not yet allowed to use the Prayer that was introduced and established by the Law of Christ. He means the *Lord's Prayer*. They have not yet Liberty or Confidence enough to pray for themselves, but need the Help of those that are already initiated. For they stand without the Royal Gates, and at a distance from the holy Rails. And for that Reason are sent away when the tremendous Prayers are offered at the Altar. Upon this Account the Deacon exhorts you to pray for them, that they may be made Members, and be no longer Foreigners and Aliens. For that Word, *Let us pray*, is not spoken to the Priests only, but also to the People. For when he says, σῶμεν καλῶς, σταθῶμεν, *Let us stand decently, Let us pray*, he exhorts all to pray. And then he begins the Prayer in these Words:

That the Merciful and Gracious God would vouchsafe to hear their Prayers; that he would open the Ears of their Hearts; that they may hear what Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it entred into the Heart of Man; *that he would instil into them the Word of his Truth; that he would sow the Word of his Truth in their Hearts; and confirm his Faith in their Minds; that he would reveal unto them the Gospel of Righteousness; that he would give them a divine and heavenly Mind, pure and holy Thoughts, and a virtuous Conversation; always to mind, always to regard, and meditate upon the Things that belong to him, and to be occupied in his Law Day and Night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, that he would deliver them from all evil and absurd Employments, from all diabolical Sin, and all the Circumventions of the Adversary; that he would vouchsafe to bring them in due time to the Laver of Regeneration, and grant them Remission of Sins, and the Clothing of Incorruption; that he would, during their whole Lives, bless their Going out and their Coming in, their Houses and Families; that he would encrease and bless their Children, and bring them to the Measure of perfect Age with the Instruction of Wisdom; and that he would direct all their Purposes to their Advantage.*

After this, the Deacon bids them rise up and pray for themselves, dictating what they were to pray for: *Pray, ye Catechumens, for the Angel of Peace; that all your Purposes may be peaceably directed: Pray, that this present Day and all the Days of your Lives may be spent in Peace, and that you may make a Christian End. Commend your selves to the Living God and to his Christ.*

This being done, says *Chrysostom*, we bid them bow their Heads, and receive the Benediction of God, as a Sign that their Prayers are heard. For it is not Man that blesses them, but by his Hands and Tongue we present their Heads, as they stand there, to the heavenly King; and then all the Congregation with a loud Voice cry out, *Amen.*

Here is a plain Account of the second Prayer that was made for the Catechumens by the Bishop, which is styled here, as it is also in the *Constitutions*, the *Bishop's Commendation* or *Benediction.*

Learned Men think this *Homily* was preached by *Chrysostom* when he was Bishop of *Constantinople.* And if so, we must conclude that these Prayers were the Forms that were used then in the *Liturgy* of *Constantinople.*

SECT. IV.

What meant by their Praying for the Angel of Peace in this Form of Prayer.

AND I the rather incline to this Opinion, because there is some little Difference between this Form of *Chrysostom*'s and that in the *Constitutions.* For in this of *Chrysostom*'s the Catechumens are bid to pray for the Angel of Peace, which is not mentioned in the Form of the *Constitutions*; tho' it be in another place [h] where Directions are given for the Ordinary Morning and Evening Service. St. *Chrysostom* often mentions this same Petition for the Angel of Peace in his other *Homilies.* As in his third *Homily* upon the *Colossians*, where he says, every Man has Angels attending him, and also the Devil very busy about him. Therefore we pray [i] and make our Supplicati-

him in all Essential Perfections, but only deriving those Divine Perfections from him, as the Author and Fountain of their Being, as God of God, and Light of Light, by eternal Generation and Procession. In this sense, Bishop Bull *has observed, that* Justin Martyr *in his Dialogue with* Tryphon, p. 358. *uses the very same Expression, in speaking of the Son, as our Author does of the Spirit: For he says, The Father is* Κυρίου Κύριος, ὡς πατὴρ καὶ Θεὸς, αἴτιός τε αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ δυνατῷ, καὶ κυρίῳ, καὶ Θεῷ, *The Lord of the Lord, as Father and God, and Cause of his Being, of and from whom he has even this, that he is Omnipotent and Lord and God. Where Bishop* Bull *rightly observes, That God the Father is said to be God and Lord of his Son, not as he is Lord of the Creatures, but* quatenus est Fons Divinitatis & Causa Filio, ut sit, *As he is the Fountain of the Deity and Cause of his Son's Existence: Which does not make the Son a Creature, but the True, Consubstantial, and Eternal Son of God; or as our Author expresses himself accurately elsewhere, he is hereby* Θεὸς μονογενὴς, *God the Only-begotten; that is, the true Son of the Father, who is styled Lord of the Son, not as a Creator, but as a Father.* [g] Chrys. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. [h] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 36, & 37. [i] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Colos. p. 1338. διὰ τοῦτο εὐχόμεθα, καὶ λέγομεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης.

ons for the Angel of Peace. And so in his Sermon [k] upon the Ascension: Speaking of the Air being filled with good and bad Angels, the one always raising War and Discord in the World, and the other inclining Men to Peace, he tells his Auditory, they might know there were Angels of Peace, by hearing the Deacons always in the Prayers bidding Men pray for the Angel of Peace. This undoubtedly refers to the forementioned Form of Prayer, wherein the Catechumens are directed to ask of God the Protection of the Angel of Peace. In like manner in another [l] place, When the Deacon bids Men pray with others, he enjoins them this among the rest of their Petitions, to pray for the Angel of Peace, and that all their Purposes may be peaceably directed. Which are the very Words of the Catechumens Prayer abovesaid.

The Design of all which was, not to teach their Catechumens to pray to their Guardian Angels (according to the modern way of instructing in the Romish Church [m]; though this had been a very proper Season to have admonished the Catechumens of it, had there been any such Practice in the antient Church;) but it was to teach them to pray to the God of Angels: That he who makes his Angels to encamp about his Servants, would by their Ministry defend them from the Incursions of wicked Spirits, those Fomenters of War and Division and Enmity among Men, and so keep them and all their Purposes in a Course of perpetual and uninterrupted Peace, that they might finally make a Christian and a Peaceable End.

SECT. V. *Children in some Churches appointed to say this Prayer with the rest of the People.*

ANOTHER Thing wherein the Form in the *Constitutions* differs from that in St. *Chrysostom*, is, that it appoints the Children of the Church particularly and more especially to join in this common Prayer for the Catechumens; whereas the Form used in St. *Chrysostom*'s Church mentions no such thing: And *Chrysostom* himself in another place [n] says plainly, that Children were not called upon to join in the Prayers for the Energumens and Penitents (which were of the same sort with these for the Catechumens) but only in the Prayers for the Communicants at the Altar. As these Differences prove the two Forms not to belong to the *Liturgy* of one and the same Church; so they make it probable, that St. *Chrysostom* gives us the Form used in the Church of *Constantinople*, and the Author of the *Constitutions* the Form that was used at *Antioch*, or some other eminent Church, whose Rituals he transcribed and put together.

SECT. VI. *What Notice we have of this Prayer in other antient Writings.*

NOW by having fixed this Prayer in its proper place, we may interpret all other Passages in the antient Writers, which speak of praying over the Catechumens, or praying with them. As that of the Council of *Nice*, which orders, that if any of those, who were Catechumens properly so called, that is, of that Rank who had these Prayers said over them, became Lapsers, then they should for three Years be thrust down to the Rank of Hearers only, and after that be admitted [o] to pray with the Catechumens again. And that Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea* [p], which orders, that if any such Catechumens, as were called γόνυ κλίνοντες, that is, Prostrators or Kneelers, who bowed down to have these Prayers said over them, should fall into any scandalous Sin, then they should be excluded from the Prayers, and be ranked among the Hearers only: And if they fell again when they were Hearers, they should be excluded from the very Entrance of the Church.

SECT. VII. *Of the Prayers for the Energumens, or Persons possessed by evil Spirits. The Forms of these Prayers.*

THE next sort of Persons for whom Prayers were now made, were the Energumens, that is, such Persons as were seized or possessed by an evil Spirit. For though these were under the peculiar Care of the Exorcists, an Order set apart particularly to attend them, and pray over them in private, as has been shewed more fully in a former [*] Book; yet their Case being pitiable and deplorable, it was thought an Act of becoming Mercy and Charity to let them have the publick Prayers of the Church, and grant them Liberty to be present at such Prayers as immediately respected their Condition. Therefore as soon as the Deacons had dismissed the Catechumens, with the usual Form, *Catechumens, depart in Peace*: He said again, *Pray, ye Energumens, who are vexed with unclean Spirits.* And exhorting the Congregation also, he said, *Let us ardently pray for them*, (as the Form of this Bidding-Prayer runs in the *Constitutions*) [q] *That the Merciful God, through Christ, would rebuke the unclean and evil Spirits, and deliver his Supplicants from the Oppression and Tyranny of the Adversary; that he who rebuked the Legion of Devils, and the Prince of Devils, the Fountain of Evil, would now rebuke these Apostates from Piety, and deliver the Works of his own Hands from the Molestations and Agitations of Satan, and cleanse them which he hath created in great Wisdom. Let us farther most ardently pray for them. Save them, and raise them up, O God, by thy Power.*

Then he bids them bow down their Heads, and receive the Bishop's Benediction, which is in the following Form of Words, immediately addressed to Christ.

O Thou Only-begotten God, the Son of the Great

[k] Hom. 35. in Ascension. Domini. t. 5. p. 535. Ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἄκουσον ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀεὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσασθε. [l] Hom. 52. in eos qui Pascha jejunant, t. 5. p. 713. ὁ διάκονος ἢ κελεύων εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτάττει καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά. [m] Vid. Drexel. de Cultu Cœlitum. lib. 2. cap. 3. [n] Chrys. Hom. 71. in Mat. p. 624. [o] Conc. Nicen. can. 14. [p] Conc. Neocæsar. can. 6. [*] *Book* III. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 6, *and* 7. [q] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 6.

Father;

Father; Thou that bindeſt the ſtrong one, and ſpoileſt his Goods; that giveſt Power unto us to tread on Serpents and Scorpions, and over all the Power of the Enemy: that haſt delivered up the murdering Serpent unto us a Priſoner, as a Sparrow unto Children; Thou, before whom all Things ſhake and tremble at the Preſence of thy Power; that makeſt Satan to fall from Heaven to the Earth as Lightning, not by a local Fall, but by a Fall from Honour to Diſgrace, becauſe of his voluntary Malice; Thou whoſe Looks dry up the Deep, and Threatnings make the Mountains melt, whoſe Truth endures for ever; whom Infants praiſe, and Sucklings bleſs, and Angels celebrate and adore; that lookeſt upon the Earth, and makeſt it tremble; that toucheſt the Mountains, and they ſmoke; that rebukeſt the Sea, and drieſt it up, and turneſt the Rivers into a Wilderneſs; that makeſt the Clouds to be the Duſt of thy Feet, and walkeſt upon the Sea as upon a Pavement: Rebuke the evil Spirits, and deliver the Works of thy Hands from the Vexation of the adverſe Spirit: For to Thee belongs Glory, Honour, and Adoration, and by Thee to thy Father in the Holy Spirit, World without End. Amen.

SECT. VIII. *An Account of theſe Prayers out of St.* Chryſoſtom *and others.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* has not this whole Form, but he often refers to it as one of the publick Prayers of the Church. Common Prayers, ſays he, are made by the Prieſts [*r*] and People together for the Energumens, and for the Penitents; we all ſay one and the ſame Prayers, the Prayer that is ſo full of Mercy. And again, For this Reaſon [*s*] the Deacon at this time brings thoſe that are vexed with evil Spirits, and commands them to bow down their Heads only, and in that Poſture of Body make their Supplications. For they may not pray with the whole Congregation of the Brethren. And for this Reaſon he preſents them before you, that you having Mercy on them, both in regard of their Vexation, and their Diſability to ſpeak for themſelves, may by your Freedom of Acceſs give them Patronage and Aſſiſtance. In another place [*t*] he more fully explains the Reaſon why this Prayer for the Demoniacks came before the Oblation of the *Euchariſt*, and why at that time the Deacon commanded them to be brought forth and bow their Heads. Their being poſſeſſed of the Devil, ſays he, is a cruel and grievous Chain, a Chain harder than any Iron. As therefore when a Judge is about to come forth, and ſit upon the Judgment-ſeat, the Keepers of the Priſon bring forth all the Priſoners, and place them before the Rails and Curtains of the Tribunal, in all their Filth and Naſtineſs, with their Hair undreſſed, and clothed in Rags: So our Forefathers appointed, that when Chriſt was in a little time about to ſit as it were upon the high Throne, and ſhortly to appear in the holy Myſteries, then the Demoniacks ſhould be brought forth as ſo many Priſoners in Chains, not to be condemned or ſuffer Puniſhment for their Sins, as other Priſoners; but that when the People and whole City are preſent together in the Church, common Prayer might be made for them, whilſt they all with one Conſent beſought the common Lord for them, and with loud Voices entreated him to ſhew Mercy on them. Here though he does not ſpecify the whole Form, yet he plainly intimates both the Time, and Subject Matter of the Prayer, and alſo the manner of Addreſs; that it was a Prayer ſent up by the common Voice of the People, ſome time before the Appearance of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*, and that as an Addreſs to God to implore his Mercy on thoſe pitiable Objects that lay in that forlorn Condition before him. In which reſpect he elſewhere ſtyles it [*u*] the firſt Prayer of Mercy, ſaying, The firſt Prayer is full of Mercy, when we pray for the Energumens. The ſecond alſo, wherein we pray for the Penitents, ſues equally for Mercy. And the third, when we pray for our ſelves, preſents the Children of the People before God, crying out to him for Mercy. Where by the firſt Prayer, he does not abſolutely mean the firſt Prayer that was made in this Part of Divine Service; for it is plain, the Prayer for the Catechumens came before it: But becauſe the Energumens were in a more miſerable Condition than the Catechumens, and greater Objects of Pity than they were, he therefore ſtyles the Prayer for them the firſt Prayer of Mercy, as he does the Prayer for the Penitents, the ſecond Prayer for Mercy, though it was in order the fourth; and the Prayer for the Faithful, the third Prayer for Mercy, though it belonged to another Part of the Service, of which we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the firſt Chapter of the next Book.

SECT. IX. *Of the third ſort of Prayers for the* Competentes *or Candidates of Baptiſm.*

THE third Prayer that came in the ordinary Courſe of this Part of the Service, was the Prayer for the *Competentes*, or Candidates of Baptiſm, that is, ſuch as had now given in their Names, and expreſſed their Deſire of receiving Baptiſm at the next approaching Feſtival. This, I conceive, was but an occaſional Prayer, appropriated to certain Seaſons, as the time between *Mid-Lent* and *Eaſter-Day*, or other ſolemn Times of Baptiſm, when Men were more than ordinarily intent in preparing themſelves for the Reception of that ſacred Myſtery. The Forms of theſe kind of Prayers we have alſo in the *Conſtitutions* [*x*], where, as ſoon as the Deacon has diſmiſſed the Energumens, he is appointed to cry out, εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι, *Pray, ye Candidates of Baptiſm: And we that are already Believers, let us ardently pray for them; That the Lord would make them worthy to be baptized into the Death of Chriſt, and to*

[*r*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐνεργουμένων, ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐν μελαγχολίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται εὐχαὶ· καὶ πάντες λέγουσι μίαν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέους γέμουσαν. [*s*] Id. Hom. 3. de Incomprehenſibili. t. 1. p. 365. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους καλῶν ἑκάστοτε ἵστησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, &c. [*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. de Incomprehenſ. t. 1. p. 374. [*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. al. 72. in Mat. p. 624. [*x*] Conſt. lib. 8. cap. 7.

riſe

riſe again with him, and to be made Members of his Kingdom, and Partakers of his Myſteries; that he would unite them to his Holy Church, and number them with thoſe that ſhall be ſaved therein. Save them, and raiſe them up by thy Grace.

Then they are ordered to bow down their Heads, and receive the Biſhop's Benediction, which is expreſſed in the following Words:

O God, who didſt by the Prediction of thy holy Prophets, ſay to them that are to be initiated, Waſh ye, make you clean; and by Chriſt didſt appoint a ſpiritual Regeneration: Look down now upon theſe Perſons, who are to be baptized; bleſs and ſanctify them; fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of thy ſpiritual Gift, and the true Adoption of Sons, and thy ſpiritual Myſteries, and be deſervedly numbred among thoſe that are ſaved, by Chriſt our Saviour, through whom be all Glory, Honour, and Adoration unto Thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen.

I have nothing farther to remark concerning theſe Prayers, becauſe neither *Chryſoſtom* nor any other antient Writer, as far as I know, have ſaid any thing particularly about them. Only this Author in another place [*y*] makes them part of the daily Morning and Evening Service, as has been noted before in ſpeaking of That, under a former Head. 'Tis probable in many Churches they were included in the Forms for the Catechumens in general. For the Council of *Laodicea* [*z*], which ſettles the Order of the Divine Service in the Church, and appoints in what Method it ſhould proceed, ſpeaks of the Prayers of the Catechumens, as immediately following the Sermon, and then the Prayers for the Penitents, and after thoſe the Prayers for the Faithful, which began the Communion Service; but makes no mention of any Prayers for the Candidates of Baptiſm, as diſtinct from thoſe of the Catechumens. And this might be one Reaſon, why other Writers make no mention of them. In other Churches they were but occaſional Prayers, for the particular Times of Baptiſm, and therefore it is as little Wonder that other Authors paſs them over without the leaſt Notice taken of them. However, that the Author of the *Conſtitutions* found them diſtinct in the Rituals of ſome Churches, is not at all unlikely, becauſe ſuch Forms for the Candidates of Baptiſm are now in Uſe in the *Greek* Church, as may be ſeen in *Goar* [*a*]; and Cardinal *Bona* [*b*] has obſerved the like in a very antient *Ordo Sacramentorum*, lately in the Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Sweden*, where in the Office for the third *Sunday* in *Lent* there is a ſpecial Prayer inſerted for thoſe who were then examined and elected to receive Baptiſm at *Eaſter*. But I proceed with the Service of the antient Church.

SECT. X. *Of the laſt Sort of Prayers for the Penitents.*

THE laſt ſort of Prayers in this Part of the Service were thoſe which were made for the Penitents, who were under the Diſcipline and Cenſures of the Church. Some of theſe, called Hearers only, were ſent away with that Order of Catechumens, which were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame Denomination of Hearers: But others of them, called Kneelers or Proſtrators, were permitted to ſtay longer, to receive the Prayers of the Church and the Biſhop's Benediction. Therefore as ſoon as the Candidates of Baptiſm were diſmiſſed, the Deacon cryed out, *Orate Pœnitentes*, Ye that are under Penance, make your Prayers: And let us ardently pray for our Brethren that are doing Penance; *That the God of Mercy* [*c*] *would ſhew them the way of Repentance; that he would admit their Recantation and Confeſſion; that he would ſhortly bruiſe Satan under their feet; and deliver them from the Snare of the Devil, and the Incurſion of evil Spirits, and preſerve them from all evil Words, all abſurd Practices, and all impure Thoughts; that he would grant them Pardon of all their Sins, Voluntary and Involuntary, and blot out the Handwriting that is againſt them, and write them in the Book of Life; that he would cleanſe them from all Pollution of Fleſh and Spirit, and unite and reſtore them to his holy Flock; for he knows our Frame; for who can glory that he has a clean Heart? Or who can ſay, that he is pure from Sin? For we are all liable to Puniſhment. Let us ſtill pray more ardently for them, becauſe there is Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth; that they may turn from every evil Work, and accuſtom themſelves to all that is good; that the merciful God receiving them kindly, may reſtore to them the Joy of his Salvation, and confirm them with his Principal Spirit, that they may never fall or be ſhaken again; that they may Communicate in his holy Solemnities, and be Partakers of his ſacred Myſteries; that being made worthy of the Adoption of Sons, they may obtain Eternal Life. Let us all farther ſay for them, Lord have Mercy upon them: Save them, O God, and raiſe them up by thy Mercy.*

This ſaid, the Deacon bids them riſe up, and bow their Heads to receive the Biſhop's Benediction, which is ſtyled alſo Impoſition of Hands and Prayer for the Penitents, and is conceived in the following Words [*d*].

O Almighty and Eternal God, the Lord of the whole World, the Maker and Governor of all Things, who haſt made Man to be an Ornament of the World, through Chriſt, and haſt given him both a Natural and a written Law, that he might live by the Rules thereof, as a Rational Creature; that haſt alſo, when he hath ſinned, given him a Motive and Encouragement to repent, even thy own Goodneſs: Look down now upon thoſe Men, who bow the Necks of their Souls and Bodies unto Thee; for thou deſireſt not the Death of a Sinner, but his Repentance, that he ſhould turn from his evil way, and live. Thou that acceptedſt the Repentance of the Ninivites; *that wouldſt have all Men to be ſaved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth; that receivedſt again the Prodigal Son, who had ſpent his Subſtance in riotous Living, with the Compaſſionate Bowels of a*

[*y*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 35. & 37. [*z*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. [*a*] Goar. Eucholog. p. 339. [*b*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 12. n. 4. p. 630. [*c*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. cap. 8. [*d*] Ibid. cap. 9.

Father, becauſe of his Repentance: Accept now the Repentance of theſe thy Supplicants; for there is no Man that ſinneth not againſt Thee: If thou, Lord, wilt mark what is done amiſs, O Lord, who may abide it? For there is Mercy and Propitiation with Thee. Reſtore them to thy Holy Church, in their former Dignity and Honour, through Chriſt our God and Saviour; by whom be Glory and Adoration unto Thee, in the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen.

SECT. XI. *What Notice we have of theſe Prayers in* Chryſoſtom *and other Writers.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* does no where give us theſe Prayers entire, but he frequently refers to them as then uſed in the Church in this Part of Divine Service. We have heard him ſay before [*e*], that Common Prayers were made by the Prieſt and the People jointly together, as well for the Penitents as the Energumens; and that they all ſaid one and the ſame Prayer, the Prayer full of Mercy. In another Place [*f*], The firſt Prayer is full of Mercy, when we pray for the Energumens: The ſecond Prayer likewiſe, wherein we pray for the Penitents, makes Interceſſion for Mercy. I have given the Reaſon already why both theſe Prayers were ſtyled Prayers for Mercy by *Chryſoſtom*, and I need here only obſerve, that they were uſed before the Prayers for the Faithful or Communicants, as *Chryſoſtom* ſays expreſly in the ſame Place; and that they were by a certain Form, becauſe they were offered by the common Voice both of Miniſter and People. The Council of *Laodicea* [*g*] alſo mentions this Prayer for the Penitents, as coming after the Sermon, next to the Prayers for the Faithful. And in all antient Canons [*h*] where-ever we meet with the Names of γόνυ κλίνοντες, ὑποπίπτοντες, and *Proſtrati*, Kneelers or Proſtrators, we are to underſtand this Order of Penitents, who in this Part of the Service bowed down to receive the Church's Prayerrs and the Biſhop's Benediction.

SECT. XII. *In what Part of the Church theſe Prayers were made.*

AS to the *Greek* Church then, it is demonſtrated beyond all Contradiction, that there was a particular Service of Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents, diſtinct from the Communion Service, in which they were again prayed for, though abſent, among all other States and Conditions of Men. But there remain two Queſtions, which have a little more Difficulty in them. 1. In what Part of the Church theſe Prayers were made? 2. Whether there were any ſuch Prayers at all in Uſe in the *Latin* Church? As to the firſt Queſtion, ſome learned Perſons [*i*] are of Opinion, that not only the Oblations were made at the Altar, and the Communion received there, but that all the Prayers of the Church were made at the Altar likewiſe. Which is certainly true of all the Prayers in the Communion Service, but not ſo certain of theſe Prayers in the Service of the Catechumens. For firſt, the ſeveral Orders for whom theſe Prayers were made, and over whom they were made with Impoſition of Hands alſo, had their Station in a different part of the Church; and we do not read that they were ever called up to the Altar to receive their Benediction; but in ſome Canons are expreſly ordered [*k*] to receive Impoſition of Hands even in Abſolution before the *Apſis*, or Reading-Desk, in caſe of ſcandalous Offences; though Abſolution was uſually given in ordinary Caſes at the Altar. Now if the Prayer of Abſolution, which was their Reconcilement to the Altar, was ſometimes made before the Reading-Desk, there is little Queſtion, but that the other Prayers, which were but the Introduction to their Reconcilement, were made there alſo. 2. This Service of the Catechumens and Penitents was altogether a diſtinct Service from that of the *Fideles* or Communicants, and a final Diſmiſſion of them was al vays made before the latter Service began. 3. There is an expreſs Order in the third Council of *Carthage*, that all Prayers made at the Altar ſhould be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son [*l*]: And yet it is evident, that the Prayer for the Energumens was directed to the Son, as we have ſeen before in the Form cited [*m*] out of the *Conſtitutions*. So that either the Diſcipline of the *Eaſtern* Churches differed very much from thoſe of the *Weſt*; or elſe we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that theſe Prayers, ſome of which are directed to the Son, were not made at the Altar.

SECT. XIII. *Whether there were any ſuch diſtinct Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in the* Latin *Church.*

BUT it may be ſaid, the Prayers in the *Latin* Church were never directed to the Son: Or perhaps they had no ſuch Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in particular, as they had in the Oriental Liturgies, diſtinct from thoſe which were made for all Orders of Men both before and after the Conſecration in the Communion Service. The Matter indeed is not ſo clear, I confeſs, in the *Latin* Church, as I have ſhewed it to be in the *Eaſtern*: And that which increaſes the Difficulty, is, that ſome Authors ſeem to intimate, that as ſoon as the Sermon was ended, the Catechumens were diſmiſſed, and then the Communicants betook themſelves to Prayers at the Altar.

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. *cited above*, n. 8. [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. in Mat. p. 624. [*g*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. [*h*] Vid. Conc. Nic. can. 11. Conc. Ancyran. can. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, & 25. Conc. Neocæſar. can. 6. Baſil. Epiſt. Canon. can. 75. [*i*] Stillingfl. *Unreaſon. of Separat.* Part III. Sect. 9. p. 250. [*k*] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 32. Cujuſcunque Pœnitentis publicum & vulgatiſſimum crimen eſt, quod univerſam Eccleſiam commoverit, ante Apſidem manus ei imponatur. [*l*] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 23. Ut nemo in Precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet: Et cum ad altare aſſiſtitur, ſemper ad Patrem dirigatur Oratio. [*m*] *See before*, n. 7.

Behold,

Behold, ſays St. *Auſtin*, after the Sermon the Catechumens have their Diſmiſſion: But the Faithful abide ſtill, and come [*n*] to the place of Prayer: meaning the Altar, where the *Lord's Prayer* was according to Cuſtom to be repeated by the Communicants only. And St. *Ambroſe* [*o*], ſpeaking of the ſame Matter, ſays, When the Sermon was done, he diſmiſſed the Catechumens, and rehearſed the Creed to ſome Candidates of Baptiſm in the Baptiſtery of the Church. But theſe do not amount to a Proof, that the Communion Service ſucceeded immediately after the Sermon, and that no other Prayers or Buſineſs came between them. For this very place of St. *Ambroſe* ſhews, that at leaſt ſome times the Repetition of the *Creed* to the Candidates of Baptiſm was in the Interval. And one of the forecited Canons of the Council of *Carthage* makes it evident, that at other Times the Prayer for the Abſolution and Reconcilement of a ſcandalous Offender was made in the *Apſis* or Reading-Desk, before the Communion Service likewiſe. And the other Canon as plainly intimates, that ſome Prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the Prohibition that is made of not changing the Name of the Son for the Father, or the Father for the Son. Which Prohibition had been needleſs, had there been no Prayers directed to the Son. Now admitting there were ſome Prayers directed to the Son, theſe muſt be made before the Communion Service, ſince at that Time by the ſame Canon all Prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father only. For theſe Reaſons I conclude, that the Practice of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches was the ſame, and that there were Prayers in both for the Catechumens, Energumens and Penitents in their Preſence, diſtinct from thoſe which were afterwards made for them in their Abſence at the Altar. And ſo I have done with the firſt Part of Divine Worſhip, which the antient Church called her *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or Ante-Communion Service.

[*n*] Aug. Hom. 237. de Tempore, tom. 10. p. 385. Ecce poſt Sermonem fit Miſſa Catechumenis. Manebunt Fideles, venietur ad locum Orationis. Scitis quo acceſſuri ſumus, quid prius Deo dicturi ſumus? Dimitte nobis debita noſtra, ſicut nos dimittimus debitoribus noſtris. [*o*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellinam Sororem. Poſt Lectiones & Tractatum, dimiſſis Catechumenis, ſymbolum aliquibus Competentibus in Baptiſteriis tradebam Eccleſiæ.

BOOK

BOOK XV.

Of the *Missa Fidelium*; or Communion Service.

CHAP. I.

Of the Prayers preceding the Oblation.

SECT. I. *Of the Prayers called διὰ σιωπῆς, or silent Prayer.*

WHEN the several Orders of the Catechumens, Penitents, and Energumens were dismissed, which was the Completion of the *Missa Catechumenorum*; then immediately began that Part of the Service, which is properly called *Missa Fidelium*, or Communion Service, because none but Communicants (or at least such of the Penitents as had gone through all the Stages of Repentance, and were now waiting for Absolution, called therefore συνιστάμενοι, or Co-standers) might be present at it. The Entrance on this Service was made by a Mental or silent Prayer, made by the People in private, and thence called εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς, the silent Prayer, and εὐχὴ κατὰ διάνοιαν, the Mental Prayer. This we learn from a Canon of *Laodicea*, which gives a summary Account of the whole Order of the Service of the Church: And therefore for our clearer Proceeding in this Matter, I think it not improper to put it down entire in this place, as being one of the most remarkable Canons in the whole *Code*, and that which will give great Light to the subsequent Discourse. The Words of the Canon are these: That after the *Homily* of the Bishop [a] first the Prayer of the Catechumens is to be made; and after the Catechumens are gone forth, then the Prayer for the Penitents; and when they have received their Benediction by Imposition of Hands, and are withdrawn, then the three Prayers of the Faithful are to be made; the first of which is to be performed in Silence, the second and third by the Bidding and Direction [of the Deacon.] After these the Kiss of Peace is to be given; Presbyters saluting the Bishop, and Laymen one another: And then the holy Oblation shall be celebrated; those of the Clergy only communicating in the Chancel.

Some learned Persons take the Prayer *in Silence* here to mean no more than Prayers made over the Communicants by the Minister alone, the People not making any Responses; and by the Prayers called εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως, they understand Prayers made by way of Responses, the Minister and People mutually answering one another. But this Explication does not come up to the Sense of this Canon. For by the Prayer in Silence we are here to understand such private Prayers as each particular Person made by himself; and by the Prayers διὰ προσφωνήσεως, such Prayers as the whole Church made in Common by the Call and Admonition of the Deacon, who repeated the several Forms, directing them what Things they were to pray for, to each of which Petitions they subjoined their κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have Mercy, and grant the Petitions we ask*; and then the Bishop added the ἐπίκλησις, or Invocation, which was also called *Collecta*, the Collect, because it was a Collection or Repetition of all the Prayers of the People. That there were these three Sorts of Prayers in the antient Church, is evident from the Accounts that are given of each of them. And first that there were such private Prayers of every particular Person by himself, appears not only from this Canon, but from several antient Writers. St. *Chrysostom* [b] takes Notice that some in these private Prayers spent their Time in nothing else but praying for Revenge upon their Enemies. Many Men, says he, fall prostrate upon the Ground, and beat the Earth with their Foreheads, and shed abundance of Tears, and groan bitterly within themselves, stretching forth their Hands, and shewing great Zeal, and yet use all this Fervour and Earnestness only against their own Salvation. For they pray to God, not for their own Offences, they do not beseech him to pardon their own Sins, but they spend all this Labour against their Enemies.

[a] Conc. Laodic. Can. 19. Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, κατηκουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι, εἶθ' οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι. &c.

[b] Chrysostom. 57. De non evulgandis Peccatis. tom. 5. p. 762.

Which is the ſame Thing, as if a Man ſhould whet his Sword, and then not uſe it againſt his Adverſaries, but thruſt it into his own Throat. For ſo theſe Men uſe their Prayers, not to obtain Pardon of their own Sins, but to accelerate the Puniſhment of their Enemies: Which in Effect is to run the Sword into their own Bowels. A little after he tells us the very words of their Prayers, which were theſe: *Revenge me of my Enemies, O Lord, and ſhew them that I have a God.* By all which it appears, that theſe were the private Prayers of the People, which they might abuſe, and not the publick Prayers of the Church: For the Church never taught her Children to curſe their Enemies, but to bleſs and pray for them. But in theſe private Prayers, which were deſigned for Confeſſion of Sins and Deprecation of God's Judgments, Evil Men took Liberty to tranſgreſs all Rules, and gratify their Paſſions by asking Revenge upon their Enemies. Now though this was a grand Abuſe of theſe private Prayers, yet it ſerves to ſhew us both what the Cuſtom was in the Church's Allowance of ſuch Prayers, and what in her Deſignation was the true Uſe of them. St. *Baſil* ſpeaking of their Vigils or Night Aſſemblies [*c*], intimates as plainly, that they were ſpent in ſuch private Prayers intermingled with divers ſorts of Pſalmody. And *Caſſian* gives the ſame Account of them both in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches, as I have ſhewed at large in ſpeaking of the Daily Morning and Evening Service, which began with private Confeſſion in the *Eaſtern* Churches mentioned by St. *Baſil*, and ended with publick Confeſſion made in the Words of the LI. *Pſalm*, which was thence called the *Pſalm of Confeſſion*, or the *Penitential Pſalm* [*] for the Morning Service. But as to the private Confeſſions, we are now ſpeaking of, with which the Communion Service here began, we are to note farther, that they were not only made by the People in Silence by themſelves, but by the Miniſter in private alſo. And the Footſteps of this Practice remain in ſome of the oldeſt *Liturgies* of ſeveral Churches, quite different from the preſent Confeſſions in the *Roman Miſſal*: For whereas now in the *Roman Miſſal* the Confeſſion of Sins is made to Saints and Angels, as well as God, all the Offices for at leaſt a Thouſand Years after Chriſt had their Confeſſions only to God. Thus it is in the Forms of Confeſſion in *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, and others publiſh'd by *Menardus*. And this is that *Manuſcript*, which Cardinal *Bona* ſo much magnifies in the Queen of *Sweden*'s Library, as containing the Offices of the old *Gallican Liturgy*. To ſhew that theſe Confeſſions were made only to God, and not to any Saints or Angels, and withal that they were particular Confeſſions made by the Prieſt only in private, διὰ σιωπῆς, as the *Laodicean* Canon words it, I will here tranſcribe that which *Bona* gives us out of that Antient *MS.* as the Confeſſion of the *Gallican* Office. It is there called *Apologia* [*d*] *Sacerdotis*, The Apology of the Prieſt, or the Confeſſion of his Sins, and it runs in theſe Words.

O Thou moſt admirable Majeſty, and great God, Almighty Father, who art of infinite Goodneſs and Power, I who am a moſt vile Sinner, and condemned by the Teſtimony of my own Conſcience, do approach Thee, and preſent my ſelf in the Sight of thy Greatneſs, before the Eyes of thine ineffable Majeſty, before thy holy Face, not without due Reverence, yet with great Unworthineſs and Neglect of Duty. I do not excuſe, but accuſe my ſelf unto Thee. I confeſs, I ſay I confeſs the Unrighteouſneſs of my Impiety, that thou may'ſt forgive the Wickedneſs of my Sin. I confeſs, that if thou doſt not forgive, thou may'ſt puniſh me. I confeſs my ſelf a Criminal before Thee, and yet I know my Amendment is only in Words. In Words I endeavour to appeaſe thee, but in Works I offend thee. I am ſenſible of my Faults, and yet I defer the Amendment. Aſſiſt me therefore, aſſiſt me, O thou ineffable Goodneſs. Pardon me, pardon me, O moſt adorable Trinity. Spare me, ſpare me, ſpare me, I beſeech thee, O merciful God. Hear me, hear me, hear me, I beſeech thee, when I cry in the Words of that prodigal Son, O Father, Eternal God, I have ſinned againſt Heaven and before Thee: I am no more worthy to be call'd thy Son, make me as one of thy hired Servants. And now, merciful Father, I fly to the only Refuge and Haven of thy Mercy under the Protection of Chriſt, that what is vile in me, thou may'ſt favourably vouchſafe to accept in him, who liveſt and reigneſt for ever and ever. Amen.

It is plain here, that as there is no Addreſs to either Saint or Angel in this Prayer, ſo it is a private Prayer of the Prieſt alone for himſelf, whilſt the People were likewiſe employed in making their private Confeſſions to God: Which ſhews us the meaning of that ſilent Prayer ſpoken of in the Council of *Laodicea*, which is called the firſt Prayer in the Entrance of the Communion Service.

All I ſhall add farther here concerning theſe private Prayers, is to make an Obſervation upon two ancient Forms of Speech, which have ſome Relation to this Matter, and help to confirm it: That is, the Forms, *Silentium indicere*, and *Orationem dare*, both which are uſed to denote the Cuſtom of bidding the People fall to their private Devotions. Sometimes the Biſhop was uſed to give the Signal, by ſaying, *Oremus*, Let us pray; and then the People betook themſelves to their private Devotions, after which the Biſhop ſummed up their Prayers in a ſhort Collect by way of ſolemn Invocation. Thus *Uranius* [*e*] deſcribes the Rite in the Life of *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, when he tells us, how a certain Biſhop went into his Throne, and there ſaluting the People, and being ſaluted by them

[*c*] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. t. 3. p. 96. [*] *See Book* XIII. *cap.* 10. *n.* 13. [*d*] Bona. Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 1. n. 1. [*e*] Uran. Vit. Paulini. Ad Eccleſiam proceſſit, & aſcenſo Tribunali populum ex more ſalutavit, reſalutatuſque a populo Orationem dedit, & collecta Oratione Spiritum exhalavit.

again,

again, he then according to Cuſtom gave the Signal for Prayer, and afterward ſummed up their Prayers in a Collect, and ſo breathed out his Laſt. Sometimes the Deacon gave the Signal, and this was called *Silentium indicere*. Thus it was in the *Gallican* Churches, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* has obſerved out of *Gregory* [*f*] of *Tours*; and the Prieſt did it by the *Mozarabick Liturgy*. Where he rightly concludes, that this Phraſe, *Silentium indicere*, does not barely ſignify making the People attentive, but there was a farther meaning in it, that they were for a Time there to attend to their own private Prayers. Which he thinks not improbable on theſe Conſiderations. "1. *Gregory Turonenſis* ſaith, in "the place before-mentioned, That the King "took that Time to ſpeak to the People, who "immediately brake forth into a Prayer for the "King; not that any Collect was then read for "him, for that was not the proper Time for "it; but it being a Time of ſecret Prayers, "they were ſo moved with what the King ſaid, "that they all prayed for him. 2. Among the "Heathens, when they were bidden *favere Linguis*, yet then *Briſſonius* [*g*] ſaith, They "made their private Prayers; and as the Deacons commanding Silence ſeems to be much "of the ſame Nature, it is not probable that "the Chriſtians ſhould fall ſhort of their Devotions. 3. The great Argument, ſays he, to "me, is the ſmall Number of Collects in the "ancient Churches; for the Chriſtians ſpent a "great deal of time in the publick Service, on "the *Lord's Day*, and the Stationary Days (I add "alſo their Vigils;) but all other Offices could "not take up that Time, there being no long "*Extemporary* Prayers, nor ſuch a Multitude of "tedious Ceremonies in all parts, as the Roman "*Breviary* and *Miſſal* introduced; and the Collects of greateſt Antiquity being very few and "ſhort, it ſeems moſt probable, that a competent part of the Time was ſpent in private "Devotions. A Remainder whereof is ſtill preſerved in the Office of Ordination of Prieſts "in our Church, whereby Silence is commanded to be kept for a Time, for the People's "ſecret Prayers. And the ſame Cuſtom was "obſerved at the bidding of Prayers, which "was a Direction for the People what to pray "for in their private Devotions [*h*].

SECT. II.

Of the Prayers called διὰ προσφωνήσεως, or Bidding-Prayers.

AND this leads us in the next place to conſider the ſecond ſort of Prayers mentioned in the *Laodicean* Canon, which are there ſtiled εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως, which we may *Engliſh*, Bidding-Prayers. For they were not only a Call to the People to pray, but a Direction what particulars they were to pray for. We have a Form of this ſort of Prayer in the Apoſtolical *Conſtitutions*, immediately after the Diſmiſſion of Catechumens and Penitents, where it is called προσφώνησις ἐπὶ τῇ πιστῶν, a Direction or Bidding-Prayer for the Communicants or Believers. It is there uſhered [*i*] in with theſe Words: Let no one of thoſe that are not allowed, come near. As many as are Believers, let us fall upon our Knees. Let us pray to God through his Chriſt. Let us all intenſely beſeech God through his Chriſt. Then follow the ſeveral Petitions in this Order.

Let us pray for the Peace and Tranquillity of the World and the holy Churches; that the God of the whole World would grant us his perpetual and laſting Peace; and keep us perſevering to the End in all the Fulneſs of Piety and Virtue.

Let us pray for the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church from one End of the Earth to the other; that the Lord would keep it unſhaken and undiſturbed with Storms and Tempeſts, founded on a Rock to the End of the World.

Let us pray for the Holy Church (παροικίας) in this Place; that the Lord of all would grant us Grace to purſue his heavenly Hope without ceaſing; and that we may render him the continual Debt and Tribute of our Prayers.

Let us pray for the whole Epiſcopate or Company of Biſhops under Heaven, that rightly divid the Word of Truth. And let us pray for James *our Biſhop and his Churches:*

Let us pray for Clemens *our Biſhop and his Churches:*

Let us pray for Euodius *our Biſhop and his Churches: That the merciful God would preſerve them in Safety, Honour, and Length of Days for the Benefit of his Holy Churches; and grant them a venerable old Age in all Piety and Righteouſneſs.*

Let us likewiſe pray for our Presbyters, that God would deliver them from every abſurd and wicked thing, and preſerve them ſafe and honourable in their Presbytery.

Let us pray for the whole Order of Deacons and Subdeacons in Chriſt; that the Lord would keep them unblameable in their Miniſtry.

Let us pray for the Readers, Singers, Widows and Orphans.

Let us pray for thoſe that live in Matrimony and Procreation or Education of Children, that God would have Mercy upon them all.

Let us pray for the Eunuchs that walk in Holineſs.

Let us pray for thoſe that live in Continency or Virginity and lead a pious Life.

Let us pray for thoſe that make Oblations in the holy Church, and give Alms to the Poor.

Let us pray for thoſe that offer their Sacrifices and Firſt-fruits to the Lord our God; that the moſt gracious God would reward them with heavenly Gifts, and reſtore them an hundred-fold in this World, and grant them everlaſting Life in the World to come; giving them heavenly Things for their earthly, and for their Temporal Things thoſe that are Eternal.

Let us pray for our Brethren that are newly bap-

[*f*] Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. cap. 4. p. 223. ex. Greg. Turon. lib. 7. c. 8. [*g*] Briſſon. de Formulis p. 9, 10. [*h*] Vid. Mat. Parker Concion. in Obit. Buceri. [*i*] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. c. 9, & 10. Vid. lib. 2. cap. 57.

tized; that the Lord would confirm and eſtabliſh them.

Let us pray for our Brethren that are afflicted with Sickneſs; that the Lord would deliver them from all their Diſtempers and Infirmities, and reſtore them again in Health to his Holy Church.

Let us pray for all thoſe that travel by Sea or by Land.

Let us pray for thoſe that are in the Mines, and in Baniſhment, and in Priſon and in Bonds for the Name of the Lord.

Let us pray for our Enemies and thoſe that hate us.

Let us pray for thoſe that perſecute us for the Name of the Lord: That the Lord would mitigate their Fury, and diſſipate their Anger conceived againſt us.

Let us pray for thoſe that are without, and led away with Error, that the Lord would convert them.

Let us remember the Infants of the Church; that the Lord would perfect them in his Fear, and bring them to the Meaſure of adult Age.

Let us pray mutually for one another; that the Lord would keep and preſerve us by his Grace unto the End, and deliver us from the evil one, and from all the Scandals of thoſe that work Iniquity, and conduct us ſafe to his heavenly Kingdom.

Let us pray for every Chriſtian Soul.

Save us, O God, and raiſe us up by thy Mercy.

It is here to be ſuppoſed, that as in the former Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents [*], ſo here at the End of every Petition the People anſwered, κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have Mercy upon them.* Or, as it is in the Cloſe of this Prayer, *Save them, O God, and raiſe them up by thy Mercy.*

Any one that will compare either our *Litany* or *the Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church* in the Beginning of our Communion Service, will readily perceive, that there is a near Affinity between them and this general Form of the Antient Church. We have not ſo compleat a Form either in *Chryſoſtom*'s genuine Works, or any other Antient Writer, to compare this with, as we did before in conſidering the Form for the Catechumens: But there are two very antient Forms of ſuch a Prayer, without any Addition of Invocation of Saints ſtill preſerved, one in the *Ambroſian Liturgy*, and the other in an Antient Office tranſcribed by *Wicelius* out of the Library of *Fulda*, which becauſe they come near this Antient Form in the *Conſtitutions*, I will here inſert them [*k*] in the Margin for the Uſe of the learned Reader, out of *Pamelius* his *Liturgicks*, Tom. 3. p. 307. and *Cardinal Bona Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. 2. cap. 4. n. 3. and then ſee what Remains of this antient Prayer we meet with in the undoubted Writings of the Fathers. For though none of them gives us the ſame Form entire, yet one may eaſily perceive by the near Alliance of the Fragments that remain, that they all refer to the ſame Original. For there are, both in *Chryſoſtom* and other Writers, ſeveral Fragments of ſuch a Prayer, and plain Intimations that either this or a like Form was in uſe in many Churches. And therefore it will not be amiſs to collect theſe References and Fragments before we proceed any farther.

SECT. III.

The Form of this Sort of Prayers in the Conſtitutions, *compared with the Fragments that occur in* Chryſoſtom, *and other Writers.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* in one of his Sermons, ſpoken to the People of *Antioch*, plainly ſhews that they had ſuch a Form of Bidding-Prayer in Uſe in that Church: For he relates ſome of the Petitions of it, which are ſo like the Form in the *Conſtitutions*, that he will not judge amiſs, that thinks the

[*] *See Book* XIV. *Chap.* v.

[*k*] In Codice Fuldenſi Litania Miſſalis.

Dicamus omnes ex toto corde totaque mente: *Domine Miſerere.*

Qui reſpicis terram, & facis eam tremere. *Oramus te Domine, exaudi & miſerere.*

Pro altiſſima Pace & tranquillitate temporum noſtrorum. *Oramus te Domine,* &c.

Pro Sancta Eccleſia Catholica, quæ eſt à finibus uſque ad terminos orbis terrarum. *Oramus te Domine,* &c.

Pro Patre noſtro Epiſcopo, pro omnibus Epiſcopis ac Presbyteris & Diaconis, omnique Clero. *Oramus te Domine.*

Pro hoc Loco & habitantibus in eo. *Oramus te Domine,* &c.

Pro piiſſimo Imperatore & toto Romano Exercitu. *Oramus te Domine,* &c.

Pro omnibus qui in ſublimitate conſtituti ſunt, pro Virginibus, Viduis & Orphanis. *Oramus te Domine.*

Pro Pœnitentibus & Catechumenis. *Oramus te Domine.*

Pro his qui in Sancta Eccleſia fructus miſericordiæ largiuntur, Domine Deus Virtutum exaudi preces noſtras. *Oramus te Domine.*

Sanctorum Apoſtolorum & Martyrum memores ſumus, ut orantibus eis pro nobis veniam mereamur. *Oramus te Domine.*

Chriſtianum ac pacificum nobis finem concedi a Domino comprecemur. *Præſta Domine, præſta.*

Et divinum in nobis permanere vinculum Charitatis, Dominum comprecemur. *Præſta Domine, præſta.*

Conſervare Sanctitatem ac Puritatem Catholicæ Fidei, Sanctum Deum comprecemur. *Præſta Domine, præſta.*

Dicamus omnes, *Domine exaudi & miſerere.*

Altera Formula ex Ritu Ambroſiano in Dominica prima Quadrageſimæ, incipiente Diacono, & Choro reſpondente.

Divinæ pacis & indulgentiæ munere ſupplicantes ex toto corde & ex tota mente precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Eccleſia Sancta Catholica, quæ hic & per univerſum orbem diffuſa eſt, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Papa noſtro N. & Pontifice noſtro N. & omni Clero eorum, omnibuſque Sacerdotibus ac Miniſtris precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro famulis tuis N. Imperatore & N. Rege, Duce noſtro, & omni exercitu eorum precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Pace Eccleſiarum, Vocatione Gentium, & quiete populorum, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Civitate hac & conſervatione ejus, omnibuſque habitantibus in ea precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro aeris temperie, ac fructu & fœcunditate terrarum precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Virginibus, Viduis, Orphanis, Captivis ac Pœnitentibus, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exiliis conſtitutis, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro iis qui diverſis Infirmitatibus detinentur, quique Spiritibus vexantur immundis precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro iis qui in Sancta Eccleſia tua fructus miſericordiæ largiuntur, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Exaudi nos in omni Oratione atque Deprecatione noſtra, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.* Dicamus omnes, *Domine miſerere.*

Author

Author of the *Conſtitutions* had his Form from the ſame Original, whence we are ſure St. *Chryſoſtom* had his, *viz.* the *Liturgy* of the Church of *Antioch*. For, ſays he, when you all [*l*] in common hear the Deacon bidding this Prayer, and ſaying, *Let us pray for the Biſhop, and for his old Age, and for Grace to aſſiſt him, that he may rightly divide the Word of Truth*, and for thoſe that are here, and thoſe that are in all the World; you refuſe not to do what is commanded you, but offer your Prayers with all Fervency, as knowing what Power there is in Common Prayer. They that are initiated know what I ſay. For this is not yet allowed in the Prayer of the Catechumens. For they are not yet arrived to this Boldneſs and Liberty of Speech. But the Deacon, who miniſters in this Office, exhorts you to make Prayers for the whole World, and for the Church extended from one End of the Earth to the other, and for all the Biſhops that rule and govern it; and ye obey with Readineſs, teſtifying by your Actions, that great is the Power of Prayer, when it is offered up by the People with one Voice in the Church. Here we may obſerve, That this was the Bidding-Prayer; for it was done by the *Celeuſma*, or Call and Admonition of the Deacon, telling them what they were to pray for. Then again, that it was a Prayer peculiar to the Communicants, and uſed only in the Communion Service: For the Catechumens were not allowed to join in it. And farther, that the Petitions for the whole World, for the Church over all the Earth, for all Biſhops whereſoever governing the Church, and particularly for the Biſhop of the Place, that *he might live to a good old Age, and have the help of God's Grace to enable him rightly to divide the Word of Truth*, are the ſame Petitions that occur in the *Conſtitutions:* Which makes it evident that theſe Forms of Bidding-Prayer were then commonly uſed in the Catholick Church. *Chryſoſtom* in another Place ſpeaks of this ſame Prayer as performed in common both by Miniſters and People; and by both of them in the Poſture of kneeling or Proſtration. For giving an Account of the ſeveral Prayers of the Church, in which the People bear a Part with the Miniſter, he ſays, They prayed in common for Perſons poſſeſt with evil Spirits, and for the Penitents; and then after they were excluded, who could not partake of the holy Table, they made another Prayer [*m*], in which they all fell proſtrate upon the Earth together, and all in like manner roſe up together. This is a plain Reference to that Bidding-Prayer, before which the Deacon commanded all to fall down upon the Ground, and make thoſe ſeveral Petitions in that Poſture, and then gave the Signal to riſe again, by ſaying, ἀναςῶμεν, *Let us Riſe*, as it is worded in the *Conſtitutions*. *Chryſoſtom* has many other Paſſages, which ſpeak of Prayers for the whole State of the Church, for Biſhops, for the Univerſe, and the Publick Peace; but becauſe theſe refer more peculiarly to the Prayer immediately following the Conſecration and Oblation (where a more ſolemn Commemoration of all States was again made) I will refer the Notice of them to the Diſcourſe upon that Prayer in its proper place.

However I cannot omit mentioning one remarkable Thing more out of St. *Chryſoſtom* relating to this Prayer, which is, That this Prayer was eſteemed ſo much the Common-Prayer of the People, that the Children of the Church were particularly enjoined to bear a Part in it. For in one of his *Homilies* upon St. *Matthew* ſpeaking firſt of the Prayer for the Demoniacks, ſecondly of the Prayer for the Penitents, thirdly of this Prayer for the Communicants, he obſerves, That the two former were offered by the People alone, as Interceſſors for Mercy for others; but this Prayer, which was for themſelves, was preſented alſo by the innocent Children of the People [*n*], crying to God for Mercy: It being ſuppoſed, that their Innocency and Humility, the Imitation of which qualifies Men for the Kingdom of Heaven, were good Recommendations of their Prayers, when they ſolemnly implored the Divine Mercy. Which plainly ſhews, that this was a general Prayer of all Degrees of Perſons in the Church. We may note farther out of St. *Auſtin*, that the univerſal Church, or the greateſt Part of it, had ſuch Prayers preceding the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, which were properly called *Precationes*, or *Deprecationes*, Supplications for themſelves and others, *& Communis Oratio*, Common-Prayer, becauſe they were performed by the common Voice of the Deacon and the People. In one of his Epiſtles [*o*] he divides the whole Service of the Church into theſe five Parts. 1. Singing of *Pſalms*. 2. Reading of the Scriptures. 3. Preaching. 4. The Prayers of the Biſhops and Presbyters. 5. The Common-Prayers indicted by the Voice or Direction of the Deacons: Which were the Bidding-Prayers we are now diſcourſing of. Whence we learn the meaning of the Deacon's being ſaid, *Indicere Communem Orationem*; that it means not barely his commanding them to pray, but his going before them in a Form of Words, to which they might joyn their common Reſponſes.

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 2. de Obſcurit. Prophetiarum. tom. 3. p. 946. κοινῇ πάντες ἀκούοντες τῦ διακόνε τῦτο κελεύοντ@-, καὶ λέγοντ@, δεηθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τῦ ἐπισκόπε, καὶ τῦ γήρως, καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως, καὶ ἵνα ὀρθοτομῇ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τ ἀπανταχῦ, ὁ δεδιττιῶν ποιεῖν τὸ ἐπίταγμα, &c. [*m*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. πάλιν ἐπειδὰν ἔρχομαι πρὸ ἱερῶν θεικόλων τῦ ὁ δυναμένης τῆς ἱερᾶς μελαχεῖν τραπέζης, ἑτέρων δεῖ γειέδς εὐχῆν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφες κάμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιςάμεθα. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. al. 72. in Mat. p. 624. ἡ δὲ τείτη πάλιν εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄυτη τὰ παιδία τὰ ἄμωμα τῦ δήμε προσβάλλεται, τ Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον προκαλῦντα. [*o*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. Quando autem non eſt tempus (cum in Eccleſia fratres congregantur) Sancta cantandi, niſi cum legitur, aut diſputatur, aut Antiſtites clara, voce deprecantur, aut Communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicitur?

In

In another [*p*] Epiſtle, he divides the Communion Service into four Parts, according to that Diviſion of St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1. *I exhort therefore, that firſt of all, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men*; taking Supplications for theſe Common Prayers made for all Men before the Conſecration of the Elements; and Prayers, in the *Greek* called εὐχαὶ, for the Prayers of Conſecration, of which the *Lord's Prayer* was one, becauſe the People did then ſolemnly dedicate themſelves to Chriſt, which is the moſt common Notation of the Word εὐχὴ, a Vow. By Interceſſions, he underſtands the Benedictions of the People by Impoſition of Hands, uſed at that time by the Biſhops and other chief Miniſters, recommending them to the Mercy of God; and by Thankſgiving, the Doxologies and Returns of Praiſe after the Participation was over. So that here we have a plain Account of the Church's Service, and particularly that the Prayers before the Conſecration were thoſe ſolemn Addreſſes, which were made chiefly by the Deacon and People, and therefore were called, *Communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicta*, *The Common Prayers of the People, enjoyned and order'd by the Bidding of the Deacon.* In another Place he mentions ſome of the Particulars then prayed for. For writing to one *Vitalis* of *Carthage*, who maintained that *Infidels* were not to be prayed for, he urges him with the known Practice of the Church. Diſpute then, ſays he, againſt the Prayers of the Church, and when you hear the Prieſt of God [*q*] exhorting the People of God at the Altar, to pray for Infidels, that God would convert them to the Faith; and for *Catechumens*, that God would inſpire them with a Deſire of Regeneration; and for the Faithful, that they may perſevere by his Grace in that wherein they have begun; Mock at theſe pious Words, and ſay you do not do what he exhorts you to do, that is, that you do not pray to God for Infidels, that he would make them Believers. Here we ſee the Prayers for the Converſion of Infidels, and the Perſeverance of Believers are the ſame with thoſe that occur in the *Conſtitutions*, and in both Places are ſaid to be done at the Bidding or Exhortation of the Miniſter.

St. *Baſil* alſo ſpeaks of theſe Prayers, under the Name of Κηρύγματα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ, which is not to be underſtood of Preaching in the Church, but of theſe Prayers, which the Deacon, as the common Κήρυξ or Proclaimer and Director of the Service, appointed the People to make for all Orders of Men in the Church. And ſo St. *Baſil* himſelf explains his own Meaning. For writing to a Friend in a Foreign Country, he tells him it was impoſſible he ſhould forget him in his Prayers, unleſs he ſhould forget the Work to which the Lord had appointed him. For you, ſays he, who are by the Grace of God a Believer, remember very well the Bidding-Prayers of [*r*] the Church; How we there pray for all our Brethren that travel in Foreign Countries, and for all thoſe that are muſtered in the Camp, and for thoſe that undertake any brave and bold Thing for the Name of the Lord, and for all ſuch as ſhew forth any Fruits of the Spirit: For all theſe we make Prayers in the Holy Church. And he tells his Friend, that he being a Perſon ſingularly eminent, and in all thoſe Capacities, as a Traveller, as a Warrior, as a Confeſſor, as a virtuous Man, was always remembred in the publick Prayers of the Church. He mentions no other Particulars, becauſe he had no occaſion to ſpecify any more but what related to this particular Man's Caſe; but we need not doubt but that there were many other ſuch Petitions in the Liturgy of the Church of *Cæſarea*, as there were in thoſe of *Antioch*, and the *African* Churches. *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* alſo ſpeaks of theſe Bidding-Prayers, as uſed in the *Gallican* Churches. For in one of his Homilies to the People [*s*] he exhorts them, that as often as the Clergy prayed at the Altar, or Prayer was enjoined by the Bidding of the Deacon, they ſhould bow not only their Hearts, but their Bodies alſo. For it was a very irregular thing, and unbecoming Chriſtians, that when the Deacon cryed out, *Let us bend the Knee*, the greateſt part of the People ſhould ſtand erect like Pillars, as he had obſerved them to do in their Devotions. Here though we have none of the particular Petitions, yet there is a plain Reference to them, and two of the Circumſtances mentioned, that is, that they were to be made Kneeling, and by the Indiction or Direction of the Deacon.

SECT. IV. *Of the Invocation or Collect following the Prayers of the People.*

AND in theſe Circumſtances they differed from the following Prayer, made by the Biſhop or chief Miniſter, which the *Greeks* called ἐπίκλησις, the *Invocation*, and the *Latins Collecta*, the *Collect*, becauſe it was the Recollection or Recapitulation of the preceding

[*p*] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Quæſt. 5. Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Eccleſia, ut Precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod eſt in Domini menſa, incipiat benedici: Orationes, cum benedicitur & ſanctificatur, & ad diſtribuendum comminuitur quam totam petitionem fere omnis Eccleſia Dominica Oratione concludit.—Interpellationes autem, ſive ut veſtri Codices habent, Poſtulationes, fiunt cum Populus benedicitur. Tunc enim Antiſtites, velut Advocati, ſuſceptos ſuos per manus Impoſitionem miſericordiſſimæ offerunt Poteſtati. Quibus peractis, & participato tanto Sacramento, Gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apoſtolus. [*q*] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vital. p. 187. Exercere contra Orationes Eccleſiæ Diſputationes tuas, & quando audis ſacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro Incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad Fidem; & pro Catechumenis, ut eis deſiderium Regenerationis inſpiret; & pro Fidelibus, ut in eo quod eſſe cœperunt, ejus munere perſeverent; ſubſanna pias voces, & dic te non facere quod hortatur, &c. [*r*] Baſil. Ep. 241. μέμνησαι γὰρ πάλιν τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποδημίας ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα. &c. [*s*] Cæſar. Arelat. Hom. 34. Rogo vos & admoneo, Fratres Chariſſimi, ut quotieſcunque juxta altare a Clericis oratur, aut Oratio Diacono clamante indicitur, non ſolum corda, ſed etiam corpora inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter, ſicut oportet, & diligenter attendo, Diacono clamante, Flectamus genua, maximam partem populi velut columnas erectas ſtare conſpicio, quod Chriſtianis omnino nec licet nec expedit.

Prayers

Prayers of the People. As the former Prayer was said by the Deacon and People kneeling, so this was presented by the Bishop standing. And therefore the Deacon was used to say immediately after the former Prayer, ἐγειρώμεθα, *Let us rise up, and praying earnestly, Let us recommend our selves and one another to the living God by his Christ.* After which, the Bishop makes this Prayer, as the Form runs in the Constitutions [t].

O Lord Almighty and most High, thou that dwellest in the Highest, thou holy One that restest in thy Saints, (or Holy Places) that art without Original, the great Monarch of the World; who by thy Christ hast caused thy Knowledge to be preached unto us, to the Acknowledgment of thy Glory and Name, which he hath manifested to our Understandings: Look down now by him upon this Thy Flock, and deliver it from all Ignorance and wicked Works. Grant that it may fear thee, and love thee, and tremble before the Face of thy Glory. Be merciful and propitious unto them, and hearken to their Prayers; and keep them Unchangeable, Unblameable, and without Rebuke: That they may be holy both in Body and Soul, not having Spot or Wrinkle or any such thing; but that they may be perfect, and none among them deficient or wanting in any respect. O thou their Defender, thou Almighty, that regardest not Persons, be thou the help of this thy People, whom thou hast redeemed with the precious Blood of thy Christ. Be thou their Defence and Succour, their Refuge and Keeper, their impregnable Wall, their Bulwark and Safety. For no one can pluck them out of thy Hand. There is no other God like Thee: In thee is our Hope and strong Consolation. Sanctify them by thy Truth: For thy Word is Truth. Thou that dost nothing out of Partiality and Favour; thou that canst not be deceived, deliver them from Sickness and Infirmity, from Sin, from all Injury and Fraud, and from the Fear of the Enemy, from the Arrow that flieth by Day, and the Danger that walketh in Darkness; and vouchsafe to bring them to eternal Life, which is in Christ thy only-begotten Son, our God and Saviour; by whom be Glory and Worship unto Thee in the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, World without End. Amen.

This, I conceive, is of the same nature with that Prayer mentioned by the Council of *Laodicea* [u], as the second of those that are said to be made διὰ προσφωνήσεως: For though the Author of the *Constitutions* distinguishes between the Deacons Bidding-Prayer and the Bishop's Invocation, calling the former προσφώνησις, and the latter ἐπίκλησις; yet they both agreed in several Things to distinguish them from the silent Prayer that went before. For first they were both pronounced audibly by the Minister, so as the whole Congregation might join with them, either by making Responses to every particular Petition of the Deacon's Prayer, or by saying *Amen* at the Conclusion of the Bishop's Prayer; whereas the silent Prayers of the People were such as every Man said privately by himself, and might be very different from one another, and sometimes were such as were not fit to be heard, because some Men abused this Opportunity to pray to God for Revenge upon their Enemies. 2. Both these Prayers were made at the Call or Admonition of the Deacon, and so might have the Name of προσφώνησις. For he said before the one, *Let us fall down upon our Knees and pray to God:* And before the other, *Let us rise and commend ourselves to God.* προσευώμεθα ἑαυτὲς τῷ Θεῷ. Whence also this and all such Prayers of the Bishop had the Name of προσφόρεις, Commendations, because they recommended the People to the Mercy and Protection of God. As we find in one of the Canons of the *African Code* [x], which made an Injunction that no Prayers should be used in the Church but such as were authorized by a Synod, whether they were Prefaces, or Commendations, or Impositions of Hands, lest any Prayers contrary to the Faith should surreptitiously creep into the Church. Where, as by Prefaces are meant certain proper Prayers used at the *Eucharist*; and by Impositions of Hands, Prayers made over the Penitents or People by way of Benediction; so by Commendations are to be understood partly Prayers for the Catechumens, and partly these Prayers of the Bishop for the People, recommending their Persons, and Prayers, and Concerns to the Favour of God. This Canon was first made in the Council of *Milevis*, where what the *Greeks* call προσφόρεις, is by the *Latins* [y] called *Commendationes*. But the more usual Name in the *Latin* Church was *Collectæ*, Collects, because these Prayers of the Bishop, which in any part of the Service followed the joint Prayers of the Deacon and Congregation, were both a Recollection and Recommendation of the Prayers of the People. In this Sense *Cassian* takes the Phrase, *Colligere Orationem*, when speaking of the Service in the *Egyptian* Monasteries and *Eastern* Churches, he says, After the *Psalms* they had private Prayers, which they said partly standing, and partly kneeling: Which being ended, he that collected the Prayer [z] rose up, and then they all rose up together with him; none presuming to continue longer upon the Ground, lest he should seem rather to pursue his own Prayers, than go along with him who collected the Prayers, or closed up all with his concluding Collect. Where we may observe, that a Collect is taken for the Chief Minister's Prayer at the close of some Part of Divine Service, collecting and concluding the Peoples preceding Devotions. As here in *Cassian* it is the Close of the Ordinary or Daily Morning-Service, which was the same as the Close of that part of the Communion-Service, which immediately comes before the Consecration, as has been

[t] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 11. [u] Conc. Laod. Can. 19. [x] Cod. Afric. can. 106. ἤρεσεν καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε ὁίμια, εἴτε προσφόρεις, εἴτε τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. &c. Vid. Conc. Toletan. 4. can. 12. [y] Conc. Milevitan. can. 12. [z] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 7. Cum autem is qui Orationem collecturus est, e terra surrexerit, omnes pariter surgunt, ita ut nullus remorari præsumat, ne non tam secutus fuisse illius Conclusionem, qui Precem colligit, quam suam celebrasse credatur.

shewed

ſhewed before, in ſpeaknig of the Daily Morning-Service, more fully in another Place. *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x.

Parallel to this Paſſage in *Caſſian*, is that of *Uranius* [*a*], where ſpeaking of one *John* Biſhop of *Naples*, who died in the Celebration of Divine Service, he ſays, He gave the Signal to the People to pray, and then having ſummed up their Prayers in a Collect, he yielded up the Ghoſt. The Council of *Agde* [*b*] in *France* made it a ſtanding Rule for the *Gallican* Churches, that after all other things were performed in the daily Courſe of Morning and Evening Service, the Biſhop ſhould conclude the whole Office, *Collecta Oratione, with his Collect*, and diſmiſs the People with his Benediction. From which it appears, that theſe Collects among the *Latins* were the ſame ſort of Prayers, which the *Greeks* called ἐπικλήσεις and ἀναθέσεις, *Invocations* and *Commendations*, with which the Biſhop concluded the Prayers of the Deacon and People in each diſtinct part of Divine Service. As we have ſeen it in the Service of the Catechumens and Penitents, and in the Offices for the Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and here now in this part of the Communion Service which goes before the Conſecration. Of which I have nothing more to add, but only a ſhort Paſſage [*c*] of St. *Auſtin*, who in his Book of the *Gift of Perſeverance*, ſeems plainly to intimate, that it was one Petition in this Prayer, of common Uſe in the *African* Churches, to pray for God's Grace to enable Believers to perſevere to the end of their Lives. For writing of the Neceſſity of Grace, to guard Men againſt the Error of the *Pelagians*, he puts them in mind of the Common Prayer of the Church, wherein the Prieſt makes Invocation for the Faithful or Communicants in theſe Words, *Grant them Grace, O Lord, to perſevere in thee unto the End.* And who is there, ſays he, that hearing the Prieſt thus praying, dares either in Word or Thought reprehend him, and is not rather ready, both with a Believing Heart and a Confeſſing Mouth, to anſwer *Amen* to ſuch a Benediction? 'Tis obſervable here, 1. That this Prayer has the ſame Name which the *Greeks* gave it in the *Eaſtern* Church, *The Invocation of the Biſhop or Prieſt over the Faithful.* And therefore, 2dly, That it was a Part of the Communion Service, where ſuch Prayers were only made. 3. That it was not the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer, which had the Peoples Reſponſes to every particular Petition, but a Prayer to which in the End they only anſwered *Amen.* 4. That it was a direct Invocation of God, by way of Benediction, ſuch as the Biſhop uſed to make, and not an Exhortation to pray, which was the Office of the Deacon. 5. That the Petition in Subſtance is the ſame with that of the Biſhop's Prayer in the Conſtitutions, *Keep them Unchangeable, Unblameable, and without Rebuke; that they may be Perfect both in Body and Soul, not having Spot or Wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that they may be perfect, and none among them be found wanting in any Reſpect.* All which Circumſtances make it highly probable, that this Prayer referred to by St. *Auſtin*, was the very Prayer we are ſpeaking of, as uſed in the Cloſe of the firſt Part of the Communion Service in the *African* Churches. Theſe are the Footſteps, by which we are to trace the Practice of the antient Church in that Part of her Devotions, which was appropriated to the Communicants or Believers only, in the Entrance of the Communion Service, and which anſwers to the Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church Militant here upon Earth, in the Beginning of our Communion Service.

CHAP. II.

Of the Oblations of the People, and other Things introductory to the Conſecration of the Euchariſt.

SECT. I. *Of the Cuſtomary Oblations which the People made at the Altar.*

THE next Part of this Service, was the great Thankſgiving and the Conſecration of the Elements of Bread and Wine for the Euchariſt. Which becauſe they were generally taken out of the Oblations which the People made at the Altar, it will be neceſſary to give ſome Account of theſe Oblations, and of the Elements of Bread and Wine taken out of them. It was an antient Cuſtom, derived from Apoſtolical Practice, for all Communicants, that were of Ability, to make their Oblations of Bread and Wine, and ſometimes other Things, at the Altar; out of which both the Elements were taken, and a common Feaſt was made for the Poor. This the Apoſtle plainly refers to in that Reproof which he gives the *Corinthians* for their Exceſs, 1 *Cor.* xi. 21. *In eating every one taketh before others his own Supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken.* *Juſtin*

[*a*] Uran. Vit. Paulin. Populo Orationem dedit, & Collecta Oratione ſpiritum exhalavit. [*b*] Conc. Agathen. can. 30. In concluſione Matutinarum vel Veſpertinarum Miſſarum, poſt Hymnos Capitella de Pſalmis dici, & plebem, Collecta Oratione ad veſperam ab Epiſcopo cum Benedictione dimitti. [*c*] Aug. de Dono Perſeverantiæ, cap. 23. tom. 6. An quis Sacerdotem ſuper Fideles Dominum invocantem, ſi quando dixit, *Da illis, Domine, in te perſeverare uſque in finem*, non ſolum voce auſus eſt, ſed ſaltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius ſuper ejus talem Benedictionem & corde credente & ore confitente reſpondit, *Amen.*

Martyr [a] takes notice of these Oblations, saying, They that are wealthy, and they that are willing, give according as they are disposed; and what is collected, is deposited with the Bishop, who out of it relieves the Orphans and Widows and those that are in Sickness, or in Want, or in Bonds, and Strangers and Travellers: In a word, he is the Curator of all that are in Need. *Tertullian* gives the like Account of this Practice [b] in his Time, only he distinguishes between the weekly and the monthly Collection. Every one, says he, offers a small Alms monthly, or when he will, and as he will, and as he can; for no one is compelled, but makes a voluntary Collation. This is our Bank for Piety. For it is not expended in Feasting and Drinking, and abusive Excesses, but in feeding and burying the Poor, in providing for Orphans that are bereft of their Parents, and aged People, and such as suffer Shipwrack, or languish in the Mines, or in Banishment, or in Prison. Only one Part of it, he adds, was spent upon a sober Feast of Charity, where the Poor had a Right to feed as well as the Rich. St. *Cyprian* [c] also speaks of this, when he asks a rich Woman, how she could think she celebrated the Lord's Supper, who had no Respect to the Corban; or how she could come into the Lord's House without a Sacrifice, and eat part of the Sacrifice which the Poor had offered? Parallel to which is that of St. *Austin* [d], that a Man of Ability ought to be ashamed to communicate of another Man's Oblation; and therefore he exhorts every one to bring their own Oblations to be consecrated at the Altar.

SECT. II. *What Persons were allowed to make them, and what not.*

THERE was a very near Alliance and great Affinity between these Oblations, and that of the *Eucharist*; and therefore as they had the same common Name of Oblation and Sacrifice, so in many respects the same Rules were observed about them. As first, that none but actual Communicants should have the Privilege to offer them. For in those Days it was a Privilege to be allowed to make their Oblations, and a sort of lesser Excommunication to be debarred from it. They would not receive the Oblations of Persons that were at Enmity or Variance with their Brethren [e], neither at the Altar, nor into the Treasury. And this, as *Optatus* [f] tells us, was grounded upon that Rule of our Saviour, that no Mens Gifts should be offered at the Altar, but those which were seasoned with Peace and Reconciliation with their Brethren. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remember'st that thy Brother hath ought against thee: Leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go, first be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.* Matth. v. 23. For the same Reason they refused the Oblations of noted and known Oppressors of the Poor, as appears from another Canon [g] of the Council of *Carthage*. With which agrees the Rule in the *Constitutions*, that [h] they should not receive the Gifts of a Thief or an Harlot. Which is repeated again with an Addition of many other such like Criminals [i]. A Bishop must know, whose Gifts he ought to receive, and whose not. He shall not receive the Gifts of Fraudulent Hucksters, κάπηλοι: *For an Huckster shall not be free from Sin.* Ecclus xxvi. 29. And *Esaias* speaks of these, when he upbraids *Israel*, saying, *Thy Hucksters mix Wine with Water*, (so the *Septuagint* reads it. *Esai.* i. 22.) *Neither shall he receive the Oblations of Whore-mongers. For thou shall not offer to the Lord the Hire of a Whore.* Deut. xxiii. 18. *Nor the Oblations of Covetous and Adulterers: For the Sacrifices of such are Abomination to the Lord.* Nor the Oblations of such as afflict the Widow, and oppress the Fatherless by their Power, and fill the Prisons with innocent Persons, and evil intreat their Servants with Stripes, Famine, and hard Bondage; and lay waste whole Cities: All such are to be rejected, and their Offerings are abominable. He shall also refuse all Corrupters, and Lawyers that plead for Injustice, and Makers of Idols, and Thieves, and unrighteous Publicans, and those that use Frauds in Weight or Measure; all Soldiers that are false Accusers, and not content with their Wages, but oppress the Poor; all Murderers and Hangmen, and unrighteous Judges, Drunkards, Blasphemers, and Abusers of themselves with Mankind; all Usurers, and in a Word every wicked Man, that lives in Rebellion against the Will of God. St. *Chrysostom* particularly inveighing against Oppressors, who offered Alms out of what they had violently taken from others, says elegantly [k], that God will not have his Altar covered with Tears: Christ will not be fed with Robbery; such sort of Sustenance is most ungrateful to him: It is an Affront to the Lord, to offer unclean Things to him: He had rather be neglected and perish by Famine (in his poor Members) than live by such Oblations. The one indeed is Cruelty, but the other is both Cruelty and an Affront. It is better to give nothing, than to give that which is the Property of others. What the Author of the *Constitutions* observes of Idol-makers, is confirmed by *Tertullian* [l] who wrote his whole

[a] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 98 & 99. [b] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, & si modo velit, & si modo possit, apponit: Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. &c. [c] Cypr. de Opere & Eleemos. p. 203. Locuples & Dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine Sacrificio venis; quæ partem de Sacrificio, quod Pauper obtulit, sumis? [d] Aug. Ser. 215. de Tempore. Oblationes, quæ in altario consecrentur, offerte: Erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de aliena Oblatione communicaverit.

[e] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 93. Oblationes dissidentium Fratrum, neque in Sacrario, neque in Gazophylacio recipiantur. [f] Optat. lib. 6. p. 93. Altaria, in quibus Fraternitatis munera non jussit salvator poni, nisi quæ essent de Pace condita. [g] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 94. Eorum qui pauperes opprimunt, Dona à sacerdotibus refutanda. [h] Constit. lib. 3. cap. 8. [i] Id. lib. 4. cap. 6. [k] Chrys. Hom. 86. al. 87. in Mat. p. 722. Vid. Hom. 72. in Joan. p. 466. Et Epiphan. exposit. Fidei. n. 23. [l] Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 5. Respondebimus ad excusationes hujusmodi Artificum, quos nunquam in Domum Dei admitti oportet, si quis eam disciplinam norit.

Book of Idolatry in a manner againſt them, where among many other Things, he ſays, they that followed that Trade were not to be admitted into the Houſe of God. And it is very remarkable what St. *Ambroſe* told *Valentinian*, when he was about to reſtore the Heathen Altars at the Interceſſion of *Symmachus*, that if he ſo far contributed toward the Re-ſettlement of Idolatry, the Church would no longer receive his Oblations: What will you anſwer, ſays he, to the Prieſt [*m*], when he ſhall ſay unto you, The Church requires not your Gifts, becauſe you have adorned the Temples of the Heathen with your Gifts. The Altar of Chriſt refuſes your Oblations, becauſe you have erected an Altar to the Idol-gods. By which it is plain, they rejected the Oblations not only of profeſt Idolaters, but all ſuch as were Abetters of them, or any ways inſtrumental in giving Aid or Encouragement to Idolatrous Practices. Again, it was a ſtanding Rule among them not to admit the Oblations of thoſe, who having a Right to communicate, would not ſtay to participate of the Communion. This is expreſly ordered by the Council of *Eliberis* [*n*]: And the Rule extended farther to all thoſe that for any Crime or Hereſy were excluded from Communion by the Diſcipline of the Church, or were not in full Communion with her. Such as all excommunicate Perſons, all Catechumens, Penitents, Energumens, and Strangers that travelled without Commendatory Letters, and ſuch of the Clergy as for ſome leſſer Offences were reduced to the Communion of Strangers. For, as *Albaſpineus* notes rightly upon that Canon, all theſe were in ſome meaſure Non-communicants, as not being in the perfect and full Communion of the Church. The Energumens are particularly ſpecified [*o*] in the next Canon of that Council, as Perſons whoſe Oblations ſhould not be received, nor their Names mentioned at the Altar, whilſt they were actually under the Agitation of an evil Spirit. And all Penitents, whilſt they were under Diſcipline, were in the ſame Claſs; only they had this Privilege, that if they chanced to die ſuddenly whilſt they were doing Penance, and were deſirous to be reconciled, by ſome Canons [*p*] their Oblations were allowed to be received after Death, as a Teſtimony of their Reconciliation and Admiſſion into the Communion of the Church again: Except they were of that ſort of Penitents, to whom the Church thought fit in the Severity of her Diſcipline to deny all External Communion at the hour of Death; of which there are many Inſtances in the Councils of *Sardica*, *Eliberis*, and others: For then their Oblations were not received either living or dying: or elſe when they had been ſo careleſs as not to deſire Reconciliation at the hour of Death. In which Caſe, as Pope *Leo* ſays [*q*], their Cauſe was reſerved to the Judgment of God, in whoſe Hand it was that their Life was not prolonged till they could have the Remedy of Communion. As to the Church, ſhe did not communicate with thoſe after Death, with whom ſhe did not communicate when they were alive. Nay ſometimes they would not receive the Oblations of thoſe that died in their Communion, if their laſt Act happened to have any Thing irregular in it. As appears from a Caſe in *Cyprian* [*r*], who tells us, That it had been determined by an *African* Synod, that no one ſhould appoint any of God's Miniſters a Curator or Guardian by his Will, becauſe they were to give themſelves to Supplications and Prayer, and to attend only upon the Sacrifice and Service of the Altar: And therefore when one *Geminius Victor* had made *Geminius Fauſtinus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Furni*, Guardian or Truſtee by his laſt Will and Teſtament, *Cyprian* wrote to the Church of *Furni*, that they ſhould make no Oblation for him, or name him in the Sacrifice of the Altar. But in After-ages this piece of Diſcipline was a little moderated in *France*: For by a Canon of the ſecond Council of *Orleance* it was ordered [*s*], that if any one died in the Communion of the Church, his Oblation ſhould be received, though he happened to be ſlain in ſome Fault, provided he had not laid violent Hands upon himſelf. But this Privilege was not allowed the Catechumens that died without Baptiſm, becauſe they never were perfectly in the Communion of the Church. Therefore *Chryſoſtom* [*t*] ſays, no mention was ever made of them after Death in the Prayers of the Church, as was uſual for Believers, in the Oblation or Sacrifice of the Altar. The only Thing that could be done for ſuch, was to give private Alms to the Poor. If they had not the Benefit of Baptiſm, they were to be buried as Perſons who laid violent Hands upon themſelves, or fell by the Arm of Juſtice, without any Solemnity [*u*] of Burial, or Commemoration at the Altar. In ſhort, the Oblations of all Perſons who were not in

[*m*] Ambroſ. Ep. 30. ad Valent. Quid reſpondebis ſacerdoti dicenti tibi: Munera tua non quærit Eccleſia, quia Templa Gentilium muneribus ornaſti. Ara Chriſti Dona tua reſpuit, quia Aram ſimulacris feciſti. [*n*] Conc. Eliber. can. 28. Epiſcopos, placuit, ab eo qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere. [*o*] Conc. Eliber. can. 29. Energumenus, qui erratico ſpiritu exagitatur, hujus nomen neque ad Altare cum Oblatione recitandum, neque permittendum ut ſua manu in Eccleſia miniſtret. [*p*] Conc. Arelatenſe 2. can. 12. Vaſenſe 1. can. 2. Tolet. 11. can. 12. [*q*] Leo Ep. 92. ad Ruſticum cap. 6. Horum Cauſa Dei Judicio reſervanda eſt, in cujus manu fuit, ut talium obitus non uſque ad communionis remedium differretur. Nos autem, quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non poſſumus. [*r*] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Cler. Furnitan. p. 3. Ideo Victor cum contra Formam nuper in Concilio a Sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Fauſtinum Presbyterum auſus ſit Tutorem conſtituere, non eſt quod pro Dormitione ejus apud vos fiat Oblatio, aut Deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur. [*s*] Conc. Aurelian. 2. can. 14. Oblationem defunctorum, qui in aliquo crimine fuerint interempti, recipi debere cenſemus, ſi tamen non ipſi ſibi mortem probentur propriis manibus intuliſſe. [*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Philip. p. 1225. Vid. Hom. 1. in Act. & Hom. 24. in Joan. [*u*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 35. Catechumenis ſine redemptione Baptiſmi defunctis, ſimili modo, non Oblationis ſanctæ commemoratio, neque Pſallendi impendatur Officium.

actual or full Communion with the Church, were absolutely rejected: And therefore those Penitents who had gone through all the Stages of Discipline, and were now allowed to stay, and hear the Prayers with the rest of the Faithful, were not yet allowed to make any Oblations, as being not yet fully reconciled to the Communion of the Altar. Upon this Account the antient Canons [x] style them κοινωνοῦντας χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, such as communicated in Prayers only, without any Oblation. But this was more precisely observed in the Beginning of their Censures. For if a great Delinquent, an Heretick or other Excommunicate Person, would have given his whole Estate to the Church, in such a case they would not accept his Oblation. There goes an Epistle under the Name of St. *Austin* to Count *Boniface* [y], wherein he tells him, he had forbidden all his Clergy to accept the Oblation of his House, and interdicted him all Communion, till he had done Penance for a certain bold Attempt, and offered to God first the Sacrifice of an humble and contrite Heart for his Error. The Epistle probably is not St. *Austin*'s, but it contains nothing disagreeable to the Discipline of those Times, when the greatest Gift would not be accepted from an Emperor, if he were an Heretick, or under the Censure of Excommunication. As it is clear, not only from what has been observed before out of St. *Ambrose*'s Epistle to *Valentinian*, but from what *Gregory Nazianzen* [z] says of St. *Basil*, That he refused the Oblations of the Emperor *Valens*, because he was a profest Enemy of the Divinity of Christ, and a furious defender of the *Arian* Heresy. So *Liberius* refused the Offering of *Eusebius* the *Arian* Statesman under *Constantius*, as we are told by *Athanasius* [a] and *Theodoret* [b] who reports the Story with all its Circumstances in this manner: When *Constantius* drove *Liberius* into Banishment, because he would not subscribe the Condemnation of *Athanasius* with the *Nicene* Faith, he sent him Five hundred Shillings (ὁλοσχοίνους) to bear his Charges. But *Liberius* bid the Messenger that brought them, return them to the Emperor, for his Soldiers had more need of them. The Empress also sent him the same Sum, which he returned to the Emperor with a like Answer, That he might keep them for his own Expeditions. Last of all, when he had refused both the former, *Eusebius* the Eunuch was sent to make him another Offer. To whom *Liberius* replied, Thou hast harassed and laid waste the Churches over all the World, and dost thou now offer me an Alms as a condemn'd Criminal? But go thou first, and learn to become a Christian. 'Tis no less remarkable what *Tertullian* tells us of the Church's Treatment of *Marcion* the Heretick, when he was excommunicated with *Valentinus* for his Heresy: They cast him out with his two hundred [c] *Sestertia*, which he had brought into the Church. They were so far from receiving the Gifts of such Men, that they rejected them with Scorn, as St. *Peter* did *Simon Magus*, *Thy Money perish with thee:* Or as *Abraham* rejected the Gifts of the King of *Sodom*, saying, *I will not take from a Thread even to a Shoe-latchet, I will not take any Thing that is thine, lest thou should'st say, I have made* Abraham *rich.*

SECT. III.
What Oblations might be received at the Altar, and what not.

AND as they thus made a Distinction in the Persons, of whom they received, so secondly they made a Distinction in the Oblations themselves, which were to be received. For the most antient Custom was only to offer such Things at the Altar, as were proper for the Service of the Altar. To this purpose there are several Canons among those called the Apostolical Canons. One says [d], No Bishop or Presbyter under pain of Deposition shall offer any Thing in the Sacrifice on the Altar contrary to the Lord's Command, as Honey, Milk, or strong Beer instead of Wine, or Birds, or living Creatures, excepting only the First-fruits of Corn and Grapes in their proper Season. Another forbids any Thing to be brought to the Altar [e] besides Oyl for the Lamps, and Incense in the Time of the Oblation. And a Third [f] orders all other First-fruits to be carried home to the Bishop and Presbyters, to be divided between them and the Deacons and the rest of the Clergy. Some of the *African* Canons are to the same purpose. The Third Council of *Carthage* orders [g] that in the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord nothing else be offered but what the Lord commanded, that is, *Bread and Wine mingled with Water*. Nor in the Oblation of First-fruits any Thing more be offered but only Grapes and Corn. The Collections of *African* Canons [h] both *Greek* and *Latin* give us this Canon a little more at large in these Words: Nothing shall be offered in the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord, but what the Lord himself commanded, that is, *Bread and Wine mingled with*

[x] Conc. Nicen. can. 11. Conc. Ancyr. can. 4, 5, 8, &c. [y] Aug. Ep. 6. ad Bonifac. in Appendice. Tom. 2. Oblatio domus tuæ à Clericis ne suscipiatur, indixi, Communionemque tibi interdico, donec —— pro hoc facto corde contrito & humiliato dignum offeras sacrificium Deo. [z] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. p. 351. [a] Athan. Ep. ad Solitarios. p. 834. [b] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 16. [c] Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 30. Marcion & Valentinus semel & iterum ejecti: Marcion quidem cum ducentis sestertiis, quæ ecclesiæ intulerat. [d] Canon. Apost. can. 3. [e] Can. 4. [f] Can. 5. Vid. Conc. Eliber. in can. 49. [g] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. Ut in Sacramentis corporis & sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, Panis & Vinum aqua mixtum. Nec amplius in sacrificiis (al. in Primitiis) offeratur, quam de Uvis & Frumentis. [h] Conc. African. can. 4. ap. Crab. t. 1. p. 503. Ut in sacramentis corporis & sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quam quod ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis & vinum aqua mixtum. Primitiæ verò, seu Mel & Lac, quod uno die solenniſſimo in Infantum Mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offerantur, suam tamen propriam habeant Benedictionem, ut à Sacramento Dominici corporis & sanguinis distinguantur. Nec amplius in Primitiis offeratur, quam de uvis & frumentis. Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afric. can. 37. ap. Justellum.

Water. But the First-fruits, and Honey and Milk, which is offered on one most solemn Day for the Mystery of Infants, though they be offered at the Altar, shall have their own peculiar Benediction, that they may be distinguished from the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Neither shall any First-fruits be offered but only of Grapes and Corn. Here we see, Milk and Honey was only to be offered on one solemn Day, that is, on the great Sabbath, or *Saturday* before *Easter*, which was the most solemn Time of Baptism; and that for the Mystery of Infants, that is, Persons newly baptized, who were commonly called Infants in a mystical Sense, from their new Birth, in the *African* Church: For it was usual to give them a Taste of Honey and Milk immediately after Baptism, as has been shewed in a former Book [*]; and upon that Account an Oblation of Honey and Milk is here allowed to be made for this Mystery of Infants, which was to be offered and consecrated with a peculiar Benediction, that it might not be thought to come in the Room of the *Eucharist*. And no other First-fruits are allowed to be offered at the Altar but only Grapes and Corn, as being the Materials of Bread and Wine, out of which the *Eucharist* was taken. In the Time of the Council of *Trullo* the Offering of Milk and Honey at the Altar was universally [*k*] forbidden. But the Oblation of the First-fruits of Grapes was still allowed: Only, whereas a corrupt Custom prevailed in some Places, to join them in the same Sacrifice with the *Eucharist*, and distribute them together with it to the People, the Rule of the *African* Code is revived, and Orders given [*l*], That they shall have a distinct Consecration, and a distinct Distribution, if the People were desirous to eat their First-fruits in the Church. In the mean Time we may observe, that in other Churches not only the First-fruits of Grapes and Corn, but all other Things which the People were voluntarily disposed to offer, whether Money or the like Gifts, were received at the Altar. For in *France* the first Council of *Orleans* made it a Rule [*m*], that of such Oblations one Moiety should fall to the Bishop, and the other be divided among the rest of the Clergy. But it is severely censured by *Strabo* [*n*] as a gross Piece of Superstition in the *Roman* Church, that they were used to offer and consecrate a Lamb, and eat the consecrated Flesh of it, out of a pretended Reverence to the Immaculate Lamb of God, which was slain for the Sins of the World. *Photius* carries the Charge a little higher, and objects to them, that they offered it together with the Body of Christ upon the Altar. But this is commonly [*o*] said to be an Aggravation of the Thing, and therefore is rejected by Cardinal *Bona* as a Slander. But he owns the Fact so far as is related by *Strabo*, because the old *Ordo Romanus* has such a Form for the Consecration of a Lamb on *Easter* Day, and it is agreeable to their present Practice. Only he blames *Strabo* for being too zealous in his Censure of this Rite, and inveighing against it as a superstitious and erroneous Practice. Which only shews how much *Bona* was inclined to defend the Superstitions that were crept into his Church, without any Foundation in antient Practice.

SECT. IV. *The Names of such as made Oblations of any considerable Value, rehearsed at the Altar.*

BUT I proceed with the Practice of the antient Church, and observe thirdly, that when their Oblations were receiv'd, it was usual in many Places to rehearse the Names of such as offered, that a Commemoration of them might be made, and Prayers and Praises be offered to God for them at the Altar. I have already had Occasion to say something of this Custom [†] out of St. *Cyprian* [*p*] and St. *Jerom* [*q*], in speaking of Deacons, whose Office it was to recite the Names. To these, I shall now add some farther Evidences both out of these and other Writers. *Cyprian* in one of his Epistles to the Churches of *Numidia*, speaking of a Collection that had been made at *Carthage* for them [*r*], says, he had sent them the Names of every Brother and Sister, that had contributed willingly to so necessary a Work (it was to redeem Captives) that they might remember them in their Prayers, and requite their good Work in their Sacrifices and solemn Supplications; he had also added the Names of such of his Fellow-Bishops as were then present, and had contributed both in their own Names, and the Names of their respective Churches; and he had signified the Sums that every one gave, that as the common Faith and Charity required, Mention might be made of them in their Supplications and Prayers. St. *Jerom* says [*s*] the same in another Place, That now the Names of such as offered were publickly rehearsed, and that which was the Redemption of Sins, was made matter of Praise and Glory: And Men did not remember the Widow in the Gospel, whose two Mites cast into the Treasury, exceeded all

[*] *Book* XII. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 6. [*k*] Conc. Trull. can. 57. [*l*] Ibid. can. 28. [*m*] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 16. Antiquos Canones relegentes, priora statuta credimus renovanda, ut de his quæ in Altario Oblatione Fidelium conferuntur, medietatem sibi Episcopus vendicet, &c. Vid. ibid. can. 17. [*n*] Strabo de Rebus Eccles. cap. 18. Du Pin *says also, that there is an Example of this Usage in the Life of St.* Uldarick, *and that both* Ratramnus *and* Æneas Parisiensis *wrote in Defence of it against* Photius, *but he says, it was not authorized in all the Latin Churches.* Du Pin. Cent. 9. p. 113. [*o*] Nicolai Papæ Epist. ap. Baron. tom. 10. an. 867. Bona. Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 8. n. 5. Hoc putidum mendacium est, &c. [†] *Book* II. *Chap.* XX. *n.* 5. [*p*] Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. p. 37. [*q*] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. 18. p. 537. [*r*] Cyprian. Ep. 60. al. 62. ad Episcopos Numidas. p. 147. Ut autem Fratres nostros ac sorores, qui ad hoc opus tam necessarium prompte ac libenter operati sunt, ut semper operentur, in mentem habeatis in Orationibus vestris, & eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis & precibus representetis, subdidi nomina singulorum, &c. [*s*] Hieron. in Jerem. 11. lib. 2. p. 354. Nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina, & redemptio peccatorum mutatur in Laudem: nec meminerunt viduæ illius in Evangelio, quæ in Gazophylacium duo æra mittendo, omnium divitum vicit donaria.

the

the Gifts of the Rich, who caſt in of their Abundance. Some think [t] St. *Jerom* here reflects upon the Practice of the Church, as if he diſliked the mentioning of the Sums offered, which they ſay without doubt was a Corruption. But they miſtake St. *Jerom*'s Meaning: For he is not blaming the Practice of the Church, but the Practice of thoſe who gave out of Oſtentation and Vain-glory; and when they were privately guilty of Theft or Oppreſſion, thought to get Eſteem and Reputation, by giving a little of their ill-gotten Goods to the Poor; pleaſing themſelves with the Applauſe of the People, whilſt their own Conſciences muſt needs laſh and torment them, as he expreſſes it in another [u] Place. It was fit for them to remember the Widow's Mites, which were a more acceptable Sacrifice to God than the greateſt Gifts of Injuſtice that they could offer him. So he does not condemn the Cuſtom of rehearſing the Names of the Donors as a Corruption, but only the private Abuſes that by the Viciouſneſs of Men did ſometimes accompany it. St. *Chryſoſtom* [x] and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [y] have ſome Reference to the ſame Cuſtom: The latter orders the Biſhop to acquaint the Poor, who were their Benefactors, that they might pray for them by Name. And *Cotelerius* obſerves [z] a like Paſſage in the Acts of *Cecilian* and *Felix*, where the Form runs thus: Such an one gives ſo much of his Subſtance to the Poor; for which thoſe Acts appeal to the People's own Eyes and Ears. When the Oblations were thus preſented, and the Names of the Donors rehearſed, then it was uſual in ſome Places to make a commendatory Prayer, by way of Oblation to God, antecedent to thoſe Euchariſtical Prayers which were appropriated to the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*. This may be collected from the Epiſtle of Pope [a] *Innocent* to *Decentius* a neighbouring Biſhop of *Eugubium*, where he ſpeaks of ſuch an Oblation by a commendatory Prayer going before the Conſecration: Which, he ſays alſo, in the *Roman* Church was uſed to be made before the Recital of the Names of the Offerers, which were not rehearſed till they came to the Conſecration. But whether ſuch a diſtinct Oblation of the Creatures was made in all Churches, ſeems not ſo very clear, becauſe other Writers, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus* and the *Conſtitutions*, ſay nothing of it.

SECT. V.
The Euchariſtical Elements uſually taken out of the Peoples Oblations.

FOURTHLY, we are to obſerve upon this Head, that ſo long as the People continued to make Oblations of Bread and Wine, the Elements for the Uſe of the *Euchariſt* were uſually taken out of them; and by Conſequence ſo long the Bread was that common leavened Bread, which they uſed upon other Occaſions; and the Uſe of Wafers and unleavened Bread was not known in the Church till the eleventh or twelfth Centuries, when the Oblations of common Bread began to be left off by the People. This will ſeem a great Paradox to all who look no farther than the *Schoolmen*, and only read their Diſputes with the *Greeks* about leavened and unleavened Bread, which are fierce enough on both Sides, and have little of Truth on either: As commonly ſuch Diſputes evaporate into Smoke, and end in bitter and falſe Reproaches, the *Greeks* terming the *Latins Azymites*, for conſecrating in *Azymis*, that is, unleavened Bread; and the *Latins* on the other hand charging the *Greeks* with deviating from the Example of Chriſt, and the Practice of the antient Church. I will not enter into the Detail of the Arguments on both Sides, which belongs not to this place; but only acquaint the Reader, that now the moſt wiſe and learned Men in the *Roman* Church, who have more exactly ſcanned and examined this Matter, think fit to deſert the *Schoolmen*, and maintain That the whole Primitive Church, and the *Roman* Church herſelf for many Ages, never conſecrated the *Euchariſt* in any other but common and leavened Bread. The firſt that ventured to break the Ice, and confront the *Schoolmen*, was *Latinus Latinius* in an Epiſtle to *Antonius Auguſtinus*. After him *Sirmondus* wrote a particular Diſquiſition upon it, which was followed and commended by Cardinal *Bona* [b], who has a long Diſſertation to eſtabliſh the Opinion, wherein he expoſes the Prejudices and falſe Argumentations of *Thomas Aquinas* and the reſt of the *Schoolmen*. And though *Chriſtianus Lupus* [c] ſet himſelf again with all his Might to defend the common Opinion of the *Schoolmen* againſt *Sirmondus*; yet his Arguments are of no Weight with *Schelſtrate* [d] and *Pagi*, who readily give into the Poſition of *Bona* and *Sirmondus*, as founded upon the juſteſt Reaſons. The chief Argument of the *Schoolmen* is no ways concluſive, That the Primitive Church followed the Example of Chriſt, who celebrated his laſt Supper with unleavened Bread. For that was only upon the Account of the *Paſſover*, when no other but unleavened Bread could be uſed among them. After his Reſurrection he probably celebrated in leavened Bread, and ſuch as was in common Uſe at all other Times, except the Time of the *Paſſover*. And that the Church always uſed common Bread, appears from the

And conſequently, no Uſe of Wafers or unleavened Bread.

[t] Comber *of Liturgies*. p. 196. [u] Hieron. in Ezek. 18. [x] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in Act. p. 175. [y] Conſtit. lib. 3. cap. 4. [z] Geſta Purgationis Cæciliani & Felic. Vel audiſti, vel vidiſti, ſi dictum eſt pauperibus, Dat & vobis de re ſua Lucilla. [a] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decentium. cap. 2. De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces Sacerdos faciat, atque eorum Oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda ſunt, ſua Oratione commendet, quam ſuperfluum ſit, & ipſe per tuam prudentiam recognoſcis, ut cujus Hoſtiam necdum Deo offeras, ejus ante nomen inſinues, quamvis illi incognitum ſit nihil. Prius ergo Oblationes ſunt commendandæ, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum ſunt Oblationes, edicenda, ut inter Sacra Myſteria nominentur, non inter alia, quæ ante præmittimus, ut ipſis Myſteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus. [b] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 23. [c] Lupus Not. in Concil. tom. 3. p. 686. &c. [d] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15. & Schelſtrate Diſciplina Arcani. cap. 7. Par. 5. ap. Pagi. ibidem.

following

following Arguments. 1. That the Elements were uſually taken out of the Oblations of the People, where doubtleſs common Bread and Wine were offered. 2. It is noted by *Epiphanius* [e] as a peculiar Rite of the *Ebionite* Hereticks, that they celebrated in unleavened Bread and Water only. Which plainly argues, that the Church did otherwiſe. 3. The Ancients ſay expreſly their Bread was common Bread, ſuch as they made for their own Uſe [f] upon other Occaſions. To which purpoſe there is a remarkable Story in the Life of *Gregory the Great* [g] of a Woman who, when he gave her the *Euchariſt* in the uſual Form of Words, *The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy Soul*, laughed at the Form, and being asked the Reaſon of her ſo doing, ſaid, it was becauſe he called that the Body of Chriſt, which ſhe knew to be Bread that ſhe had made with her own Hands 4. The Ancients are wholly ſilent as to the Uſe of unleavened Bread in the Church. But they many Times ſpeak of leavened Bread, and ſometimes the *Euchariſt* is called *Fermentum*, Leaven, upon that Account. As appears from the *Pontifical* in the Lives [h] of *Melchiades*, and *Siricius*, and a Letter of Pope *Innocent*, where he ſays, it was the Cuſtom at *Rome* to conſecrate the *Fermentum*, (that is, the *Euchariſt*) in the Mother Church, and ſend it thence on the Lord's Day to the Presbyters in the *Tituli*, or leſſer Churches, that they might not think themſelves ſeparated from the Biſhop's Communion. But they did not ſend it to any Country Pariſhes, becauſe the Sacraments were not to be carried to places at any great Diſtance. What is here called the conſecrated *Fermentum*, is by *Baronius* and others, who tread in the Track of the *Schoolmen*, interpreted of the *Eulogia*, or *Panis Benedictus*, the Bread that was bleſſed for ſuch as did not communicate. But *Innocent* plainly ſays, he meant it of the Sacrament, which was conſecrated by the Biſhop, and ſent to the Presbyters for the Uſe of leſſer Churches. Which ſhews, that at that Time, even in *Rome* itſelf, the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated in common or leavened Bread. 5. It is obſervable, That neither *Photius*, nor any other *Greek* Writer, before *Michael Cerularius*, *An.* 1051, ever objected the uſe of unleavened Bread to the *Roman* Church: Which argues, that the Uſe of it did not prevail till about that Time; elſe there is no doubt but *Photius* would among other Things, have objected this to them. Theſe Arguments put the Matter beyond all Diſpute, that the Church for a thouſand Years uſed no other but common or leavened Bread in the *Euchariſt*; and how the Change was made, or the Time exactly when, is not eaſy to determine. But *Bona*'s Conjecture is very probable, That it crept in upon the Peoples leaving off to make their Oblations in common Bread, which occaſioned the Clergy to provide it themſelves, and they, under pretence of Decency and Reſpect, brought it from leaven to unleaven, and from a Loaf of common Bread, that might be broken, to a nice and delicate Wafer, formed in the Figure of a *Denarius*, or Penny, to repreſent the Pence (as ſome Authors [i] about that time will have it) for which our Saviour was betrayed: And then alſo the People, inſtead of offering a Loaf of Bread, as formerly, were ordered to offer a Peny, which was either to be given to the Poor, or to be expended upon ſomething appertaining to the Sacrifice of the Altar. This is the ſhort Hiſtory of a great Change made inſenſibly in a matter of ſmall Moment, if we conſider barely the Queſtion about the Uſe of leavened and unleavened Bread: For it is very indifferent in itſelf, whether is uſed, ſo long as Peace is preſerved in the Church: But in the Conſequences and Progreſs of the Diſpute it was no ſmall Matter: For the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* divided about it, and the *Weſtern* Church ran ſo far into an Extream, as almoſt to loſe the Nature of the ſacramental Element, by introducing a Thing that could hardly be called Bread, inſtead of that common Staff of Life which the Lord had appointed to be the Repreſentation of his Body in the *Euchariſt*.

SECT. VI. *The Uſe of Wafers inſtead of Bread, condemned in their firſt Original.*

THERE wanted not ſome diſcerning and judicious Men in a dark Age, who complained of the Abuſe as ſoon as it began to be introduced. For *Bernoldus*, a learned Presbyter of *Conſtance*, about the Year 1089, wrote a Book *De Ordine Romano*, wherein he thus reflects upon theſe Wafer-Hoſts or Oblations: If no leſs Meaſure than an Handful be found mentioned in all the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; and nothing ought to be done in the Temple of the Lord without Meaſure and Reaſon; theſe minute Oblations ſeem not [k] to appertain to Chriſt or his Church, becauſe they are without Meaſure and Reaſon. This Author was a little too bold and free with the Corruptions and Abuſes of the *Roman* Church, ever to ſee the Light. But *Trithemius* mentions [l] the Book, and gives an honourable Character of the

[e] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Ebionit. n. 16. [f] Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 4. cap. 4. Tu forte dicis, Meus Panis eſt uſitatus, &c. [g] Greg. Vita. lib. 2. cap. 41. [h] Pontifical. Vit. Melchiadis. Hic fecit ut Oblationes conſecratæ per Eccleſias ex conſecratu Epiſcopi dirigentur, quod declaratur Fermentum. Id. Vit. Siricii. Hic conſtituit ut nullus Presbyter Miſſas celebraret per omnem Hebdomadam, niſi conſecratum Epiſcopi loci deſignati ſuſciperet declaratum, quod nominatur Fermentum. Innoc. Ep. ad Decentium. cap. 5. Presbyteri Fermentum à nobis confectum per Acolythos accipiunt, ut ſe à noſtra Communione maxime illa die non judicent ſeparatos. Quod per Parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda ſunt Sacramenta, &c. [i] Honorius Gemma Animæ lib. 1. cap. 66. ap. Bonam. Quia populo non communicante non erat neceſſe Panem tam magnum fieri, Statutum eſt eum in modum Denarii formari vel fieri; & ut populus pro oblatione farinæ Denarios offerret, pro quibus traditum Dominum recognoſcerent, &c. [k] Bernoldus de Ordine Romano. ap. Caſſandrum in Liturgicis. cap. 27. Si minor menſura quam pugillus non invenitur in toto ſerie Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti; & ſi nihil omnino debet fieri intra vel extra Templum Domini abſque Menſura & Ratione; videntur Oblatarum Minutiæ ad Chriſtum & ad Eccleſiam nihil pertinere, quia ſunt abſque Menſura & Ratione. [l] Trithem. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. Fol. 66.

Author. And *Caſſander* ſaw it in Manuſcript, and publiſhed this Fragment of it in his *Liturgicks* [m]; where he alſo makes a ſevere Reflection upon the Corruption and Vanity of that Age, for departing from the antient Practice, and introducing an imaginary ſort of Bread, which deſerved more the Name of the Shadow than the Subſtance. Which juſt Reflection is repeated from *Caſſander*, not only by *Voſſius* [n], but ingenuouſly alſo by Cardinal *Bona* [o] in his *Animadverſions* upon this unwarrantable Alteration. Yet ſome there are who pretend Antiquity for this alſo. *Durantus* [p] thought he had found this Wafer-Bread in *Epiphanius*, becauſe he ſays, the Bread was ἄρτῳ στρογγυλοειδὴς καὶ ἀνοίδητῳ [q], which they render, Bread of a circular Figure, and ſo minute that it could hardly be perceived by the Senſes. Whereas it ſhould be render'd, Bread of a ſolid, round, globular Figure, without Life or Senſe, which yet might repreſent him, who is all Life, and Infinite, and Incomprehenſible. Which agrees well to the Character of the Euchariſtical Bread uſed in *Epiphanius*'s Time, when it was the Cuſtom to offer round and whole ſolid Loaves of Bread, but has no Relation to the Wafer-Bread of later Ages. *Durantus* urges farther the Teſtimony of *Gregory the Great* [r], who calls the Oblations, *Oblationum Coronas*, Crowns of Bread; which may imply, that they were round Loaves of Bread; but not therefore Wafers, unleſs every Thing that is round be a Wafer. He adds St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo, but he miſquotes him, for the *Greek* [s] has nothing of what is cited. But he might have added truly *Cæſarius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Brother [t], who comparing the natural and the ſacramental Body of Chriſt together, ſays, the one was diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Members, but the other was round. And *Iſo* the Monk [u], who calls the Oblations, *Rotulas Panis*, Rowls of Bread, no doubt from the Roundneſs of their Figure: And the ſixteenth Council of *Toledo* [x], which ſpeaks of their Rotundity alſo. But as Cardinal *Bona* rightly obſerves, this Rotundity implies round Loaves of Bread, and not round Wafers; of which there was no Uſe or Knowlege in former Ages, when they uſed ſuch Loaves of common Bread as the People offered, or elſe ſuch as were prepared particularly for the Purpoſe; yet ſtill Loaves of Bread, not Wafers; and common or leavened Bread, not unleavened, of which there is not the leaſt Intimation given in any part of the Church for above a thouſand Years, as that learned Cardinal has proved beyond all Exception, to whoſe Diligence we chiefly owe the Illuſtration of this Matter, in that curious Diſſertation of his upon the Subject.

SECT. VII. *Wine mixed with Water commonly uſed in the Antient Church.*

THE other Part of the Sacrament was always Wine, and that taken alſo out of the Oblations of the People. Some of the antient Hereticks, under Pretence of Abſtinence and Temperance, changed this Element into Water, and conſecrated in Water only. Theſe were ſome of them Diſciples of *Ebion*, and ſome the Followers of *Tatian*, commonly called *Hydroparaſtatæ*, and *Aquarii*, from the Uſe of Water; and ſometimes *Encratitæ*, from their abſtaining wholly from Fleſh and Wine. And this ſeems to have been the Ground of their Errors, that they thought it univerſally unlawful to eat Fleſh or drink Wine. Under this Character they are frequently condemned, by *Epiphanius* [y], who terms them *Encratites*, and by St. *Auſtin* [z] under the Name of *Aquarians*, and by *Theodoret* [a], who ſays they ſprung from *Tatian*, and were called *Hydroparaſtatæ*, becauſe they offered Water inſtead of Wine; and *Encratitæ*, becauſe they wholly abſtained from Wine and living Creatures. St. *Chryſoſtom* [b] calls it the pernicious Hereſy of thoſe that uſed only Water in their Myſteries, whereas our Lord inſtituted them in Wine, and drunk Wine at his common Table after his Reſurrection, to prevent the Budding of this wicked Hereſy. The like may be read in *Philaſtrius* [c], and long before in *Irenæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, not to mention the Council of *Trullo* [d] or any later Writers. But it is to be obſerved, that beſide theſe there were another ſort of *Aquarians*, who did not reject the Uſe of Wine as ſimply unlawful either in itſelf, or in the *Euchariſt*: For in their Evening Service they conſecrated the *Euchariſt* in Wine, but not in their Morning Aſſemblies, for fear the ſmell of the Wine ſhould diſcover them to the Heathen. St. *Cyprian* gives a long Account of theſe in one of his Epiſtles [e], which is particularly deſigned againſt them. From which it alſo appears, that the Cuſtom of the Church then was to uſe Wine mixed with Water, and he pleads for both as neceſſary from the Command and Example of Chriſt; adding ſome other Reaſons why it ſhould be ſo, as that the Water repreſents the People, as the Wine [f] does the Blood of Chriſt: And when in the Cup the Water is mingled with the Wine, Chriſt and his People are united together. And ſo, he ſays, in ſanctifying the Cup of the Lord, Water cannot be offered alone: as neither can the Wine be offered alone: For if the Wine be

[m] Caſſander. Liturgic. cap. 27. [n] Voſs. Theſ. Theol. de Symbolis cœnæ Domin. p. 441. [o] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 11. [p] Durant. de Ritibus. lib. 2. cap. 38. n. 6. [q] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 57. [r] Greg. Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 55. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 83. in Mat. [t] Cæſar. Dialog. 3. Quæſt. 169. [u] Iſo de Miraculis S. Othmari. cap. 3. [x] Conc. Tolet. 16. can. 6. [y] Epiph. Hær. 46. Encratit. Hær. 30. Ebionit. n. 16. [z] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 64. [a] Theod. de Fabulis Hæret. lib. 1. cap. 20. [b] Chryſ. Hom. 83. in Mat. p. 780. [c] Philaſtr. de Hæreſ. cap. 77. Iren. lib. 5. cap. 1. Clem. Strom. 1. p. 375. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 2. [d] Conc. Trull. can. 32. Vid. Cod. Theodoſian. lib. 16. tit. 5. de Hæreticis. leg. 7. It. Theodoſii Novel. 3. ad calcem tom. 6. [e] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcilium. [f] Ibid. p. 153. Videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino verò oſtendi ſanguinem Chriſti —— Sic autem in Sanctificando calice Domini, offerri aqua ſola non poteſt, quomodo nec vinum ſolum poteſt: Nam ſi vinum tantum quis offerat, ſanguis Chriſti incipit eſſe ſine nobis: ſi verò aqua ſit ſola, plebs incipit eſſe ſine Chriſto.

offered

offered by itſelf, the Blood of Chriſt begins to be without us: And if the Water be alone, the People begin to be without Chriſt. The third Council of *Carthage* ſeem to have had the ſame Opinion of the Neceſſity of Water, when they determined, as we have heard before, that nothing ſhould be offered at the Altar [g] but what the Lord himſelf commanded, that is, *Bread, and Wine mingled with Water.* And St. *Auſtin* was a Member of that Council, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to have been of the ſame Judgment. He alſo quotes the foreſaid Epiſtle of *Cyprian* with Approbation [h]. *Gennadius* [i] aſſigns two Reaſons for the Uſe of mixing Water with Wine; firſt becauſe it is according to the Example of Chriſt; and ſecondly becauſe when our Saviour's Side was pierced with the Spear, there came forth Water and Blood. This later Reaſon is alſo aſſigned by St. *Ambroſe*, or whoever wrote the Book *de Sacramentis* under his Name [k]; and by *Martin Bracarenſis* [l] in his Collection of *Greek* Canons. The Author of the Epiſtle to the *Egyptians* under the Name of Pope *Julius* [m] inſiſts upon *Cyprian*'s Reaſon, that it is to ſhew the Union of Chriſt with his People. And the third Council of *Braga* relates *Cyprian*'s Words, correcting ſeveral other Abuſes that were crept into the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament [n]; as of ſome who offered Milk inſtead of Wine; and others who only dipped the Bread into the Wine, and ſo denied the People their Complement of the Sacrament; and others who uſed no other Wine but what they preſſed out of the Cluſters of Grapes that were then preſented at the Lord's Table. All which they condemn, and order that nothing but *Bread, and Wine mingled with Water*, ſhould be offered, according to the Determination of the antient Councils. The Council of *Auxerre* notes ſome others who offer Mead, or Honey and Water mixed together [o], who are alſo condemned, as going againſt the common Rule of offering nothing but Wine and Water in the Sacrifice of the Altar. The Author of the *Commentaries* upon St. *Mark* under the Name of St. *Jerom* [p] gives another Reaſon for mixing Water with Wine, that by the one we might be purg'd from Sin, and by the other redeemed from Puniſhment. Theſe Reaſons indeed are no ways demonſtrative; however that the Practice was both antient and general, is evident from *Juſtin Martyr* [q] and *Irenæus* [r], who mention it as the Cuſtom of the Church, without aſſigning any farther Reaſon for it: And ſo likewiſe *Gregory Nyſſen* [s] and *Theodoret* [t] with ſome others produced by *Voſſius* in his Diſſertation [u] upon this Subject. The *Armenians* are ſaid to have conſecrated only in Wine, but that is reckoned an Error in them by *Theophylact* [x], and they are equally condemned with the *Hydroparaſtatæ* or *Aquarians* by the Council of *Trullo* [y], which produces the Authority of St. *James* and St. *Baſil*'s *Liturgy* againſt them. To which may be added the *Liturgies* under the Name of St. *Mark* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, and the *Conſtitutions* [z]. Yet after all, as there is no expreſs Command for this in the Inſtitution, notwithſtanding this general Conſent of the antient Church, it is commonly determined by modern Divines, as well of the *Roman* as Proteſtant Communion, that it is not eſſential to the Sacrament itſelf, as the Reader that is curious may find demonſtrated in *Voſſius* [a] in his Diſſertation upon this Subject.

SECT. VIII. *Of ſome Hereticks who made Alterations or Additions to the Elements in the* Euchariſt.

As to the Ancients, they are not to be blamed in keeping ſtrictly to this Cuſtom, becauſe they thought it a Part of the Inſtitution. Upon which Account they cenſured all that made any Alteration in the Elements, either by Addition, or Subtraction, or changing one Element for another. The *Aquarians*, as we have heard, were condemned, for taking away the Wine; the *Armenians* and others for not uſing Water alſo; others were condemned for changing the Wine into Milk, or Honey mixed with Water; others ſubſtituted Grapes inſtead of Wine, others Pulſe inſtead of Bread. Of all which becauſe we have ſpoken before in the two foregoing Sections, I need ſay no more in this place. But beſide theſe there was once a ſenſeleſs Sect, which thought they did not celebrate the *Euchariſt* in Perfection, unleſs they offered Cheeſe together with the Bread. Whence they had the Name of *Artotyritæ*, from ἄρτος, which in *Greek* ſignifies Bread, and τυρὸς Cheeſe. This is the Account which *Epiphanius* [b] gives of them, and after him St. *Auſtin* [c] ſaying, The *Artotyrites* are ſo called from their Oblation: For they offer Bread and Cheeſe, ſaying, That the firſt Oblations that were offered by Men in the Infancy of the World, were of the Fruits of the Earth and of Sheep.

[g] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. [h] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 21. [i] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. c. 75. In Euchariſtia non debet pura aqua offerri, ut quidam ſobrietatis falluntur imagine, ſed vinum aqua mixtum: quia & vinum fuit in redemptionis noſtræ myſterio, cum dixit, Non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis, & aqua mixtum, quod poſt cœnam dabatur, ſed & de latere ejus lancea perfoſſo aqua cum ſanguine egreſſa, &c. [k] Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 5. cap. 1. [l] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canonum. cap. 55. [m] Julii Epiſt. ap. Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 7. [n] Conc. Bracar. 3. can. 1. Audivimus quoſdam Schiſmatica ambitione detentos, Lac pro vino in diviniis Sacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam Euchariſtiam populis pro Complemento Communionis porrigere; quoſdam etiam expreſſum vinum in Sacramento Dominici calicis offerre. &c. Ideo nulli deinceps licitum ſit, aliud in Sacrificiis divinis offerre, niſi juxta antiquorum ſententiam Conciliorum panem tantum, & calicem vino & aqua permixtum. [o] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 8. Non licet in altario in Sacrificio divino mellitum, quod mulſum appellatur, nec ullum aliud poculum, extra vinum cum aqua mixtum, offerre. [p] Hieron. in Marc. 14. Accepit Jeſus panem, &c. formans ſanguinem ſuum in calicem vino & aqua mixtum, ut alio purgemur à culpis, alio redimamur à pœnis. [q] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [r] Iren. lib. 4. cap. 57. & lib. 5. cap. 2. [s] Nyſſen. Orat. Catechet. c. 37. [t] Theod. Dialog. 1. [u] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. p. 494. [x] Theophyl. Com. in Joan. 19. [y] Conc. Trull. Can. 32. [z] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 12. [a] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. ibid. [b] Epiphan. Hær. 49. [c] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 48. Artotyritæ ſunt, quibus Oblatio eorum hoc nomen dedit: Offerunt enim Panem & Caſeum, dicentes, à primis hominibus oblationes de fructibus terræ & ovium fuiſſe celebratas.

SECT. IX. *And of others who rejected the Use of the Sacrament altogether.*

THERE were others who wholly rejected the Use of all external Symbols or Sacraments in general, and consequently both Baptism and the *Eucharist*, upon a Pretence that Faith and Knowledge and spiritual Worship were the only Things that were required of Christians. Upon this Pretence the *Ascodrutæ*, who were a sort of *Gnosticks*, neither administred Baptism nor the *Eucharist* in their Society: They said the Divine Mysteries were incorporeal and invisible Things, and therefore not to be represented by such corporeal and visible Things as Water, or Bread and Wine; but perfect Knowledge was their Redemption. So *Theodoret* [*d*] describes them. And so both he and *Epiphanius* [*e*] describe another abominable Sect, who from one of their principal Tenets were called *Archonticks*. They taught, that the World was not made by the Supreme God, but by certain Inferior Powers, seven or eight in Number, whom they called *Archontes*, Rulers of the several Orbs of the Heavens one above another, to the chief of which they gave the Name of *Sabaoth:* And they pretended, that Baptism and the *Eucharist* were only Institutions of this *Sabaoth*, the God of the *Jews* and Giver of the Law, and not the Ordinances of the Supreme God; for which Reason they wholly rejected the Use of them. Some other such Sects there were among the antient Heresies, who despised the *Eucharist* [*f*] upon the like Pretences: But these are sufficient to shew us what sort of Men they were, that antiently contemned this holy Ordinance; and therefore without farther digressing to make any nicer Enquiry after them, I now return to the Business and Service of the Church.

CHAP. III.

Of the Oblation and Consecration-Prayers.

SECT. I. *The Form of Thanksgiving and Consecration Prayers described out of the* Constitutions.

AS soon as the Peoples Offerings were made, and Bread and Wine were set apart for the *Eucharist*, they proceeded to the solemn Consecration of them. The Manner of which is described at large in the *Constitutions*; which I will first set down here, and then compare the several Parts of it with the authentick Accounts we have in other antient Writers. Immediately then after the first Prayers for the Faithful are ended, the Deacon is ordered [*a*] to give a solemn Admonition, saying, προσχωμεν, *Let us give Attention.* Then the Bishop or Priest salutes the Church, saying, *The Peace of God be with you all:* And the People answer, *And with thy Spirit.* After this, the Deacon says to them all, *Salute ye one another with an holy Kiss.* Then the Clergy salute the Bishop, and Laymen their Fellow-Laymen, and the Women the Women; the Children standing before the *Bema*, that is, either the Reading-Desk or the Altar; with a Deacon attending them, to see that they keep good Order; others of the Deacons walking about the Church, and inspecting the Men and Women, that there be no Tumult, nor making of Signs to one another, nor Whispering, nor Sleeping; and others standing at the Mens Gate, and the Subdeacons at the Womens Gate, that the Doors be not opened for any to go in or out in the time of Oblation. After this, the Subdeacon brings Water to the Priests to wash their Hands, as a Sign of the Purity of those Souls that are consecrated unto God. Immediately after this [*b*] a Deacon cries out, Let none of the Catechumens be present, none of the Hearers, none of the Unbelievers, none of the Heterodox Party. Ye that have made the first Prayer, go forth, προελθετε (or rather, as *Cotelerius* thinks it ought to be read, προσελθετε, Ye that have made the first Prayers, draw near: For this seems to be spoken to the Communicants, as an Invitation,) Ye Mothers, take your Children, and bring them with you. Let no one come with Enmity against another; no one in Hypocrisy. Let us stand upright before the Lord with Fear and Trembling, to offer our Sacrifice. This said, the Deacons bring the τα δωρα (the Elements) to the Bishop at the Altar; the Presbyters standing on each Hand of him, and two Deacons with their Fans to drive away the little Insects, that none of them fall into the Cup. Then the Bishop standing at the Altar with the Presbyters, makes a private Prayer by himself, having on his white or bright Vestment, and signing himself with the Sign of the Cross in his Forehead. Which done, he says, *The Grace of Almighty God, and the Love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all.* And the People answer with one Voice, *And with thy Spirit.* Then the Bishop says, *Lift up your Hearts:* And they all answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* The Bishop says again, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord:* And the People answer, *It is meet and right so to do.* Then the Bishop says, *It is very meet, and right, above all Things, to praise Thee the true God, who art before all Creatures, of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named, who art the only Unbegotten, without Original, without King, without Lord, who*

[*d*] Theod. de Fabulis Hæret. lib. 1. cap. 10. [*e*] Theod. ibid. cap. 11. Epiphan. Hær. 40. de Archonticis, n. 2. [*f*] Vid. Orig. περι ευχης. n. 13. Ea penitus auferentes quæ sensibus percipiuntur, nec Baptismum nec Eucharistiam usurpantes, &c.

[*a*] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 11. [*b*] Ibid. cap. 12.

haſt need of Nothing, who art the Author of all Good, who art above all Cauſe and Generation, and always the ſame, of whom all Things have their Original and Exiſtence. For Thou art Original Knowledge, Eternal Sight, Hearing without Beginning, and Wiſdom without Teaching; the firſt in Nature, and the Law of Exiſting, exceeding all Number. Who madeſt all Things to exiſt out of Nothing by Thy Only-begotten Son, whom Thou didſt beget before all Ages by Thy Will, and Power, and Goodneſs, without the Intervention of any, who is Thy Only-begotten Son, the Word that is God, the living Wiſdom, the Firſt-born of every Creature, the Angel of Thy great Counſel, Thy High-Prieſt, but the King and Lord of all the Creatures both viſible and inviſible, who is before all Things, and by whom all Things conſiſt. For Thou, O Eternal God, didſt create all Things by Him, and by Him thou doſt vouchſafe to rule and govern them in the orderly Ways of thy Providence. By whom Thou didſt give them Being, by Him alſo Thou didſt give them a Well-being. O God and Father of Thy Only-begotten Son, who by Him didſt create the Cherubims and Seraphims, the Ages and Hoſts, the Dominions and Powers, the Principalities and Thrones, the Archangels and Angels, and after them didſt by Him create this viſible World, and all Things that are therein. For Thou art He that haſt eſtabliſhed the Heavens as an Arch, and extended them like a Curtain; that haſt founded the Earth upon Nothing by thy ſole Will; that haſt fixed the Firmament, and formed Night and Day; that haſt brought the Light out of thy Treaſures, and ſuperadded Darkneſs for a Covering, to give Reſt to the Creatures that move in the World; that haſt ſet the Sun in the Heaven to govern the Day, and the Moon to govern the Night; and ordered the Courſe of the Stars, to the Praiſe of thy Magnificent Power; that haſt made the Water for Drink and Purgation, and the vital Air both for Breathing and Speaking; that haſt made the Fire to be a Comfort in Darkneſs, to ſupply our Wants, and that we ſhould be both warmed and enlightened thereby; that haſt divided the great Sea from the Earth, and made the one Navigable, and the other Paſſable on Foot; that haſt filled the one with ſmall and great Animals, and the other with tame and wild Beaſts; that haſt crowned the Earth with Plants and Herbs of all ſorts, and adorned it with Flowers, and enriched it with Seeds; that haſt eſtabliſhed the Deep, and ſet a great Barrier about it, walling the great Heaps of ſalt Water, and bounding them with Gates of the ſmalleſt Sand; that ſometimes raiſeſt the ſame Deep to the Magnitude of Mountains by thy Winds, and ſometimes layeſt it plain like a Field; now making it rage with a Storm, and then again quieting it with a Calm, that they which ſail therein may find a ſafe and gentle Paſſage; that haſt begirt the World, which Thou createdſt by Chriſt, with Rivers, and watered it with Brooks, and filled it with Springs of living Water always flowing, and bound up the Earth with Mountains, to give it a firm and unmoveable Situation. Thou haſt filled thy World, and adorned it with odoriferous and medicinal Herbs, with a Multitude and Variety of Animals, weaker and ſtronger, ſome for Meat, and ſome for Labour, ſome of a mild and ſome of a fiercer Nature; with the hiſſing of Serpents, and ſweeter notes of Birds of divers Kinds; with the Revolutions of Years, and Numbers of Months and Days, and Orders of ſtated Seaſons; with flying Clouds producing Rain, for the Procreation of Fruits, and Preſervation of Animals; with Winds to blow in Order at thy Command, and a multitude of Plants and Herbs. Neither haſt thou only made the World, but created Man in it to be Citizen of the World, and made him the Ornament of thy beautiful Structure. For thou ſaidſt to thy own Wiſdom, Let us make Man in our own Image and Likeneſs, and let them have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air. And therefore Thou madeſt him of an Immortal Soul, and a diſſolvable Body; creating the one out of nothing, and the other out of the four Elements: And gaveſt him in his Soul a rational Knowledge, a Power to diſcern between Piety and Impiety, and a Judgment to diſtinguiſh between Good and Evil; and in his Body the Privilege and Faculty of five ſeveral Senſes, with the Power of local Motion. For Thou, O God Almighty, didſt by Chriſt plant Paradiſe in Eden *towards the* Eaſt, *adorning it with all Kinds of Plants meet for Food, and placing Man therein as in a well-furniſhed Houſe: And in his Creation Thou gaveſt a natural Law implanted in his Mind, that thereby he might have within himſelf the Seeds of Divine Knowledge. And when Thou hadſt placed him in the Paradiſe of Delights and Pleaſure, Thou gaveſt him Power to eat of all Things, only forbidding him to taſte of one Kind, in Expectation of ſomething better: That if he obſerved that Command, he might attain to Immortality, as the Reward of his Obedience. But he neglecting this Command, and by the Fraud of the Serpent and the Counſel of the Woman taſting the forbidden Fruit, Thou didſt juſtly drive him out of Paradiſe; and yet in Goodneſs didſt not deſpiſe him, when he had deſtroyed himſelf; for he was thy Workmanſhip; but Thou who didſt put the Creatures in Subjection under him, didſt appoint him to get his Food by Labour and Sweat, thy Providence concurring to produce, augment and bring all Things to Maturity and Perfection. Thou didſt ſuffer him for a while to ſleep the Sleep of Death, and then with an Oath calledſt him again to a Regeneration: Diſſolving the Bands of Death, and promiſing him Life by a Reſurrection. And not only ſo; but giving him an innumerable Poſterity, Thou didſt glorify ſuch of them as adhered to Thee, and puniſhedſt thoſe that apoſtatized from Thee; receiving the Sacrifice of* Abel *as an holy Man, and rejecting the Offering of* Cain *as abominable for murdering his Brother. Thou didſt alſo receive* Seth *and* Enos, *and tranſlate* Enoch. *For Thou art the Creator of Men, and the Author of Life, and the Supplier of all their Wants, their Lawgiver, that rewardeſt thoſe that keep thy Laws, and puniſheſt thoſe that tranſgreſs them. Thou didſt bring an univerſal Deluge upon the World becauſe of the multitude of the Ungodly, but deliveredſt righteous* Noah *out of the Flood with eight Souls in thy Ark, making him the End of the preceding Generation, and the Father of thoſe that were to come. Thou didſt kindle a dreadful Fire againſt the five Cities of the* Sodomites, *and turn a fruitful Land into a Vale of Salt for the Wickedneſs of them that dwelt therein, but didſt de-*

liver righteous Lot *from the Burning. Thou art he that didſt deliver* Abraham *from the Impiety of his Anceſtors, and madeſt him to become Heir of the World, and didſt manifeſt thy Chriſt unto him. Thou didſt appoint* Melchiſedech *to be the High-Prieſt of thy Service. Thou didſt declare thy Servant* Job, *after many Sufferings, to be Conqueror of the Serpent, that firſt Author of Evil. Thou madeſt* Iſaac *to be the Son of Promiſe. Thou madeſt* Jacob *to be the Father of twelve Children, and his Off-ſpring to be innumerable, and broughteſt Threeſcore and fifteen Souls into* Egypt. *Thou, Lord, didſt not deſpiſe* Joſeph, *but for his Chaſtity madeſt him to rule over the* Egyptians. *Thou, Lord, didſt not forget the* Hebrews, *when the* Egyptians *oppreſſed them, becauſe of the Promiſe made to their Fathers; but didſt puniſh the* Egyptians, *and deliver thy People. And when Men had corrupted the Law of Nature written in their Minds, and ſome began to think the Creatures had their Exiſtence of themſelves, and honoured them above what was meet, placing them in the ſame Rank with Thee the God of all; Thou didſt not ſuffer them to wander in Error, but raiſing up thy holy Servant* Moſes, *Thou didſt by him promulge a written Law to revive and ſupport the Law of Nature; ſhewing the Creatures to be the Work of thy Hands, and thereby expelling the Error of* Polytheiſm *out of Religion. Thou didſt honour* Aaron *and his Poſterity with the Dignity of the Prieſthood. Thou didſt chaſtize the* Hebrews, *when they ſinned; and receive them into Favour, when they turned unto Thee. Thou didſt puniſh the* Egyptians *with ten Plagues; and dividing the Sea, madeſt the* Iſraelites *to paſs through it; drowning the* Egyptians *that purſued them. Thou madeſt the bitter Water ſweet with Wood; Thou broughteſt Streams out of the Rock, when thou hadſt divided the Top of it; Thou didſt rain down* Manna *out of Heaven, and give them Food out of the Air, a Meaſure of Quails for every Day; ſetting up a Pillar of Fire to give them Light by Night, and the Pillar of the Cloud to ſhadow them from Heat by Day. Thou didſt conſtitute* Joſhua *the Captain of thy Armies, and by him deſtroy the ſeven Nations of the* Canaanites, *dividing* Jordan, *and drying up the Rivers of* Ethan, *and laying flat the Walls* (of Jericho) *without any Engines of War or Concurrence of human Power. For all theſe Things we glorify Thee, O Lord Almighty. The innumerable Armies of Angels adore Thee; the Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Dignities, Powers, Hoſts and Ages; the Cherubims, and Seraphims alſo with ſix Wings, with two of which they cover their Feet, and with two their Faces, and two fly, ſaying, with thouſand thouſands of Archangels, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand Angels, all crying out without reſt and intermiſſion*: And let all the People ſay together with them, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts: Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory: Bleſſed art Thou for ever.* Amen. And after this let the Biſhop ſay: *For Thou truly art Holy, the moſt Holy, the moſt High, far exalted above all Things for evermore. Holy alſo is thy Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jeſus Chriſt; who miniſtring to Thee his God and Father in all Things, both in various Works of Creation and Providence, did not deſpiſe loſt Mankind; but after the Law of Nature, after the Admonitions of the written Law, after the Reprehenſions of the Prophets, after the Adminiſtrations and Preſidency of Angels; when Men had corrupted both the natural and written Law, and eraſed the Memory of the Flood, and the Burning of* Sodom, *and the Plagues of* Egypt, *and Devaſtations and Slaughters of* Paleſtine, *and were now all ready to periſh; He, who was the Creator of Man, choſe by thy Will to become Man; the Lawgiver, to be under the Law; the High-prieſt, to be the Sacrifice; the Shepherd, to be made a Sheep: Whereby he appeaſed Thee his God and Father, and reconciled the World, and delivered all Men from the Wrath that hanged over their Heads, being born of a Virgin, and made Fleſh, God the Word, the beloved Son, the Firſt-born of every Creature; according to the Prophecies which he himſelf predicted of himſelf, made of the Seed of* David *and* Abraham, *and of the Tribe of* Judah: *He who was the Former of all Things that are made, was formed himſelf in the Virgin's Womb; he who is without Fleſh, was made Fleſh; and he who was begotten,* ἀχρόνως, *before all Time, was born in Time: He lived an holy Life, and taught an holy Doctrine; expelling all manner of Sickneſſes and Infirmities from the Bodies of Men, and working Signs and Miracles among the People; He who Feeds all that have need of Food and fills every living Creature of his own good Pleaſure and Bounty, did himſelf partake of Meat and Drink and Sleep; he manifeſted thy Name to them that knew it not; he put Ignorance to flight, and revived true Piety and Godlineſs, fulfilled thy Will, and finiſhed the Work which Thou gaveſt him to do: And when all Things were thus ſet in Order and rectified by him, he was betrayed by the incurable Malice of one of his own Diſciples, and apprehended by the Hands of the Wicked, Prieſts and High-prieſts falſely ſo called, together with a ſinful People; of whom he ſuffered many Things, and underwent all manner of Indignities by thy Permiſſion; he was delivered to* Pilate *the Governour; the Judge himſelf was judged; the Saviour of the World condemned; He who is Impaſſible, was nailed to the Croſs; He who is Immortal by Nature, was made ſubject to Death; and the Author of Life, who quickens all Things, was laid in the Grave, that he might deliver thoſe from Suffering, for whoſe Sake he came, and ſet them free from Death, and break the Bonds of the Devil, and deliver Men from his Frauds and Impoſtures: He roſe again the third Day from the Dead, and converſed forty Days with his Diſciples, and was taken up into Heaven, and ſet at thy right Hand, his God and Father.*

We therefore in Commemoration of theſe Things, which he ſuffered for us, give Thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as thou deſerveſt and as is our Duty, but (ὅσον δυνάμεθα,) *as far as we are able, ſo fulfilling his Command. For in the ſame Night that he was betrayed, he took Bread in his Holy and Immaculate Hands, and looking up to Thee his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, This is the Myſtery of the New Teſtament; Take of it, and eat it; This is my Body, which is broken for many for the Remiſſion of Sins. Likewiſe he mixed a Cup of Wine and Water, and ſancti-*

ſanctifying it, he gave it unto them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this: For this is my Blood, which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins. This do in Remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do ſhew forth my Death, till I come. We therefore being mindful of his Paſſion, and Death, and Reſurrection from the Dead, and his Return into Heaven; and alſo of his ſecond coming, when he ſhall return with Glory and Power to judge the Quick and Dead, and to render to every Man according to his Works, do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this Bread and this Cup, according to his Appointment, giving Thanks to Thee by him, for that thou doſt vouchſafe to let us ſtand before Thee, and Miniſter unto Thee; and we beſeech Thee to look propitiouſly upon theſe Gifts here ſet before Thee, our God, who haſt need of nothing, and to accept them favourably to the Honour of thy Chriſt, and to ſend thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, who is the Witneſs of the Suffering of our Lord Jeſus, that it may make this Bread the Body of thy Chriſt, and this Cup the Blood of thy Chriſt; that they who partake of it, may be confirmed in Godlineſs, and obtain Remiſſion of Sins, may be delivered from the Devil and his Impoſtures, may be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and be made worthy of Chriſt, and obtain eternal Life, Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.

We beſeech thee farther, O Lord, for thy holy Church from one End of the Earth to the other, which Thou haſt purchaſed with the precious Blood of thy Chriſt, that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to keep it unſhaken and immoveable by any Storms or Tempeſts to the End of the World. We pray alſo for the whole Epiſcopacy (or univerſal College of Biſhops) rightly dividing the Word of Truth. We pray for me thy unworthy Servant, who am now Offering unto thee, and for the whole Presbytery, and Deacons, and all the Clergy, that thou wouldſt give them all Wiſdom, and fill them with thy holy Spirit. We pray thee, O Lord, for the King and all that are in Authority, and for the whole Army, that our Affairs may be tranſacted in Peace: That paſſing our Time in Quietneſs and Concord, we may glorify thee through Jeſus Chriſt our Hope all the Days of our Life. We offer unto thee for all thy Saints, that have lived well-pleaſing in thy Sight from the Foundation of the World, for Patriarchs, Prophets, holy Men, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Biſhops, Confeſſors, Preſbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, Laymen, and all whoſe Names thou knoweſt. We offer unto thee for this People, that thou wouldſt make them, to the Glory of thy Chriſt, a Royal Prieſthood, and an holy Nation; for all that live in Virginity and Chaſtity; for the Widows of the Church; for all that live in honeſt Marriage and Procreation of Children; for the Infants of thy People, that none of us be a Caſt-away. We pray thee for this City, and all that dwell therein; for thoſe that are in Sickneſs, in cruel Bondage and Slavery, in Baniſhment, or under Confiſcation and Proſcription, for all that travel by Sea or by Land, that thou wouldſt be their Succour, and an univerſal Helper and Defender to them all. We pray thee for thoſe that hate us, and perſecute us for thy Name, for them that are yet without, and wandering in Error, that thou wouldſt convert them to Good, and mitigate their Fury. We pray thee for the Catechumens of the Church; for the Energumens, that are toſſed and tormented by the Adverſary the Devil; for all our Brethren that are doing Penance, that thou wouldſt perfect the former in Faith, and cleanſe and deliver the ſecond from the Power and Agitation of the wicked One; and receive the Repentance of the laſt, and pardon both them and us whatever Offences we have committed againſt Thee. We offer unto Thee likewiſe for the Temperature of the Air, and the Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth, that we continually partaking of thoſe good Things which thou beſtoweſt on us, may without ceaſing praiſe Thee, who giveſt Food unto all Fleſh. We alſo pray for thoſe, who upon any juſt and reaſonable Cauſe are now abſent, that thou wouldſt vouchſafe to preſerve us all in Godlineſs, and keeping us without Change, Blame, or Rebuke, to gather us into the Kingdom of thy Chriſt, the God of all Things in Nature, viſible and inviſible, and our King For to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, is due all Glory and Worſhip and Thankſgiving and Honour and Adoration, now and for ever throughout all Ages World without End. And let all the People anſwer, *Amen.*

After this the Biſhop is appointed to ſay again, *The Peace of God be with you all*: To which the People anſwer, *And with thy Spirit.* And then the Deacon calls upon the People to join with him in another Prayer, which is termed προσφώνησις, *&c.* A Bidding-Prayer for the faithful after the Divine Oblation, in theſe Words: *Let us pray* [c] *yet again and again to God by his Chriſt, for this Gift which is offered to the Lord God; that the good God would receive it to his Altar in Heaven for a ſweet-ſmelling Savour by the Mediation of his Chriſt. Let us pray for this Church and People; for the whole Society of Biſhops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, and Miniſters, and the whole Catholick Church; that the Lord would keep and preſerve them all. Let us pray for Kings and all that are in Authority; that our Affairs may go on with Tranquillity, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. Let us commemorate the Holy Martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to have Fellowſhip in their Conflicts and Engagements. Let us pray for thoſe that reſt in Faith; Let us pray for the Temperature of the Air, and Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth, that they may grow to Perfection. Let us pray for thoſe that are newly Baptized, that they may be confirmed in Faith. Let us all exhort and excite one another. Let us riſe and commend our ſelves to God by his Grace.* Then let the Biſhop ſay: *O God, that art Great, great in Name, great in Counſel, and mighty in Works; the God and Father of thy Holy Son Jeſus our Saviour; look favourably upon us and this thy Flock, which*

[c] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 13.

thou haſt choſen in him to the Glory of thy Name. Sanctify our Bodies and Souls; and grant, that we being pure from all Filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit may obtain the good Things that are ſet before us; and that thou may'ſt judge none of us unworthy, but be our Helper, Defender and Protector, through thy Chriſt; to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit, be Glory, Honour, and Praiſe, Doxology and Thankſgiving for ever. Amen.

And when all the People have ſaid, *Amen:* Let the Deacon cry again, προσχωμεν, Let us give Attention. Then the Biſhop ſhall ſpeak to the People, ſaying, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy Things for thoſe that are Holy.* And the People ſhall anſwer, *There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jeſus Chriſt, to the Glory of God the Father, Bleſſed for ever.* Amen. *Glory be to God on high, and in Earth Peace, good Will towards Men. Hoſanna to the Son of* David: *Bleſſed be the Lord God, that came in the Name of the Lord, and manifeſted himſelf unto us: Hoſanna in the Higheſt.*

This is the whole Service preceding the Act of Communicating, as it is deliverd in the *Conſtitutions*; which I have here repreſented all together as it lies there, that the Reader may ſee it in one View. I ſhall now compare the ſeveral Parts and Branches of it with the certain Accounts we have of them in other Authentick Writers; beginning with that which was the firſt in Order, the Miniſter's Salutation of the People.

SECT. II.

This Account compared with what is ſaid in other Authors. Firſt, As to the Form of Salutation, Peace be with you, *&c.*

IT has been obſerved before [*] that this Form of ſaluting the People, by ſaying, *Peace be with you*, or *The Lord be with you*, or, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. be with you*, was the uſual Preface and Introduction to all Holy Offices, and therefore always uſed before Prayers, eſpecially thoſe that were offered up at the Altar. *Theodoret* ſays, it was uſed both at the Entrance of their Sermons and the Myſtical Service [*d*], by which he means this part of the Communion-Office. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſays the ſame, that they uſed it in the Beginning [*e*] of their Myſteries; and that Chriſt made it a Law, as it were unto the Church by ſaying ſo often to his Diſciples, *Peace be unto you.* But no one ſpeaks more fully of it than St. *Chryſoſtom.* He ſays, they uſed it in all their Offices; when they firſt came into the Church; when they preached; when they gave the Benediction; when they commanded the People to ſalute one another with the *Kiſs of Peace*; when the Sacrifice [*f*] was offered; and at other times in the Communion-Service. Where it is obſervable, that he ſpeaks of this Salutation as uſed four times at leaſt in this part of the Communion-Office, beſides other Occaſions. In another place exhorting Chriſtians not to follow the Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, but to be at Unity and Peace among themſelves, he uſes this Argument, *There is nothing comparable to Peace and Concord.* Therefore when the Biſhop firſt enters the Church, before ever he goes up to his Throne, he ſays, *Peace be unto you all*: When he riſes up to preach, he does not begin, before he has given the *Peace to all:* When the Prieſts are about to make the Benediction-Prayers, they firſt [*g*] uſe this Salutation, and then begin their Benedictions. So alſo the Deacon, when he bids you pray in common, among other things he reminds you to pray for the *Angel of Peace*; and when he diſmiſſes you from this Aſſembly, he prays for you in the ſame manner, ſaying, *Go in Peace.* And there is nothing at all ſaid or done without this. In another Homily upon the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, [*h*] he gives the Reaſon, why it was more particularly uſed at the Lord's Table. The Biſhop, ſays he, not only when he goes into his Throne, and when he preaches, and when he prays, uſes this Form, but when he ſtands at this Holy Table, when he is about to offer the tremendous Sacrifice, he does not touch the Oblation, before he has prayed that the *Grace of the Lord may be with you*, and ye have anſwered, *And with thy Spirit:* By which Anſwer ye remind your ſelves, that it is not the Miniſter who effects any thing in this Matter, neither is the Conſecration of the Gifts there lying the Work of Human Nature, but that it is the Grace of the Spirit then preſent, and deſcending upon the Elements, that makes this Myſtical Sacrifice. There are ſeveral other Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe in his other Homilies [*i*] upon the Goſpels and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, which becauſe the Reader may find them at large in the Extract of the Liturgy above [†] out of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, I will not here repeat them. The ſame Cuſtom was always obſerved in the *Latin* Church. For *Tertullian* [*k*] plainly refers to it, when he objects it to the Hereticks, that they gave the Peace to all without Exception; implying that the Church uſed it, but with ſome Diſtinction. *Optatus* ſays, [*l*] the *Donatiſts* retained the Form, but groſly abuſed it in their Practice. They could not omit the ſolemn Words: They ſaid, *Peace be unto you. But why*, ſays he, *doſt thou ſalute Men with that, which thou haſt not? Why doſt thou name Peace, that haſt deſtroyed it? Thou ſaluteſt Men with the Words of Love and Peace, who haſt nothing of the Reality and Subſtance of it.* In the *Spaniſh* Church they uſed a like Form, though not altogether the ſame. For by an Or-

[*] *Book* XIV. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 14. [*d*] Theod. Ep. 146. p. 1032. τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς θείας λειτουργίας προοίμιον. [*e*] Cyril. lib. 12. in Joan. 20. p. 1093. παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς μυστείας τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦτο καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἡμεῖς φαμέν. Vid. Iſidor. Peluſ. lib. 1. Ep. 112. [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1338. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. t. 5. p. 713. [*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 36. de Pentecoſt. t. 5. p. 553. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. Hom. 33. in Mat. p. 318. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* vi. [*k*] Tertul. de Præſcript. cap. 41. Pacem cum omnibus miſcent. [*l*] Optat. lib. 3. p. 73. Non potuiſtis prætermittere quod Legitimum eſt. Utique dixiſtis, Pax vobiſcum.—Quid ſalutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas, quod exterminaſti? Salutas de Pace, qui non amas.

der of the first Council of *Braga* [*m*] it was appointed that both Bishops and Presbyters should use one and the same Form of Salutation, that is, *The Lord be with you*, as it is in the Book of *Ruth*; and that the People should answer, *And with thy Spirit*: As all the *East* receive it by Tradition from the Apostles, and not as the *Priscillian* Heresy hath changed it. What Change the *Priscillianists* had made in this matter, is not very clear: Some learned Men are of Opinion [*n*] that they would allow the Bishops to use no other Form but *Pax vobis*, and the *Presbyters* only to say, *Dominus vobiscum*: Whence they conclude that the Word *Oriens*, the *East*, must have crept into the Canon instead of the *West*, because it is so evident, that all the *Eastern* Church used the Form, *Pax vobis*, both in the Salutation of Bishops and Presbyters. But I should rather think the *Priscillian* Pravity here complained of, was their denying the People the Liberty of making their proper Response, and bearing their part in the Service, by saying, *And with thy Spirit*, as had been the Custom of all the *East* from the time of the Apostles. However this be, I cannot forbear to say, it is the very Error and Pravity which the Church of *Rome* has since run into. For *Bona* owns himself [*o*], that though it was customary in the antient Church for all the Congregation, and not only the Clerks, to answer the Priest, by saying, *And with thy Spirit*: Yet now it is otherwise in the Church of *Rome*, where the Clerks only make this Response, and the People are wholly excluded from it. For which no other Reason can be assigned, but the Magisterial Authority of that Church, pretending to prescribe what she pleases to the People, with a *Non obstante* to any Rule or Tradition of the antient Church. St. *Chrysostom*'s Reasoning in behalf of the People's bearing a part in Prayer with the Priest, is of much more weight, and with it I will conclude this Paragraph.

Great is the Power of the Congregation, that is, of the whole Church, says he [*p*]. It was their Prayer that delivered *Peter* from his Bonds, and opened the Mouth of *Paul*. Their Suffrage is a peculiar Ornament to those who are called to the Spiritual Offices of Government. And therefore he who is about to perform the Office of Ordination, at that time requires their Prayers, and they joyn their Suffrage, crying out in those Words, which they that are initiated in the holy Mysteries know: For we may not speak all things openly before the Unbaptized. There are some things wherein there is no Difference between Priest and People, as when they are to partake of the tremendous Mysteries. For we are all alike admitted to them: Not as under the *Old Testament*, when the Priest eat one thing, and the People another; and it was not lawful for the People to partake of those things which the Priest alone might partake of. It is not so now, but there is one Body, and one Cup proposed in common to all. So also in the Prayers, one may now observe the People to contribute a great deal. For Common-Prayers are made for the Energumens, and for the Penitents, both by the Priests and People. For they all say that one and the same Prayer, the Prayer so full of Mercy. Again, when we exclude those from the Sanctuary, who cannot partake of the Holy Table, we are all obliged to make another Prayer, in which we all fall down alike on the Earth, and all rise up together. Again, when we are to give and receive the *Peace*, or *Kiss of Peace*, we all in like manner salute each other. And again in celebrating the Holy Mysteries the Priest prays for the People, and the People for the Priest. For these words, *And with thy Spirit*, are nothing else but the People's Prayer. In like manner the Prayer of Thanksgiving is a Common-Prayer. For not only the Priest gives Thanks, but all the People also. For when he has first received their Answer, declaring their Consent, *that it is meet and right so to do*, then he begins the Thanksgiving. And why should you wonder, that the People sometimes speak with the Priest, when they are allowed to send up those holy Hymns in common with the very Cherubims and Cœlestial Powers above? I have spoken all this, adds he, to make every Member of the Church, though he be an Inferior, to become watchful and vigilant; and to teach us, that we are all One Body, and only differ from each other, as Members do from the Members of the same Body; and that we should not cast all upon the Priests, but every one bear his Share in his concern for the whole Church, as one common Body. I will now leave any ingenuous Reader to judge, whose Reasons are strongest and most Rational; those of *Chrysostom*, who thus pleads the People's Right in bearing a part in the publick Service of God; or theirs, who by an overbearing Authority deny them their just Right; and as they have taken away the Cup, and the Bible, and the Key of Knowledge from them, so have also denied them the Liberty of joining in Common-prayer with the Priest, which was their uncontested Privilege in the antient Church.

SECT. III. *Secondly, The* Kiss of Peace.

BUT I proceed with the *Constitutions*. As there immediately after the Priest has given the Salutation of *Peace*, and the People have returned their Answer, a Deacon goes on to proclaim solemnly, that they should salute one another with an *Holy Kiss*: And so the Clergy salute the Bishop, and Laymen their Fellow-Laymen, and Women one another: It is in the very same manner represented in other Writers. The Council of *Laodicea* describing the Order of the an-

[*m*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 21. Placuit ut non aliter Episcopi, & aliter Presbyteri Populum, sed uno modo salutent, dicentes, Dominus sit vobiscum: sicut in Libro Ruth legitur, & ut respondeatur à populo, Et cum Spiritu tuo: Sicut & ab ipsis Apostolis traditum omnis retinet Oriens, & non sicut Priscilliana pravitas immutavit. [*n*] Garsias Loaisa in Loc. Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 5. n. 1. Habertus Archieratic. p. 330. Hamon Lestrange, *Alliance of Div. Offic.* cap. 3. p. 82. [*o*] Bona ibid. p. 501. Nunc soli Clerici vel Ministri respondent. [*p*] Chrys. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 872.

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tient Service, says, after the Prayers [q] of the Faithful, the *Peace* should be given: And after the Presbyters have given the Peace to the Bishop, and Laymen the *Peace* to one another, the Holy Oblation should be offered. After the same manner, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* [r] speaks of it as coming before the *Sursum Corda*, *Lift up your Hearts to the Lord*. A Deacon cries, *Receive one another, salute one another with an Holy Kiss*. Which, he says, was a Symbol of Reconciliation, and forgiving all Injuries whatsoever. St. *Chrysostom* [s] often mentions it among other Arguments to excite Men to Unity and Charity; reminding them of this *Symbol of Peace and Reconciliation*, and how great a Piece of Pageantry and mere Hypocrisy it was to give this *Kiss*, as *Judas* did, without cordial Love, and sincere Affection. Particularly in one Place [†] he notes the Circumstance of Time when this Ceremony was used, that is, before the Oblation, when the Sacrifice was about to be offered: Which agrees exactly with the Time specified in the *Constitutions*. The same is noted long before by *Justin Martyr* [t], that it was between the Common-Prayers for the whole State of Christ's Church, and the Prayers of Consecration. For, says he, when Prayers are ended, we salute one another with a *Kiss*: And after that, Bread and Wine and Water is brought to the President of the Brethren, who receiving them, gives Praise and Glory to the God of all things, in the Name of the Son and the Holy Spirit. In the *Latin* Church the same Custom was observed, only with this Difference, that it came not before, but after the Consecration-Prayers, and the Lord's Prayer, immediately before the Distribution. For so S. *Austin* or *Cæsarius Arelatensis* represents it, in describing the Order of the Service. When the Consecration [u] is ended, we say the Lord's Prayer: and after that, *Peace be with you*: And then Christians salute one another with an *Holy Kiss*, which is a sign of Peace, if that be really in their Hearts, which they pretend with their Lips. He mentions the thing in other Places, and seems to intimate, that the *Donatists* observed the same Ceremony, though they had nothing of the Peace that was intended by it. In his Books against *Petilian* [x] speaking of one *Optatus Gildonianus* a *Donatist* Bishop, who had been a great Oppressor of Widows and Orphans, and infamous for many other barbarous Cruelties, he says, Notwithstanding all this, they gave him the *Kiss of Peace*, when they received the Sacrament at his Hands. In another place [y] he compares the *Donatists* to Crows, and the Catholicks to Doves; because they both gave the *Kiss of Peace*, yet the one tare the Church in pieces, and fed upon its Ruins, but the other were innocent and harmless as Doves; and by those Characters they might be distinguish'd from each other. It appears also from Pope *Innocent*'s Letter [z] to *Decentius* Bishop of *Eugubium*, that it was the general Custom of the *Italick* Churches to give the *Kiss of Peace*, not before the Consecration, but after: For it blames those that gave it before, and says, it ought to come after, as a Testimony of their Consent to all that was done, and as a Seal of the Consecration-Prayer, to signify that all was ended. *Tertullian* [a] probably upon this account gave it the Name of *Signaculum Orationis*, the Seal of their Prayers; as being in his Time used when all the Prayers of Consecration were ended. He seems to intimate also that it was given promiscuously, and without Distinction between Men and [b] Women. For among other Arguments, which he uses why a Christian Woman should not marry an Heathen, this is one, that he would be unwilling to suffer her to go into the Prisons to kiss the Martyrs Chains, or at any other times to give the *Kiss of Peace* to a Brother. And this is as plainly intimated by the antient Writer of the Passion of *Felicitas* and *Perpetua*, about *Tertullian*'s Time, when he says [c] that *Felicitas*, *Perpetua*, and *Saturus* did mutually kiss each other before they suffered, that they might consummate their Martyrdom by the solemn Rite of Peace. Alluding to the usual Custom of giving the *Kiss of Peace* without Distinction, though it was otherwise observed in the *Greek* Church. There is one thing more proper to be observed out of *Tertullian* [d], that some made a Scruple of giving the *Kiss of Peace* upon a Fast-Day, though it were but a private Fast of their own; whom he reproves, telling them that the

[q] Conc. Laodic. 19. εἰ δ' ἔτως τὴν εἰρήνην διδόασι. ἢ μετὰ τὸν προεσβύτερος δοῦναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, πότε τὸν λαικὸς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι. ἢ ἔτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖται. [r] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5. n. 2. [s] Chrys. Hom. 20. in Mat. p. 205. Hom. 22. in Rom. p. 251. Hom. 30. in 2 Cor. p. 995. Hom. 14. in Ephes. p. 1128. Hom. 77. in Joan. p. 500. Hom. 30. de Proditore. t. 5. p. 565. Hom. 50. ibid. p. 686. [†] Chrys. de Compunct. Cordis lib. 1. cap. 3. t. 4. p. 118. ἀσπαζόμενοι ἀλλήλους μέλλοντ[ες] τῶ δώρῳ προσφέρεσθαι. &c. [t] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 97. ἀλλήλους φιλήμα[τι] ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν. ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτ[ος] καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατ[ος] καὶ κεράματ[ος]. Vid. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 3. cap. 11. Athenag. Legat. p. 36. Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 3. Sect. 8. [u] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diversis. t. 10. p. 556. Ubi peracta est sanctificatio, dicimus Orationem Dominicam. Post ipsam dicitur, Pax vobiscum, & osculantur se Christiani in Osculo sancto, quod est signum Pacis, si quod ostendunt labia, fiat in Conscientia. [x] Aug. cont. Literas Petilian. lib. 2. cap. 23. Cui Pacis Osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis, &c. [y] Id. Tract. 6. in Joan. p. 21. Osculantur Corvi, sed laniant: a laniatu innocens est natura Columbarum. Ubi ergo Laniatus, non est vera in Osculis Pax, &c. [z] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. cap. 1. Pacem ergo asseris ante confecta Mysteria quosdam populis imperare, vel sibi inter sacerdotes tradere: cum post omnia, quæ aperire non debeo, Pax sit necessario indicenda, per quam constet populum, ad omnia quæ in Mysteriis aguntur, atque in Ecclesia celebrantur, præbuisse consensum, ac finita esse Pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrentur. [a] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. [b] Ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 4. Quis patietur alicui Fratrum ad Osculum convenire? [c] Passio Perpetuæ ad calcem Lactant. de Mort. Persec. p. 35. Ante jam osculati invicem, ut Martyrium per solennia Pacis consummarent. [d] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. Alia jam consuetudo invaluit, jejunantes habita Oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt Osculum Pacis, quod est signaculum Orationis. Quando autem magis conferenda cum fratribus Pax est, nisi cum Oratione commendabilior ascendit? — Quæ Oratio cum divortio sancti Osculi integra? Quem Domino officium facientem impedit Pax? Quale sacrificium est, à quo sine Pace receditur? &c.

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Kiſs of Peace was the Seal of Prayer; that it was never more proper than when joined with Prayer; that there was no Prayer perfect without Peace; that Peace was no Impediment to a Man in doing his Duty to the Lord; that whatever Reaſon they had for it, their Reaſon was not ſtronger than the Obſervation of the Precept which obliges us to conceal our Faſts. Whereas when we refrain from the *Kiſs of Peace*, that diſcovers us to be Faſting. We may at home omit this Ceremony of *Giving the Peace*, becauſe there our Faſts cannot be wholly concealed from the Family: But in other places where you may conceal your Action, you ought to remember the Precept of the Lord; and ſo you may obſerve the Diſcipline of the Church abroad, and your own Cuſtom at home. *Tertullian*, we ſee, ſpeaks this of private Faſts, which he thinks no reaſon for Men's refuſing the *Kiſs of Peace* in publick. As to publick Faſts the Caſe was otherwiſe. For by the Laws of the Church, this Ceremony was omitted on ſome more ſolemn Days of Faſting. As upon the Day of our Saviour's Paſſion. For *Tertullian* adds immediately in the next Words, that on that Day [*e*], becauſe it was a publick and common Faſt, ordained by the Laws of the Church, they omitted the *Kiſs of Peace*, and no one then regarded the Omiſſion, becauſe it was done by general Conſent and Agreement. And this ſeems to have been an Exception of Univerſal Extent in the Church: For *Procopius* notes it in the Life of *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, who began their Reign on this Day, *An.* 527, that they began it with an ill Omen, on a Day [*f*] that no one uſed the *Kiſs of Peace* in the Church. And thus much of this antient Ceremony, ſo often enjoined by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* xvi. 16. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 20. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 12. 1 *Theſ.* v. 26. 1 *Pet.* v. 14. Of which ſome have written [†] whole Volumes: But I content myſelf to have ſaid ſo much, as may ſerve to confirm the Obſervation made upon the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, that this was an antient Rite univerſally obſerved in the Church in one part or other of the Communion Service.

SECT. IV. *Thirdly, Waſhing of Hands before Conſecration.*

THE next Thing mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, is the Ceremony of the Prieſts Waſhing his Hands before Conſecration. This is alſo noted by *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* in his *Myſtagogical Explication of the Communion Service*, where ſpeaking to the newly Baptized, he ſays, Ye have ſeen the Deacon bring Water to the Biſhop and Presbyters [*g*] ſtanding about the Altar, to waſh their Hands. Did he give it to waſh the Filth of their Bodies? By no means. For we do not uſe to go into the Church with Bodies defiled: But that Waſhing of Hands is a Symbol, that you ought to be pure from Sin and Trangreſſions of the Law. For the Hands are the Symbol of Action, and Waſhing them denotes the Purity and Cleanneſs of our Actions. Have you not heard holy *David* explaining this Myſtery, and ſaying, *I will waſh my Hands among the Innocent, and ſo will I compaſs thine Altar, O Lord.* Therefore Waſhing the Hands, is a Symbol or Indication that we are not obnoxious or liable unto Sin. The Author of the *Queſtions upon the* Old *and* New Teſtament under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [*h*] takes notice of the ſame Cuſtom as uſed in all Churches, only with this Difference, that whereas in other Churches it was commonly the Office of the Deacons to bring Water to Prieſts, in the *Roman* Church it was devolved upon the Subdeacons, becauſe there was a Multitude of inferior Clergy in that Church above many others. And in the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, a great deal more may be read to the ſame Purpoſe.

SECT. V. *Fourthly, The Deacon's Admonition to all Non-communicants to withdraw; and to all Communicants to come in Charity and Sincerity.*

IN the next Place, whereas in the *Conſtitutions* the Deacon is appointed again to make a ſolemn Proclamation, ordering all Non-communicants, Catechumens, Penitens, and Unbelievers to be excluded; and admoniſhing all Communicants to approach in Charity and Sincerity, not in Enmity with their Brethren, or in Hypocriſy towards God, but in Reverence and Fear: The very ſame is ſuggeſted by *Chryſoſtom*: Doſt thou not hear the Deacon, the Herald of the Church, ſtanding and crying, All ye that are [*i*] under Penance, be gone. All they that do not partake of the Communion, are in Penance. If thou art in Penance, thou mayſt not partake. And *Severianus* Biſhop of *Gabala*, in one of his *Homilies* among St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works [*k*] ſpeaks of the ſame: Ye have ſeen the Deacons traverſing the Church, and crying, Let no Catechumen be preſent, none of thoſe that may not ſee the heavenly Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, *&c.* Ye remember after this how the Angels from Heaven ſing the Hymns and Praiſes, ſaying, *Holy is the Father, Holy is the Son, Holy is the Holy Ghoſt.* By which it is plain, theſe Admonitions of the Deacon were here repeated as preparatory to the Oblation.

SECT. VI. *Of the ῥιπίδια or Fans to drive away Inſects.*

THE Circumſtance of the ῥιπίδια or Fans to drive away the Inſects, is ſo minute, that it is no great Wonder it ſhould be omitted in moſt other Writers beſide the *Conſti-*

[*e*] Ibid. Die Paſchæ, quo communis & quaſi publica Jejunii religio, deponimus Oſculum; nihil curantes de Oſculando, quod cum omnibus faciamus. [*f*] Procop. Hiſt. Arcana. cap. 9. [†] Mullerus de Oſculo ſancto. Jenæ 1675. 4to. Martin Kempius de Oſculo, &c. Lipſiæ, 1665. [*g*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 1. [*h*] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Novi Teſtamenti. Q. 101. Ut autem non omnia miniſteria obſequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit Clericorum. Nam utique & altare portarent & Vaſa ejus, & aquam in manus funderent Sacerdoti, ſicut videmus per omnes Eccleſias, *&c.* [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. [*k*] Ap. Chryſ. tom. 6. Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo. p. 375. *See before Book* XIII. *Chap.* vi. *n* 6. Vide Chryſ. Hom. 1, contra Judæos. T. 1. p. 400. ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, &c.

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tutions. *Bona* [*l*] says, they are mentioned in *Jobius* [*m*] and *Germanus Theoria*, and the *Liturgies* that go under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*. *Suicerus* [*n*] thinks, that in moſt of thoſe Writings the Word ῥιπίδια ſignifies one of their holy Veſſels, a Basket or the like, in which they were uſed to carry the ſacred Elements to and from the Altar; ſuch as that ſpoken of by St. *Jerom*, when deſcribing the glorious Poverty of *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, he says [*o*], he was uſed to carry the Lord's Body in a Basket of Oſiers, and the Blood in a Glaſs Cup. And indeed in *Herodotus* the Word ῥιπίδιον is by ſome Lexicographers ſaid to ſignify a Basket: But in the *Liturgies* of St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Baſil*, it is taken in the common Senſe of *Greek* Authors, and as it is uſed in the *Conſtitutions*, for a Fan to blow with. For in *Chryſoſtom*'s *Liturgy* the Deacon is to ventilate [*p*] or blow over the Elements with a Fan; or if there be no Fan, then to do it with the Covering of the Cup. And in St. *Baſil*'s *Liturgy* there is mention [*q*] made of the ſame Utenſils, ῥιπίδιον ἢ κάλυμμα, either the Fan or the Covering of the Cup, to be uſed for the ſame Purpoſe. And ſo the Word ῥιπίδιον [*r*] is taken both by *Germanus*, and *Jobius*, and *Suidas*. So that there was no reaſon for *Suicerus* to reckon the Author of the *Conſtitutions* ſo ſingular in this Opinion. But as theſe Authors are not very antient, I have mentioned them rather to explain an hard Word, than eſtabliſh an Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom. St. *Jerom*'s Authority is produced by *Durantus* [*s*], but it is nothing to the Purpoſe: For though he mentions the Uſe of *Muſcaria* [*t*], that is, Fans; yet it is plain he ſpeaks of them not as any Eccleſiaſtical Utenſil, but as a Civil Preſent made by *Marcella* to the Matrons, though he gives a Tropological Turn of Wit, to draw ſomething of a myſtical Meaning out of them. So I let this Matter paſs as a minute Circumſtance in the *Conſtitutions*, about which it is not worth our while to be farther ſolicitous in our Inquiries, to give collateral Evidence out of the antient Writers.

SECT. VII. *Of the Uſe of the Sign of the Croſs at the Lord's Table.*

THE next Thing mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, is, the Uſe of the Sign of the Croſs, before the Miniſter proceeds to the Conſecration. And of this there is more certain Evidence in the antient Writers. For *Chryſoſtom* says expreſly [*u*] that it was not only uſed by Chriſtians every Day, but particularly at the holy Table, and in the Ordinations of Prieſts, and that its Glory ſhined with the Body of Chriſt in the Myſtical Supper. Which implies, that it was uſed more than once in the time of Celebration. St. *Auſtin* says likewiſe, that it was uſed [*x*] in all their Offices, in conſecrating the Waters of Baptiſm, in the Unction of Confirmation, and in the Sacrifice of the *Euchariſt*; without which none of them were ſolemnly performed.

SECT. VIII. *Of the uſual Preface, call'd,* Surſum Corda, *or the Preparation to the great Thankſgiving.*

NEXT after this, immediately before the great Thankſgiving in the *Conſtitutions*, the Prieſt having given the People another Salutation in the Words of St. *Paul*, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. *be with you*; and they anſwering again, *And with thy Spirit:* The Prieſt goes on and ſays, *Lift up your Hearts:* To which the People anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* The Prieſt ſays again, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*; and the People anſwer, *It is meet and right ſo to do.* Now this is mentioned almoſt by all Eccleſiaſtical Writers, that have ſaid any thing of the *Euchariſt* or Prayer. St. *Cyprian* [*y*] calls it the *Preface* that was premiſed by the Prieſt, to prepare the Brethrens Minds to pray with an heavenly Temper. St. *Auſtin* mentions it above ten times in his Writings: The Places have been noted above [*] in the general Diſcourſe of *Liturgies*, and therefore I need not here repeat them. I will only remark, that he ſays, It was the Cuſtom of the whole Church throughout the World [*z*] to ſay daily almoſt with one Voice, *We lift up our Hearts unto the Lord.* And that therefore the Hearts [*a*] of Chriſtian People were a ſort of Heaven, becauſe they are daily lift up to Heaven, whilſt the Prieſt ſays, *Lift up your Hearts*; and they anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo [*b*] frequently mentions the Uſe of this *Preface* in his *Homilies*, which becauſe I have related at length in a former Book [†], I forbear to repeat them again in this Place. The Reader that is curious, may find the ſame Forms related in *Cyril*'s *Myſtical Catechiſms* [*c*], and *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* [*d*], and *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* [*e*], and *Eligius Noviomenſis* [*f*], not to mention the

[*l*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 25. n. 6. [*m*] Jobius ap. Photium. Cod. 222. [*n*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce ῥιπίδιον. Tom. 2. [*o*] Hieron. Ep. 5. ad Ruſticum. Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini caniſtro vimineo, ſanguinem portat in vitro. [*p*] Chryſ. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 78. ῥιπίζει ἐπάνω τῶν ἁγίων μετὰ ῥιπιδίου ξυλαβῶς. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχει ῥιπίδιον, ποιεῖ τοῦτο μετὰ καλύμματος. [*q*] Baſil. Liturg. ibid. p. 51. [*r*] German. Contemplatio Rer. Eccleſ. ibid. p. 157. Jobius ubi ſupra. Suidæ Lexicon. T. 2. p. 686. [*s*] Durant. de Ritib. lib. 1. cap. 10. n. 2. [*t*] Hieron. Ep. 30. ad Marcellam. Quod autem & Matronis offertis Muſcaria parva, parvis animalibus eventilandis, elegans ſignificatio eſt, debere luxuriam cito reſtinguere, quia Muſcæ morituræ oleum ſuaviratis exterminant. [*u*] Chryſ. Demonſtrat. Quod Chriſtus ſit Deus. cap. 9. T. 5. p. 840. ἕστος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, ἕστος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων χειροτονίαις, ἕστος πάλιν μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων τῷ χειρὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν δεῖπνον διαλάμπει. [*x*] Aug. Hom. 118. in Joan. p. 225. Quid eſt ſignum Chriſti niſi Crux Chriſti? Quod ſignum niſi adhibeatur ſive Frontibus credentium, ſive ipſi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, ſive Oleo quo Chriſmate unguntur, ſive Sacrificio quo aluntur; nihil horum rite perficitur. [*y*] Cypr. de Orat. p. 152. [*] *See Book* XIII. *Chap.* v. *n.* 7. [*z*] Aug. de vera Relig. cap. 3. tom. 1. p. 302. Quotidie per univerſum orbem humanum genus una pene voce reſpondet, ſurſum corda ſe habere ad Dominum. [*a*] Serm. 44. de Tempore. Corda Fidelium cœlum ſunt, quia in cœlos quotidie eriguntur, dicente Sacerdote, Surſum Corda; ſecuti reſpondent, Habemus ad Dominum. [*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. 22. in Heb. p. 1898. Hom. 5. de Pœnitent. T. 6. Edit. Savil. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Hom. 38. de Euchar. T. 5. p. 569. [†] *See Book* XIII. *Chap.* vi. [*c*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 3. [*d*] Anaſtaſ. Serm. de Synaxi. ap. Albertin. de Euchariſtia. p. 529. [*e*] Cæſar. Hom. 12. [*f*] Eligius. Hom. 11. de Cœna Domini. Ex verbis Cypriani.

Greek Liturgies or any later Writers. I only obſerve farther out of the Council of *Milevis* [g], where there is mention made of *Prefaces* among other Prayers, it is commonly ſuppoſed by Learned Men, that theſe Forms are meant, *Lift up your Hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give Thanks unto the Lord: It is meet and right ſo to do.* Which, as *Mabillon* [h] obſerves, in the old *Gallican Liturgy* is called *Conteſtatio*, becauſe by theſe Anſwers the People gave in their Atteſtation or Teſtimony of their Compliance with the Prieſt's Exhortation; declaring that their Hearts were now in Heaven, and that it was meet and right to praiſe the Lord.

SECT. IX. *Of the* εὐχαριστία *or great Thankſgiving properly ſo called.*

AFTER this the Prieſt went on with the εὐχαριστία, properly ſo called, that is, the great Thankſgiving to God for all his Mercies both of Creation, Providence, and Redemption; where a Commemoration was made of all that God had done for Man from the Foundation of the World, and more particularly in the great Myſtery of Redemption: Upon which a ſolemn and magnificent Glorification of God was framed, always including the *Triſagion*, or *Seraphical Hymn*, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts*, &c. which was ſung by the Miniſter and People jointly; and then the Miniſter went on alone to finiſh the ſolemn Thankſgiving. We have no where elſe indeed ſo long a Thankſgiving as is that in the *Conſtitutions:* But the Subſtance of it is not only in the *Liturgies* that go under the Names of St. *James*, *Chryſoſtom* and *Baſil*, but may be diſcovered in more Authentick Writings. For *Juſtin Martyr* deſcribing the Chriſtian Rites and Myſteries, ſays, as ſoon as the Common-Prayers were ended, and they had ſaluted one another with a Kiſs, Bread and Wine and Water was brought to the Preſident; who receiving them [i], gave Praiſe and Glory to the Father of all Things by the Son and Holy Spirit, and made εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, a long Thankſgiving for the Bleſſings which he vouchſafed to beſtow upon them. And when he had ended the Prayers and Thankſgiving, all the People that were preſent, anſwered with Acclamation, *Amen.* After the ſame manner *Irenæus* [k], We offer unto him his own Gifts, thereby declaring the Communication and Truth both of Fleſh and Spirit. For as the Bread, which is of the Earth, after the Invocation of God upon it, is no longer common Bread, but the *Euchariſt*, conſiſting of two parts, the one earthly, the other heavenly: So all our Bodies, receiving the *Euchariſt*, are no longer corruptible, whilſt they live in hopes of a Reſurrection. But we offer theſe Things to him, not as if he ſtood in need of them, but as giving him Thanks for his Gifts, and ſanctifying the Creature. So *Origen* [l] ſays, They eat the Bread that was offered to the Creator with Prayer and Thankſgiving for the Gifts that he had beſtowed on them, which Bread was made an Holy Body by Prayer, ſanctifying thoſe that uſed it with a pious Mind. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* more particularly ſpecifies the Subſtance of this Thankſgiving in his myſtical Catechiſms, ſaying [m], After this, (that is, after we have ſaid, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*, and *it is meet and right ſo to do*,) we make mention of the Heaven and Earth and Sea, and the Sun, Moon and Stars, and all the Creatures, Rational and Irrational, Viſible and Inviſible, Angels, Archangels, Hoſts and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, Thrones and Cherubims covering their Faces, ſaying with *David*, *Magnifie the Lord with me.* We alſo make mention of the Cherubims, which *Eſaias* ſaw in the Spirit, ſtanding about the Throne of God, and with two Wings covering their Faces, and with two their Feet, and flying with two, and ſaying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts.* This is much the ſame with the Thankſgiving in St. *James*'s *Liturgy*, which was uſed in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, in this Form: *It is very meet and right*, becoming us and our Duty [n], that we ſhould praiſe thee, and celebrate thee with Hymns, and give Thanks unto thee, the Maker of all Creatures, viſible and inviſible, the Treaſure of all Good, the Fountain of Life and Immortality, the God and Lord of all Things, whom the Heavens, and the Heavens of Heavens praiſe, and all the Hoſt of them; the Sun and Moon and the whole Company of Stars; the Earth and Sea and all that are in them; the Celeſtial Congregation of *Jeruſalem*; the Church of the Firſtborn, who are written in Heaven; the Spirits of juſt Men and Prophets, the Souls of Martyrs and Apoſtles; Angels and Archangels, Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, the tremendous Hoſts and Cherubims with many Eyes, and Seraphims with ſix Wings, with two whereof they cover their Faces, and with two their Feet, and with two they fly, crying out inceſſantly one to another, and ſinging with loud Voices the triumphal Song of the Magnificence of thy Glory, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory. Hoſanna in the Higheſt. Bleſſed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hoſanna in the Higheſt.*

St. *Chryſoſtom* [o] alſo ſpeaks of this Thankſgiving, though he does not give us the whole Form of it, but only the Introduction, ſaying, The Prayer of Thankſgiving is common both to Prieſt and People. For not only the Prieſt gives Thanks, but all the People. For firſt he

[g] Conc. Milevit. can. 12. Placuit, ut Preces vel Orationes vel Miſſæ ſive Præfationes, quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur. [h] Mabillon. de Liturg. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 3. n. 17. [i] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [k] Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. Offerimus ei quæ ſunt ejus, congruenter Communicationem & Veritatem prædicantes carnis & Spiritus. Quemadmodum enim qui eſt à terra Panis, percipiens Invocationem Dei, jam non communis Panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia, ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena & cœleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra, percipientia Euchariſtiam, jam non ſunt corruptibilia, ſpem reſurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei, non quaſi indigenti, ſed gratias agentes Donationi ejus, & ſanctificantes Creaturam. [l] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 399. [m] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5. [n] Liturg. Jacobi Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 12. [o] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. It. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 739. Καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εὐχαριστήριον ἀγαθῶν.

receives

receives their Anſwer and Atteſtation, *That it is meet and right to praiſe the Lord*, and then he begins the Thankſgiving. And why ſhould you wonder, that the People ſhould ſometimes ſpeak with the Prieſt, when they do even with the Cherubims and Celeſtial Powers ſend up thoſe ſacred Hymns to Heaven above? He means thoſe Hymns, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c. And *Glory be to God on high:* Which, as we ſhall preſently ſee, were one part of this great Thankſgiving.

Among the *Latin* Writers this previous giving of Thanks is mentioned by *Fulgentius* alſo [p], who ſays, in the Chriſtian Sacrifice there was both a Thankſgiving and a Commemoration made of the Fleſh of Chriſt, and of his Blood which he ſhed for our ſakes. And ſo St. *Ambroſe*, or whoever was the Author of the Books *de Sacramentis* among his Works: Diſtinguiſhing between the Thankſgiving and the Conſecration, he asks [q], With what Words, and with whoſe Words is the Conſecration made? And anſwers, With the Words of the Lord Jeſus. For all that goes before, is either the Glorification and Praiſe of God, or Prayer for the People, for Kings, and the reſt of Mankind. But when the Prieſt comes to the Conſecration of the Holy Sacrament, then he uſes not his own Words, but the Words of Chriſt. By all which it is indiſputably evident, that the Conſecration of the Sacrament was uſhered in with a ſolemn Thankſgiving or Glorification of God for all his Gifts and Benefits, whence the whole Action had the Name of εὐχαριστία, the *Euchariſt* or Thankſgiving, becauſe this was always premiſed as a neceſſary part of the ſacred Myſtery; and the whole Action and Ceremony was concluded with another Thankſgiving after communicating, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

SECT. X.

Of the Uſe of the Triſagion, *or Seraphical Hymn,* Holy, Holy, Holy, *in this Thankſgiving.*

AT preſent we are to obſerve that one Part of this Glorification or Thankſgiving was the Hymn, call'd the *Triſagion*, and *Epinicion*, the Seraphical and Triumphal Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory.* This is evident from the laſt mentioned Paſſages of St. *Cyril* [r] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [s], who in other places gives a more particular Account of the Uſe of it at the Lord's Table. Heretofore, ſays he, this Hymn was only ſung in Heaven [t]; but after that the Lord vouchſafed to come down upon Earth, he brought this Melody to us alſo. Therefore the Biſhop, when he ſtands at this Holy Table, to preſent our rational Service, and offer the Unbloody Sacrifice, does not ſimply call upon us to joyn in this Glorification, but firſt naming the Cherubims, and making mention of the Seraphims, he then exhorts us all to ſend up theſe tremendous Words, and withdrawing our Minds from the Earth by intimating with what Company we make a Quire, he cries out to every Man, and ſays, as it were in theſe Words, "Thou ſingeſt "with the Seraphims, ſtand together with the Se- "raphims, ſtretch forth thy Wings with them, "with them fly round the Royal Throne." In another place [u] ſhewing the Obligation which the *Euchariſt* lays upon Men to keep every Member of the Body pure from Sin, the Hands and Mouth that receive it, the Eyes that view it, the Tongue that miniſters in thoſe Myſteries and is dy'd in Blood, he argues thus particularly with reſpect to the Ears: How abſurd is it after that myſtical Hymn, which was brought by the Cherubims from Heaven, to pollute your Ears with Songs of Harlots, and the effeminate Melodies of the Theater? Which plainly implies, that this Seraphical Hymn was one part of this great Thankſgiving. He ſays the ſame in his firſt *Homily* upon *Iſaiah* [x]: The Seraphims above ſing the holy *Triſagion-Hymn*: The holy Congregation of Men on Earth ſend up the ſame: The general Aſſembly of Celeſtial and Earthly Creatures joyn together: There is one Thankſgiving, μία εὐχαριστία, one Exultation, one Quire of Men and Angels in one Station rejoycing together. In another place reproving thoſe who ſtayed at the Communion-Service, when they would not communicate, he tells them [y] It was better that they ſhould be abſent, for they did but affront him that invited them, whilſt they ſtayed to ſing the Hymn, profeſſing themſelves to be of the Number of the Worthy, whilſt they did not recede with the Unworthy. How could you ſtay, and not partake of the Table? I am unworthy, ſay you. If ſo, you are unworthy to communicate in Prayers alſo. For it is not only the bare Elements, but thoſe Hymns that cauſe the Spirit to deſcend upon them. Though he does not here name the Hymns, he plainly intimates however that they were commonly uſed in this part of the Euchariſtical Service. And elſewhere [z] he ſpeaks more plainly: The Faithful, ſays he, know what are the Hymns of the Powers above; what the Cherubims ſing in Heaven; what the Angels ſung, *Glory be to God in the higheſt.* Therefore Hymns come after the Pſalmody, as a Thing of greater Perfection. He means, that Pſalmody was only a Part of the Service of the Catechumens; but theſe Hymns were uſed by the τέλειοι, the Communicants, in the Service of the Altar. He mentions the ſame in many other places [†],

[p] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum. cap. 19. In iſto autem Sacrificio Gratiarum Actio, atque Commemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti, quam pro nobis obtulit, ſanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit.
[q] Ambroſ. de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 4. Conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cujus ſermonibus? Domini Jeſu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, Laus Deo defertur, Oratione petitur pro Populo, pro Regibus, pro cæteris. Ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, jam non ſuis ſermonibus ſacerdos, ſed utitur ſermonibus Chriſti. [r] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. [t] Chryſ. Hom. in Seraphim. t. 3. p. 890. [u] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. [x] Hom. 1. in Eſai. t. 3. p. 834. [y] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1052. [z] Hom. 24. de Baptiſmo Chriſti. t. 1. p. 317. [†] Hom. 4. de Incomprehenſibili. t. 1. p. 274. Hom 16. Si furierit Inimicus. t. 5. p. 229. Hom. 3. de Pœnitent. t. 4. p. 562. Epiſt. 2. ad Olympiad. t. 4. p. 715. Hom. 14 in Epheſ. p. 1127.

which the Reader may find above [*] in the Collection of the antient *Liturgy* out of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works: I will only repeat one Paſſage more out of his *Homily* upon the Martyrs. The Martyrs, ſays he [*a*], are now joyning in Conſort, and partaking in the myſtical Songs of the Heavenly Quire. For if whilſt they were in the Body, whenever they communicated in the ſacred Myſteries, they made part of the Quire, ſinging with the Cherubims the *Triſagion-Hymn*, *Holy*, *Holy*, *Holy*; as all ye that are initiated in the holy Myſteries, very well know; much more now, being joyn'd with them whoſe Partners they were in the earthly Quire, they do with greater Freedom partake in thoſe ſolemn Bleſſings and Glorifications of God in Heaven above. There needs no Recourſe now after this to be had to the *Liturgy* of St. *Chryſoſtom*, to prove that this divine Hymn was always a Part of the ſolemn Thankſgiving, ſince it is more ſolidly proved out of his genuine Writings. To which we may add *Severianus* of *Gabala* [*b*] for the *Greek* Church, and the Council of *Vaiſon* [*c*] for the *Latin*, which ſays, that in all Communion-Services, whether they were Morning-Services, or *Quadrageſimal*, or Commemorations for the Dead, the Hymn, *Holy*, *Holy*, *Holy*, ſhould be uſed in the ſame Order, as in the publick Service.

SECT. X.

A particular Thankſgiving for the Mercies of God in the Redemption of Mankind by Chriſt.

NEXT after this, there follows in the *Conſtitutions* a particular Enumeration of the Mercies of God vouchſafed to Mankind in the Redemption of the World by the Death of Chriſt, and a more ſpecial Thankſgiving with reſpect to them; wherein alſo is contained a ſort of *Creed*, or Summary of the chief Articles of the Chriſtian Faith. Which was all the *Creed* that the Church in that Age made uſe of in that Service. For as yet the formal Repetition of the *Baptiſmal Creed* was no part of the Communion-Service, as it was in After-ages, but only ſuch Doctrines were related as were the Subject of a particular Thankſgiving for the great Myſteries of the Incarnation and Redemption. Thus it is repreſented in the *Conſtitutions*, with which St. *Chryſoſtom* exactly correſponds. For commenting on thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *The Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt?* he brings in the Apoſtle thus explaining himſelf: When I ſpeak of a Bleſſing, I unfold all the Treaſure of God's Beneficence, and commemorate all his great and glorious Gifts. And he adds, We alſo in offering the Cup recite the ineffable Mercies and Kindneſs of God, and all the good Things we enjoy: And ſo we offer it, and communicate; giving him Thanks for that he hath delivered Mankind from Error; that He hath [*d*] made us near who were afar off; that when we were without Hope, and without God in the World, He hath made us the Brethren of Chriſt, and Fellow-Heirs with him. For theſe and all the like Bleſſings we give him Thanks, and ſo come to his holy Table. We cannot have a plainer Proof of a particular Thankſgiving than this is, and therefore I ſhall ſeek for no farther Evidence in the Caſe; but proceed to the immediate Form of Conſecration.

SECT. XI.

The Form of Conſecration always compoſed of a Repetition of the Words of Inſtitution, and Prayer to God to ſanctify the Gifts by his Holy Spirit.

NOW this anciently was not a bare Repetition of thoſe Words, *Hoc eſt Corpus meum*, *This is my Body*, which for many Ages has been the current Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Schools; but a Repetition of the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution, together with Prayers to God, That he would ſend his Holy Spirit upon the Gifts, and make them become the Body and Blood of Chriſt; not by altering their Nature and Subſtance, but their Qualities and Powers, and exalting them from ſimple Elements of Bread and Wine to become Types and Symbols of Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood, and efficacious Inſtruments of conveying to worthy Receivers all the Benefits of his Death and Paſſion. Thus it is evidently ſet forth in the *Conſtitutions*, which, for the Reader's Eaſe, I will here again repeat: *We therefore in Commemoration of theſe things* [*e*] *which Chriſt ſuffered for us, give Thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as Thou deſerveſt, and as we ought, but as we are able, ſo fulfilling his Command. For he, in the ſame Night that he was betrayed, took Bread in his holy and immaculate Hands, and looking up to Thee his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, This is the Myſtery of the* New Teſtament; *take of it, and eat it; This is my Body, which is broken for many for the Remiſſion of Sins. This do in Remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do ſhew forth my Death till I come. We therefore being mindful of his Paſſion, and Death, and Reſurrection from the Dead, and his Return into Heaven; and alſo of his ſecond Coming, when he ſhall return with Glory and Power to judge the Quick and Dead, and render to every Man according to his Works; do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this Bread and this Cup, according to his Appointment; giving Thanks to Thee by Him, for that Thou doſt vouchſafe to let us ſtand before Thee, and miniſter unto Thee: and we beſeech Thee to look propitiouſly upon theſe Gifts here ſet before Thee, and to accept them favourably to the Honour of Thy Chriſt, and to ſend thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, the Spirit that is Witneſs of the Suffering of the Lord Jeſus, that it may make this Bread become the Body of Thy Chriſt; that*

[*] *Book* XIII. *chap.* vi. [*a*] Hom. 74. de Martyr. t. 1. p. 900. [*b*] Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo. inter Opera Chryſoſt. t. 6. p. 375. [*c*] Conc. Vaſens. 2. can. 3. Ut in omnibus Miſſis, ſeu in Matutinis, ſeu in Quadrageſimalibus, ſeu in illis quæ pro Defunctorum Commemeratione fiunt, ſemper Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, eo ordine quo ad Miſſas publicas dicitur, dici debeat. [*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 532. *So* Cyprian. Ep. 63. p. 156. Paſſionis ejus mentionem in omnibus Sacrificiis facimus. [*e*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 402.

they

they who partake of it, may be confirmed in Godlineſs, and obtain Remiſſion of Sins; may be delivered from the Devil and his Impoſtures; may be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and be made worthy of Chriſt, and obtain eternal Life, Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.

Who ſees not, that the Conſecration in this Form is made by a Repetition of the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution, and Prayer for the coming of the Holy Ghoſt on the Elements to ſanctify them? And for this there is the concurrent Teſtimony of all Antiquity. *Juſtin Martyr* [f] makes the Conſecration to conſiſt in Thankſgiving and Prayers, which being ended, all the People anſwer, *Amen*. *Irenæus* ſays more expreſsly [g] that it is done by Invocation of God: For the Bread, which is taken from the Earth, has the Invocation of God upon it, and then it is no longer common Bread, but the Euchariſt. *Origen* [h] ſays, It is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* tells his *Catechumens*, That before the Invocation of the *Holy Trinity* [i] the Bread and Wine of the *Euchariſt* is common Bread and Wine; but after the Invocation it is no longer bare Bread, but the Body of Chriſt: As the holy Oil is not bare Oil after the Invocation, but the Gift of Chriſt. So again [k], After we have ſanctified our ſelves by thoſe Spiritual Hymns, we then pray the merciful God, that he would ſend forth his Holy Spirit upon the Elements lying upon the Altar, that he may make the Bread the Body of Chriſt, and the Wine the Blood of Chriſt. Which manifeſtly declares that the Conſecration was made by Prayer and Invocation. And the ſame is imply'd by St. *Baſil* [l], when he asks, which of the Saints hath left us in Writing the words of the Invocation, by which the Bread of the Euchariſt and the Cup of Bleſſing is conſecrated? *Gregory Nyſſen* [m], St. *Baſil*'s Brother, ſays, the Bread is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, that the Bread and Wine, which repreſent the Lord's Body and Blood upon the Table, are conſecrated by Invocation and coming of the Holy Ghoſt [n] upon them. And *Theodoret* moſt plainly in one of his Dialogues [o], What do you call the Gift that is offered, before the Prieſt has made the Invocation over it? *Bread made of ſuch Seeds*. What do you call it after Sanctification? *The Body of Chriſt*. The *Latin* Fathers are as plain in their Verdict. St. *Ambroſe* [p] ſays, the Sacraments which we take, are transformed into Fleſh and Blood by the Myſtery of Holy Prayer. And *Optatus* [q] deſcribing the Fury of the *Donatiſts*, aſſerts the ſame, when he asks them, what greater Sacrilege they could be guilty of, than to pull down the Altars of God, where God Almighty was invocated, and the Holy Spirit came down at the Supplication of the Prieſt? St. *Jerom* [r] ſays, it was the peculiar Office of the Presbyters to conſecrate the Body and Blood of Chriſt by Prayer. And again, that Prayer was neceſſary for this Purpoſe [s]. The Author of the Books *de Sacramentis*, under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, [t] gives us the very Form of Words uſed in this Prayer: Make this our Oblation a choſen, rational, acceptable Oblation, which is the Figure of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Juvencus* [u] ſays, Chriſt himſelf conſecrated it by Prayer. And *Gregory the Great* [x] was of Opinion, that the Apoſtles uſed only the Lord's Prayer as the Form of their Conſecration. And *Cyprian* probably was of the ſame Opinion. For he thinks, that Petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, may be underſtood both in a ſpiritual [y] and common Senſe, to denote the Body of Chriſt, which is our Bread, that we pray may be given us every Day. A great many other Fathers ſpeak of the [z] Benediction or Thankſgiving as that which conſecrates the *Euchariſt*. Which is not much different from this; for the Thankſgiving was always a part of the Euchariſtical Prayers. And therefore ſome join them both together, as *Juſtin Martyr* and *Irenæus*, in the Places now mentioned. And ſo *Origen* [a] tells *Celſus*, that by Thankſgiving and Prayer they made Bread an Holy Body, ſanctifying ſuch as received and eat it with a pure Mind. And St. *Auſtin*, who in ſome places calls it barely the Benediction [b] or Thankſgiving, in other places ſays more expreſly that the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated by Prayer. We call that the Body of Chriſt, which is taken from the Fruits of the

[f] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [g] Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. Qui eſt a terra panis, percipiens Invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia. [h] Orig. in Mat. 15. t. 2. p. 27. Sanctificatur per Verbum Dei, perque Obſecrationem. [i] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 3. μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἀπλοῦν λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ. &c. [k] Id. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5. [l] Baſil. de Spir. ſancto. cap. 27. [m] Nyſſen. Orat. Catechetic. cap. 37. [n] Theoph. Ep. Paſchal. 1. Panem Dominicum, quo Salvatoris corpus oſtenditur, &c. per Invocationem & adventum Sancti Spiritus conſecrari. [o] Theodor. Dial. 2. t. 4. p. 85. [p] Ambroſ. de Fide lib. 4. cap. 5. Quotieſcunque ſacramenta ſumimus, quæ per ſacræ Orationis myſterium in carnem transfigurantur & ſanguinem, mortem Domini annunciamus. [q] Optat. lib. 6. p. 93. Quid tam ſacrilegum, quam altaria Dei frangere —— quo Deus omnipotens invocatus ſit, & poſtulatus deſcendit Spiritus Sanctus? [r] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagrium. Ad quorum Preces Chriſti Corpus ſanguiſque conficitur. [s] Id. Com. in Zephan. cap. 3. p. 98. ἐυχαριστίας imprecantis facere verba, &c. [t] Ambroſ. de ſacram. lib. 4. cap. 5. Vis ſcire, quia verbis Cœleſtibus conſecratur? Accipe quæ ſunt verba. Dicit ſacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc Oblationem aſcriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod eſt Figura corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. [u] Juvencus Hiſt. Evangel. lib. 4 Bibl. Patr. t. 8. p. 654. Sancteque precatus, Diſcipulos docuit proprium ſe tradere corpus. [x] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 63. Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox poſt Precem dicimus, quia mos Apoſtolorum fuit, ut ad ipſam ſolummodo Orationem oblationis hoſtiam conſecrarent. [y] Cypr. de Orat. p. 146. Quod poteſt & ſpiritaliter & ſimpliciter intelligi —— quia Chriſtus noſter panis eſt. Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie poſtulamus. [z] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 1. cap. 23. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 2. cap. 2. Chryſ. Hom. 82. in Mat. Victor. Antioch. in Marc. 14. Facundus Hermianenſis Defenſ. Trium Capitulor. lib. 9. Cyril. Alexandrin. Com. in Eſa. 25. item paſſim in Glaphyris ſuper Geneſ. Exod. Levit. *Stiles it* Eulogia, *which is the ſame as* Euchariſt *or Benediction*. Vid. Albertin. de Euchariſt. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 21. [a] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 8. p. 390. μετὰ ἐυχαριστίας καὶ ἐυχῆς. &c. [b] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin.

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Earth, and consecrated [c] by mystical Prayer in a solemn manner, and so received by us unto Salvation in Memory of our Lord's Suffering for us. And writing against the *Donatists*, [d] who deny'd the Validity of the Sacraments when they were consecrated and administred by Sinners, he asks them, How then does God hear a Murderer, when he prays either over the Water of Baptism, or the Oil for Unction, or over the *Eucharist*, or over the Heads of those that receive Imposition of Hands? Implying, that the Consecration of the *Eucharist*, as well as the rest of the Things mentioned, was performed by Prayer.

To this mighty Cloud of Witnesses, the *Romanists* have nothing material to oppose, but a few mistaken Passages of the Ancients, which the Reader may find related with proper Answers in that excellent Book of Mr. *Aubertine* upon the *Eucharist* [e]. I shall only take notice of one, which carries the fairest Pretence, out of *Chrysostom*, who in one of his *Homilies* [f] speaks of the Consecration after this manner: It is not Man that makes the Elements become the Body and Blood of Christ, but Christ himself that was crucified for us. The Priest stands fulfilling his Office, and speaking those Words; but the Power and Grace is of God. Christ said, *This is my Body:* This Word consecrates the Elements. And as that Word, which said, *Increase, and multiply, and replenish the Earth*, was spoken but once, yet at all Times is effectual in Deed to strengthen our Nature to beget Children: So this Word once spoken, from that Time to this Day, and until his coming again, perfects and consummates the Sacrifice on every Table throughout the Churches. The Meaning of which is not, as the *Romanists* mistake, that the pronouncing of these Words by the Priest, is the Thing that makes the Sacrifice; but that Christ, by first speaking those Words, gave Power unto Men to make his symbolical Body; as by once speaking those Words, *Increase and multiply*, he gave them Power to procreate Children. Christ's Words are the original Cause of the Consecration; but still Prayer, and not the bare Repetition of his Words, is the instrumental Cause and Means of the Sanctification. As *Chrysostom* himself says plainly in another place [g], where he attributes the Consecration of the Elements to the Invocation of the Spirit, and the Spirit's Descent pursuant to such Invocation. What meanest thou, O Man, says he? When the Priest stands by the holy Table, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and invocating the Holy Spirit to come down and touch the Elements, there should then be great Tranquillity and Silence. When the Spirit grants his Grace, when he comes down, when he touches the Elements, when thou seest the Lamb slain and offered, dost thou then raise a Tumult and Commotion, and give way to Strife and Railing? In which Words, it is plain, *Chrysostom* attributes the Consecration to the Power of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the principal and efficient Cause; to Prayer and Supplication, as the instrumental Cause, operating by way of Condition and Means, to sanctify the Elements according to Christ's Command, by a solemn Benediction, and to the Words, *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, as spoken by Christ in the first Institution, implying a Declaration of what was then done, and what should be done by his Power and Concurrence to the End of the World. So that in all Things relating to the Consecration, we find the Practice of the Ancients exactly corresponding and agreeing to the Order prescribed in the *Constitutions*. And whereas the Author of the *Constitutions* makes it a very great part of the Consecration-Prayer, that they who partake of the *Eucharist* may be confirmed in Godliness, and obtain Remission of Sins, may be delivered from the Devil and his Impostures, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal Life: St. *Chrysostom* [h] evidently refers to such a Prayer, when he says, In the Oblation we offer up our Sins, and say, *Pardon us whatever Sins we have committed either willingly or unwillingly.* We first make mention of them, and then ask Pardon for them. And so it is in the *Liturgy* which goes under St. *Chrysostom*'s Name: *We offer unto Thee this Rational and Unbloody Service, beseeching Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit* [i] *upon us and these Gifts; Make the Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ; and that which is in the Cup, the precious Blood of Thy Christ; transmuting them by Thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to the Receivers for the Washing of their Souls, for Pardon of Sins, for Participation of the Holy Ghost, for obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven, for Boldness towards Thee, and not for Judgment and Condemnation.*

SECT. XII.

After this followed Prayer for the whole Catholick Church.

IMMEDIATELY after the Consecration, followed Prayer for the whole Catholick Church, as redeemed by the precious Blood, of Christ, which was then commemorated in the Oblation and Sacrifice of the Altar. Thus it is represented in the *Constitutions*, and thus also in St. *Chrysostom* [k], who speaking of *Eustathius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, says, he had the Care of the whole Church upon him; which he learned to be his Duty from the Prayers of the Church. For if Prayers ought to be made for the Catholick Church from one End of the Earth

[c] Aug. de Trinitate. lib. 3. cap. 4. Corpus Christi dicimus illud, quod ex frugibus terræ acceptum, & Mystica Prece consecratum rite, sumimus ad Spiritalem Salutem, in memoriam Dominicæ pro nobis Passionis. [d] De Baptismo. lib. 5. cap. 20. Quomodo ergo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel super aquam Baptismi, vel super Oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? [e] Albertin. de Eucharistia. lib. 1. cap. 7. [f] Chrys. Hom. 20. de Proditione Judæ. t. 5. p. 463. [g] Chrys. Hom. 32. in Cœmeterii Appellationem. t. 5. p. 487. It. de Sacerdot. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 93. t. 4. Et de Sacerdot. lib. 3. cap. 4. [h] Chrys. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1870. [i] Chrys. Liturg. t. 4. p. 614. It. p. 619. Συγχώρησόν μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ τὰ ἁμαρτήματά μου τὰ ἑκούσιά τε καὶ ἀκούσια, &c. [k] Chrys. Hom. 52. in Eustath. t. 1. p. 649.

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to the other, much more did he think it his Duty to ſhew his Concern for the whole Church, and watch for their Preſervation. In another place [*l*] he ſays, the Prieſt, when the Sacrifice was offered, bid the People to pray, or give Thanks rather, for the whole World, for thoſe that were abſent, and thoſe that were preſent; for thoſe that were before them, and for thoſe that were then living, and for thoſe that ſhould be after them. And again [*m*], he ſpeaks of Prayer for the World, the Church, and the common Peace and Tranquillity of Mankind. He ſays [*n*], the Prieſt prayed at the Altar in the time of Oblation for the whole City, and not for the whole City only, but for the whole World. So *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [*o*] ſays, As ſoon as the ſpiritual Sacrifice was offered, they beſought God for the common Peace of the Church, and the Tranquillity of the World, *&c.* And *Vigilius* in a Letter to *Juſtinian* [*p*] reminds him, how it was cuſtomary, from antient Tradition, for all Biſhops in offering the Sacrifice, to beſeech God to unite all Men in the Catholick Faith, and to protect and keep it throughout the World. Nay, *Optatus* ſays [*q*], the *Donatiſts* continued to uſe this Prayer in the Celebration of the Sacramental Myſteries, though their Doctrine and Practice were the abſolute Reverſe of it. They ſaid, they offered for the Church, which was one, diffuſed over all the World: But their Practice gave their Prayers the Lye: For they divided it into two, and confined the true Church to a Corner of *Africk*, and the Party of *Donatus*. However this ſhews, it was the Practice both of *Donatiſts* and *Catholicks* to pray for the Univerſal Church.

SECT. XIII. *More particularly for the Biſhops and Clergy.*

MORE particularly they now repeated their Prayers again for the Biſhops and Clergy of the whole Catholick Church, and that Church eſpecially whereof they were Members. Which is not only noted in the *Conſtitutions*, but by *Epiphanius* [*r*] in his Letter to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, where he wipes off a ſlander, which ſome had falſely ſuggeſted to the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as if he had prayed publickly, that God would grant him an Orthodox Faith, implying that he was in Error: Which he denies, telling them, that however he might pray for him after that manner privately in his Heart, yet he never did ſo in the Oblation of the Sacrifice; for in offering thoſe Prayers, according to the Order of the holy Myſteries, they were uſed to ſay both for him and all other Biſhops: *Keep him, O Lord, that preacheth the Truth:* Or elſe after this manner: *Preſerve him, O Lord, and grant that he may preach the Truth*; according as the Occaſion and Order of Prayer required. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo takes notice of this ſolemn praying for Biſhops and the Clergy, and among many other Particulars, when the Oblation was offered. Some, ſays he [*s*], are ſo inconſiderate, diſſolute and vain, as to ſtand and talk, not only in the time of the Catechumens, (that is, when Prayers were made for them in the firſt Service) but alſo at the time of the Faithful (or when their Prayers were offered at the Altar.) And this, ſays he, is the Subverſion and Ruin of all Religion, that at that time when Men ought chiefly to render God propitious to them, they go away provoking his Wrath againſt them. For in the Prayers of the Faithful, we are commanded to ſupplicate the Merciful God for Biſhops, for Presbyters, for Kings, for all that are in Authority; for the Earth and Sea, for the Temperature of the Air or good Weather, and for the whole World. When therefore we, who ought to have ſo much Boldneſs and Freedom as to pray for others, are not vigilant enough to pray for our ſelves with an attentive Mind; what Excuſe can we make? What Pardon can we expect? We cannot deſire a plainer Evidence than this of *Chryſoſtom*, that all theſe Things were the ſubject Matter of their Petitions, when the Oblation was made upon the Altar.

SECT. XIV. *For Kings and Magiſtrates.*

AND therefore hence it appears, that as they prayed for the Biſhops and the Clergy, ſo they repeated their Supplication for Kings and Magiſtrates in this Prayer alſo. I have noted before [*] the ſeveral Authors that take Notice of their praying for Kings in the Prayers before the Oblation, and here I will ſubjoin ſuch as mention it in the Oblation-prayer. *Euſebius* deſcribing the Dedication of the Church which *Conſtantine* built at *Jeruſalem*, ſays, ſome of the Biſhops then preſent made Panegyrical Orations upon *Conſtantine*'s great Reſpect for the common Saviour, and the Magnificence of his Temple; others preached upon Points of Divinity proper to the Occaſion; others explained the myſtical Senſe of Scripture; and others, who could not attain to this, celebrated the myſtical Service and offered the Unbloody Sacrifice to God, making Prayers for the common Peace [*t*] of the World, for the Church of God, for the Emperor himſelf the Founder of the Church, and for his pious Children. In like manner *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* deſcribing the Order of the Communion Service,

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 26. in Mat. p. 259. [*m*] Hom. 37. in Act. p. 329. [*n*] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. 3. p. 93. [*o*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 6. [*p*] Vigil. Ep. 4. ad Juſtinian. Imperator. Conc. tom. 5. p. 315. Omnes Pontifices, antiqua in offerendo Sacrificia traditione, depoſcimus, ut Catholicam Fidem adunare, regere Dominum, & cuſtodire toto orbe dignetur.

[*q*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 53. Vos illud Legitimum in Sacramentorum Myſterio præterire non poſſe. Offerre vos dicitis pro Eccleſia, quæ Una eſt. Hoc ipſum mendacii pars eſt, unam vocare, de qua feceris duas. Et offerre vos dicitis pro una Eccleſia, quæ ſit in toto terrarum orbe diffuſa, &c. [*r*] Epiphan. Ep. ad Joan. Hieroſol. p. 313. Dixerunt quod in Oratione, quando offerimus ſacrificia Deo, ſoleamus pro te dicere: Domine præſta Joanni, ut recte credat. Noli nos in tantum putare ruſticos, &c. Quando autem complemus Orationem ſecundum Ritum Myſteriorum, & pro omnibus & pro te quoque dicimus: Cuſtodi illum qui prædicat veritatem. Vel certe ita: Tu præſta Domine, & cuſtodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis, ſicut Occaſio Sermonis ſe tulerit, & habuerit Oratio Conſequentiam. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 745. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x. *n.* 5. It. *Book* XV. *Chap.* i. *n.* 3. [*t*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 45.

ſays, After the ſpiritual Sacrifice, and the Unbloody Service of the propitiatory Oblation is compleated, we beſeech God for the common Peace of the Churches, for the Tranquillity of the World, for Kings, for their Armies, for their Allies, for thoſe that are ſick and afflicted, and in ſhort for all that ſtand in need of Help and Aſſiſtance. St. *Chryſoſtom* elſewhere mentions both private and publick Prayers [*u*] for Kings, the latter of which may be underſtood of theſe Prayers after the Oblation, as well as any others. *Arnobius* ſays expreſly [*x*] they prayed at once for the Magiſtrates, for their Armies, for Kings, for their Friends, and for their Enemies, for the Living, and for the Dead. Where his mentioning the Dead plainly ſhews, that he ſpeaks of thoſe Prayers which were made after the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated, in which, as we ſhall ſee by and by, a particular Commemoration was made of all thoſe that were departed in the Faith.

SECT. XV. *For the Dead in general.*

NEXT after Prayer for Kings followed Prayer for the Dead, that is, for all that were departed in the true Faith in Chriſt. For ſo it is in the *Conſtitutions*. *We offer unto Thee for all thy Saints that have lived well-pleaſing in Thy Sight from the Foundation of the World, for Patriarchs, Prophets, Holy Men, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, Laymen, and all whoſe Names thou knoweſt.* And that this was the general Practice of the Church, to pray for all without Exception, appears from the concurrent Teſtimony of all the Writers of the Church. We have heard *Arnobius* ſay already [*y*] that they prayed for the Living and the Dead in general. And long before him *Tertullian* [*z*] ſpeaks of Oblations for the Dead, for their Birth-days, that is, the Day of their Death, or a new Birth unto Happineſs, in their annual Commemorations. He ſays every Woman [*a*] prayed for the Soul of her deceaſed Husband, deſiring that he might find Reſt and Refreſhment at preſent, and a part in the firſt Reſurrection, and offering an annual Oblation for him on the Day of his Death. In like manner [*b*] he ſays the Husband prayed for the Soul of his Wife, and offered annual Oblations for her. St. *Cyprian* often mentions the ſame Practice, both when he ſpeaks of Martyrs and others. For the Martyrs they offered the Oblation of Prayer, and of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; for others, Prayers chiefly. Thoſe for the Martyrs he calls [*c*] Oblations and Sacrifices of Commemoration, which they offered eſpecially on the Anniverſary-days of their Martyrdom [*d*], giving God Thanks for their Victory and Coronation. But for others they made ſolemn Supplications and Prayers, as appears from what he ſays of one *Geminius Victor* [*e*], that becauſe he had appointed a Presbyter to be his Executor, contrary to Law, no Oblation ſhould be made for his Reſt or Sleep, nor any Deprecation be uſed in his Name according to Cuſtom in the Church. The Author under the Name of *Origen* upon *Job* [*f*] ſays, they made devout mention of the Saints, and their Parents and Friends, that were dead in the Faith; as well to rejoice in their Refreſhment, as to deſire for themſelves a pious Conſummation in the Faith. And *Origen* [*g*] himſelf ſays, they thought it convenient to make mention of the Saints in their Prayers, and to excite themſelves by the Remembrance of them. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, in deſcribing the Prayer after Conſecration, ſays, We offer this Sacrifice in Memory of all thoſe that are faln aſleep [*h*] before us, firſt Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, that God by their Prayers and Interceſſions may receive our Supplications; and then we pray for our holy Fathers and Biſhops, and all that are faln aſleep before us; believing it to be a conſiderable Advantage to their Souls to be prayed for, whilſt the holy and tremendous Sacrifice lies upon the Altar. *Epiphanius* diſputes at large againſt the *Aerians*, who ridiculed all Prayers for the Dead. For they ſaid, if the Prayers of the Living will advantage the Dead, then it was no Matter for being pious or virtuous; a Man only needed to get his Friends to pray for him after Death, and he would be liable to no Puniſhment, no would his moſt enormous Crimes be required of him. To whom *Epiphanius* replies, that they had many good Reaſons for mentioning the Names of the Dead; becauſe it was an Argument that they were ſtill in Being, and living with the Lord; becauſe it was ſome Advantage to Sinners, though it did not wholly cancel their Crimes; becauſe it put a Diſtinction between the Perfection of Chriſt, and the Imperfection of all other Men: Therefore they prayed for righteous Men, Fathers, Patriarchs [*i*], Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Biſhops, Hermits, and all Orders of Men. And it appears from all the antient *Liturgies* under the Names of St. *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Cyril* [*k*], that they prayed for all Saints, the Virgin *Mary* herſelf not excepted. And it is remarkable, that

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 20 ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 258.

[*x*] Arnob. lib. 4. p. 181. Cur immaniter Conventicula noſtra dirui meruerint? In quibus ſummus oratur Deus, Pax cunctis & venia poſtulatur Magiſtratibus Exercitibus, Regibus, Familiaribus, Inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, & reſolutis corporum vinctione.

[*y*] Arnob. lib. 4. p. 181. *cited in the laſt Section.*

[*z*] Tertul. de Coron. Militis, cap. 3. Oblationes pro Defunctis, pro Natalitiis, annua die facimus

[*a*] De Monogamia. cap. 10. Pro anima ejus orat, & Refrigerium interim adpoſtulat ei, & in prima Reſurrectione conſortium, & offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus.

[*b*] Exhortat. ad Caſtitat. cap. 11. Jam repete apud Deum pro cujus Spiritu poſtules, pro qua Oblationes annuas reddas.

[*c*] Cypr. Ep. 37. al. 22. ad Clerum. p. 28. Celebrentur hic à nobis Oblationes & Sacrificia ob Commemorationes eorum.

[*d*] Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 77. Sacrificia pro eis ſemper, ut meminiſtis, offerimus, quoties Martyrum Paſſiones & Dies Anniverſaria commemoratione celebramus.

[*e*] Ep. 66. al. 1. p. 3. Non eſt quod pro Dormitione ejus apud vos fiat Oblatio, aut Deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur.

[*f*] Orig. in Job. lib. 3. t. 1. p. 437.

[*g*] Orig. lib. 9. in Rom. 12. t. 2. p. 607. Meminiſſe Sanctorum ſive in Collectis ſolennibus, ſive pro eo ut ex Recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum & conveniens videtur.

[*h*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 6.

[*i*] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 7.

[*k*] *See theſe quoted by Biſhop* Uſher's *Anſwer to the Challenge*, p. 136. Et Dallæus de Pœnis & Satisfaction. lib. 5. cap. 8.

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in the old Roman *Miſſal* they were uſed to pray for the Soul of St. *Leo*, as *Hincmar* [*l*], a Writer of the ninth Age, informs us, who ſays the Prayer ran in this Form, *Grant, O Lord, that this Oblation may be of Advantage to the Soul of thy Servant* Leo, *which thou haſt appointed to be for the Relaxation of the Sins of the whole World.* But this was thought ſo incongruous in the following Ages, that in the later *Sacramentaries* or *Miſſals*, it was changed into this Form: *Grant O Lord, we beſeech Thee, that this Oblation may be of Advantage to us by the Interceſſion of St.* Leo, as Pope *Innocent* the Third [*m*] aſſures us it was in his Time. And ſuch another Alteration was made in Pope *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium.* For in the old *Greek* and *Latin Edition* [*n*] there is this Prayer: *Remember, O Lord, all thy Servants, Men and Women, who have gone before us in the Seal of the Faith, and ſleep in the Sleep of Peace: We beſeech Thee, O Lord, to grant them, and all that reſt in Chriſt, a Place of Refreſhment, Light and Peace, through the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* But in the new reformed *Miſſals* [*o*] it is altered thus, *Remember, Lord, Thy Servants and Handmaids* N. *and* N. *that have gone before us,* &c. that they might not ſeem to pray for Saints as well as others that were in Purgatory. Which makes it very probable, that St. *Cyril*'s Catechiſm has alſo been tampered with, and a Clauſe put in, which ſpeaks of their Praying to God by the Interceſſion of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs: Since the antient *Liturgies* prayed for them as well as for all others. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays expreſly [*p*] they offered for the Martyrs. And ſo it is in his *Greek Liturgy* [*q*], *We offer unto Thee this reaſonable Service for the Faithful deceaſed, our Fore-fathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets and Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Religious Perſons, and every Spirit perfected in the Faith; but eſpecially for our moſt Holy, Immaculate, moſt bleſſed Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin* Mary. Though, as Bp. *Uſher* [*r*] has obſerved, ſome of the *Latin* Tranſlators have alſo given a perverſe Turn to theſe Words, rendring them thus, *We offer unto thee this reaſonable Service for the faithful Deceaſed, our Fore-fathers and Fathers, by the Interceſſion of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and all the Saints.* For it ſounded ill to the *Latin* Ears to hear St. *Chryſoſtom* ſay, the antient Church prayed for Saints and Martyrs. And yet he ſays it, not only in the fore-mentioned Places, but over and over again in others. In his forty firſt *Homily* upon the firſt of *Corinthians* [*s*], ſpeaking againſt immoderate Sorrow for the Death of Sinners, he ſays, they are not ſo much to be lamented, as ſuccoured with Prayers and Supplications and Alms and Oblations. For theſe Things were not deſigned in vain, neither is it without Reaſon that we make mention of thoſe that are deceaſed, in the Holy Myſteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is ſlain to take away the Sins of the World; but that ſome Conſolation may hence ariſe to them. Neither is it in vain, that he who ſtands at the Altar when the tremendous Myſteries are celebrated, cries, *We offer unto Thee for all thoſe that are aſleep in Chriſt, and all that make Commemorations for them.* For if there were no Commemorations made for them, theſe Things would not be ſaid.—Let us not therefore grow weary in giving them our Aſſiſtance, and offering Prayers for them. For the common Propitiation of the whole World is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole World, and name them with Martyrs, with Confeſſors, with Prieſts, for we are all one Body, though one Member be more excellent than another; and we may obtain a general Pardon for them by our Prayers, by our Alms, by the Help of thoſe that are named together with them. He ſuppoſes here that the Saints prayed for Sinners, though at the ſame time the Church prayed both for the Saints and Martyrs and Sinners together. In another Place [*t*] he ſays, Prayers were made in general for all thoſe that were deceaſed in the Faith, and none but Catechumens dying in a voluntary Neglect of Baptiſm, were excluded from the Benefit of them. At that Time, ſays he, when all the People ſtand with their Hands lift up to Heaven, and all the Company of Prieſts with them, and the tremendous Sacrifice lies upon the Altar, how ſhall we not move God to Mercy, when we call upon him for thoſe that are deceaſed in the Faith? I ſpeak of them only: For the Catechumens are not allowed this Conſolation, but are depriv'd of all Aſſiſtance, except only giving Alms for them. This then was a Puniſhment inflicted upon the Catechumens, of which *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks in other Places [*u*]; and it appears to have been a ſettled Rule by ſome antient Canons [*x*] of the Church, of which I have had Occaſion to ſpeak in a former Book [*], to deny Catechumens the Benefit of the Church's Prayers after Death. *Chryſoſtom* ſays again [*y*] that a Biſhop is to be Interceſſor for all the World, and to pray to God to be merciful to the Sins of all Men, not only the Living, but the Dead alſo. *Caſſian* ſays alſo, the *Biothanati*, as they called them, that is, Men that laid violent Hands upon themſelves, were excluded from the Benefit of the Church's Prayers. And therefore when one *Hero* an old Hermit had by the Deluſions of Satan caſt himſelf into a deep Well, *Paphnutius* the Abbot could hardly be prevailed upon to let him be reckoned any other

[*l*] Hincmar. de Prædeſtin. lib. 1. cap. 34. Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc proſit Oblatio, quam immolando totius mundi tribuiſti relaxari delicta. tom. 1. p. 297.
[*m*] Innoc. Epiſt. in Decretal. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 41. cap. 6. p. 1372. Annue nobis, quæſumus Domine, ut Interceſſione Beati Leonis, hæc nobis proſit Oblatio. Miſſal. Feſt. Leonis. Jun. 28.
[*n*] Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 129. [*o*] Miſſal. Roman. in Canone Miſſæ. p. 301. [*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. in Act. t. 4. Edit. Savil. p. 736. [*q*] Chryſ. Liturg. t. 4. p. 614. [*r*] Uſher's *Anſwer to the Challenge.* p. 136.
[*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 41. in 1 Cor. p. 701. [*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Philip. p. 1225. [*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in Joan. p. 159. Hom. 1. in Act. p. 14. [*x*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 35. [*] *Book* X. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 18. [*y*] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib. 6. cap. 4. Vid. Hom. 32. in Mat. p. 307.

than a Self-murderer, and unworthy [z] of the Memorial and Oblation that was made for all thoſe that were at Reſt in Peace. Which is alſo noted in the Council of *Braga* [a], where Catechumens and Self-murderers are put in the ſame Claſs together, as Perſons that deſerved neither the Solemnities of Chriſtian Burial, nor the uſual Prayers and Commemoration that was made for the Reſt of Chriſtians at the Altar.

St. *Auſtin* indeed had a ſingular Opinion in this Matter about Prayer for the Dead. For he thought the Martyrs were not properly to be prayed for as other Men, becauſe they were admitted to the immediate Fruition of Heaven. There goes a common Saying under his Name (which Pope *Innocent* the Third quotes [b] as holy Scripture) That he who prays for a Martyr, does Injury to the Martyr, becauſe they attained to Perfection in this Life, and have no need of the Prayers of the [c] Church, as all others have. Therefore he ſays [d], when they were named at the Altar, and their Memorials celebrated, they did not commemorate them as Perſons for whom they prayed, as they did all others that reſted in Peace, but rather as Men that prayed for the Church on Earth, that we might follow their Steps, who had attained to the Perfection of Charity in laying down their Lives for Chriſt, according to that Aphoriſm of Chriſt himſelf, *Greater Love than this hath no Man, that he lay down his Life for his Friend.* Upon this Account St. *Auſtin* thought the Oblations and Alms, that were uſually offered in the Church for all the Dead that had received Baptiſm, were only Thankſgivings for ſuch as were very good [e]; and Propitiations for thoſe that were not very bad; and for ſuch as were very Evil, though they were no Helps to them when they were Dead, yet they were ſome Conſolation to the Living. But as Biſhop *Uſher* [f] rightly obſerves, this was but a harſh Interpretation of the Prayers of the Church, to imagine that one and the ſame Act of Praying ſhould be a Petition for ſome, and for others a Thankſgiving only: And therefore it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Church deſigned to pray for all; eſpecially ſince St. *Auſtin* [g] himſelf owns that the Church made Supplications for all that died in the Society of the Chriſtian and Catholick Faith, as all the ancient Forms of Prayer do manifeſtly evince beyond all Poſſibility of Exception.

SECT. XVI. *Upon what Grounds the Antient Church prayed for the Dead, Saints, Martyrs, Confeſſors, as well as all others.*

SUPPOSING then, that the Antient Church made Prayers for Saints and Martyrs, as well as all others, it remains to be enquired Upon what Grounds and Reaſons ſhe obſerved this Cuſtom: whether upon the modern Suppoſition of a Purgatory-Fire, or upon Reaſons more agreeable to ſuch a general Practice? That ſhe did not do it upon the Suppoſition of Purgatory, appears evidently from what has been already obſerved out of the publick Offices of the Church, that ſhe prayed for all the Saints, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and even the Virgin *Mary* herſelf, and all other holy Men and Women from the Foundation of the World, who were ſuppoſed to be in a Place of Reſt and Happineſs, and not in any Place of Purgation or Torment. And this appears farther from the private Prayers made by St. *Ambroſe* [h] for the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, and *Gratian*, and his own Brother *Saturus*, and the Directions he gives to *Fauſtinus* [i] not to weep for his Siſter, but to make Prayers and Oblations for her. For all theſe were Perſons, of whom he had not the leaſt Doubt, but that their Souls were in Reſt and Happineſs. As all the Funeral Service of the Ancients ſuppoſes, where they uſually ſung thoſe Verſes of the *Pſalms*, *Return again unto thy Reſt, O my Soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee:* And again, *I will fear no Evil, becauſe Thou art with me:* And again, *Thou art my Refuge from the Affliction that compaſſeth me about.* Which St. *Chryſoſtom* [k] often bids his Hearers remember, that whilſt they prayed for the deceaſed Party, they ſhould not weep and lament immoderately, as the *Heathen* did, but give God Thanks for taking him to a Place of Reſt and Security. Which is utterly inconſiſtent with their going into the dreadful Pains of Purgatory. St. *Auſtin* both prayed in private for his Mother *Monicha* [l], and alſo ſpeaks of the Church's Prayers for her at her Funeral, and afterward at the Altar; and yet he made no queſtion of her going hence from a State of Piety here to a State of Joy and Felicity hereafter. And after the ſame manner *Gregory Nazianzen* [m] prays God to receive the Soul of his Brother *Cæſarius*, who was lately regenerated by the Spirit in Baptiſm. It is certain theſe Prayers were not founded on a Belief of a Pur-

[z] Caſſian. Collat. 2. cap. 5. Vix a Presbytero Abbate Paphnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter Biothanatos reputatus, etiam Memoria & Oblatione pauſantium judicaretur indignus. [a] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 35. [b] Innoc. in Decretal. Gregorii. lib. 3. tit. 41. cap. 5. Sacræ Scripturæ dicit auctoritas, quod injuriam facit Martyri, qui orat pro Martyre. [c] Aug. Ser. 17. de Verbis Apoſtoli. t. 10. p. 132. Perfectio in hac vita nonnulla eſt, ad quam Sancti Martyres pervenerunt. Ideoque habet Eccleſiaſtica Diſciplina, quod Fideles noverunt, cum Martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipſis oretur, pro cæteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Injuria eſt enim pro Martyre orare, cujus nos debemus Orationibus commendari. [d] Aug. Tract. 84. in Joan. t. 9. p. 185. Ad ipſam menſam non ſic eos commemoramus, quemadmodum alios qui in Pace requieſcunt, ſed magis ut (orent) ipſi pro nobis, ut eorum veſtigiis adhæreamus, quia impleverunt ipſi Charitatem, &c. [e] Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110. Cum ergo ſacrificia ſive Altaris ſive quarumcumque Eleemoſynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde bonis Gratiarum actiones ſunt: pro non valde malis Propitiationes ſunt: pro valde malis etſi nulla ſunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualeſcunque vivorum Conſolationes ſunt. Quibus autem proſunt, aut ad hoc proſunt, ut ſit plena Remiſſio, aut certe tolerabilior fiat ipſa Damnatio. [f] Uſher's *Anſwer to the Challenge*. p. 142. [g] Aug. de Cura pro Mortuis. cap. 4. Non ſunt prætermittendæ ſupplicationes pro Spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in Chriſtiana & Catholica ſocietate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, ſub generali Commemoratione ſuſcepit Eccleſia. [h] Ambroſ. de Obitu Theodoſii De obitu Valentin. De Obitu Fratris. [i] Ep. 8. ad Fauſtin. [k] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1785. Hom. 29. de Dormientibus. t. 5. p. 423. Vid. Caſſian. Collat. 2. cap. 5. [l] Aug. Confeſs. lib. 9. cap. 12. & 13. [m] Naz. Orat. 10. p. 176.

gatory-Fire after Death, but upon a Suppoſition that they were going to a Place of Reſt and Happineſs; which was their firſt Reaſon for praying for them, That God would receive them to himſelf, and deliver them from Condemnation. 2. Upon the ſame Preſumption ſome of their Prayers for the Dead were always Euchariſtical, or Thankſgivings for their Deliverance out of the Troubles of this ſinful World. As appears not only from the forementioned Teſtimonies of *Chryſoſtom*, but from the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [n], who in deſcribing their Funeral-Service, ſpeaks of the εὐχὴ εὐχαριστήριος, the Euchariſtical Prayers, whereby they gave God Thanks not only for Martyrs, but all Chriſtians that died in the true Faith and Fear of God. A third Reaſon of praying for them, was, becauſe they juſtly conceived all Men to die with ſome Remainders of Frailty and Corruption, and therefore deſired that God would deal with them according to his Mercy, and not in ſtrict Juſtice according to their Merits. For no one then was thought to have any real Merit or Title to eternal Happineſs, but only upon God's Promiſes and Mercy. St. *Auſtin* diſcourſes excellently upon this Point in the Caſe of his Mother *Monicha*, after this manner: *I now pour out unto Thee, my God, another ſort of Tears for Thy Handmaid, flowing from a trembling Spirit; in Conſideration of the Danger that every Soul is in that dies in* Adam. *For although ſhe was made alive in Chriſt, and lived ſo in the Days of her Fleſh, as to bring Glory to thy Name by her Faith and Practice: Yet I dare not ſay, that from the Time ſhe was regenerated by Baptiſm, no Word came out of her Mouth againſt Thy Command. And Thou haſt told us by him who is Truth it ſelf, That* whoſoever ſhall ſay to his Brother, Thou Fool, ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire. *And wo to the moſt laudable Life of Man, if Thou ſhouldſt ſift and examine it without Mercy. But becauſe Thou art not extream to mark what is done amiſs, we have Hope and Confidence to find ſome* [o] *place and room for Indulgence with Thee. But whoever reckons up his true Merits before Thee, what does he more than recount thy own Gifts? O that all Men would know themſelves, and they that glory, glory in the Lord! I therefore, O my Praiſe, and my Life, the God of my Heart, ſetting aſide a little her good Actions, for which I joyfully give Thee Thanks, now make Interceſſion for the Sins of my Mother. Hear me through the Medicine of his Wounds, who hanged upon the Tree, and now ſitteth at thy Right Hand to make Interceſſion for us.* He adds, a little after, that he believed God had granted what he asked: Yet he prays, That *the Lion and the Dragon might not interpoſe himſelf, either by his open Violence or Subtilty. For ſhe would not anſwer That ſhe was no Debtor, leſt the crafty Adverſary ſhould convict her and lay hold of her; but ſhe would anſwer, That her Sins were forgiven her by Him, to whom no Man can return what he gave to us without any Obligation. Let her therefore reſt in Peace with her Husband; and do Thou, my Lord God, inſpire all thoſe Thy Servants that read this, to remember thy Handmaid* Monicha *at thy Altar with* Patricius *her Conſort.* This was not a Prayer for Perſons in the Pains of Purgatory; but for ſuch as reſted in Peace, only without Dependance upon their own Merits, and with an humble Reliance upon God's Mercy, that he would not ſuffer them to be devoured by the roaring Lion, nor deal extreamly with them for the Sins of human Frailty. 4. Another like Reaſon for theſe Prayers, is that which we have heard before out of *Epiphanius* [p], that it was to put a Diſtinction between the Perfection of Chriſt, and the Imperfection of all other Men, Saints, Martyrs, Apoſtles, Prophets, Confeſſors, *&c.* He being the only Perſon, for whom Prayer was not then made in the Church. 5. They prayed for all Chriſtians, as a Teſtimony both of their Reſpect and Love to the Dead, and of their own Belief of the Soul's Immortality; to ſhew, as *Epiphanius* words it in the ſame Place, that they believed, that they who were deceas'd were yet alive, and not extinguiſhed, but ſtill in Being, and living with the Lord. 6. Whereas the Soul is but in an imperfect State of Happineſs till the Reſurrection, when the whole Man ſhall obtain a compleat Victory over Death, and by the laſt Judgment be eſtabliſhed in an endleſs State of conſummate Happineſs and Glory; the Church had a particular Reſpect to this in her Prayers for the Righteous, that both the Living and the Dead might finally attain this bleſſed Eſtate of a glorious Reſurrection. It is obſerved by ſome [q], that there are ſome Prayers yet extant in the *Roman Maſs*, which are conformable to this Opinion, as that which prays, that *God would abſolve the Souls of his Servants from every Bond of Sin, and bring them to the Glory of the Reſurrection*, &c.

All theſe were general Reaſons of Praying for the Dead, without the leaſt Intimation of their being tormented in the temporary Pains of a Purgatory-Fire. Beſides which, they had ſome particular Opinions, which tended to promote this Practice. For firſt, a great many of the Ancients believed, that the Souls of all the Righteous, except Martyrs, were ſequeſtred out of Heaven in ſome Place inviſible to mortal Eye, which they called *Hades*, or *Paradiſe*, or *Abraham's Boſom*, a Place of Refreſhment and Joy, where they expected a compleater Happineſs at the End of all Things. This is the known Opinion of *Hermes Paſtor*, *Juſtin Martyr*, Pope *Pius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Caius Romanus*, *Victorinus Martyr*, *Novatian*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary*, *Ambroſe*,

[n] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierarch. cap. 7. p. 408. [o] Aug. Confeſs. lib. 9 cap. 13. Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia vero non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiducialiter ſperamus aliquem apud te locum invenire Indulgentiæ. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat vera Merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? &c. Ego itaque, Laus mea & Vita mea, Deus cordis mei, ſepoſitis pauliſper bonis ejus actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meæ deprecor te, &c. Et credo jam feceris quod te rogo, &c.
[p] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 7. [q] Vid. du Moulin. *Novelty of Popery.* lib. 7. chap. i. p. 459.

Gregory Nyſſen, *Prudentius*, *Auſtin* and *Chryſoſtom*. Therefore in praying for the Dead, they may be ſuppoſed to have ſome Reference to this, and to deſire that the Souls of the Righteous, thus ſequeſtred for a Time, might at laſt be brought to the perfect Fruition of Happineſs in Heaven. 2. Many of the Ancients held the Opinion of the *Millenium*, or the Reign of Chriſt a thouſand Years upon Earth, before the final Day of Judgment: And they ſuppoſed likewiſe, that Men ſhould riſe, ſome ſooner, ſome later, to this happy State, according to their Merits and Preparations for it. And therefore ſome of them prayed for the Deceaſed on this Suppoſition, that they might obtain a Part in this Reſurrection, and a ſpeedier Admittance into this Kingdom: It being reckoned a ſort of Puniſhment, not to be admitted with the firſt that ſhould riſe to this State of Glory. *Tertullian* plainly refers [*r*] to this, when he ſays, Every little Offence is to be puniſhed by delaying Men's Reſurrection. And therefore he ſays [*s*], they were wont to pray for the Souls of the Deceaſed, that they might not only reſt in Peace for the preſent, but alſo obtain Part in the firſt Reſurrection. And for this Reaſon St. *Ambroſe* [*t*] prayed for *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, that God would raiſe them with the firſt, and recompenſe their untimely Death with a timely Reſurrection. And he ſays elſewhere [*u*], that they that come not to the firſt Reſurrection, but are reſerved unto the ſecond, ſhall be burned until they fulfill the Time between the firſt and ſecond Reſurrection; or if they have not fulfilled that, they ſhall remain longer in Puniſhment. Therefore let us pray, that we may obtain a part in the firſt Reſurrection. Biſhop *Uſher* [*x*] alſo ſhews, out of ſome *Gothick Miſſals*, that the Church had antiently ſeveral Prayers directed to this very purpoſe. 3. Many of the Ancients believed, that there would be a Fire of Probation, through which all muſt paſs at the laſt Day, even the Prophets and Apoſtles, and even the Virgin *Mary* her ſelf not excepted. Which is aſſerted not only by *Origen* [*y*], *Irenæus* [*z*], and *Lactantius* [*a*], but alſo by St. *Ambroſe*, who ſays [*b*] after *Origen*, that all muſt paſs through the Flames, though it be *John* the Evangeliſt, though it be *Peter*. *The Sons of* Levi *ſhall be purged by Fire* [*c*], *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, &c. And theſe having been tried by Fire, ſhall ſay, We have paſſed through Fire and Water. And St. *Hilary* much after the ſame manner [†], They that are baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, are yet to be perfected by the Fire of Judgment. For ſo he interprets thoſe Words of the Evangeliſt, *He ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire*. And again [*d*], Do we deſire the Day of Judgment, in which we muſt undergo the exact Scrutiny of Fire? in which we muſt give an Account of every idle Word: in which thoſe grievous Puniſhments for expiating Souls from Sin, muſt be endured? If the Virgin herſelf, who conceived God in her Womb, muſt undergo the Severity of Judgment, who is ſo bold as to deſire to be judged by God? There are many like Paſſages in *Gregory Nazianzen* [*e*], and *Nyſſen* [*f*], and St. *Jerom* [*g*], and St. *Auſtin* [*h*], which the *Romiſh* Writers commonly produce for the Fire of Purgatory, when-as they plainly relate to this purging Sacrament, as *Origen* [*] calls it, or in St. *Auſtin's* Language, the purging Pains of the Fire of Judgment at the laſt Day. And the Fear of this was another Reaſon of their praying for the Dead. 4. Some of the Ancients thought likewiſe that the Prayers of the Church were of ſome Uſe to mitigate the Pains of the damned Souls, though not effectual for their total Deliverance. And laſtly, That they ſerved to augment the Glory of the Saints in Happineſs. St. *Auſtin* [*i*] ſays, they were of Uſe to render the Damnation of the Wicked more tolerable. And this was the Opinion of *Prudentius* [*k*] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [*l*], who adviſes Men to pray for the Dead upon this Account, that it would bring ſome Conſolation to them, though but a little; or if none at all to them, yet it would be accepted of God as a pleaſing Sacrifice from thoſe that offered it. And the like may be read in *Paulinus* [*m*], and the Author of the Queſtions to *Antiochus*, under the Name of *Athanaſius* [*n*]. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays [*o*] farther, that their Prayers and Alms were of uſe to procure an Addition to the Rewards and Retribution of the Righteous. Theſe are all the Reaſons we meet with in the Ancients for praying for Souls departed, none of which have any Relation to their being tormented in the Fire of Purgatory, but moſt of

[*r*] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 58. Modicum quodque delictum mora Reſurrectionis luendum, &c. [*s*] De monogam. cap. 10. Pro anima ejus orat, & Refrigerium interim adpoſtulat ei, & in prima Reſurrectione conſortium. Confer. L. 3. contr. Marcion. cap. 24. Poſt mille annos, intra quam ætatem concluditur Sanctorum Reſurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardius reſurgentium, &c. [*t*] Ambroſ. de Obitu Valentin. ad finem. Te quæſo ſumme Deus, ut chariſſimos Juvenes matura reſurrectione ſuſcites & reſuſcites; ut immaturum hunc vitæ iſtius curſum matura reſurrectione compenſes. [*u*] Id. in Pſal. 1. Qui non veniunt ad primam Reſurrectionem, ſed ad ſecundam reſervantur, iſti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam & ſecundam reſurrectionem: aut ſi non impleverint, diutius in ſupplicio permanebunt. Ideo ergo rogemus, ut in prima reſurrectione partem habere mereamur. [*x*] Uſher. *Anſwer to the Challenge.* p. 151. [*y*] Orig. Hom. 3. in Pſal. 36. p. 446.
[*z*] Iren. lib. 4. cap. 9. [*a*] Lactant. lib. 7. cap. 21.
[*b*] Ambroſ. Ser. 20. in Pſal. 118. [*c*] Id. Hom. 3. in Pſal. 36.

[†] Hilar. in Mat. Canon. 2. p. 148. Quia baptizatis in Spiritu Sancto reliquum ſit conſummari igne Judicii. [*d*] Id. Enarrat. in Pſal. 118. voce Gimel. p. 254. Cum ex omni ocioſo verbo rationem ſimus præſtituri, diem Judicii concupiſcemus, in quo nobis eſt indefeſſus ignis obeundus; in quo ſubeunda ſunt gravia illa expiandæ à peccatis animæ ſupplicia? &c.
[*e*] Naz. Orat. 42. [*f*] Nyſſen. de Dormientibus.
[*g*] Hieron. in Eſa. 66. [*h*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 20. cap. 25. [*] Orig. Hom. 14. in Luc. p. 223. [*i*] Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110. pro valde malis valere, ut tolerabilior ſit damnatio. [*k*] Prudent. Cathemerinon. Carm. 5. de Cereo Paſchali. Sunt & Spiritibus ſæpe nocentibus Pœnarum celebres ſub Styge Feriæ, Illa nocte ſacer qua rediit Deus Stagnis ad ſuperos ex Acheronticis. [*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. Vid. Hom. 21. in Act. & Hom. 32. in Mat.
[*m*] Paulin. Ep. 19. [*n*] Athanaſ. Quæſt. ad Antioch. Q. 34.
[*o*] Chryſ. Hom. 32. in Mat. p. 307. πεφύκην γένηται μισθὸς καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις.

them

them tend directly to overthrow it. Whence we may safely conclude, That though the Ancients generally prayed for the Dead, at least from the Time of *Tertullian*, who first speaks of it; yet they did it not upon those Principles, which are now so stifly contended for in the *Romish* Church. Which is also evident from many antient Forms still remaining in the *Mass-Book*, and the *Liturgies* of the modern *Greeks*, who continue to pray for the Dead without any Belief of Purgatory, as it were easy to demonstrate out of their Rituals, but that it is wholly foreign to the Design of the present Discourse.

SECT. XVII. *A short Account of the* Diptychs, *and their Use in the antient Church.*

THERE is one thing more to be noted upon this Matter, That some Time before they made Oblation for the Dead, it was usual in some Ages to recite the Names of such eminent Bishops, or Saints or Martyrs, as were particularly to be mentioned in this part of the Service. To this purpose they had certain Books, which they called their holy Books, and commonly their *Diptychs*, from their being folded together, wherein the Names of such Persons were written, that the Deacon might rehearse them, as Occasion required, in the time of Divine Service. Cardinal *Bona* [*p*] and *Schelstrate* make three sorts of these *Diptychs*; one, wherein the Names of Bishops only were written, and more particularly such Bishops as had been Governors of that particular Church: A 2d, wherein the Names of the Living were written, who were eminent and conspicuous either for any Office and Dignity, or some Benefaction and good Work, whereby they had deserved well of the Church; in this Rank were the Patriarchs and Bishops of great Sees, and the Bishop and Clergy of that particular Church; together with the Emperors and Magistrates, and others most conspicuous among the People: The 3d was, the Book containing the Names of such as were deceased in Catholick Communion. The first and the last of these seem to be much the same, and the Consideration of them is only proper to this place. For the Recital of the Names of the Living, as Benefactors by their Oblations, has been spoken of already [*], and here we are only concerned with the Dead. Of this there is no mention made in the *Constitutions*, which seems to argue, that the Custom of rehearsing the *Diptychs* was not brought into the Rituals of that Church whence the Compiler of that Book made his Collections. But *Cyprian* [*q*] and *Tertullian* [*r*] speak of them under another Name; and *Theodoret* mentions them in the Case of St. *Chrysostom*, whose Name for some time was left out of the *Diptychs*, because he died excommunicate (though unjustly) by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and other *Eastern* Bishops, with whom the *Western* Church would not communicate [*s*] till they had restored his Name to the *Diptychs* again. The Author under the Name of *Dionysius* [*t*] gives this Account of them: That after the Salutation of the Kiss of Peace, the *Diptychs* were read, which set forth the Names of those who had lived righteously, and had attained to the Perfections of a virtuous Life; which was done, partly to excite and conduct the Living to the same happy State by following their good Example; and partly to celebrate the Memory of them as still living, according to the Principles of Religion, and not properly dead, but only translated by Death to a more divine Life. It appears from this Author, that these *Diptychs* were then read before the Consecration, immediately after the Kiss of Peace. And so it is in the Acts of the Council of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*, which makes frequent mention of them, and particularly in one place [*u*] notes the Time of reading them, namely after the reading of the *Gospel* and the *Creed*: For by this time the *Creed* was also become a part of the Communion-Service in the *Eastern* Church: Therefore it is said, after the reading of the *Gospel*, when the Communion-Service was begun (not ended, as the *Latin* Translation falsely renders it) the *Creed* was read according to Custom, τῷ ἁγίῳ μαθήματι καὶ τὸ συνηθὲς λεχθέντι (not the Prayers and Prefaces going before the Oblation, some learned Men [*x*], not understanding the true meaning of the Word μάθημα, render it *Lectio*, and interpret it Prayers and Prefaces, which most certainly [*] signifies the *Creed* in this Place:) Then, after the Reading of the *Creed*, in the time of the *Diptychs*, all the People ran and stood about the Altar with great Silence, to give Attention; and when the Deacon had named the four holy Synods, and the Archbishops of blessed Memory, *Euphemius*, *Macedonius* and *Leo*, they all with a loud Voice cried out, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, and after that with great Tranquility the Divine-Service was piously performed. It is here observable, that the Recital of the *Diptychs* was before the Consecration-Prayer, as it is represented in the Hierarchy of *Dionysius* (though in the *Latin* Church it seems to have been otherwise) and that now it was usual to mention the four first general Councils, to shew their Approbation of them. Which may be also evidenced from one of *Justinian*'s Letters to *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, now extant in the *Code* [*y*], wherein he assures him, That it was in vain for any one to trouble him upon

[*p*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 12. n. 1. Schelstrat. de Concilio Antiocheno. Can. 2. cap. 6. p. 216. [*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 4. *and Book* II. *Chap.* xx. *n.* 5. [*q*] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Plebem Furnitan. [*r*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. [*s*] Theod. lib. 5. cap. 34. [*t*] Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3. p. 253. & 254. [*u*] Conc. Constant. sub Menna. an. 536. Act. 5. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 181. [*x*] Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 217. [*] *See this proved before, Book* X. *Chap.* iii. *n.* 3. [*y*] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. tit. 1. de summa Trinitate, Leg. 7. Nullus frustra nos turbet, spe vana innixus, quasi nos contrarium quatuor Conciliis fecerimus, aut fieri à quibusdam permittamus, aut aboleri eorundem Sanctorum Conciliorum piam Memoriam ex Ecclesiæ Diptychis sustineamus. Vid. Evagrium. lib. 4. c. 4. & 11.

any falſe Hopes, as if he had done, or ever would do, or ſuffer any other to do any thing contrary to the four Councils, or allow the pious Memory of them to be eraſed out of the *Diptychs* of the Church. Theſe therefore were of Uſe, partly to preſerve the Memory of ſuch eminent Men as were dead in the Communion of the Church, and partly to make honourable mention of ſuch General Councils as had eſtabliſhed the chief Articles of the Faith: And to eraſe the Names either of Men or Councils out of theſe *Diptychs*, was the ſame thing as to declare that they were Heterodox, and ſuch as they thought unworthy to hold Communion with, as Criminals, or ſome ways deviating from the Faith. Upon this Account St. *Cyprian* ordered the Name of *Geminius Victor* to be left out among thoſe that were commemorated at the holy Table [*a*], becauſe he had broken the Rules of the Church. And *Evagrius* obſerves [*b*] of *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, that his Name was ſtruck out of the holy Books, that is, the *Diptychs*, upon the Account of his heretical Opinions, after Death. And St. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, whom the *Donatiſts* falſely accuſed of being ordained by *Traditores*, or Men who had delivered up the *Bible* to be burned in the Time of Perſecution, tells them, that if they could make good any real Charge againſt him, they would no longer name him among the reſt of the Biſhops, whom they believed to be faithful and innocent, at the Altar.

SECT. XVIII. *Next to the Dead, Prayer made for the Living Members of that particular Church, and every Order in it.*

HAVING made this ſhort Digreſſion concerning the *Diptychs* of the Church, I now return to the Order of the Service laid down in the *Conſtitutions*. Where next after Prayer for the Dead, Supplication is made for the living Members of that particular Church then aſſembled, and every diſtinct Order of Perſons in it. *We offer unto Thee* [*d*] *for this People, that Thou wouldſt make them, to the Glory of Thy Chriſt, a Royal Prieſthood and an holy Nation; for all that live in Virginity and Chaſtity; for the Widows of the Church; for all that live in honeſt Marriage; for the Infants of thy People; that none of us may be caſt away; We pray Thee for this City, and all that dwell therein.* St. *Auſtin* likewiſe ſpeaks [*e*] of theſe Prayers at the Altar, for the Faithful, that they by the Gift of God may perſevere in that wherein they have begun. Again [*f*], Who ever heard the Prieſt praying over the Faithful, and ſaying, *Grant, O Lord, that they may perſevere in Thee unto the End*, and durſt either in Word or Thought reprehend that Prayer, and not rather anſwer *Amen* to ſuch a Benediction? *Chryſoſtom* in like manner deſcribing the Biſhop's Office, ſays [*g*], it is his Buſineſs to pray for a whole City, and not for a whole City only, but as an Ambaſſador for the whole World, That God would be propitious and merciful both to the Sins of the Living and the Dead. Which makes it the more probable, that the Prayers of the like kind that occur in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s *Liturgy* [*h*], are but a Copy of ſuch Prayers as were then commonly uſed in the antient Church.

SECT. XIX. *For thoſe that are in Sickneſs, Slavery, Baniſhment, and Proſcription, and that travel by Sea or Land.*

THE next Petition in the *Conſtitutions* is for all that are in Affliction, whether by Sickneſs, or Slavery, or Baniſhment, or Confiſcation and Proſcription: And for all that are expoſed to any Perils upon the Account of their neceſſary Travels by Sea or by Land. Of theſe Petitions I find no particular mention made in other Writers, ſave only in *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who ſays [*i*], after they had prayed for the common Peace of the Church, and the Tranquillity of the World, for Kings, and for their Armies and Allies, they alſo beſought God for all that were ſick and afflicted, or in any kind of Want: And laſt of all they prayed for the Dead. By which we may judge, that though the Order of the Petitions was a little varied in the *Liturgies* of different Churches, yet the Subſtance was the ſame. And there is little queſtion but the Sick and Diſtreſſed were remember'd in theſe Prayers in all the Churches; ſince in the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer before the Oblation, there is expreſs Direction given to the People, to pray for the Sick, and thoſe that travel by Sea or by Land, and thoſe that are in the Mines, in Baniſhment, in Priſon, in Bonds and in Slavery, as I have ſhewed out of ſeveral Paſſages in St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Baſil*, and St. *Auſtin*, comparing them with the Form of Bidding-Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church in the *Conſtitutions*, related before in the firſt Chapter of this Book, n. 2. and 3.

SECT. XX. *For Enemies and Perſecutors, Hereticks and Unbelievers.*

THE next Petition in the *Conſtitutions* is for their Enemies and Perſecutors, for Hereticks and Unbelievers, thoſe that are without the Pale of the Church, and wandring in Error; that God would convert them to good, and mitigate their Fury. And of this there are frequent Examples in the Writings of the Ancients. For nothing was more ſtrictly obſerved by the Ancients than to pray for their Enemies and Perſecutors, for Jews, In-

[*a*] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Pleb. Furnitan. [*b*] Evagr. lib. 4. cap. 38. ἐκ τῆς ἱερῶν ἀπηλείφει δέλτου. &c. [*c*] Aug. Serm. 37. ex editis a Sirmondo. t. 10. p. 840. Inventus ſit prorſus reus, &c. deinceps eum ad altare inter Epiſcopos, quos fideles & innocentes credimus, non recitabimus. [*d*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 12. [*e*] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. Pro Fidelibus, ut in eo quod eſſe cæperunt, ejus munere perſeverent. [*f*] De Dono Perſeverantiæ, cap. 23. tom. 7. p. 571. Quis Sacerdotem ſuper Fideles Dominum invocantem, ſi quando dixit, Da illis Domine in te perſeverare uſque in finem, non ſolum voce auſus eſt, ſed ſaltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius ſuper ejus talem Benedictionem & corde credente & ore confitente reſpondit, Amen? [*g*] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 93. [*h*] Chryſ. Liturg. t. 3. p. 616. [*i*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 6.

fidels

fidels and Hereticks; of which Dr. *Cave* [k] has given ſeveral Inſtances out of *Cyprian* [l], *Juſtin Martyr* [m], and *Irenæus* [n]. Which becauſe they may ſeem only to refer to their private Prayers, I will add a few more which more expreſsly relate to their publick Devotions. *Tertullian* [o] tells the Heathen, they were taught by the Scriptures (which they themſelves might read) to exhibit a more than ordinary Kindneſs toward Men, in praying to God for their Enemies, and wiſhing all good to their Perſecutors. For they had no greater Enemies or Perſecutors in thoſe Days than thoſe very Emperors for whom they made Supplications to God [p] as oft as they met in publick, and for their Officers, and for the State of the World, and for the Peace and Tranquillity of their Affairs, and for the Duration of their Empire. *Arnobius* ſays their Churches were Oratories [q], wherein they prayed for Peace and Pardon, for the Magiſtrates and Princes, for their Armies, for their Friends and for their Enemies. St. *Auſtin* [r] particularly notes, that the Prieſt was wont to exhort the People at the Altar to pray for Unbelievers, that God would convert them to the Faith. And again, When does not the Church [†] pray for Infidels and her Enemies, that they may believe? In like manner Pope *Celeſtine* [s] ſays, the whole Church prayed with the Prieſt for Infidels, that Faith might be given unto them; for Idolaters, that they might be delivered from the Errors of their Impiety; for Jews, that the Veil being taken away from their Heart, the Light of Truth may appear unto them; for Hereticks, that they may repent by returning to the Catholick Faith; for Schiſmaticks, that they may receive the Spirit of Charity, reviving from the Dead. And the ſame is repeated by *Gennadius* [t], or whoever was the Author of the Book *de Eccleſiaſticis Dogmatibus* under the Name of St. *Auſtin*. And in both places it is ſaid, that this Practice was derived from the Apoſtles, and uniformly obſerved in the whole Catholick Church throughout the World. Nay it is evident they prayed for many Hereticks, whom they looked upon as guilty of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. For they did not eſteem that Sin abſolutely unpardonable, but only puniſhable in both Worlds, on Suppoſition that Men did not repent of it. Therefore St. *Auſtin* [u] and others ſay, they prayed that they might repent and be ſaved; and accordingly admitted them to the Peace and Communion of the Church upon their Repentance. In a Word, as *Chryſoſtom* ſays [x], they prayed for the whole World without Exception; they prayed that all Men whatſoever might be converted.

SECT. XXI. *For the Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents.*

NEXT after Hereticks and Unbelievers, Prayer is made in the *Conſtitutions* for the Catechumens of the Church, that God would perfect them in the Faith; for the Energumens, that were vexed with evil Spirits, that God would cleanſe and deliver them from the Power and Agitation of the wicked One; and for the Penitents, that God would accept their Repentance, and pardon both them and the whole Church whatever Offences they had committed againſt him. Whence we may obſerve, that theſe ſeveral Orders were three diſtinct Times prayed for in Divine Service; firſt in the Prayers that were ſaid for them in their Preſence, in the firſt Service, called, the Service of the Catechumens; ſecondly in the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer for the whole State of the Church before the Oblation; and now again thirdly after the Oblation, when all Orders of Men were prayed for at the Sacrifice of the Altar. This laſt is particularly noted by St. *Auſtin* [y], who ſays, the Prieſt at the Altar was uſed to exhort the People to pray for the Catechumens, that God would inſpire them with a Deſire of Regeneration. And ſo it is ſaid by *Celeſtine* [z], and *Gennadius* [a] in the ſame Words, that they prayed for the Lapſers, that God would grant them the Remedy of Repentance; and for the Catechumens, that God would bring them to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and open to them the great Treaſure of his heavenly Mercy.

SECT. XXII. *For healthful and fruitful Seaſons.*

IN the next Place they prayed for Health and Proviſion; for the Temperature of the Air, and the Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth, as the *Conſtitutions* word it, that they participating of the good Things which God beſtows upon Men, might without ceaſing praiſe him, who giveth Food to all Fleſh. St. *Chryſoſtom* among other particulars of this Prayer notes the ſame [b], when he ſays they prayed for the Earth and Sea, for the Air, and for the whole World. And though *Tertullian* does not particularly ſpeak of this Prayer, yet he intimates in general, that they were uſed to pray for Tem-

[k] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Part. 3. chap. 2. p. 242. [l] Paſſio Cypriani. [m] Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryphon. p. 254, 323, 333. [n] Iren. lib. 3. cap. 46. [o] Tertul. Apol. cap. 31. [p] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Coimus in cœtum—Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro miniſtris eorum, pro Statu Sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. [q] Arnob. lib. 4. p. 181. [r] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. Audis ſacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro Incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, &c. [†] De Dono Perſeverantiæ cap. 23. Quando non oratum eſt in Eccleſia pro Infidelibus atque Inimicis ejus ut crederent? [s] Cœleſtin. Ep. 1. ad Gallos. cap. 11. Poſtulant & precantur, ut Infidelibus donetur fides, ut Idololatræ ab impietatis ſuæ liberentur errore, ut Judæis, ablato cordis velamine, lux velamine appareat, ut Hæretici Catholicæ fidei perceptione reſipiſcant, ut Schiſmatici Spiritum redivivæ charitatis accipiant. &c. [t] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogmat. chap. 30. [u] Aug. Retractat. lib. 1. cap. 19. De quocunque peſſimo in hac vita conſtituto non eſt utique deſperandum; nec pro illo imprudenter oratur, de quo non deſperatur. [x] Chryſ. Hom. in 1 Theſ. p. 1413. Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p. 1550. [y] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. Audis ſacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro Incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, & pro Catechumenis ut eis deſiderium Regenerationis inſpiret. [z] Celeſtin. Ep. 1. ad Gallos, cap. 11. Poſtulant & precantur, ut Lapſis pœnitentiæ remedia conferantur; ut denique Catechumenis ad regenerationis Sacramenta perductis, cœleſtis miſericordiæ aula reſeretur. [a] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogmat. cap. 30. [b] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 745

poral.

poral Bleſſings, and among theſe for Rain, as in the *German* Expedition of *Marcus Aurelius*, when his Army was ſaved from periſhing for want of Water by the Prayers of the Chriſtians, which never failed [*c*] to drive away Drought upon other Occaſions. The like Obſervation is made by *Cyprian* [*d*], that they offered continually Supplications and Prayers Night and Day for Victory over their Enemies, for obtaining Rain, for averting or moderating all Adverſities, and for the Peace and Safety of the Publick. Which being their continual Prayer Night and Day, 'tis not to be doubted but that it was part of thoſe Prayers which they now more ſolemnly offered at the Altar.

SECT. XXIII. *For all their abſent Brethren.*

THE laſt Petition, mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, is for all thoſe that upon juſt and reaſonable Cauſe were then abſent from the Aſſembly, that God would preſerve both the abſent and preſent in Godlineſs, and keep them without Change, Blame, or Rebuke, and finally gather them all into the Kingdom of his Chriſt, the univerſal King, and God of all Things in Nature both viſible and inviſible. The like Petition is mentioned by *Chryſoſtom* in one of his *Homilies* upon St. *Matthew* [*e*], according to the old Tranſlation of *Anianus:* The Prieſt, ſays he, when he ſtands at the Altar, bids us give Thanks for the whole World, for thoſe that are abſent and thoſe that are preſent, for thoſe that are gone before us, and thoſe that ſhall be after us, while the Sacrifice lies upon the Altar.

SECT. XXIV. *Concluding with a* Doxology *to the whole Trinity.*

THE Concluſion of this long Prayer in the *Conſtitutions* is a *Doxology* to the whole Trinity: And this was of old the conſtant Cuſtom of the Church, as is evident from what has been largely diſcourſed before [*] both concerning the Adoration of the whole Trinity, as the true and only Object of Divine Worſhip, and alſo concerning the Uſe of Divine Hymns and *Doxologies to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*. Of which I need ſay no more in this Place to confirm the Order laid down in the *Conſtitutions*, ſave only to obſerve, That two of the moſt antient Writers we have, *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* [*f*], do both mention one part of this *Doxology*, as particularly uſed at the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*. *Irenæus* ſays the *Valentinians* made it an Argument for their *Æones*, that the Catholicks uſed to ſay εἰς αἰῶνας τ᾽ αἰώνων in their Euchariſtical Service; referring to the laſt Words of this *Doxology*, *World without End*. And *Tertullian* particularly asks thoſe who frequented the *Roman* Games, how they could give Teſtimony to a Gladiator, with that Mouth wherewith they had anſwered *Amen* at the *Euchariſt*? Or ſay, *World without End*, to any other but Chriſt their God? implying, that the Glorification of Chriſt with this *Doxology* was then a noted Cloſe of the Conſecration Prayer, as the Author of the *Conſtitutions* repreſents it.

SECT. XXV. *To which the People with one Voice anſwered,* Amen.

AND from this Paſſage of *Tertullian* it is no leſs apparent, that the People were uſed to ſubjoin their *Amen* to the End of this Prayer. Which was a Cuſtom as antient as the Apoſtles. For St. *Paul* ſeems plainly to allude to it, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 16. When thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit, that is, bleſs the Cup of Bleſſing, or the *Euchariſt*, in an unknown Tongue, *How ſhall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſay'ſt? Juſtin Martyr* [†], in deſcribing the Chriſtian Rites in celebrating the *Euchariſt*, takes notice of this among the reſt, that when the Preſident had ended his Prayers and Thankſgivings over the Bread and Wine, all the People aſſented with their Acclamations, ſaying, *Amen*. And *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* [*g*] ſpeaking of one who had never been truly baptized, but had often notwithſtanding been Partaker of the *Euchariſt*, ſays, they would not rebaptize him, becauſe he had for a long time heard the Thankſgiving, and joined with the People in the common *Amen*. And ſo *Chryſoſtom* interpreting thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *How ſhall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſay'ſt?* plainly refers to this Cuſtom: For he ſays, ἰδιώτης, which we render *unlearned*, ſignifies a private Man or Lay-man: And if thou bleſſeſt in an unknown Tongue [*h*], not underſtanding what thou ſay'ſt, nor being able to interpret it, the Lay-man cannot anſwer, *Amen*. For he not hearing thoſe Words, *World without End*, which is the Cloſe of the Thankſgiving, cannot ſay, *Amen*. Where we may obſerve, both that the Conſecration-Prayer ended with a known *Doxology* to the Holy Trinity, whereof thoſe Words, *World without End*, were a Part; and that the People hearing them anſwered, *Amen*.

SECT. XXVI. *Then followed the* Creed *in ſuch Churches as had made it a Part of their* Liturgy.

THERE is no mention made in the *Conſtitutions* of the formal Rehearſing either of the *Creed* or the *Lord's Prayer* in this place immediately after Conſecration: And the reaſon is, That when that Author made his Collections, it was not yet become the Cuſtom to uſe the *Creed* in any other Service, but only that of Baptiſm, in any Church whatſoever. The firſt that brought the

[*c*] Tertul. ad. Scapul. cap. 4. Quando non Geniculationibus & Jejunationibus noſtris ſiccitates ſunt depulſæ? [*d*] Cypr. ad Demetrian. p. 193. Pro arcendis hoſtibus & imbribus impetrandis, & vel auferendis vel temperandis adverſis, rogamus ſemper & preces fundimus, &c. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 26. in Mat. p. 259. Altari aſſiſtens Sacerdos, pro univerſo orbe terrarum, pro abſentibus atque præſentibus, pro his qui poſtea futuri ſunt, Sacrificio illo propoſito, Deo nos gratias jubet offerre. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ii. *Book* XIV. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 1. [*f*] Iren. lib. 1. cap. 1. Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. Quale eſt——ex ore quo Amen in Sanctum protuleris, Gladiatori teſtimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere, niſi Deo Chriſto? *See* Chryſoſtom. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. *in the next Section*. [†] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [*g*] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 9. [*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. p. 640.

Rehearſing

Rehearſing of the *Creed* into the *Liturgy*, was *Peter Fullo* Biſhop of *Antioch*, about the Year 471. And after that, about the Year 511, *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* brought it into Uſe in the *Liturgy* of that Church, as we learn from the Hiſtory of *Theodorus* [i] *Lector*. After that we find it mentioned in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas*, *An.* 536, as being rehearſed [k] according to Cuſtom between the Reading of the *Goſpel* and the *Diptychs*. After this, about the Year 589, it was brought into the *Spaniſh* Church at the Petition of King *Recaredus*, by the Order of the third Council of *Toledo*, and that after the Example of the *Eaſtern* Churches: And then it was ordered to be ſaid [l] with a loud Voice after the Conſecration, immediately before the *Lord's Prayer*, to be an Inſtruction, and Declaration of the People's true Faith, who were lately converted from *Arianiſm*, and to prepare their Hearts, thus purified by Faith, to the following Reception of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. It was not thus uſed in the *Gallican Liturgy* till the time of *Charles the Great*; nor in the *Roman Liturgy*, till the Beginning of the eleventh Century, as I have more fully ſhewed [*] in a former Book. But as it had earlier Admittance in the *Spaniſh* Churches, ſo the Rehearſal of it appears to have been appropriated to the Time after Conſecration, between that and the *Lord's Prayer*, which in moſt Churches they were uſed to repeat alſo toward the Concluſion of theſe Prayers following the Oblation.

SECT. XXVII. *And the* Lord's Prayer.

FOR though there be no mention made of the *Lord's Prayer* in this part of the Service in the *Conſtitutions*, (as probably not in Uſe in that Church whence the Author made his Collections) yet we are aſſured it was almoſt generally uſed in all Churches. For not only the forementioned Council of *Toledo*, and the fourth of the ſame Name [m], ſpeak of the *Lord's Prayer* as coming before the Reception of the Bread and Wine in the *Spaniſh* Churches; but St. *Auſtin* ſays [n], the whole Church almoſt concluded the Oblation Prayers with it. And I have already confirmed his Obſervation from ſeveral other Paſſages of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and St. *Jerom*, and *Gregory the Great* [†], who was alſo of Opinion that the Apoſtles uſed no other Prayer to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* [o], but the *Lord's Prayer*. In which he was ſomething ſingular. For there is little queſtion, but that the Apoſtles conſecrated as the Lord had done before them. As to the Practice of the Church in uſing the *Lord's Prayer* at this Time, *Optatus* [p] ſays it was become ſo cuſtomary by neceſſary Preſcript, that the *Donatiſts* themſelves did not pretend to omit it. And in ſome of the *French* Councils [q] an Order was made, That no Lay-man, even of thoſe that did not communicate, ſhould leave the Aſſembly before the *Lord's Prayer* was ſaid.

SECT. XXVIII. *Abſolution of Penitents immediately before the* Lord's Prayer, *with occaſional Benedictions.*

IT appears from the laſt mentioned Place of *Optatus*, that when any Penitents were to receive a ſolemn *Abſolution*, in the *African* Church, it was uſually given them about this time, between the offering of the Oblation and the *Lord's Prayer*. For he tells the *Donatiſts* [r] that the very Moment after they had given Penitents Impoſition of Hands and Pardon of Sins, they were obliged to turn to the Altar, and ſay the *Lord's Prayer*. Which implies that *Abſolution* was commonly given at this Seaſon. And here we may ſuppoſe ſeveral of thoſe Prayers of Thankſgiving or Benediction, mentioned in the ſeventh and eighth Books of the *Conſtitutions*, to have had their place; ſuch as the Benediction of the holy Oyl, and the Thankſgiving for the Firſt-fruits of the Earth [s]: There being no Time more proper for ſuch Things, than the Time of the Oblation. But as nothing is ſaid poſitively and expreſsly of this Matter, I only mention it by way of Conjecture.

SECT. XXIX. *Benediction after the* Lord's Prayer.

BUT there is more Evidence of another ſort of Benediction following the *Lord's Prayer* in many of the *Weſtern* Churches. For the third Council of *Orleance* [t] had a Canon which orders all Lay-men to ſtay till they had heard the *Lord's Prayer*, and received the Biſhop's Benediction. Cardinal *Bona* [u] underſtands this of the final Benediction, which followed the Communion; but *Mabillon* more truly interprets it of the Benediction before Communion [x], immediately following the *Lord's Prayer*. Concerning which there is a Canon in the Council of *Toledo* [y], which cenſures ſome Prieſts for communicating immediately after the *Lord's Prayer*, with-

[i] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 563. & 566. [k] Conc. Conſtant. ſub Menna. Act. 1. p. 41. Edit. Crab. quæ eſt Act. 5. Edit. Labbe. [l] Conc. Tolet. 3. can. 2. Conſultu Reccaredi Regis conſtituit Synodus, ut per omnes Eccleſias Hiſpaniæ & Galliciæ, ſecundum formam Orientalium Eccleſiarum, Concilii Conſtantinopolitani, hoc eſt, centum quinquaginta Epiſcoporum Symbolum Fidei recitetur: Et priuſquam Dominica dicatur Oratio, voce clara prædicetur, quo fides vera manifeſta ſit & teſtimonium habeat, &c. [*] *Book* X. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 17. [m] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 17. [n] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. [†] *See theſe cited at large, Book* XIII. *Chap.* vii. *n.* 3. [o] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 64. Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox poſt precem dicimus, quia mos Apoſtolorum fuit, ut ad ipſam ſolummodo orationem Oblationis hoſtiam conſecrarent. [p] Optat. lib. 2. p. 57. [q] Conc. Aurelian. 3. can. 28. De Miſſis nullus Laicorum ante diſcedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio, &c. [r] Optat. ibid. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis, & delicta donatis, mox ad altare converſi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non poteſtis. [s] Vid. Conſtit. lib. 7. cap. 42. lib. 8. cap. 40. [t] Conc. Aurel. 3. can. 28. De Miſſis nullus Laicorum ante diſcedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio, & ſi Epiſcopus fuerit præſens, ejus Benedictio expectetur. [u] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 16. n. 2. [x] Mabil. de Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 14. [y] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 17. Nonnulli Sacerdotes poſt dictam Orationem Dominicam ſtatim communicant, & poſtea Benedictionem in populo dant: quod deinceps interdicimus: ſed poſt Orationem Dominicam Benedictio in populum ſequatur, & tunc demum Corporis & Sanguinis Dominici Sacramentum ſumatur,

out giving the Benediction to the People; and orders, That for the future, the Benediction ſhould follow the *Lord's Prayer*, and after that the Communion. And by this we are to interpret ſome [z] other Canons of the Councils of *Agde* and *Orleance*, which order the People not to depart till the Biſhop has given his Benediction. Which is to be underſtood of the Benediction before the Communion, and not that which came after it. And this agrees with the Order in the *Conſtitutions*; where after the long Prayer of the Conſecration and Oblation is ended [a], the Biſhop is appointed to give this ſhort Benediction, *The Peace of God be with you all:* And then after the Deacon has rehearſed a Bidding-Prayer (much to the ſame purpoſe with the former, for the whole Church and every Order in it, and particularly for the Sacrifice then offered, That God would receive it to his Altar in Heaven for a ſweet-ſmelling Savour by the Mediation of Chriſt) the Biſhop again recommends the People to God in another Prayer, which the *Greeks* call εὐλογία, and the *Latins Commendatio*, and *Benedictio*, the Commendation or Benediction, beſeeching God to ſanctify their Bodies and Souls, and to make them worthy of the good Things he has ſet before them; which relates both to their worthy Reception of the *Euchariſt*, and their obtaining eternal Life. This is what I conceive thoſe *Latin* Councils call the Biſhop's Benediction, of which there are ſome Inſtances in the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, and many more in the old *Gothick* and *Gallican Miſſals* lately publiſhed by *Mabillon*, where the Prayer that follows the Collect after the *Lord's Prayer*, is always ſtyled *Benedictio Populi*, the Benediction of the People: And theſe are commonly different Prayers, compoſed with ſome reſpect to the ſeveral Feſtivals to which they were appropriated, like the *Collects* before the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* in our preſent *Liturgy*. But I return to the antient Service.

SECT. XXX. *Of the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer after the Conſecration.*

THERE is one Petition in the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer after the Conſecration in the *Conſtitutions*, which is not to be paſſed over in Silence; that is, That God would receive the Gift that was then offered to Him, to his Altar in Heaven, as a ſweet-ſmelling Savour, by the Mediation of his Chriſt. This Form ſeems as antient as *Irenæus*: For he ſays, We have an Altar [b] in Heaven, and thither our Prayers and Oblations are directed. And ſo it is in all the *Greek Liturgies*, with a ſmall Variation. And frequently in the *Mozarabick Liturgy* [c] and the old *Gothick Miſſal* publiſhed by *Mabillon* [d], there are Prayers for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt to ſanctify the Gifts, and make them the Body and Blood of Chriſt, even after the Repetition of the Words, *This is my Body*, and, *This is my Blood*; which evidently ſhews, that the antient Formers of the *Liturgy* did not think the Conſecration to be effected by the bare Repetition of thoſe Words, but by Prayer for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Elements of Bread and Wine. And it is very remarkable, that even in the preſent Canon of the *Roman Maſs*, there is ſtill ſuch a Prayer as this remaining after what they call Conſecration: The Prieſt offering the *Hoſt*, ſays, *Be pleaſed to look upon theſe Things with a favourable and propitious Eye* [e], *as Thou wert pleaſed to accept the Gifs of* Abel *thy righteous Servant.* He adds, *We beſeech Thee, Almighty God, to command that theſe Things may be carried by the Hands of thy Holy Angels to Thy Altar on high.* Concluding, *By Chriſt our Lord, by whom Thou doſt always create, ſanctify, quicken and bleſs theſe good Things unto us.* Theſe Words in this Prayer, as our *Polemical* Writers [f] have rightly obſerved, were uſed before *Tranſubſtantiation* was invented, and when the Conſecration was thought to be made by Prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the Words, *This is my Body.* And then they were good Senſe, when they were ſaid over Bread and Wine, to conſecrate them into the Memorial and Symbols of Chriſt's Body and Blood. But now they are become abſurd and contrary to the primitive Intention. For how can the real Body and Blood of Chriſt be called theſe Gifts? or be compared to the Sacrifice of *Abel*, who offered a Beaſt? How can Men pray (without Indignity to the Son of God) That the Sacrifice of God's only Son may be as acceptable to God as the Sacrifice of *Abel* was? Or how does Chriſt, who ſits at the Right Hand of the Father, need the Mediation of Angels to be carried or preſented to his Father at the heavenly Altar? With what Propriety of Speech can Chriſt be called, *All theſe good Things?* And the good Things *which God createth always, and quickneth, and ſanctifieth always?* Doth God create, and quicken, and bleſs Jeſus Chriſt by Jeſus Chriſt? It is proper to ſay all this of the Gifts, ſuppoſing them ſtill to be real Bread and Wine; but altogether improper,

[z] Conc. Agathen. Can. 44. & 47. Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 28.
[a] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 13. [b] Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. Eſt altare in cœlis, illuc Preces noſtræ & Oblationes diriguntur.
[c] Miſſa Mozarab. in Natali Domini. Item Dominica 2. & 5. Poſt Epiphan. & Domin. 1. & 3. Quadrageſimæ. Die Paſchalis. & Domin. 3. poſt Paſch. *cited by* Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 13. n. 5.
[d] Miſſal. Gothic. ap. Mabil. lib. 3. p. 314. in Feſto Aſſumptionis. Deſcendat, Domine, in his Sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coæternus & cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus: ut Oblationem quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porrigimus, cœleſti permutatione, te Sanctificante, ſumamus: ut tranſlata fruge in Corpore, Calice in Cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis, &c. It. Miſſa in Circumciſione ibid. p. 202. Hoc Sacrificium ſuſcipere & benedicere & Sanctificare digneris, ut fiat nobis Euchariſtia Legitima, &c. Vid. ibid. Miſſa 20. in Cathedra Petri. p. 228. & Miſſa 65. in Feſto Leodegarii. p. 285. & Miſſa 27. in Symboli Traditione. p. 235. Miſſa 77. Dominicalis. p. 296. [e] Miſſal. Roman. in Canone Miſſæ. p. 300. Antwerp. 1574. Supra quæ propitio ac ſereno vultu reſpicere digneris, ut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui juſti Abel—— Supplices te rogamus Deus Omnipotens, jube hæc perferri per manus ſancti angeli tui in ſublime altare tuum.—— Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, per quem Domine hæc omnia ſemper nobis bona creas, ſanctificas, vivificas, benedicis.
[f] Vid. Du Moulin. *Novelty of Popery.* Lib. 7. chap. 5. p. 730. *and* Buckler *of Faith.* p. 510.

if

if they are tranſubſtantiated into the natural Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt. Whence we may conclude, that the firſt Compilers of this Prayer knew nothing of the new Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, which makes this Prayer abſurd in every Syllable of it; to enter here no farther upon a Debate concerning the Change which is made in the Elements by Conſecration, which every one knows where to find diſcuſſed at large in our Polemical Writers, and ſomething will be ſaid of it hereafter under the Head of Adoration, *Chap.* V. n. 4.

SECT. XXXI. *Of the Form,* Sancta Sanctis, *and the Hymn,* Glory be to God on high.

IMMEDIATELY after the Benediction of the Biſhop, the Deacon in the *Conſtitutions* is appointed to ſay προσχωμεν, *Let us give Attention*. And then the Biſhop calling to the People, ſays, ἁγια τοις ἁγιοις, *Holy Things for thoſe that are Holy*. To which the People anſwer, *There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jeſus Chriſt, to the Glory of God the Father, who is bleſſed for ever*, Amen. *Glory be to God in the Higheſt, and on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men. Hoſanna to the Son of* David. *Bleſſed be God the Lord, that came in the Name of the Lord, and appeared unto us; Hoſanna in the Higheſt. Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* takes Notice of one part of this in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, where it came immediately after the *Lord's Prayer*. After that, ſays he [*g*], the Prieſt ſays, Holy Things for Holy Men. Holy are the Elements which lie before us, when they have received the Illapſe of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. Holy are ye alſo, when ye are endowed with the Holy Ghoſt: And therefore holy Things agree to holy Men. Then ye ſay, There is one Holy, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt. There is one truly Holy, who is Holy by Nature: Ye alſo are Holy, not by Nature, but by Participation, by Exerciſe and Prayer. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo [*h*] takes Notice of the ſame, comparing the Service of the Church to the *Olympick* Exerciſes, where the Herald ſtands and cries with a loud Voice, Does any one accuſe this Man? Is he a Thief? Is he a Slave? Is he an Immoral Man? So the Eccleſiaſtical Herald, the Prieſt, ſtanding on high, calls ſome, and rejects others, not with his Hand, but with his Tongue: For when he ſays, Holy things for Holy Men, he ſays this, If any one be not Holy, let him not come here. He does not barely ſay, if he be free from Sin, but, if he be Holy: For it does not make a Man Holy, merely to be free from Sin, but to be endowed with the Spirit, and to abound with good Works. Therefore he ſays, I would not have you only free from Mire, but White and Beautiful. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo often ſpeaks of the Hymn, *Glory be to God on High*, and tells us particularly that it was ſung at the *Euchariſt*, as well as upon other Occaſions. God, ſays he [*i*], firſt brought the Angels down hither, and then carried Men up to them. The Earth was made an Heaven, becauſe Heaven was about to receive the Things of the Earth. Therefore, ευχαριστουντες λεγομεν, when we give Thanks, or celebrate the *Euchariſt*, we ſay, *Glory be to God on high, in Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men*. And that by the Thankſgiving he here means the *Euchariſt*, is evident from another place, where he more preciſely ſpecifies the time of uſing it in the Communion-Service: ἱστασιν οἱ πιστοι, &c. They who are Communicants know [*k*] what Hymn is ſung by the Spirits above; what the Cherubims ſay above; what the Angels ſaid, *Glory be to God on high*. Therefore our Hymns come after our Pſalmody, as ſomething more perfect. Meaning that Pſalms were ſung in the Service of the Catechumens; but theſe Hymns, the Cherubical Hymn and the Angelical Hymn, more peculiarly in the Communion-Service.

SECT. XXXII. *Of the Pſalm inviting to the Communion.*

ST. *Cyril* adds [*l*] that after the Hymn, *One Holy*, a Pſalm was ſung inviting them to participate of the holy Myſteries, which was the thirty firſt *Pſalm*, and particularly thoſe Words, *Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious*. Which, he tells them, was not to be eſtimated or diſcerned by their corporeal Taſte, but by the certainty of Faith. For they were not bid to taſte Bread and Wine, but the Antitype or Sign of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. This was a diſtinct Pſalm from thoſe which were uſed to be ſung afterward whilſt the People were communicating: For this was an Invitatory to communicate, but the other were for Meditation and Devotion whilſt they were actually partaking; of which there will be Occaſion to ſay ſomething farther in the next Chapter.

SECT. XXXIII. *The Conſecration always performed with an audible Voice.*

HERE we muſt note two Things more which concern the Conſecration in general, in Oppoſition to the Corruptions of later Ages. Firſt, That as all Divine Service was in a known Tongue, ſo particularly the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt* was ordered to be pronounced both intelligibly and audibly, that the People might hear it, and anſwer, *Amen*. The contrary Practice now prevails in the *Roman* Church: But both *Habertus* [*m*] and *Bona* [*n*] own it to be an Innovation, of which there is no Footſtep till the tenth Age, when firſt the antient Cuſtom was ſuperſeded. It would be Impertinent to produce Authorities for a Thing that is ſo plainly confeſs'd, and beyond Diſpute. And therefore I ſhall only note one Thing upon this Point, that when ſome little grumbling of this Diſeaſe began to appear in the Time of *Juſtinian*, he checked it in its firſt Symptoms, by a ſevere Law, commanding all Biſhops and

[*g*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 16. [*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1873. *See alſo* Hom. 123. Tom. 5. p. 809, 810. Edit. Savil. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1337. [*k*] Hom. 9. in Coloſ. p. 1380. [*l*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 17. [*m*] Haber. Archieratic. Par. 8. Obſer. 9. p. 145. [*n*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 13. n. 1.

Presbyters [o] to make the divine Oblation, and the Prayers us'd in Baptiſm, not in ſecret, or with a low and muttering Voice, but ſo as all the faithful People might hear them, to the greater Devotion of their Souls, and the greater Praiſe and Glory of God. For ſo the Holy Apoſtle teaches, ſaying in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *If thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit only, how ſhall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayſt? For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.* Therefore if any Biſhop or Presbyter contemn this Rule, they muſt give an Account hereof in the dreadful Judgment of our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and we, when they come to our Knowledge, will not ſuffer them to remain quiet and unpuniſhed. It is well for the *Roman* Church, that the Canon Law is ſuperior to the Civil: Elſe ſuch an horrible Abuſe of all righteous both Divine and Human Laws would not go without its juſt Revenges. This is one of thoſe many good Laws for which the Church is beholden to that learned Emperor; whom yet *Baronius* [p] for the ſake of theſe very Laws does beſpatter and rally, as an ignorant *Analphabetus*, an impious Heretiek, an Invader of Divine Rights, a Man ſick of the common Diſtemper of Kings, and whatever a partial Hiſtorian could think of, that was indecent to be ſaid, who was himſelf indeed ſick with Prejudice in favour of the common Abuſes and Corruptions of his own Church, among which this is one of the moſt flaming and intolerable, to pray every Day in an unheard and unknown Tongue, ſo contrary to the Authority of the Apoſtle, and the Rules of the Primitive Church, and the Edification of Chriſtian People, and the common Senſe and Reaſon of Mankind. [q]

SECT. XXXIV. *And with breaking of Bread, to repreſent our Saviour's Paſſion.*

THE other Ceremony to be noted in the Practice of the Ancients is, that in conſecrating the *Euchariſt* they always brake the Bread in Conformity to our Saviour's Example, to repreſent his Paſſion and Crucifixion. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks of this as a general Cuſtom [r], when the *Euchariſt* was divided or broken, to let every one of the People take his Part. And St. *Auſtin* [s] ſays the whole Church obſerved it, in Bleſſing the Bread, to break it for Diſtribution. The Reader that pleaſes may find other Teſtimonies collected by *Hoſpinian* [t] out of *Irenæus* [u], *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* [x], *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* [y], and *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [z], and St. *Chryſoſtom* [a]. Neither does *Bona* [b] himſelf deny this, but proves it farther from *Gregory Nazianzen* [c] and *Cæſarius Arelatenſis*, and all the older *Ritualiſts* and *Liturgies*, of which he ſays there is not any that does not preſcribe this breaking of Bread, the *Greeks* into four Parts, the *Latins* into three, and the *Mozarabick Liturgy* into nine Parts. Which is alſo noted by *Mabillon* [d], who adds, that theſe nine Parts in that *Liturgy* are characterized by ſo many ſeveral Names, *viz.* Incarnation, Nativity, Circumciſion, Epiphany or Manifeſtation, Paſſion, Death, Reſurrection, Glory, and Kingdom. Which is a little Deviation from the Simplicity of the antient Church, yet not ſo culpable as the Practice of the preſent *Roman* Church, where inſtead of breaking Bread for the Communicants to partake of it, they only break a ſingle Wafer into three Parts (of which no one partakes) only to retain a Shadow of the antient Cuſtom. *Bona* indeed calls this Breaking of Bread according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, or rather breaking of Chriſt's Body under the Species of Bread, when yet according to their Doctrine Chriſt's Body is not broken, neither is it Bread, but the Species of Bread, nor common Bread, but a Wafer, whereof the Species is only broken, not the Subſtance, and that not for communicating, but a Show, to make Men believe they are Retainers of an antient Cuſtom. The firſt Diſputets againſt the Reformation are more Ingenuous. They freely own, that the *Roman* Church has made an Alteration [e], only they ſay ſhe had good Reaſons for it, leſt in breaking the Bread ſome Danger might happen, and ſome Crumbs or Particles of it periſh; and then again, becauſe the Pope has Power to alter any Thing relating to the Sacrament, according to the Exigency of Time and Place, if it only concerns the Ornament or Accidentals of it. As if Chriſt himſelf could not have foreſeen any Dangers that might happen, or given as prudent Orders as the Pope concerning his own Inſtitution! But it is ſufficient to have obſerved this Variation of the Church of *Rome*, though in a ſmaller Matter, from the Primitive Practice, together with their Reaſons for ſuch a Change; of which the Reader may ſee more in *Chamier* or Biſhop *Jewel*, who have more particularly canvaſſed and examined all the Pleas that are offered on the other ſide by the Advocates of that Church for this and many other Alterations [f]. I now go on with the Primitive Account, which leads us next to conſider the Communicants themſelves who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the Manner of communicating and receiving it.

[o] Juſtin. Novel. 137. cap. 6. Jubemus omnes Epiſcopos & Presbyteros non in Secreto, ſed cum ea Voce quæ à fideli Populo exaudiatur, Divinam Oblationem & Precationem quæ fit in Baptiſmate Sancto, facere, ut inde audientium animi in majorem Devotionem & Dei Laudationem & Benedictionem efferantur, &c.
[p] Baron. an. 528. tom. 7. p. 144. [q] *See* Chamier *againſt* Bellarmin, *and* Jewel *againſt* Harding *upon this Subject.* [r] Clem. Strom. lib. 1. p. 318. [s] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin.
[t] Hoſpin. Hiſt. Sacrament. p. 30. [u] Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.
[x] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hier. cap. 3. [y] Theoph Ep. Paſchal. 1.
[z] Cyril. in Joan. lib. 14. [a] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor.
[b] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. [c] Naz. Ep. 240. ad Amphiloc.
[d] Mabil. de Liturg. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 12. Sub hæc frangit Hoſtiam in novem particulas, quæ his nominibus deſignantur, Corporatio, Nativitas, Circumciſio, Apparitio, Paſſio, Mors, Reſurrectio, Gloria, Regnum. [e] Salmero. Tract. 30. in Act. ap. Chamier. de Euch. lib. 7. cap. 11. n. 26. p. 384. [f] Vid. Chamier. *ubi ſupra.* Jewel. *Reply to* Harding. *Artic.* 11 p. 327.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Communicants, or Persons who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the Manner of receiving it.

SECT. I. *All Persons, except Catechumens and Penitents, obliged to receive the* Eucharist.

NOW that we are come to the Act of Communicating, we must first consider what Persons were allowed, or rather obliged, to receive this Holy Sacrament, and then after what Manner they received it. For the first, we are to remember, what has been often observed before, that as soon as the Service of the Catechumens was ended, a Deacon was used to call upon all Catechumens and those that were under Penance, to withdraw; and admonish all others to stay at the Prayers of the Faithful, and make their Oblation, and receive the Communion. Whence it is evident, that the most antient and primitive Custom was for all that were allowed to stay and communicate in Prayers, to communicate in the participation of the *Eucharist* also, except only the last Class of Penitents, who were admitted to hear the Prayers, but not to make their Oblation, nor receive the Communion; whence they had the Name of *Consistentes*, Co-standers, because they might stay to communicate in the Prayers, but still δίχα προσφορᾶς, without the Oblation, as the antient Canons word it. These only excepted, all other baptized Persons were not only permitted, but by the Rules of the Church obliged to communicate in the *Eucharist*, under Pain of Ecclesiastical Censure. The most antient Canons are very express to this Purpose. Among those called the *Apostolical Canons* [a] there is one runs in these Words: "All such of the Faithful as come to Church, "and hear the Scriptures read, but stay not the "Prayers, and to partake of the Holy Communion, ought to be suspended as Authors of "Disorder in the Church." Which the Council of *Antioch* [b] repeats with a little Enlargement: "All such as come into the Church of God, "and hear the Holy Scriptures read, but do not "communicate with the People in Prayer, and "refuse to partake of the *Eucharist*, which is a "disorderly Practice, ought to be cast out of the "Church, 'till they confess their Fault, and "bring forth Fruits of Repentance; when if "they ask Pardon, they may obtain it." *Martin Bracarensis* [c] puts this Canon into his Collection for the Use of the *Spanish* Church. And *Gratian* [d] alledges a Decree of Pope *Anacletus*, which orders all to communicate when the Consecration was ended, if they would not be cast out of the Church: For so the Apostles appointed, and the holy *Roman* Church observed that Order. Which though it be a supposititious Decree, yet it is made in Conformity to the antient Discipline, and shews the Practice that was then prevailing even in the *Roman* Church.

SECT. II. *When and how this Discipline began first to relax.*

IN St. *Chrysostom*'s time some began to desire they might have Liberty to stay during the Performance of the whole Office, and yet not be obliged to communicate. They were not willing to be accounted Penitents, and be driven out with them; and yet they would not be Communicants, and orderly partake with the Church. Against these St. *Chrysostom* inveighs, after his usual manner, with a great deal of Eloquence, and becoming Sharpness. Are you unworthy of the Sacrifice, and unfit to partake [e] of it? (For that was their Plea:) Neither then are you worthy of the Prayers. Do you not hear the Church's Herald standing, and proclaiming, All ye that are Penitents, withdraw? All they that do not communicate, are Penitents. If thou art of the Number of Penitents, thou mayst not partake. For he that is not a Partaker, is a Penitent. Why does he say, All ye that cannot pray, be gone? And why do you impudently stay? You are not one of those, you'll say, but of those that may partake. Consider, I pray, and seriously weigh the Matter. The Royal Table is prepared, the Angels stand ministring by, the Lord himself is present, and do you stand yawning as an idle Spectator only? Your Garments are defiled, and are you under no Concern? Yea, but, say you, they are clean. Then sit down, and partake. The King comes daily to see the Guests, and discourses with them all: And now he says in your Consciences, Friends, How come you to stand here, not having on a Wedding Garment? He said not, Why art thou set down? But before he was set down, before he was entred, he pronounced him unworthy. For he said not, Why art thou set down? But, *Why cameſt thou in hither?* The same now he says to every one of us, that stand here with an impudent Boldness. For every one that does not partake, is shameless and impudent. They that are in Sin, are for this Reason first cast out. As therefore none of those, who are not initiated, ought to be present; so neither any of those who are initiated, if they be defiled. Tell me, if any one that is invited to a Feast, washes his Hands, and sits down, and is ready for the Table, and yet after all eats not, does he not affront him that invited him? Were it not better, that such a Man should not be present? Likewise thou al-

[a] Canon. Apost. 10. Vid. can. 8. ibid. *for the Clergy.*
[b] Conc. Antioch. can. 2. Canon. c. 18.
[c] Martin. Bracarens. Collect.
[d] Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 2. cap. 10. Peracta Consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apostoli statuerunt, & Sancta Romana tenet Ecclesia.
[e] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Ephes. p. 1051.

so

ſo art preſent, thou haſt ſung the Hymn, and made Profeſſion with the reſt that thou art one of thoſe that are Worthy, in that thou didſt not depart with the Unworthy. How is it that thou remaineſt, and yet doſt not partake at the Table? Thou ſayſt, I am unworthy. Thou art then unworthy alſo of the Communion of Prayers. I have tranſcribed this long, but elegant Paſſage of *Chryſoſtom*, to ſhew, that in his Time by the Rules of the Church none were allowed to refrain from partaking of the *Euchariſt* upon the Pretence of Unworthineſs, who were not deemed unworthy to be preſent at the Prayers alſo.

But in the very next Age this Diſcipline was a little relaxed, and Men who would not communicate, were not only permitted, but injoined to ſtay during the whole Service, till after the *Lord's Prayer* and the Biſhop's Benediction; which, as has been ſhewed in the laſt Chapter (*n.* 29.) was not till the whole Conſecration was ended, immediately before the Act of Partaking: At which time this ſort of Non-Communicants were diſmiſſed with a ſolemn Prayer, called the *Benediction*, as appears from the Councils of *Orleance* and *Agde*, before referred to. For the Council of *Agde* gives ſpecial Order [*f*], that all ſecular Men on the *Lord's Day* ſhould ſtay to hear *Maſs*, and not depart before the Biſhop's Benediction. And the Council of *Orleance* [*g*] ſays the ſame, that the People ſhould not depart before the Solemnity of the *Maſs* was ended; that is, till the Conſecration-Prayers were compleated; and then, if the Biſhop were not preſent, they ſhould receive the Benediction of the Prieſt. So that what in *Chryſoſtom*'s time was reckoned a Crime, was preſently after accounted a Piece of Devotion, for the People to ſtay and hear the whole Solemnity of the Service to the time of Communicating, and then they might depart without partaking of the Communion. Which was plainly a Relaxation of the antient Diſcipline, and a Deviation from the primitive Practice.

SECT. III.

When firſt the Uſe of Eulogiæ *came in inſtead of the* Euchariſt, *for ſuch as would not communicate.*

AND this brought in another Innovation along with it, that ſuch as would not communicate, might yet partake of the *Eulogiæ*, or a ſort of conſecrated Bread diſtinct from the *Euchariſt*. The *Eulogiæ* in the more antient Writers, is the very ſame with the *Euchariſt*, and uſed by them to ſignify the ſame Thing as St. *Paul* means, when he ſays, *The Cup of Bleſſing*, ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, *which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt?* 1 Cor. x. 16. And ſo it is always uſed by *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Chryſoſtom*, as learned Men [*h*] have obſerved out of many places of their Writings. But in After-ages it was diſtinguiſhed from the *Euchariſt*, as ſomething that after a ſort ſupplied the room of it. The Council of *Nante* [*i*], about the Year 890, ordered the Presbyters to keep ſome part of the Peoples Oblations till after the Service, that ſuch as were not prepared to communicate, might on every Feſtival and Lord's Day receive ſome of this *Eulogia*, when bleſſed with a proper Benediction. Some Collectors of the Canons [*k*] aſcribe this Decree to Pope *Pius* the Martyr, who lived in the ſecond Century: But *Bona* ingenuouſly owns [*l*] that to be a Forgery, and ſays farther, that the Men who father this Decree upon him, conſidered not that in his time there was no ſuch Thing as this kind of *Eulogia* in the Church, about which *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and all their Co-temporaries are altogether ſilent; becauſe in thoſe Days all that were preſent at the Sacrifice, were wont to communicate; but theſe *Eulogiæ* were invented in After-ages for thoſe who could not or would not be Partakers of the Holy Myſteries. This is an ingenuous Confeſſion of that learned Writer, who, where the Cauſe of his Church is not deeply concerned, commonly ſpeaks his Mind with a great deal of Freedom, and uſes a juſt Liberty in taxing the Innovations of the Monks and School-men.

SECT. IV.

The Corruption of private and ſolitary Maſs, *unknown to former Ages.*

BUT in the Buſineſs of private or ſolitary *Maſs*, where the Credit and Intereſt of the *Roman* Church is more immediately concerned, he acts a little more like an Artiſt, and labours to palliate what he cannot either heartily or ſolidly defend. That we call *ſolitary Maſs*, where the Prieſt receives alone without any another Communicants, and ſometimes ſays the Office alone without any Aſſiſtants: Such are all thoſe private and ſolitary *Maſſes* in the *Roman* Church, which are ſaid at their private Altars in the Corners of their Churches, without the Preſence of any but the Prieſt alone; and all thoſe publick *Maſſes*, where none but the Prieſt receives, though there be many Spectators of the Action. As there is no Agreement of either of theſe with the Inſtitution of Chriſt, but a direct Oppoſition to it: (For that was deſigned to be a Communion among many: *We being many are one Bread and one Body; for we are all Partakers of that one Bread:* Which is impoſſible where there are no Communicants:) So there is not the leaſt Footſtep of any ſuch Practice in the Primitive Church. *Bellarmin* offers faintly ſome poor Conjectures about it,

[*f*] Conc. Agathen. can. 44. Miſſas die Dominica Secularibus audire ſpeciali Ordine præcipimus, ita ut ante Benedictionem Sacerdotis egredi populus non præſumat, &c. [*g*] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 28. Cum ad celebrandas Miſſas in Dei nomine convenitur, populus non ante diſcedat, quam Miſſæ ſolennitas compleatur: Et ubi Epiſcopus non fuerit, Benedictionem accipiat ſacerdotis. [*h*] Vid. Caſaubon. Exercit. 16. in Baron. n. 33. Albertin. de Euchariſt. p. 749. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce εὐλογία. *And* Bona *himſelf owns it.* [*i*] Conc. Nannetens. can. 9. Partes inciſas habeat in vaſe nitido & convenienti, ut poſt Miſſarum Solennia, qui communicare non fuerint parati, Eulogias omni die Dominico, & in diebus Feſtis exinde accipiant, quæ cum Benedictione prius faciat. [*k*] Crab. Conc. tom. 1. p. 87. [*l*] Bona. Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 12.

whilſt

whilſt he fairly owns [*m*], that there is no expreſs Teſtimony to be found among the Ancients, that they ever offered the Sacrifice without the Communion of one or more Perſons beſide the Prieſt. All his Conjectures are meer Trifles, and the firſt of them directly againſt himſelf. For he would have his Reader conjecture from the Council of *Nante* cited by *Ivo* [*n*], that the Ancients allowed of ſolitary *Maſs* by the Prieſt alone, becauſe that Council takes Occaſion to mention the Practice, only to forbid and cenſure it. Which it does in very ſevere Terms, which it will not be amiſs here to tranſcribe, to ſhew what Oppoſition the Corruption met with, as ſoon as it began to appear among the Monks, who were the firſt Inventors of it. The holy Council, ſay they, gives ſtrict Order, that no Presbyter ſhall preſume to celebrate *Maſs* by himſelf alone. For to whom ſhall he ſay, *The Lord be with you*; or *Lift up your Hearts*; or *Let us give Thanks to our Lord God*; when there is none to anſwer him? Or how ſhall he ſay thoſe Words in the Canon it ſelf, *All that are here preſent*, when there is no one preſent with him? Or whom does he invite to pray, when he ſays, *Let us pray*; when there is no one to pray with him? Therefore he muſt either paſs over theſe Things in Silence; and ſo not only make the Sacrifice imperfect, and incur that terrible Sentence which ſays, *If any one ſhall take away from this, God ſhall take away his Part out of the Book of Life:* Or elſe, if he mutters theſe Things to the bare Stones and Walls, it will be ridiculous. Therefore this dangerous Superſtition is by all means to be exterminated, eſpecially out of the Monaſteries of the Monks. And let all Prelates take care, that the Presbyters in Convents and other Churches have always ſome Fellow-workers or Attendants in the Celebration of *Maſs*. One muſt needs conclude, that *Bellarmin* was driven to very hard Shifts in Defence of a deſperate Cauſe, when he was forced to alledge this Canon as a Proof of the Practice of ſolitary *Maſs* among the Ancients, which does not ſo much as prove it to be a lawful Practice among the Moderns, but is ſuch a flaming Evidence againſt it, as a Novelty, that makes Nonſenſe of all their Service, and makes them ſpeak to the Walls, and is by all means to be exterminated out of the Monaſteries, where it firſt began, as a dangerous and ridiculous Superſtition. Cardinal *Bona* is not much happier than *Bellarmin* in his Management of this Point. For in one Chapter he undertakes [*o*] to prove ſolitary *Maſs* a Novelty, unknown to the antient Church, and againſt the very Tenour of the preſent *Roman* Canon: And in the very next Chapter he pretends to prove, that private *Maſs*, without Communicants, or Aſſiſtants, is a very antient and laudable practice. Firſt he tells us, that the very Tenour of the *Maſs*, and the Practice of the antient Church evince, that the Sacrifice was originally inſtituted principally to be publickly and ſolemnly performed by the Clergy and People ſtanding, offering and communicating together [*p*]. For all the Prayers, and the very Words of the Canon are ſpoken in the Plural Number, as in the Name of many. Hence it is, that the Prieſt inviting the People to pray, ſays, *Let us pray*. And when he ſalutes them, he ſays, *The Lord be with you*. And then the People being admoniſhed to lift up their Hearts unto God, anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*. Hence it is, that in the very Canon he always prays in the Name of the People gathered together; of which giving ſeveral Inſtances, he infers, that from thence it is clear, that the *Maſs* is nothing elſe but the Action of the Prieſt and whole Congregation; which he ſays, is prov'd farther from thoſe Words of the Prayer, *Omnium circumſtantium*, &c. *All that ſtand here, whoſe Faith and Devotion is known to Thee*: Which cannot be wreſted to any other Senſe. And that all that were preſent did communicate, he ſays appears from thoſe Words of the Prieſt, when he prays, That *the Body and Blood of Chriſt may be to all that receive to Eternal Life*. And after the Communion, he ſays, *What we have received with our Mouths, let us receive with a pure Mind:* And, *Thou haſt filled Thy Family with Thy Gifts:* And almoſt all the Prayers, which are ſaid after Communicating, are of the ſame Tenour, becauſe no others could be preſent but ſuch as could offer and partake of the Sacrament. Which he proves from *Cyprian* and Pope *Leo*, and the *Apoſtolical Canons*, and the Council of *Antioch*. To theſe he adds the Teſtimonies of *Micrologus*, and *Odo Cameracenſis*, and *Stephanus Eduenſis*, concerning the ſame Practice of the Primitive Church, which they own was different from that of their own Times, when ſolitary *Maſs* was brought in by the Monks. Nay, he adds, that ſolitary *Maſs* was forbidden by ſeveral Councils and Canons expreſsly, when it began to appear. Among which he relates the forementioned Canon of the Council of *Nante*, and the Council of *Mets* under *Leo* III. Can. 43. and the *Capitular* of the Kings of *France*, collected by *Benedictus Levita*, lib. 5. cap. 93. and the *Capitular* of *Theodulphus Aurelianenſis*, cap. 7. And the *Synodical Epiſtle* of *Ratherius Veronenſis*, publiſhed by *Dacherius. Spicileg.* Tom. II. And the Synod of *Paris* under *Gregory* IV. *An.* 829. Which is moſt remarkable, becauſe it ſhews us both the Original, and the Grounds and Motives that introduced this Corruption. A very culpable Cuſtom, ſay they, is crept in

[*m*] Bellarmin. de Miſſa. lib. 2. cap: 9. p. 821. Nuſquam expreſſe legitur à Veteribus oblatum Sacrificium ſine Communione alicujus vel aliquorum præter ipſum Sacerdotem. [*n*] Conc. Nannetenſ. apud Ivonem. Part. 3. cap. 70. Definivit Sanctum Concilium, ut nullus Presbyter ſolus præſumat Miſſam celebrare. Cui enim dicit, Dominus vobiſcum, ſurſum Corda, aut Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro, cum nullus ſit qui reſpondeat?—— Si hæc muris & parietibus inſuſurraverit, ridiculoſum erit. Quapropter illa periculoſa Superſtitio maxime à Monaſteriis Monachorum exterminanda eſt, &c. [*o*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 13. n. 2. [*p*] Et quidem ab initio ſic Sacrificium principaliter inſtitutum fuiſſe, ut publice ac ſolenniter fieret, Clero & Populo aſtante, offerente, ac communicante, ipſe Tenor Miſſæ & Veteris Eccleſiæ Praxis evincunt, &c.

in

in many Places [q], partly by Negligence, and partly by Covetouſneſs, which ought by all means to be reformed, that ſome Presbyters celebrate *Maſs* without any Attendants. Whence it is proper to convene, and ask every ſuch buiſy Conſecrator of the Body and Blood of the Lord, to whom he uſes thoſe Words, *The Lord be with you?* And who anſwers him, *And with Thy Spirit?* Or for whom he ſupplicates the Lord, when he ſays among other Things, *Remember thoſe that ſtand about me*; when there are none ſtanding about him? Which Cuſtom therefore, being contrary to Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and bringing a Reproach upon ſo great a Myſtery, it ſeems good to us all in common to inhibit it for the future; and that every Biſhop take Care, that no Presbyter within his Dioceſe ſhall preſume to celebrate *Maſs* by himſelf alone *Bona* owns, that all theſe Councils prohibited ſolitary *Maſs* upon this Ground, that it made all ſuch Expreſſions as thoſe, *The Lord be with you*; and, *Lift up your Hearts*, &c. to be Nonſenſe and abſurd. And he adds ſome Canons out of *Gratian* [r] under the Name of Pope *Soter* and *Anacletus*, which ordain, That no Presbyter ſhould preſume to celebrate *Maſs*, except there be at leaſt two preſent beſide himſelf. Upon which he takes Occaſion to make this juſt Reflection, that theſe could not be the Decrees of thoſe antient Biſhops, becauſe [s] ſolitary *Maſs* was a thing never heard of in their Age, and he could not think they would make Laws to take away an Abuſe, which crept not in till ſome Ages after among the Monks. Would it not now perfectly amaze a Man after all this, to hear the ſame Author declare in the very firſt Words of his next Chapter, that the laudable Cuſtom of private *Maſs*, without any Communicants, or the preſence of any but one Prieſt, was always the practice of the Church? And that the Hereticks who hate *Liturgy* (ſo he wrongfully [t] ſlanders the Proteſtants) could never demonſtrate that it was prohibited; when he himſelf has ſo fully demonſtrated it to their Hands. But now he will undertake to demonſtrate on the contrary, that private *Maſs*, in whatever Senſe we take it, was always lawful and in uſe, from the moſt approved Teſtimonies and Examples of the primitive Fathers. And yet when he comes to the Proof, he offers not ſo much as one Inſtance of that ſort of private *Maſs*, where the Prieſt miniſters alone without the Preſence of the People, which is called ſolitary *Maſs*, though he approves of it; nor ſays he any thing material for that ſort of private *Maſs*, where the Prieſt partakes without any other Communicants, though in the Preſence of all the People; but only urges a miſtaken Paſſage of *Chryſoſtom* (urged before by *Bellarmin* and *Harding*, and anſwered by *Chamier*) where he ſays, In vain do we ſtand at the Altar, in vain is the daily Sacrifice offered, there is [u] no one that communicates. As if *Chryſoſtom* had had neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor any of the People to communicate with him above once a Year in the great Churches of *Antioch* or *Conſtantinople*, becauſe many were ſo negligent as not to communicate oftner; whom he juſtly reproves in an hyperbolical way of ſpeaking, which does not mean that he communicated by himſelf alone, but that many were guilty of a groſs Neglect, whilſt others, as *Chryſoſtom* himſelf ſays, were more aſſiduous and zealous. And yet this is one of the beſt Proofs *Bona* can give after all his Boaſts of Demonſtration; which ſhews, that he was as hard put to it to defend an indefenſible Cauſe, as Pope *Innocent* III. was, when to anſwer the Objection that is urged in this very Argument, How the Prieſt can ſay, *Orate pro me Fratres*, *Pray for me Brethren*; ſeeing he is alone without Aſſiſtants? he is forced to ſay [x], That it is piouſly to be believed, that the Angels of God are our Aſſociates in Prayer. Which Anſwer does not untie the Knot [y]: For though they are preſent, they are not preſent as Communicants to eat and drink with us the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Neither can the Prieſt be ſuppoſed to ſay to the Angels, *Take*, *eat*, *this is my Body*; according to Chriſt's Command. Evident therefore it is beyond all Contradiction, that whether we conſider the Inſtitution it ſelf; or the Practice of the Apoſtles and the Primitive Church; or the Tenour of all the antient *Liturgies*, which the Reader may find collected in *Chamier* [z], with the Teſtimonies of the Fathers upon the Subject; or even the Tenour of the *Roman Maſs* it ſelf; or the Oppoſition this Corruption met with at its firſt Appearance; the *Euchariſt* was not intended as a Sacrifice to be offered by a ſingle Prieſt in a Corner without Communicants or Aſſiſtants, or for the Intention, or at the Coſt of ſome particular Perſon paying for it; but for a Communion to the whole Church, as the primitive Church always uſed it; and there is not an Example to be found of the contrary Practice.

[q] Conc. Paris. lib. 1. cap. 48. Irrepſit in pleriſque locis partim Incuria partim Avaritia, reprehenſibilis uſus & congrua emendatione dignus, eo quod nonnulli Presbyterorum ſine Miniſtris Miſſarum ſolennia frequentent. Unde conveniendus, imo interrogandus nobis videtur hujuſmodi Corporis & Sanguinis Domini ſollitarius Conſecrator, quibus dicit, Dominus vobiſcum, & à quo illi reſpondetur, Et cum Spiritu tuo: Vel pro quibus ſupplicando Domino inter cætera, Memento Domine, & Omnium circumſtantium, cum nullus circumſtet, dicit? Quæ conſuetudo, quia Apoſtolicæ & Eccleſiaſticæ authoritati refragatur, & tanto Myſterio quandam Dehonorationem irrogare videtur, omnibus nobis in commune viſum eſt, ut deinceps hujuſmodi uſus inhibeatur, provideatque unuſquiſque Epiſcoporum, ne in ſua Parochia quiſquam Preſbyterorum Miſſam ſolus celebrare præſumat. [r] Grat. De Conſecrat. Diſt. 1. cap. 61. [s] Bona. lib. 1. cap. 13. n. 6. [t] Bona. ibid. cap. 14. n. 1. Semper viguit in Eccleſia Privatæ Miſſæ, uno ſaltem præſente & miniſtrante, laudabilis conſuetudo, quam Hæretici Miſoliturgi aliquando prohibitam fuiſſe nunquam poterunt demonſtrare. Sive enim dicatur Privata ex eo quod ſolus ſacerdos in ea communicet; ſive quia vel unus duntaxat vel pauci ei interſint, ſive alia quacunque ex cauſa: Semper eam licitam, ſemperque in uſu fuiſſe, probatiſſimis Patrum Teſtimoniis & exemplis demonſtrabo. [u] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. [x] Innoc. de Offic. Miſſæ. lib. 2. cap. 25. ap. Juel. Art. 1. p. 51. [y] Bona. lib. 2. cap. 5. n. 1. *ſays, This Anſwer of the Pope is piouſly meant, but not ſolid and true.* [z] Chamier. de Euchar. lib. 7. chap. 17, 18, 19.

SECT. V. *Other Corruptions countenanced ſometime in the Roman Church, as the* Miſſa Sicca *and* Nautica, *and thoſe call'd* Bifaciata & Trifaciata.

BUT this was not the only Abuſe which crept into the Church in later Ages againſt the antient way of celebrating the Holy Communion. For *Bona* himſelf [a] takes Notice of two more, which he cenſures as heartily as one could wiſh, tho' they found great Encouragement in their Time. They are Corruptions not commonly met with in other Authors, and therefore I will give the Reader an Account of them from him. The one was called *Miſſa Sicca*, *Dry Maſs*, which, he ſays, took its Original from the indiſcreet and private Devotion of ſome, to which the Prieſts were too indulgent. It is a mere Mask and Counterfeit of the true Maſs, properly dry and jejune, as wanting not only the Conſecration, but the Participation of the Body of Chriſt, like that Supper of Wood and Stones, which *Lampridius* and other Hiſtorians tell us was exhibited by *Heliogabalus* to his Gueſts. Yet it ſo prevailed, that for ſome time it was not diſpleaſing to holy and learned Men. *Gulielmus de Nangiaco* the Monk, in his Book of the Actions of St. *Lewis*, tells how that moſt religious King, returning from beyond Sea into *France*, had the Body of Chriſt in the Ship with him, and there ordered all the whole Divine Office and the Maſs, except the Canon, to be daily celebrated. *Genebrard* commends the ſame in his Book of the Apoſtolical *Liturgy*, cap. 30. for thoſe that cannot be in the Morning at the whole Maſs, and for thoſe that are at Sea, and for the Sick, and for any that are buried in the Afternoon; to which purpoſe he ſays it was uſed in his Time, and he himſelf was preſent at *Turin*, *an.* 1587, at the Funeral of a Nobleman, who was buried in the Evening with ſuch a Maſs ſung by a Deacon and a Subdeaaon. *Durandus* deſcribes the Manner of celebrating it in his *Rationale*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. where he ſays the whole Office may all be uſed except the Canon, although in the Preface the Angels ſeem to be invocated to the Conſecration of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. This, *Durantus* in his Book *de Ritibus* lib. 2. cap. 4. ſays, is called the Seamens Maſs, *Miſſa Nautica*, becauſe it was uſed to be celebrated at Sea and upon the Rivers, where by reaſon of the Motion and Agitation of the Waves the Sacrifice could hardly be offered without danger of Effuſion. *Eſtius* declaims bitterly againſt it in his thirteenth Theological Oration, and *Laurentius Laudmeter* lib. 2. *de Veteri Clerico & Monacho* cap. 84. who both think it began a little before the Time of *Guido de Monte Rocherii*, who commends and approves it in his Book, called, *Manipulus Curatorum*, Tract. 4. cap. 7. which he wrote, *an.* 1333. but they were miſtaken, becauſe, as we have ſeen, it was in Uſe in the Time of King *Lewis* the Saint, who died *An.* 1270; and *Durantus* deſcribes it, who lived at the ſame Time. And *Petrus Cantor*, who flouriſhed *an* 1200, mentions it in his Book called, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, c. 29. where he ſays, Dry Maſs is without the Grace and Moiſture of the conſecrated *Euchariſt*, and profits the Faithful nothing. *Bona* adds, that now by the provident Care of Biſhops, he thinks, this Abuſe is abrogated and deſtroyed all over the World. But he forgets to tell his Reader one Thing, which *Durantus* tells us [b] freely out of *Navarre*, that the Book called [c] *Liber Sacerdotalis*, where this *Miſſa Nautica* is deſcribed, was approved by *Leo* the tenth, and that St. *Antonine* ſpeaks of it as uſed at *Tholouſe* by way of Funeral Office in the Afternoon. By which we may judge, how great Corruptions may creep into the Church, and then gain the Approbation both of their Popes and Saints, by their own Confeſſion. And when it is ſo, they will never want Advocates to plead their Cauſe, and put the Face of Antiquity upon them. As in this very Caſe, though *Bona* and others cenſure this Abuſe as an Innovation, yet *Durantus* derives its Original from the Primitive Church, and tells us, it was practiſed at *Alexandria* in the time of *Socrates*, becauſe he ſays [d] that on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* they had the Scriptures read, and Expoſitions made upon them, and all other Things belonging to religious Aſſemblies, except the Celebration of the Myſteries: Which indeed is very true; but altogether foreign to his Purpoſe, unleſs we ſhall ſay, that there can be no Prayers, nor Sermons, nor Pſalmody, nor Reading the Scriptures in the Church, but preſently it muſt be called dry *Maſs*, that is, uſing the Conſecration-Service without a Conſecration.

The other Corruption, which *Bona* cenſures as a deteſtable Abuſe, is that which they call *Miſſa Bifaciata* and *Trifaciata*, which he ſays, *Petrus Cantor*, in the forementioned Book, ſharply rebukes. For ſome Prieſts in his Time had got a Trick of throwing many *Maſſes* into one, ſaying the *Maſs* of the Day, or ſome ſpecial *Maſs* as far as the *Offertory*, and then beginning another as far as the ſame Place; and after that a third and a fourth in the ſame manner. After that they ſaid as many ſecret Prayers as they had begun *Maſſes*, and then made one Canon ſerve them all, adding as many *Collects* in the End, as they had repeated in the Beginning. *Petrus Cantor* aſcribes the Original of this Abuſe to the Covetouſneſs of the Prieſts, who knowing it to be unlawful for them to celebrate more than once in one Day, invented this Grafting of many *Maſſes* upon one Stock, that by once Celebrating they might ſatisfy the Devotion of many together, who deſired the Sacrifice to be offered for them, by which means they got the Pay of ſeveral *Maſſes* for one Sacrifice. Theſe *Maſſes*, *Petrus Cantor* calls by a barbarous Name, *Bifaciatas* and *Trifaciatas*, becauſe they had a double and a triple Face: Which he abominates and deteſts as monſtrous, and contrary to the Inſtitution and

[a] Bona. Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 15. n. 6. [b] Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 2. cap. 4. n. 8. [c] Navar. de Oratione. Miſcel. 53. Antonin. Part 3. Tit. 13. cap. 6. n. 4. [d] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

Cuſtom of the Church. 'Tis great Pity we have not this Book of *Petrus Cantor*, called his *Verbum Abbreviatum*, or *Short Work*, here at hand in ſome of our Libraries. It is a Book ſo rare, that I find no mention made of it in Dr. *Cave*. But *Du Pin* gives a ſhort Account [*e*] of the Author. He ſays, he was a Chanter of the Church of *Paris* in the Beginning of the thirteenth Century; that he compoſed a Book called *The Word abridg'd*, a Work of great Renown among the Authors of the next Centuries, of which a Part was written againſt the Proprietary Monks. He likewiſe wrote a *Grammar* for Divines, very neceſſary for underſtanding the Scriptures; a Book of *Diſtinctions*; a Treatiſe about ſome *Miracles*; three Books of the *Sacraments*, and divers *Sermons*, mentioned by *Trithemius*. *Du Pin* adds, that in their Libraries they had his *Gloſſes upon the Bible*, and *A Collection of Caſes of Conſcience*. But none of them are printed beſide the *Verbum Abbreviatum*. *Trithemius* [*f*] ſays he was a Biſhop afterwards, as he had heard reported, and he gives him this Character, that he was excellently well learned in the Scriptures, and eminent in all Philoſophical Knowledge; that he was Rector of the *Theological* School at *Paris* for many Years, where he trained up many eminent Diſciples. Were his Books now to be ſeen, we might doubtleſs find many other ſuch Abuſes of the Monks as ſeverely handled in them, as thoſe which we have here noted out of *Bona*.

Whilſt I am upon this Head of Abuſes, the Reader will not be diſpleaſed, if I note another of this Kind, which *Baronius* himſelf takes notice of [*g*] out of the 17th Council of *Toledo*, where there is a Canon to cenſure and correct it. Some Prieſts in *Spain* were ſo corrupt as to gratify revengeful Men by ſaying the Service of the Dead for the Living, for no other End, but that they for whom the Office was ſaid might incur the Danger of Death, by having a Sacrifice offered for them; and ſo that which was deſigned for Mens Salvation, was perverſely abuſed at the Inſtigation of wicked Men to their Deſtruction. Againſt ſuch Compliers with the deteſtable Requeſts of wicked Men, the Council [*h*] pronounces the ſevere ſentence of Depoſition and Excommunication. We may alſo note another Abuſe mentioned in the twelfth Council of *Toledo* [*i*], which was, that ſome Prieſts having Occaſion to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* more than once in a Day, would not communicate themſelves every time, but only at the laſt Conſecration. Which was another Sort of private *Maſs*, but as it were the Reverſe of that of the *Romiſh* Church. For as now the Prieſt communicates without the People: (pardon the Abſurdity of the Expreſſion, when I call that Communicating where there is no Communion:) So then the People were forced to communicate without the Prieſt: Both which the Council thought prepoſterous and abſurd, and therefore re-inforces the antient Diſcipline, that both Prieſt and People ſhould communicate together: Which was ever the conſtant and univerſal Practice of the whole Primitive Church, to whoſe Laws and Rules about Communicants, leaving theſe Abuſes and Innovations, I now return.

SECT. VI. *The Communion not given to Hereticks and Schiſmaticks without Confeſſion and Reconciliation.*

As all Perſons were obliged to receive the Communion conſtantly, who were within the Pale of the Church in the largeſt Acceptation of the Word, except Catechumens and excommunicate Perſons: So we muſt note, to avoid Ambiguity, that Hereticks and Schiſmaticks were commonly ranked in the ſame Claſs with excommunicate Perſons; ſometimes being formally cut off from the Church by her Cenſures, and ſometimes voluntarily by their own Separation; and therefore till they had made Confeſſion and Renunciation of their Errors, and were reconciled by Impoſition of Hands and Abſolution, they were reckoned in the number of thoſe to whom the Communion of Prayers and this Holy Sacrament was denied; and that whether they had been baptized in the Church, or were baptized in Hereſy and Schiſm. Sometimes they were allowed with all others to hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached, as has been ſhewed [†] in a former Book: But then when the Service of the Catechumens was over, they were obliged to depart with them; the Deacon's Admonition commonly running in theſe Terms, as we have often heard before, *Let no Catechumen, no Penitent, no Unbeliever, no Heretick or Heterodox Perſon be preſent at the Holy Myſteries*. After what manner they were received and reconcil'd upon their Confeſſions, belongs to another Subject; which has in ſome meaſure been handled already [*k*], and will come again under Conſideration in the next Volume, when we treat of the Diſcipline of the Church: At preſent it is ſufficient to obſerve, that whilſt they continued in Hereſy or Schiſm, they were of the Number of thoſe to whom the Church refuſed to give the Sacrament, as Perſons not being in full Communion with her.

SECT. VII. *Yet given to Infants and Children for ſeveral Ages.*

On the other hand it is beyond Diſpute, that as ſhe baptized Infants, and gave them the Unction of Chriſm with Impoſition of Hands for Confirmation, ſo ſhe imme-

[*e*] Du Pin. Biblioth. Cent. 13. p. 54. [*f*] Trithem. de Scriptor. p. 81. [*g*] Baron. an. 694. n. 9.

[*h*] Conc. Tolet. 17. can. 5. Miſſam pro requie Defunctorum promulgatam fallaci voto pro vivis ſtudent celebrare hominibus, non ob aliud, niſi ut is, pro quo idipſum offertur Officium, ipſius ſacroſancti libaminis interventu, mortis ac perditionis incurrat periculum: & quod cunctis datum eſt in ſalutis remedium, illi hoc perverſo inſtinctu quibuſdam eſſe expetunt in interitum, &c.

[*i*] Conc Tolet. 12. can. 5. Quale erit illud Sacrificium cui nec ipſe Sacrificans particeps eſſe cognoſcitur? Ergo modis omnibus eſt tenendum, ut quotieſcunque Sacrificans corpus & ſanguinem Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti particpem ſe præbeat. Vid. Gratian. De Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 10. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* i. *n.* 2. [*k*] Scholaſt. *Hiſt. of Baptiſm. Part* 1. *chap.* 1. *n.* 21.

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diately admitted them to a Participation of the *Euchariſt*, as ſoon as they were baptized, and ever after without Exception. Some Evidence has been given of this already, for at leaſt eight Centuries, in ſpeaking of Confirmation [†], out of *Gennadius* and *Alcuin*, and the *Ordo Romanus*, and *Jeſſe Ambianenſis*, and other publick Offices of the Church containing the Rules of Baptiſm and Confirmation, where Orders are alſo given to communicate Infants as ſoon as they were baptized. Here I will add the Teſtimony of the more antient Writers, that it may not be thought a Novelty and Invention of latter Ages. [*l*] *Cyprian* often mentions it as the common Practice: In his Book of thoſe that lapſed in time of Perſecution, he ſpeaks of ſome Parents, who took their little Children in their Arms, when they went to ſacrifice at the Heathen Altars: And he brings in thoſe Infants thus complaining: We did nothing our ſelves, neither did we leave the Bread and Cup of the Lord to run of our own accord to the profane Contagions: It was the Treachery of others that deſtroyed us, we fell by the Hands of our Parents. A little farther he ſpeaks of another Infant, who was carried by her Nurſe, unknown to her Parents, to the Magiſtrates to partake of the Idol Sacrifice; who when ſhe was brought by her Mother afterwards [*m*] to receive the *Euchariſt*, vomited up the Wine that was given her to drink in the Communion. By which it is undeniable that Infants were then admitted to communicate in both Kinds, if they were capable of receiving them. Upon this Account the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*n*] in his Invitation of the Faithful to the Communion, bids Mothers bring their Children with them. And again [*o*], deſcribing the Order in which they communicated, he ſays, Firſt let the Biſhops receive, then the Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, and Aſceticks; among the Women, the Deaconeſſes, Virgins and Widows; after that the Children, and then all the People in their Order. The Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [*p*] ſays the ſame, that Children were admitted not only to Baptiſm, but the *Euchariſt*, though they did not underſtand the Reaſons of either Myſtery. St. *Auſtin* not only mentions the Practice in *Cyprian*'s Time [*q*], citing the foreſaid Paſſages out of his Book *De Lapſis*; but alſo ſeems to ſay it was neceſſary for Infants in order to obtain eternal Life; grounding upon that Saying of our Saviour, *Joh.* vi. *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood* [*r*], *ye have no Life in you.* Which, he ſays, is to be underſtood not of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Table, where no one is rightly admitted but he that is baptized. And dare any one be ſo bold, as to ſay, that this Sentence does not appertain to little Children, or that they can have Life without partaking of this Body and Blood? He repeats the ſame frequently in his Diſputes with the *Pelagians* [*s*], and his Sermons on the Words of the Apoſtle [*t*], and in his Epiſtle to *Boniface*, [*u*] written joyntly by him and *Alipius* againſt the *Pelagians*. And Pope *Innocent* his Co-temporary ſeems to have had the ſame Opinion: For he argues in his Epiſtle to St. *Auſtin* and the Council of *Milevis* [*x*] for the Neceſſity of Baptizing Infants, from the Neceſſity of their eating the Fleſh, and drinking the Blood of the Son of Man. There is great Diſpute among the *Romiſh* Doctors about the Senſe of St. *Auſtin* and this Pope *Innocent* upon this point. *Bona* [*y*] and others think it would be a great Reproach to their Church, to have it thought that the Council of *Trent* ſhould condemn the Opinion of the Neceſſity of Communicating Infants, whilſt two ſuch great Men as St. *Auſtin* and their own Pope *Innocent* were conceived to be of that Opinion: And therefore they ſay, though the Ancients gave the Communion to Infants, yet they did not think it neceſſary to Salvation. This is the *Salvo* which the Council of *Trent* put into their Mouths: For having condemned the Opinion itſelf as Heretical; yet to bring off the Antient Church, which was known to practiſe it, ſhe adds [*z*], We do not hereby intend to condemn Antiquity for obſerving this Cuſtom in ſome Places. For as thoſe holy Fathers had a probable Reaſon, conſidering the State of the Times they lived in, for their Practice; ſo it is certainly and without all Controverſy to be believed, that they did not do it upon any Opinion of its being neceſſary to Salvation. But *Maldonate* would not take the Council's Word for this: For without any Regard to their Interpretation or Authority, he aſſerts round-

[†] *Book* XII. *Chap.* i. *n.* 2. [*l*] Cypr. de Lapſis. p. 125. Infantes quoque Parentum manibus vel impoſiti vel attracti, amiſerunt parvuli, quod in primo ſtatim nativitatis exordio fuerant conſecuti. Nonne illi, cum judicii dies venerit, dicent: Nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto Cibo & Poculo Domini ad profana contagia ſponte properavimus. Perdidit nos aliena perfidia, Parentes ſenſimus Parricidas. [*m*] Ibid. p. 132. In corpore atque ore violato Euchariſtia permanere non potuit. Sanctificatus in Domini Sanguine potus de pollutis viſceribus erupit. [*n*] Conſt. lib. 8. cap. 12. [*o*] Ibid. cap. 13. [*p*] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hierar. cap. 7. p. 360. [*q*] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. [*r*] Aug. de Peccator. Merit. lib. 1. cap. 20. Dominum audiamus non quidem hoc de Sacramento Sancti Lavacri dicentem, ſed de Sacramento Sanctæ Menſæ ſuæ, quo nemo rite niſi baptizatus accedit, Niſi manducaveritis carnem meam, &c. An vero quiſquam audebit etiam hoc dicere, quod ad Parvulos hæc ſententia non pertineat, poſſuntque ſine participatione corporis hujus & ſanguinis in ſe habere vitam? [*s*] Cont. duas Epiſt. Pelag. lib. 1. cap. 22. Nec illud cogitatis, eos vitam habere non poſſe qui fuerint expertes corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, dicente ipſo, Niſi manducaveritis, &c. [*t*] Serm. 8. de Verbis Apoſtoli, p. 110. Infantes ſunt, ſed menſæ ejus participes fiunt, ut habeant in ſe vitam. [*u*] Ep. 106. ad Bonifac. p. 185. Nullus qui ſe meminit Catholicæ fidei Chriſtianum, negat aut dubitat Parvulos non accepta gratia regenerationis in Chriſto ſine cibo carnis ejus & ſanguinis potu, non habere in ſe vitam. [*x*] Innoc. Ep. 93. inter Epiſt. Auguſtini. Parvulos æternæ vitæ premiis etiam ſine Baptiſmatis gratia donari poſſe, perfatuum eſt: Niſi enim manducaverint ſanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in ſemetipſis. [*y*] Bona rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 1. [*z*] Conc. Trident. Seſſ. 21. cap. 4. Neque ideo tamen damnanda eſt Antiquitas, ſi eum morem in quibuſdam locis ſervavit. Ut enim ſanctiſſimi illi Patres ſui facti probabilem cauſam pro illius temporis ratione habuerunt; ita certe eos nulla ſalutis neceſſitate id feciſſe ſine controverſia credendum eſt.

ly, that the Ancients, and particularly St. *Auſtin*, and Pope *Innocent*, did believe, that Infants could not be ſaved without partaking of the *Euchariſt* [†], and that they were induced to believe this by thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* And indeed any one that reads but with half an Eye the Teſtimonies of St. *Auſtin* now alledged (which *Bona* thought fit to conceal from his Reader, only making a ſhort Reference to ſome of them) may eaſily perceive what was his Opinion in the Matter. And it were abſurd to think, that the whole Primitive Church *Greek* and *Latin* from St. *Cyprian*'s Time, ſhould give the Communion to Infants without imagining any manner of Neceſſity from any Divine Command to do it. But *Bona* endeavours to ſupport his and the Council's Senſe from the Authority of *Fulgentius*, who was one of St. *Auſtin*'s Diſciples, and who, as he repreſents him, ſays, that actual Communion after Baptiſm is not neceſſary to Salvation. But he only abuſes his Reader with a falſe State of the Caſe, and a falſe Aſſertion grounded on it. For *Fulgentius* does not ſay that the actual Participation of the *Euchariſt* is not neceſſary after Baptiſm for Infants: For he is not ſpeaking of Infants, but Adult Perſons, who die as ſoon as they are baptized, without having Opportunity to receive the Communion: Concerning whom he concludes favourably, that though they die before they receive outwardly the Elements of Bread and Wine, yet they are not to be deſpaired of, becauſe they were made Partakers of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in Baptiſm: Which in ſuch Caſes of great Neceſſity [*a*] was ſufficient to anſwer the End of the Communion, when Men were deſirous of it, but had no Opportunity to receive it. So that he believed the *Euchariſt* ordinarily to be neceſſary both for Infants and Adult Perſons, but in extraordinary Caſes of extreme Neceſſity, not to be neceſſary for either.

But to ſet aſide the Queſtion of Right, and only purſue Matter of Fact, we find that this Cuſtom continued even in the *Roman* Church for many Ages: *Maldonate* ſays for ſix Centuries, but *Bona* makes it double the Number; for he ſays, it was not abrogated in *France* till the twelfth Century. In *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium* [*b*] there is an Order concerning Infants, That they ſhould be allowed to ſuck the Breaſt before the holy Communion, if Neceſſity ſo required. And the old *Ordo Romanus* [*c*], a Book compoſed in the ninth Century, has a Direction to the ſame Purpoſe; That Infants after they were baptized, ſhould not eat any Food, nor ſuck the Breaſt without great Neceſſity, 'till they had communicated in the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt. So *Alcuin*, or whoever wrote under his Name in the Time of *Charles the Great*, ſays, the Order then was [*d*], That when Infants were baptized, they were immediately confirmed by the Biſhop, if he were preſent, and admitted to communicate; but if the Biſhop was abſent, they ſhould receive the Communion from the Presbyter. *Baluzius* [*e*] alledges two Manuſcript *Pontificals* of the ſame Age, which have *Rubricks* to the ſame Purpoſe. And the Orders of *Jeſſe* Biſhop of *Amiens* [*f*] call it Confirming Children with the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as they were confirmed before with Impoſition of Hands and Chriſm. And it is remarkable of *Walter* Biſhop of *Orleance* in the ſame Age, that among his Synodical Rules there is one to this Purpoſe: That a Presbyter [*g*] ſhall always have the *Euchariſt* ready by him, that in caſe any one be infirm, or a young Child ſick, he may give him the Communion, and not let him die without his *Viaticum* or Proviſion for his Journey into the next World. The ſecond Council of *Maſcon*, which was held *An.* 588, and the third Council of *Tours* [*h*], in the Time of *Charles the Great*, order the Remains of the *Euchariſt* to be given to innocent Children. *Radulphus Ardens*, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth Century, ſpeaks of it ſtill as the Cuſtom to give little Children [*i*] the Sacrament, at leaſt in the ſpecies of Wine, immediately after they were baptized, that they might not go without the neceſſary Sacrament. And *Hugo de Sancto Victore* at the ſame time recommends the giving of it to Children [*k*], if it might be done without Danger: Tho' he intimates now the Cuſtom was almoſt generally laid aſide; there being only a mere Form and Shadow of it remaining, which was to give Children newly baptized common Wine inſtead of conſecrated, which he thinks a ſuperfluous Rite that ought to be laid aſide. And ſo it was, not long after: For *Odo* Biſhop of *Paris*, *An.* 1175,

[†] Maldonat. Com. in Joan. 6. 53. p. 326. [*a*] Fulgent. de Baptiſmo Æthiopis. cap. 11. p. 611. Nullus debet moveri Fidelium in illis, qui etſi legitime ſana mente baptizantur, præveniente velocius morte, carnem Domini manducare, & ſanguinem bibere non ſinuntur, propter illam videlicet ſententiam ſalvatoris qua dixit, Niſi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, &c. Quod quiſquis—— Myſterii veritatem conſiderare poterit, in ipſo Lavacro ſanctæ Regenerationis hoc fieri providebit. [*b*] Gregor. Sacramentar. in Officio Sabbati Sancti. Non prohibentur lactari ante ſacram Communionem, ſi neceſſe fuerit. [*c*] Ordo Rom. Bibl. Patr. T. 10. p. 84. De Parvulis providendum, ne poſtquam baptizati fuerint, ullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur ſine ſumma neceſſitate, antequam communicent Sacramento corporis Chriſti.
[*d*] Alcuin. de Officiis. Cap. de Sabbato Sancto. ibid. p. 259. Si Epiſcopus adeſt, ſtatim confirmari oportet (Infans tinctus) Chriſmate, & poſtea communicare: Et ſi Epiſcopus deeſt, communicetur à Presbytero, &c. Sed & hoc providendum eſt ut nullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur antequam communicent.
[*e*] Baluz. Not. in Reginonem. lib. 1. cap. 69. [*f*] Jeſſe Ambianenſis Epiſt. de Ordine Bapt. ap. Baluz. ibid. Epiſcopus Puerum Chriſmate confirmet; noviſſime autem corpore & ſanguine Chriſti confirmetur ſeu communicetus, ut Chriſti membrum eſſe poſſit. [*g*] Walter. Aurelian. Capitul. 7. Conc. Tom. 8. p. 639. Presbyter Euchariſtiam ſemper habeat paratam, ut quando quis infirmatus fuerit, aut Parvulus ægrotaverit, ſtatim eum communicet, ne ſine Viatico moriatur. *The ſame is in* Anſegiſus Abbas de Legibus Francorum. lib. 1. cap. 155. al. 161. [*h*] Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 6. Conc. Turon. 3. can. 19. [*i*] Radulph. Serm. in Die Paſchæ. de Euchariſtiæ neceſſitate Statutum eſt ut pueris mox baptizatis ſaltem in ſpecie vini tradatur, ne ſine neceſſario ſacramento diſcedant. [*k*] Hugo de S. Victore, de Sacrament. lib. 1. cap. 20.

ordered,

ordered, That neither conſecrated nor unconſecrated Bread ſhould by any means be given to little Children [l]. And ſo ſays *Bona* [m], The Cuſtom of giving the Communion to Infants was ſuperſeded in the twelfth Age in the *Gallican* Church. It continued a little longer in *Germany*, if *Suicerus* does not miſtake [n] in his Author: For he quotes *Joannes Semeca*, ſirnamed *Teutonicus*, who wrote the Gloſs upon *Gratian*, as ſaying, that the Cuſtom prevailed in ſome Places in his Time to give the *Euchariſt* to Children. But there is no ſuch Gloſs in the Place [o] he alledges, in the *Roman* Edition; ſo that either he miſtakes the Place, or elſe ſome Fraud has been uſed to expunge the Paſſage by the *Roman* Correctors. *Zuinglius* ſpeaks of the Cuſtom continuing long among the *Helvetians:* For he ſays, in the Ritual Book of *Claron*, called their Obſequial, there was this Rubrick: That a newly-baptized Child ſhould have [p] the *Euchariſt* in both Kinds miniſtred unto him. And *Hoſpinian* aſſures us from his own Knowledge [q], that in *Lorrain* and the adjacent Parts it was uſual for the Prieſt, when he had baptized a Child, to dip his Fingers in the Cup, and drop the Wine into the Child's Mouth, ſaying, The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be of Advantage unto thee to Eternal Life.

The *Greek* Church was a little more tenacious of the antient Cuſtom. For not only *Baſilius Cilix* [r] and *Evagrius* [s] and *Johannes Moſchus* [t] mention the Communion of Children, and the giving the Remains of the *Euchariſt* to Children after the Communion was ended; but alſo *Nicephorus*, who lived in the fourteenth Century [u], mentions the ſame: And *Suicerus* tells us out of *Metrophanes Critopulus*, a Modern *Greek* Writer [x], that they ſtill continue to obſerve the Cuſtom to this Day. As he alſo obſerves out of *Oſorius de Geſtis Emanuelis*, lib. 9. that it continues to be the Practice of the *Ethiopick* or *Abyſſin* Churches. And he cites *Sigiſmundus Baro*'s Hiſtory of *Muſcovy* for the ſame in the *Ruſſian* Churches. Mr. *Brerewood* [y] notes the like of the *Ruſſian* Churches out of *Guaguinus*. And Dr. *Smith* [z] tells for the preſent *Greek* Church, that they give the *Euchariſt* in both Kinds to little Children of one or two Years of Age, and ſometimes to new-born Infants after Baptiſm, in caſe of imminent danger of Death; grounding their Belief of an abſolute Neceſſity of this Sacrament upon the Words of our Saviour, *John* vi. 53. *Except ye eat the Fleſh*, &c. and pleading the Practice of the Primitive Church in their own Juſtification. I have not ſaid any Thing of all this to reduce the Cuſtom into Practice again: (Tho' Biſhop *Bedle* and ſome others have declared intirely for it:) Becauſe, as Learned [a] Men have ſhewed, there are good Reaſons to perſuade the contrary; 1. Becauſe it has no firm Foundation in the Word of God. 2. Becauſe Infants, which are baptized, are in Effect thereby Partakers of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, which are exhibited ſpiritually in Baptiſm as well as the *Euchariſt*, according to St. *Auſtin* himſelf and all the antient Fathers, of which I have made full Proof in another [*] Place. 3. Becauſe Infants cannot do this in Remembrance of Chriſt, which he requires all that partake in this Sacrament to do. 4. Becauſe there is the ſame Analogy and Agreement between the Paſchal Lamb and the Lord's Supper, as there is between Circumciſion and Baptiſm: An Infant *Iſraelite* had a Right to enter the Covenant by Circumciſion, as it was the Seal of it: But he was not to partake of the Paſſover, till he could ask his Parents the meaning of the Myſtery, *Exod.* xii. 26. So an Infant may enter the Chriſtian Covenant by Baptiſm, but not partake regularly of the *Euchariſt*, till he can do it in Remembrance of Chriſt. What I have therefore diſcourſed upon this Head, by deducing the Matter hiſtorically from firſt to laſt, is rather to ſhew the Vanity of that Pretence to Infallibility and unerring Tradition in the Church of *Rome* in Matters of Doctrine and neceſſary Practice; ſince they themſelves have thought fit to alter one Point, which their infallible Popes and Forefathers for ſo many Ages obſerved as neceſſary, in communicating Infants upon a Divine Command; and withal to ſhew, that any other Church has a better Pretence than they, to reform any Practice, however generally obſerved, if upon better Examination it be found not to be grounded upon a good Foundation in the Word of God. I now return to the Buſineſs of the antient Church;

SECT. VIII. *Sent to the abſent Members of their own or other Churches.*

WHERE we find that not only the preſent Members were all Communicants, but they that were abſent had it ſent to them by the Hands of a Deacon, to teſtify, that while they were abſent upon any lawful Occaſion, they were ſtill reputed to be in the Communion of the Church. Thus *Juſtin Martyr* ſays [b] the ſame *Euchariſt*, which was received by them that were preſent, was carried by the Deacons to the abſent. For as they prayed for thoſe that were abſent upon a probable or reaſonable Cauſe, ſo they allowed them to communicate in the ſame Sacrament alſo. Upon this Account, as we have ſeen before [†], the *Euchariſt* at *Rome* in the time of *Melchiades*, *Siricius*, and *Innocent*, was uſually ſent from the Biſhops Church to the *Tituli*, or leſſer Churches, for the

[l] Odo Statut. Synodal. cap. 39. [m] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 2. [n] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. T. 2. p. 1138. [o] Grat. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 4. cap. 4. *cited alſo by* Hoſpinian. [p] Zuingl. Explanat. Artic. 18. Oper. Tom. 1. Baptizato puero mox detur Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum, ſimiliter & Poculum Sanguinis. [q] Hoſpinian. Hiſt. Sacram. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 60. [r] Baſil. ap. Photium Cod. 107. [s] Evagr. lib. 4. c. 35. [t] Moſchus, Viridarium. cap. 196. [u] Niceph. lib. 14. c. 25. [x] Suicer. T. 2. p. 1138. *Ex* Metroph. Confeſſ. Eccl. Orient. cap. 9. [y] Brerewood's *Enquiries*, cap 18. [z] Smith. *Account of the* Greek *Church*, p. 161. [a] Vid. Hoſpin. & Suicer. locis citatis. [*] *Book* II. *Chap.* x. *n.* 4. [b] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. Vid. Juſtinian. Novel. 123. cap. 36. Aut ſanctam eis Communionem portandam. [†] *Book* XV. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 5.

Presbyters

Presbyters miniſtring in thoſe Churches to communicate with him, and as ſome think [c] for the whole Congregations alſo. For they ſuppoſe, that at firſt there was but one Altar in a City, and That at the Mother Church, where the Biſhop miniſtred, and conſecrated the *Euchariſt*, and ſent it thence to the leſſer Congregations. And ſo they underſtand even that Paſſage in *Juſtin Martyr*. I rather think, the Presbyters had the Privilege to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* in their own Churches; but however a Portion of the *Euchariſt* was for all that ſent them by the Biſhop from his own Church, to teſtify that they were in Communion with him: He did not ſend to the Country Churches, becauſe the Sacraments were not to be carried to Places at too great a Diſtance, as *Innocent* words it in his Letter to *Decentius*. Yet in caſe of teſtifying their Communion with foreign Biſhops, they were wont to ſend it to far diſtant Churches As *Irenæus* in his Epiſtle to Pope *Victor* [d], when he menaced the *Aſiatick* Churches with Excommunication for their different Way of obſerving *Eaſter*, tells him his Predeceſſors never thought of ſuch rough Proceedings againſt them, but notwithſtanding this Difference always ſent them the *Euchariſt*, to teſtify their Communion with them. *Valeſius* [e] and others obſerve the ſame in the Acts [f] of *Lucian* the Martyr, and *Paulinus*'s [g] Epiſtle to *Severus*. This was chiefly, if not ſolely done at the Paſchal Feſtival, in token of their Unity, Love and Charity. But the Council of *Laodicea* [h], for ſome Inconveniencies attending the Practice, abſolutely forbad it; ordering that the Holy Sacraments ſhould not be ſent from one Dioceſe to another under the Notion of *Eulogiæ*, or Benedictions, at the *Eaſter* Feſtival. Yet in ſome Places the Cuſtom continued for ſeveral Ages after. For *Johannes Moſchus* [i] ſpeaks of the Communion being ſent from one Monk to another at ſix Miles diſtance: Not to mention again the Cuſtom of ſending the *Euchariſt* by *Paulinus*, and the Biſhops of *Rome* from the Mother Church to all the other Churches throughout the City in every Region. But where they left off this Cuſtom of ſending the *Euchariſt*, they introduced another Way of teſtifying their mutual Love and Amity to one another by certain Symbols of Bread, which they bleſſed and ſanctified alſo in Imitation of the *Euchariſt*, but with a different Benediction. And to theſe alſo they gave the Names of *Eulogiæ & Panis benedictus*, conſecrated Bread, which the modern *Greeks* call ἀντίδωρα, vicarious Gifts, becauſe they were given in many Caſes inſtead of the *Euchariſt*. It has been obſerved [†] already, that they were often given to ſuch as would not communicate, when the antient Fervour of popular and general Communions began to decay. Here we are to obſerve, that they were uſed to be ſent from one Country to another, inſtead of the *Euchariſt*, as Teſtimonies of their Amity and Affection. Some not improbably [k] thus underſtood that Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [l], which forbids any to receive the *Eulogiæ*, or Bleſſings of Hereticks, which were to be reckoned Curſes and Abſurdities rather than Bleſſings. As alſo that other Canon [m] which forbids them to receive either from Jews or Hereticks, τὰ πεμπόμενα ἑορτασικὰ, ſuch Gifts or Preſents as were uſed to be ſent in Feſtivals. Of this kind was that Bread which *Paulinus* [n] and *Therafia* ſent to St. *Auſtin* as a Teſtimony of their Unanimity and cordial Affection, which they deſire him to bleſs by his Acceptance. Some learned Men miſtake, when they ſay, the ſending of the *Euchariſt* came in the Room of this: For it was plainly the Reverſe: Theſe *Eulogiæ* were invented in the Room of the *Euchariſt*, as appears from the Teſtimony of *Irenæus*, which ſpeaks of ſending the *Euchariſt* as the more antient Cuſtom.

SECT. IX. *And to thoſe that were Sick, or in Priſon, or under any Confinement, or in Penance at the point of Death.*

AMONG the abſent Members of the Church they had a more eſpecial regard to thoſe that were Sick, or in Priſon, or under any Confinement, as the Martyrs and Confeſſors, who daily expected their Diſſolution; and ſuch alſo of the Penitents as were ſeized with Sickneſs and in imminent danger of Death. To all theſe they commonly ſent the *Euchariſt*, which in this caſe is more peculiarly ſtiled the ἐφόδιον, or *Viaticum*, their Preparation or Proviſion for their Journey into the next World. Thus in the Council of *Nice* [o] there is a Canon which orders, that all Penitents ſhould have their neceſſary and final ἐφόδιον or *Viaticum*, when they were at the point of Death. Which though *Albaſpinæus* [p] interprets only of *Abſolution*, yet all others with better Reaſon underſtand it of the *Euchariſt*, becauſe it is added in the end of the Canon, that the Biſhop ſhall impart the Oblation to them. And ſo the Council of *Agde* ſays [q], the *Viaticum* ſhall not be denied to any Penitents at the point of Death. The firſt Council of *Vaiſon* [r] makes a Proviſion for ſuch Penitents as were ſnatched away by ſudden Death without the *Viaticum* of the Sacrament, whilſt they were preparing for it, that their Oblations ſhould be received, and their Funerals and Memorials celebrated according to the Rites of the Church.

[c] Maurice *of* Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, p. 39. [d] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 24. [e] Valeſ. in Locum. [f] Acta Lucian. ap. Metaphraſt. 7. Jan. [g] Paulin. Ep. 1. ad Severum. [h] Conc. Laodic. can. 13. Δεῖ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἅγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὰ δῶρα εἰς ἑτέρας παροικίας διαπέμπεσθαι. [i] Moſch. Pratum. Spiritual cap. 29. [†] *See before in this Chapter, n.* 3. [k] Habert. Archieratic. Part. 11. Obſer. 3. [l] Conc. Laodic. can. 31. vel 32. ἃ δεῖ αἱρετικῶν εὐλογίας λαμβάνειν. ἀλλ' ἀποφάσεις εἰσὶν ἀλογίαι μᾶλλον ἢ εὐλογίαι. [m] Ibid. can. 37. [n] Paulin. Ep. 31. inter Epiſt. Aug. Panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicio miſimus charitati tuæ, rogamus accipiendo benedicas. Vid. Aug. Ep. 34. ad Paulinum. [o] Conc. Nic. can. 13. [p] Albaſpin. Not. in Locum. [q] Conc. Agathen. can. 15. Viaticum tamen omnibus in morte poſitis non eſt negandum. [r] Conc. Vaſens 1. can. 2. Nefas eſt eorum commemorationes excludi à ſalutaribus Sacris, qui ad eadem Sacra fideli affectu contendentes—abſque Sacramentorum Viatico intercipiantur, &c.

And

And the 11th Council of *Toledo* [s] makes another Proviſion for ſuch as by reaſon of extreme Weakneſs could not take the whole *Viaticum* of the Communion, nor ſwallow the Bread, but only drink the Cup, that ſince this proceeded not from any Infidelity, but from mere Infirmity, they ſhould not be cut off from the Body of the Church. The 4th Council of *Carthage* mentions it in ſeveral Canons, and in one Canon particularly [t] ſpeaks of a very remarkable Caſe, which ſometimes happened, that a Penitent who deſired to be admitted to Penance in time of Sickneſs, was ſometimes ſuddenly taken ſpeechleſs, or turned delirious by the Paroxyſm of his Diſtemper, before the Prieſt could come to him: In which caſe, if they that heard him, could teſtify his deſire, he was to be admitted: And if it was thought he would immediately die, he was to be reconciled by Impoſition of Hands, and then the *Euchariſt* was to be poured into his Mouth. Which is called the *Viaticum* of the *Euchariſt* [u] in the two following Canons. As it is alſo in the Council of *Orange* [x], and *Girone* [y], and many other Places. The *Euchariſt* in theſe caſes was commonly carried and delivered by a Preſbyter or a Deacon, as has been noted out of *Juſtin Martyr*: Yet in Caſes of great Neceſſity it might be carried and given by any other. As appears from that Caſe in *Euſebius* [z] related out of an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* to *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, where he tells of one *Serapion*, who having ſacrificed in Time of Perſecution, could not die till he had ſent for the Presbyter to reconcile him: But the Preſbyter being ſick, ſent him a ſmall Portion of the *Euchariſt* by the Hands of the Meſſenger that came for him, giving him orders to dip it firſt and put it into his Mouth, which he had no ſooner done, but the Man gave up the Ghoſt in Peace. But this was forbidden by the Canons [a] in ordinary Caſes.

SECT. X.

The Euchariſt *ſometimes conſecrated in private Houſes for theſe Purpoſes.*

SOMETIMES indeed they uſed private Conſecrations of the *Euchariſt* in the Houſes of ſick Men or in Priſons, to anſwer theſe pious Ends and Purpoſes: But moſt commonly they reſerved ſome ſmall Portion of it in the Church from Time to Time for this Uſe, as moſt expeditious and convenient for ſudden Accidents and Emergencies. There are very antient Inſtances and Examples of both Kinds. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of private Conſecrations made in Priſons for the Martyrs and Confeſſors in time of Perſecution. For he gives Orders, That neither ſhould the People viſit them *glomeratim*, in great Multitudes, to raiſe Envy; nor the Presbyters, who went to offer [b] the *Euchariſt* with them, go more than one at once, and that by Turns, accompanied only with a ſingle Deacon, to decline Envy and Obſervation. There is nothing more certain, than that in Times of Perſecution the Chriſtians perfomed all Divine Offices in every Place whither Neceſſity drove them: Every Place was then a Temple, as *Dionyſius* [c] of *Alexandria* words it in *Euſebius*, for them to hold Religious Aſſemblies in, whether it were a Field, or a Wilderneſs, or a Ship, or an Inn, or a Priſon. *Lucian*'s Priſon was his Church, and his own Breaſt his Altar to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* upon, for himſelf and thoſe that [d] were with him in Confinement. In ſuch a caſe, *Tertullian* [e] ſays, Three were enough to make a Church, when Neceſſity would not allow them a greater Number. It is as evident private Conſecrations were made in private Houſes upon the account of Sickneſs. St. *Ambroſe* was thus invited to offer the Sacrifice in a private Houſe at *Rome*, as we are told by the Writer of his Life [f]. And *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola* is ſaid to have ordered an Altar to be prepared for himſelf in his Chamber, where he conſecrated the *Euchariſt* [g] in his Sickneſs not many Hours before his Death. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* [h] tells us, That his Father conſecrated it in his own Chamber; and that his Siſter *Gorgonia* [i] had a Domeſtick Altar. Therefore we have no Diſpute with *Bona* upon this Point, nor ſhould we have any with his Church, if this were all that were meant by private Maſs in the *Roman* Communion. The Reader may hence obſerve the Miſtake of thoſe Learned Men [k], who aſſert, That the Primitive Fathers, though paſſionately indulgent towards their ſick Brethren in granting them their ſpiritual *Viaticum*, yet always took a Care that the Elements ſhould be conſecrated in the Church. For the Inſtances that have been given, both concerning the Martyrs and the Sick, are undeniable Evidence to the contrary. And there want not ſome Inſtances of private Conſecrations upon other Occaſions. Such as that mentioned by St. *Auſtin* in a private Houſe at *Zubedi*,

[s] Conc. Tolet. 11. can. 11. In multorum exitu vidimus, qui optatum ſuis votis ſacræ Communionis Viaticum expetentes, collatam ſibi à Sacerdote Euchariſtiam rejecerunt. Non quod Infidelitate hæc agerent, ſed quod præter Dominici Calicis hauſtum, traditam ſibi non poſſent Euchariſtiam deglutire. Non ergo hujuſmodi à corpore Eccleſiæ ſeparandi ſunt, &c. [t] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 76. Is qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, ſi caſu, dum ad eum ſacerdos invitatus venit, oppreſſus infirmitate obmutuerit, vel in phreneſim verſus fuerit, dent teſtimonium qui eum audierunt, & accipiat pœnitentiam. Et ſi continuo creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per manus Impoſitionem, & infundatur ori ejus Euchariſtia, &c. [u] Can. 77. Pœnitentes qui in Infirmitate ſunt, Viaticum accipiant. Can. 78. Pœnitentes qui in Infirmitate Viaticum acceperint, non ſe credant abſolutos ſine manus Impoſitione, ſi ſupervixerint. [x] Conc. Araſican. 1. can. 3. [y] Conc. Gerundens. can. 9. [z] Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 44. [a] Vid. Gratian. de Conſecr. Diſt. 2. cap. 29. [b] Cypr. Ep. 5. ad Cler. p. 11. Presbyteri quoque, qui illic apud Confeſſores offerunt, ſinguli cum ſingulis Diaconis per vices alternent: quia & mutatio Perſonarum & viciſſitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. [c] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 22. [d] Vita Luciani. Philoſtorg. lib. 2. cap. 13. [e] Terrul. de Fuga. cap. 14. Non potes diſcurrere per ſingulos, ſic tibi & in tribus Eccleſia. [f] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. Per idem tempus cum trans Tyberim apud quendam clariſſimum invitaretur, ut ſacrificium in domo offerret, &c. [g] Uranius. Vit. Paulini. [h] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patris. p. 305. [i] Naz. Orat. 11. de Gorgonia. p. 187. [k] Hamon Leſtrange, *Alyance of Div. Offic. Chap.* 10. p. 299.

a Place

a Place in his Dioceſe, which was vexed with evil Spirits, whither one of his Presbyters went to pray and offer the Sacrifice [*l*] of the Body of Chriſt, at the requeſt of the Owner, that it might be delivered from them. And what the Hiſtorians [*m*] tell us of *Conſtantine*'s Tabernacle, which he carried about with him in his Camp, where all Divine Offices and the Holy Myſteries were celebrated, may be reckoned another Inſtance of ſuch private Conſecrations.

SECT. XI. *And commonly reſerved in the Church for the ſame Uſe.*

IT was alſo very uſual for the Miniſters to reſerve ſome part of the conſecrated Elements either in the Church, or with them at their own Houſe, to be in great Readineſs upon all ſuch preſſing Occaſions. As is evident from the forementioned Story of *Serapion* in *Euſebius*. And *Optatus* [*n*] intimates as much in that remarkable Story which he tells of the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, who in their mad Zeal againſt the Catholicks threw the *Euchariſt*, which they found in their Churches, to the Dogs, but not without an immediate Sign of Divine Vengeance: For the Dogs, inſtead of devouring the Elements, fell upon their Maſters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to pieces, as Robbers and Prophaners of the Holy Body of Chriſt. The ſame is evident from the like Complaint of *Chryſoſtom* concerning the Tumult that happened in his Church at *Conſtantinople*, when the Soldiers broke into the Sanctuary [*o*] where the Holy Myſteries were repoſited, and many of them who were not initiated, ſaw the Secrets that were concealed within, and the Holy Blood of Chriſt was ſpilt upon the Soldiers Cloaths, as is uſual in ſuch Tumults and Confuſion. We may collect the ſame from what *Victor Uticenſis* [*p*] ſays of *Valerian* an *African* Biſhop, that he was baniſhed by *Geiſericus* King of the *Vandals*, becauſe he would not deliver up the Sacrament that was kept in his Church. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* in one of his Epiſtles [*q*] reproves thoſe who ſaid the *Euchariſt* was not to be reſerved to the next Day. And in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas* [*r*] there is mention made of Silver and Golden Doves hanging at the Altar, which moſt probably were then uſed as the Repoſitories of the Sacrament kept in the Churches. Which is alſo mentioned in *Amphilochius*'s Life of St. *Baſil*; but no ſtreſs need be laid upon that, becauſe it is a ſpurious Writing; nor need we deſcend to the ſecond Council of *Tours* [*s*], or other modern Decrees, for the Proof of that which has ſo good Authority among the more antient Writers.

SECT. XII. *And alſo for Publick Uſe upon ſome Days when they made no new Conſecration. This called* Miſſa Præſanctificatorum. *Its Uſe and Original.*

IT appears alſo from a Canon of the Council of *Trullo*, that the *Euchariſt* was ſometimes reſerved for the Publick Uſe of the Church, to be received ſome Days after its Conſecration, particularly in the Time of *Lent*, when they communicated on ſuch Elements as had been conſecrated the *Saturday* or *Sunday* in the foregoing Week, which were the only Days in *Lent* on which they uſed the Conſecration Service, though they communicated on other Days on ſuch Elements as they reſerved out of the former Conſecration. The Words of the Canon are theſe [*t*], That on every Day in the Holy Faſt of *Lent*, except *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, and the Feaſt of the Annunciation, the *Liturgy* of the pre-ſanctified Gifts ſhall be performed. This is beſt underſtood from another Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*u*], which orders, that the *Euchariſt* ſhould not be offered in *Lent* on any other Day except the Sabbath and the *Lord's Day*. Not that they prohibited the Communion to be received on other Days (for it was received every Day) but on theſe Days they received only that which had been conſecrated before on the Sabbath and Lord's-Day, and what was reſerved for the Communion of theſe Days without any new Conſecration. This is commonly reckoned by learned Men the Beginning of this Sort of Communions upon reſerved Hoſts, though it is hard to gueſs at the Reaſon of the Obſervation. *Leo Allatius*, who has written [*x*] two peculiar Diſſertations upon this Subject, tells us the Reaſon which the *Greeks* themſelves alledge for it, is, that the Conſecration Service is proper only for Feſtivals, and therefore all other Days in *Lent* beſides *Saturdays* and *Sundays* being Faſt-Days, they did not conſecrate on thoſe Days, but only communicated in the Elements which had been conſecrated before. This he ſhews at large [*y*] out of *Alexius Ariſtenus*, *Matthew Blaſtares*, *Balzamon*, *Zonaras*, *Michael Cerularius* and *Simeon Theſſalonicenſis*. Whether this was the true Reaſon, or whether it be a good Reaſon, is none of my Buſineſs to enquire. I only obſerve, that it was an antient Practice in the *Greek* Church, as it continues to be [*z*] at this Day, though the *Latin* Church never adopted it into her Service: For they uſed to conſecrate, as well as communicate, about Three in the Afternoon, all the Days of *Lent*, as is evident from *Tertullian* [*a*], St. *Ambroſe* [*b*], and many others, of which there will be Occaſion to ſpeak more fully when we come to the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church. *Leo Allatius* thinks this *Miſſa Præ-*

[*l*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1485. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi Sacrificium corporis Chriſti, orans quantum potuit, ut ceſſaret illa vexatio: Deo protinus miſerante ceſſavit. [*m*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. lib. 4. c. 56. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 8. [*n*] Optat. lib. 2. p. 55. [*o*] Chryſ. Ep. ad Innocent. t. 4. p. 681. ἔνθα τὰ ἅγια ἀπέκειντο, &c. [*p*] Victor. de Perſecut. Vandal. lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 7. p. 593. [*q*] Cyril. Ep. ad Caloſyrium in Præfat. lib. cont. Anthropomorph. t. 6. p. 365. [*r*] Conc. ſub Menna. Act. 5. Tom. 5. p. 159. [*s*] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 3. [*t*] Conc. Trullan. can. 52. ἡ ἁγία τεσσαρακοστὴ ἱερὰ λειτουργία γινέσθω. [*u*] Conc. Laodic. can. 49. ὅτι δεῖ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν. εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ ἢ κυριακῇ μόνον. [*x*] Leo Allat. Epiſt. ad Naudæum de Libris Eccleſ. Græcorum. It. Diſſert. de Miſſa Præſanctificatorum ad calcem libri de Conſenſu Eccl. Orient. & Occident. [*y*] Leo Allat de Miſſa Præſanctif. n. 12. [*z*] *See Dr.* Smith *of the* Greek *Church*. p. 175. [*a*] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. [*b*] Ambroſ. Ser. 8. in Pſal. 118. p. 656.

ſanctificatorum

ſanctificatorum is intended by *Socrates* [c], when he ſays on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* at *Alexandria* they had all Divine Service except the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*: But it does not appear that they communicated at all upon thoſe Days, much leſs upon pre-conſecrated Elements. However he rightly concludes, that *Durantus* and others, who confound this *Miſſa Præſanctificatorum* with the *Miſſa Sicca*, or *Dry Maſs*, as they called it, are wholly miſtaken: Becauſe *Dry Maſs* was a Corruption peculiarly crept into the *Latin* Church, which was condemned by many of their own Divines, *Eckius*, *Eſtius*, *Laudmeter*, and the *Belgick* Biſhops [d], as a mere Novelty, a counterfeit, and a perfect piece of Pageantry; whereas this *Miſſa Præſanctificatorum* was an antient and approved Uſage of the *Greek* Church, upon the account of which a certain Portion of the conſecrated Elements were reſerved for the publick Uſe of the Church upon thoſe Days of *Lent*, on which they made no new Conſecration.

SECT. XIII. *The* Euchariſt *ſometimes reſerved in private by private Men for daily Participation.*

BUT beſides this Reſervation of the Elements for publick Uſe by the Miniſters of the Church, there was another private Reſervation of them allowed ſometimes to religious Perſons, who were permitted to carry a Portion of the *Euchariſt* home with them, and participate of it every Day by themſelves in private. This Cuſtom ſeems to owe its Original to the Times of Perſecution, when Men were willing to communicate every Day, but could not have the Convenience of daily Aſſemblies. To compenſate for the Want of which, they took a Portion of the *Euchariſt* home with them, and participated thereof every Day in private. This ſeems very plainly to be intimated by *Tertullian* [e], when ſpeaking of a Woman marrying an Heathen Husband, he asks her; Whether her Husband would not know what it was that ſhe eat before all her other Meat? And in another place [f], anſwering the Objection which ſome made againſt receiving the *Euchariſt* on a Faſt Day for fear of breaking their Faſt, he tells them (according as ſome Copies read it) They might take the Body of the Lord and reſerve it; and ſo they might both participate of the Sacrifice and fulfil their Duty of Faſting. But I lay no ſtreſs upon this, becauſe it is a doubtful Reading. The Teſtimony of *Cyprian* [g] is more full and pregnant, who tells us a moſt remarkable Story of a Woman, who having ſacrificed at the Heathen Altars, when ſhe came afterward to open her Cheſt, where ſhe kept the Holy Sacrament of the Lord, ſhe was ſo terrified with a ſudden Eruption of Fire, that ſhe durſt not touch it. And the antient Author who writes againſt the *Roman* Shows, under the Name of *Cyprian* [h], brings in one going immediately from Church, as ſoon as he was diſmiſt, to the Theater, carrying the *Euchariſt* with him, according to Cuſtom, even among the obſcene Bodies of Harlots. *Gregory Nazianzen* alſo [i] ſpeaks of his Siſter *Gorgonia* having the *Euchariſt* in her Chamber. And *Baſil* [k] ſays, it was cuſtomary in Times of Perſecution for Chriſtians, when they could not have a Prieſt or a Deacon preſent with them, to take the *Euchariſt* with their own Hands. As they who led a ſolitary Life, at a great Diſtance from the Prieſt, commonly took the *Euchariſt* with their own Hands alſo. And it was cuſtomary at *Alexandria* and throughout *Egypt* for the People every one to take the Sacrament home with them. St. *Jerom* [l] alſo intimates the ſame, when he asks thoſe who thought they might ſafely take the Sacrament at home, when they were not prepared to do it in the Church, whether they thought there was one Chriſt in publick, and another in private? Why were they afraid to go to Church? If it was not lawful to receive it in the Church, it was not lawful to receive it at Home. St. *Ambroſe* likewiſe in his Funeral Oration upon his Brother *Satyrus* [m] ſays of him, that he obtained the Body of Chriſt of ſome that had it in the Ship, wherein he ſuffered Shipwrack. It is true indeed this Cuſtom was diſcouraged in *Spain* in the Beginning of the fifth Century upon the Account of the *Priſcillianiſts*, who made Uſe of it as a Pretence to cover themſelves among the *Catholicks*, and yet never eat the *Euchariſt* at all. In Oppoſition to whom the Council of *Saragoſſa* [n], about the Year 381, made a ſevere Decree, that if any one was found to take the *Euchariſt* in the Church, and not eat it, he ſhould be anathematized. And this was ſeconded by a like Decree [o] in the firſt Council of *Toledo*. But as theſe Canons were only made upon a particular Occaſion, and for a particular Country, they did not much affect the reſt of the World. Inſomuch that *Bona* [p] himſelf obſerves, out of *Johannes Moſchus* and *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, ſeveral Inſtances of the Cuſtom continuing in the ſeventh and eighth Centuries. And doubtleſs it was the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the

[c] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. ap. Allatium. Ep. ad Naudæum. [d] Allat. de Miſſa Præſanct. n. 10. Miſſa Sicca, recens, & Simulata & Hiſtrionica, confertur cum Cœnis Heliogabali. [e] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. c. 5. Non ſciet maritus quid ſecreto ante omnem cibum guſtes? [f] De Orat. cap. 14. Accepto corpore Domini, & reſervato (*others read it*, Re ſervata) utrumque ſalvum eſt, & Participatio ſacrificii, & executio officii. [g] Cypr. de Lapſis. p. 132. Cum quædam mulier arcam ſuam, in qua Domini Sanctum fuit, indignis manibus tentaſſet aperire, igne inde ſurgente deterrita eſt, ne auderet attingere. [h] Cypr. de Spectaculis. p. 3. in Append. Qui feſtinans ad ſpectaculum, dimiſſus, & adhuc gerens ſecum, ut aſſolet, Euchariſtiam inter corpora obſcœna meretricum tulit. [i] Naz. Orat. 11. de Gorgonia, p. 187. [k] Baſil. Ep. 289. ad Cæſariam Patriciam. [l] Hieron. Ep. 50. ad Pammachium. Quare ad Martyres ire non audent? Quare non ingrediuntur Eccleſias? An alius in Publico, alius in Domi Chriſtus eſt? Quod in Eccleſia non licet, nec domi licet. [m] Ambroſ. Orat. de Obitu fratris. t. 3. p. 19. [n] Conc. Cæſarauguſt. can. 3. Euchariſtiæ gratiam ſi quis probatur acceptam in Eccleſia non ſumpſiſſe, anathema ſit in perpetuum. [o] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 14. Si quis acceptam à ſacerdote Euchariſtiam non ſumpſerit, velut Sacrilegus propellatur. [p] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 4.

Adoration of the Hoſt that perfectly aboliſhed this Cuſtom, which was thought inconſiſtent with them.

SECT. XIV. *Yet this never allowed in the publick Service.*

IT muſt be noted under this Head, that though the Church for the Reaſons aforeſaid allowed the People to carry the *Euchariſt* home with them, and participate of it in private by themſelves; yet ſhe never permitted any Layman to have any hand in the Adminiſtration of it in her publick Service. As the Biſhops and Presbyters were the only Perſons that were allowed to conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, ſo it was the ordinary Office of Deacons to miniſter it [*] to the People. And when any Laymen preſumed to adminiſter it to themſelves in the Church, they were corrected for it [q] by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. And more eſpecially Women were debarred from this [r] and all other Offices in the publick Miniſtrations, except what belonged to the inferior Service of the Deaconeſſes, of which I have given a full Account [†] in another Place.

Here I cannot omit the pertinent Obſervation made by *Morinus* [s], and approved by *Bona* [t] as a judicious and true Remark, That the *Mendicants* were the firſt that introduced the Cuſtom of keeping the Sacrament in the Church for private Men in health to partake of *extra Sacrificium*, out of the time of publick Service in the Church. They freely own this to be a Novelty, and that againſt the Rules of the *Roman* Ritual, which orders the Sacrament to be kept in the Church only for the Sick. They ſay, the Ancients kept it in the Church only upon this account, for the Sake of the Sick; and that they allowed no uſe of the Communion to Men in health out of the time of the Oblation, ſave only when they permitted the People to carry it home with them, and participate thereof in private, which was a different thing from publick Communicating in the Church [‡].

SECT. XV. *A novel Cuſtom noted, of Reſerving the* Euchariſt *for forty Days, and the Inconveniences attending it.*

WHILST we are ſpeaking of reſerving the Sacrament, it may not be amiſs to make a Remark by the way upon a novel Cuſtom which is related by ſome of the *Roman* Ritualiſts about the Time of *Charles the Great*. They tell us, it was uſual in thoſe Days, in the Ordination of a Biſhop or Presbyter, not only to give the new ordained Perſon the Communion at that time, but alſo as much of it in reſerve as would ſerve him to partake of for forty Days after. This Cuſtom is mentioned by *Alcuin* [u] and the *Ordo Romanus*, and *Fulbertus Carnotenſis*, and *Bona* [x] does not pretend to find it in any more antient Writers. It is hard to gueſs at the Reaſons of this Cuſtom, and therefore I content my ſelf barely to mention it, without farther Enquiry into the Myſtery of it. I only obſerve, that ſometimes great Inconveniences follow'd upon this long Reſervation of the Sacrament: For it would often grow mouldy, corrupt and ſtink, and then they were hard put to it to determine which way to diſpoſe of it. Sometimes by the Negligence of the Prieſt it was devoured by Mice or other Animals, in which caſe the Prieſt was to do Penance forty Days for his Neglect, as *Gratian* [y] cites a Canon out of ſome Council of *Arles* or *Orleance* to this purpoſe. But if it grew ſtale and corrupted, then it was to be burnt, by other Canons cited by *Ivo* [z] and *Burchardus* [a] out of the Council of *Arles*, ordering, That in this Caſe it ſhould be burnt, and the Aſhes of it buried under the Altar. Which *Algerus* [b] aſſures us was the Cuſtom in his Time, as *Bona* [c] confeſſes out of him. And the very Canon of the *Maſs* [d] has a *Rubrick* ſtill in being, That if a Fly or Spider, or any ſuch Animal, falls into the Cup after Conſecration, the Prieſt, when *Maſs* is ended, muſt take it out and waſh with it Wine, and burn it in the Fire. And ſo he muſt do, if it be ſpilt upon the Ground, he muſt gather up the Earth and burn it. And yet ſome of the *Schoolmen* [e] cry out againſt this as an horrible Sacrilege, to burn the conſecrated Hoſt, though it be grown mouldy, which, according to their Opinion, would be to burn the Body of God. He that would ſee to what Difficulties the *Roman* Caſuiſts are driven upon this Point, to tell, what becomes of the Body of Chriſt, when the Sacrament happens to be thus corrupted, and how they diſtreſs and confute one another; may conſult the learned *Aubertin* [f], who has particularly conſidered their ſeveral different Anſwers, no leſs than ſeven in Number, and ſhewed the Vanity of them all, in that elaborate Work of his upon the *Euchariſt* againſt the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church. I will not lead my Reader too far out of his Way with long Digreſſions about ſuch Things; but return to the Buſineſs of the antient Church.

[*] See *Book* II. *Chap.* xx. *n.* 7. *and* 8. [q] Conc. Trullan. can. 58. [r] Vid. Firmil. Ep. 75. inter Epiſt. Cypr. Conc. Paris. an. 829. lib. 1. cap. 45. [†] *Book* II. *Chap.* xxii. [s] Morin. de Pœniten. lib. 8. cap. 14. [t] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. Chap. 17. n. 6. [‡] *The Reader that would ſee more Abuſes crept into the* Roman *Service, may conſult the twenty firſt Seſſion of the Council of* Baſil. Cap. De Spectaculis in Eccleſia non tacendis; *or Mr.* Gregory's *Diſſertation, call'd,* Epiſcopus Puerorum, *where he will ſee how the Epiſcopal Office was uſed to be mimicked in Pageantry on* Innocents *Day in many Churches.* [u] Alcuin. de Offic. cap. 37. Pontifex ad communicandum porrigit ei Formatam & ſacram Oblationem, quam accipiens communicat ſuper altare, cætera vero reſervat ſibi ad communicandum uſque ad dies quadraginta. It. Ordo Roma. in Ordinat. Epiſcopi. Et Fulbert. Ep. ad Finandum. [x] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 9. [y] Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 94. Qui bene non cuſtodierit, Sacrificium, & mus vel aliquod aliud animal illud comederit, quadraginta diebus pœniteat. [z] Ivo. Decret. Par. 2. cap. 56. [a] Burchard. lib. 5. c. 50. [b] Alger. de Euchar. lib. 2. cap. 1. [c] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 2. [d] Miſſal. de Defectibus Miſſæ. can. 5. Si muſca vel aranea vel aliquid aliud ceciderit in calicem—— ſacerdos extrahat eam & lavet cum vino, finitaque Miſſa comburat. &c. [e] Petrus Paludanus, in Sent. lib. 4. Diſt. 9. Quæſt. 1. art. 3. Hoſtias conſecratas quamvis mucidas comburere immane Sacrilegium. [f] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 122.

SECT. XVI. *The Eucharist sometimes given to Energumens in the Intervals of their Distemper.*

THOUGH they did not receive Energumens, or Persons vexed with evil Spirits, promiscuously to the Communion, yet neither did they wholly reject them; but in the Intervals of their Distemper, if they shewed any Signs of Piety and Sobriety, they admitted them to partake of it. This we learn from the Canons of *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who proposes this Question, whether a Communicant may communicate, if he be possessed? and answers it, If he does not expose or blaspheme [g] the Mysteries, he may communicate now and then. And *Cassian* [h] says, the same Resolution was given to the Question by the *Egyptian* Fathers, who did not use to interdict them the Communion, but rather desired they should, if possible, communicate every Day. For by this means they had relieved one Abbot *Andronicus* and many others of their Distemper. So that though the Canons and Rules of the Church seem to drive away the Energumens together with the Catechumens and Penitents, they are to be understood with this Exception: Or at least we must say, the Church observed a different Discipline in different Places.

SECT XVII. *All Men debarred from it, that were guilty of any notorious Crime, of what Rank or Degree soever.*

IT would be endless to enumerate here all the particular Crimes for which Men were debarred the holy Communion; we shall have a more proper Occasion to specify them in the next Volume, when we come to treat more perfectly and distinctly of the Church's Discipline: It may be sufficient to note here in general, That all who were guilty of any notorious Crimes, were rejected from participating at the holy Table, whatever Rank or Degree they were of, even tho' it were the Emperor himself, as appears from the Case of *Theodosius*, whom St. *Ambrose* resolutely and absolutely refused, for a barbarous Murder committed by his Authority upon seven thousand Men at *Thessalonica*, till he had both confessed his Fault, and made ample Satisfaction, as the Reader may find the Story at large excellently related by *Theodoret* [i] in his History, and which I will relate from him in the next Volume in its proper plae. Some other particular Cases are propos'd and answered in the Canons of *Dionysius* [k], and *Timothy* [l], and by St. *Jerom* [m], which because they are rather private Cases of Conscience than Matters of publick Discipline, I refer the Reader to their proper Authors for them.

SECT. XVIII. *The Question of Digamy, or second Marriage, stated. Whether it debarred Men any time from the Communion.*

THERE is one Question in a doubtful Case, which the Obscurity of some antient Canons has made very perplexed and intricate in the Resolutions of learned Men, which therefore may not be silently pass'd over: That is, the Question about *Digamy* or second Marriage, in what Sense it excluded Men for some time from the holy Communion? The Penalty inflicted upon them, is Abstinence from the Sacrament for one Year or two; which I freely own, as it is ordered and worded by the Canons of *Neocæsarea* [n], *Laodicea* [o], and St. *Basil* [p], is one of the hardest Cases we meet with in all the History of the antient Church. Bishop *Beveridge* and some others think they mean only second Marriages that are contracted whilst the first remains undissolved. And if so, there would be no Difficulty in the Case: For a severer Penance might be laid upon such as retain two Wives at once. And therefore others think, they intended to discourage, though not absolutely to forbid, second Marriages made successively after the Obligation of the first was cancelled by Death: But then, how to reconcile this with the Apostolical Rules, is not very easy to determine. Neither can it be excus'd from inclining to the Errors of the *Novatians* and *Montanists*, for which *Tertullian* pleads so stifly against the Church in his Book *De Monogamia*, and other Places. I should rather think these Canons intended no more but to discountenance marrying after an unlawful Divorce, which was a scandalous Practice, however allowed by the Laws of *Jews* and *Gentiles*. And this the rather, because *Tertullian*'s Arguments against the *Catholicks* imply, That they allowed of second Marriages successively in all except the Clergy, and many Churches admitted *Digamists* (in that Sense) even into Orders too, as I have shewed out of *Tertullian* himself, and *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret* more fully [*] in another Place. And if these Canons intended any thing more, they must be looked upon as private Rules, which could not prescribe against the general Sense and Practice of the Catholick Church.

SECT. XIX. *The corrupt Custom of some who gave the Eucharist to the Dead, censured by the Ancients.*

THERE was one very corrupt and superstitious Practice began to creep pretty early into the *African* Churches and some others, which the Fathers censure very heartily, as it justly deserved: that was, Giving the *Eucharist* to the Dead. The third Council of *Carthage* has a Canon to this Purpose [q], That the *Eucharist* should not be given to the Bodies of the Dead: For the Lord said, *Take this and eat*: But dead Bodies can

[g] Timoth. Respons. Canon. c. 3. ap. Bevereg. tom. 2.
[h] Cassian. Collat. 7. cap. 30. Communionem vero eis sacrosanctam à senioribus nostris nunquam meminimus interdictam: Quinimo, si possibile esset, etiam quotidie eis impartire eam debere censebant. ——— Hoc namque modo curatum & Andronicum Abbatem nuper aspeximus, aliosque quamplures.
[i] Theod. lib. 5. cap. 17.
[k] Dionys. Can. 2. *and* 4.
[l] Timoth. Can. 5, 7, 12.
[m] Hieron. Ep. 20. ad Pammach. cap. 6.
[n] Conc. Neocæs. can. 7.
[o] Conc. Laod. can. 1.
[p] Basil. can. 4.
[*] *Book* IV. *Chap.* v. *n.* 4.
[q] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 6. Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum Eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim à Domino, Accipite & edite: Cadavera autem nec accipere possunt nec edere. Cavendum est etiam, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat, quibus nec Eucharistiam dari licitum est.

neither take nor eat. Caution alſo is to be uſed, that the Brethren may not through Ignorance believe, that dead Bodies may be baptized, ſeeing the *Euchariſt* may not be given to them. And this with a little Variation is repeated in the *African* [r] Code, where the Cauſe of both Errors, as well in Baptiſm as the *Euchariſt*, is aſcribed to the Ignorance of the Presbyters miſguiding the People. A like Canon was made in the Council of *Auxerre* in *France*, *An.* 578, a little [s] before the Time of *Gregory the Great*. Which ſhews that the ſame Abuſe had got ſome footing there alſo. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo ſpeaks againſt it [t], though he does not intimate that it was practiſed by any *Catholicks*, but rather (if by any) by the *Marcionite* Hereticks, who as they gave a vicarious Baptiſm to the Living for the Dead, ſo perhaps might give the *Euchariſt* to the Dead themſelves: Both which Abſurdities he refutes at once from the Words of our Saviour. To whom did he ſay, *Except ye eat my Fleſh, and drink my Blood, ye have no Life in you?* Did he ſpeak to the Living, or to the Dead? And again, *Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of God.* It appears alſo that long after St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Time there were ſome Remains of this Error in the *Greek* Church: For the Council of *Trullo* [u] repeats the Prohibition in the Words of the Council of *Carthage:* Let no one impart the *Euchariſt* to the Bodies of the Dead; for it is written, *Take, and eat*; but the Bodies of the Dead can neither take nor eat.

SECT. XX. *Parallel to which is the Abuſe of burying the* Euchariſt *with the Dead.*

BONA does not undertake to defend this Abuſe, but he does another which is no leſs abſurd, becauſe he found it in the Practice of St. *Benedict*, and related with Approbation by *Gregory the Great:* that is, The Cuſtom of burying the *Euchariſt* with the Dead. *Bona* [x] ſays, this was done by St. *Baſil* in the *Greek* Church, as is reported in his Life: But all Men know the Author of that Life to be both a ſpurious and a Legendary Writer. That which he alledges out of *Gregory* [y] is more authentick: For he ſays, St. *Benedict* order'd the Communion to be laid upon the Breaſt of one of his Monks, and to be buried with him. He reckons theſe Things were done either by divine Inſtinct, or by Compliance with received Cuſtom, which is ſince abrogated. But he produces no Rule of his Church to ſhew its Abrogation. And whatever Rules there may be to the contrary, it is certain the Practice continued ſtill. For not only *Balzamon* [z] and *Zonaras* ſpeak of it in their Time; But *Ivo* [a] ſays, When the Body of St. *Othmar* was tranſlated, the Sacrament was taken up out of the Dormitory with him. And a Learned Man [b] now living aſſures us, that he himſelf with many others have ſeen the Chalice in which the ſacred Blood was buried, dug out of the Graves of divers Biſhops buried in the Church of *Sarum*. So that whatever the Laws might prohibit, the Profanation continued under Pretence of Piety among the greateſt Men, but without any Foundation or real Example in the Practice of the Primitive Church.

SECT. XXI. *The Order of Communicating.*

WE have hitherto conſidered what related to the Communicants themſelves; we are now to examine the Manner of their communicating. Where, firſt of all, the Order of their communicating occurs to our Obſervation: Which is thus deſcribed in the *Conſtitutions:* Firſt let the Biſhop receive [c], then the Presbyters, Deacons, Sub-deacons, Readers, Singers, and Aſceticks; among the Women, the Deaconeſſes, Virgins and Widows; after that the Children, then all the People in Order. In *Juſtin Martyr*'s Time [d] when the Biſhop had conſecrated, the Deacons diſtributed both the Bread and the Cup among the Communicants: But in Afterages the Biſhop or Presbyter commonly miniſtred the Bread, and the Deacons the Cup after them. And there are ſome Canons that expreſly [e] forbid a Deacon to miniſter the Body of Chriſt, when a Presbyter is preſent, and others enjoining them not [f] to do it without Neceſſity, and a licence from the Presbyter to do it. And it was ever accounted ſo great an Abſurdity for a Presbyter to receive from the Hands of a Deacon, that the Council of *Nice* [g] thought fit to make a particular Canon to forbid it. But by Permiſſion and Cuſtom it became their ordinary Office to miniſter the Cup [h], and ſometimes both Species [i] to the People, obſerving the Method preſcribed to communicate every one in their proper Order.

SECT. XXII. *Some Rules obſerved for Diſtinction of Places.*

ANOTHER Diſtinction was made in placing the Communicants in their proper Stations. For though no Diſtinction was made in this Caſe between Rich and Poor; they being all called alike to partake together of the ſame Communion, as Friends of one common Lord [k]; yet ſome Diſtinction of Place for Order's ſake was generally obſerved, though not exactly the ſame in all Places, but with ſome

[r] Cod. Afric. can. 18. [s] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 12. Non licet mortuis nec Euchariſtiam nec Oſculum tradi. &c.
[t] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. [u] Conc. Trull. can. 83. [x] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 6.
[y] Greg. Dial. lib. 2. cap. 24. Juſſit communionem Dominici corporis in pectus defuncti reponi atque ſic tumulari.
[z] Not. in Can. 13. Conc. Trull. [a] Ivo. Vita Othmari. lib. 2. c. 3. ap. Surium die 16. Nov. [b] *Dr.* Whitby, *Idolatry of Hoſt-Worſhip.* Chap. 1. p. 26. [c] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 13. [d] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [e] Conc. Arelat. 2. can. 15. Diaconi corpus Chriſti, præſente Presbytero, tradere non præſumant. [f] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 38. Diaconus, præſente Presbytero, Euchariſtiam corporis Chriſti populo, ſi neceſſitas cogat, juſſus eroget. [g] Conc. Nic. can. 18. [h] Vid. Cyprian. de Lapſis. p. 132. Conſtit. lib. 8. c. 13. [i] Conc. Ancyr. can. 2. [k] Vid. Chryſoſt. Hom. 10. in 1 Theſ. p. 1485.

Variety

Variety according to the different Customs of different Churches. In the *Spanish* Churches it was customary for the Presbyters and Deacons to communicate at the Altar, and the rest of the Clergy in the Quire, and the People without the Rails of the Chancel, as is plain from a Canon of the fourth Council [*l*] of *Toledo*; and to this a Reference is made, as to an antient Custom, settled long before by former Canons, in the first Council of *Braga* [*m*]. Which implies that there were Rules of old about this Matter, since the Council of *Braga* could not mean the Council of *Toledo*, for that was after it, *An.* 633. The Reference must be to more antient Canons, such as that of the Council of *Laodicea*, which [*n*] orders, that none but the Clergy only should come to communicate within the Chancel. And this seems to have been the constant Practice of the *Greek* Church, where no Layman from that Time, besides the Emperor, was allowed to come to the Altar, to make his Oblations, and communicate there; but this Privilege was allowed the Emperor by antient Tradition [*o*], as the Council of *Trullo* words it. And yet even this was denied the Emperor in the *Italick* Church. For St. *Ambrose* would not permit the Emperor *Theodosius* himself to communicate in this Place, but obliged him to retire as soon as he had made his Oblations at the Altar. But *Valesius* [*p*] has observed out of the Epistles of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, that in the third Century it was customary both for Men and Women to come and stand at the Altar to communicate: And *Mabillon* shews [*q*] out of *Gregory* of *Tours* [*r*] that the same Custom prevailed in the *Gallican* Churches. And it is very evident from the second Council of *Tours*, which has a Canon to this purpose: That though Laymen at other Times should not come into the Chorus or Chancel, yet when the Oblation was offered [*s*], both Men and Women might come into the Holy of Holies to communicate at the Altar. So that this was plainly one of those Rites which varied according to the Difference of Times and Places, and the various Usages and Customs of different Churches. There are a great many other Customs relating to the Manner of communicating, which are of greater Moment, and become Matters of great Dispute in these latter Ages, and therefore it will be necessary to consider and examine them a little more particularly, which I shall do in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

A Resolution of several Questions relating to the Manner of Communicating in the Antient Church.

SECT. I. *That the People were always admitted to receive in both Kinds.*

THE first and most momentous Question of this Kind is, whether the People, and such of the Clergy as did not consecrate, were generally admitted to communicate in both Kinds? The principal Advocates of Popery at the Beginning of the Reformation [*a*] were not willing to own, that the universal Practice of the Primitive Church was against the modern Sacrilege of denying the Cup to the People: And therefore tho' they confessed there were some Instances in Antiquity of Communion under both Kinds, yet they maintained the Custom was not Universal. So *Eckius* and *Harding* and many others. But they who have since considered the Practice of the antient Church more narrowly, are ashamed of this Pretence, and freely confess, that for twelve Centuries there is no Instance of the People's being obliged to communicate only in one Kind, in the publick Administration of the Sacrament [*b*], but in private they think some few Instances may be given. This is Cardinal *Bona*'s Distinction, whose Words are so remarkable, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them: It is very certain, says he, that antiently all in general, both Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, received the Holy Mysteries in both Kinds, when they were present at the solemn Celebration of them, and they both offered and were Partakers. But out of the Time of Sacrifice, and out of the Church, it was customary always and in all Places to communicate only in one Kind. In the first part of the Assertion all agree, as well *Catholicks* as Sec-

[*l*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 17. Sacerdos & Levita ante altare communicent, in Choro Clerus, extra Chorum populus.

[*m*] Conc. Bracaren. 1. can. 31. Placuit ut intra sanctuarium altaris ingredi ad communicandum non liceat Laicis Viris vel Mulieribus, sicut & antiquis Canonibus statutum est.

[*n*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς ἐισιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι.

[*o*] Conc. Trull. can. 69. καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτην παράδοσιν. &c.

[*p*] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9.

[*q*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 24.

[*r*] Greg. Turon. lib. 9. cap. 3. & lib. 10. cap. 8.

[*s*] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 4. Ad orandum & communicandum Laicis & Feminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum.

[*a*] Vid. Eckij Enchirid. cap. 10. de Euchar. p. 130. Harding's *Answer to* Jewel's *Challenge*. Art. 2. p. 30. Bellarmin. de Euchar. lib. 4. cap. 24.

[*b*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. c. 18. n. 1. Certum est omnes passim Clericos & Laicos, viros & mulieres sub utraque specie sacra Mysteria antiquitus sumpsisse, cum Solemni eorum celebrationi aderant, & offerebant & de oblatis participabant. Extra sacrificium vero, & extra Ecclesiam semper & ubique Communio sub una specie in usu fuit. Primæ parti assertionis consentiunt omnes, tam Catholici, quam sectarii; nec eam negare potest, qui vel levissima rerum Ecclesiasticarum notitia imbutus sit. Semper enim & ubique ab Ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad Sæculum duodecimum sub specie panis & vini communicarunt Fideles; cœpitque paulatim ejus Sæculi initio usus calicis obsolescere, plerisque Episcopis eum populo interdicentibus ob periculum irreverentiæ & effusionis.

taries;

taries; nor can any one deny it, that has the leaſt Knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. For the Faithful always and in all Places from the very firſt Foundation of the Church to the twelfth Century, were uſed to communicate under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine; and in the Beginning of that Age the Uſe of the Cup began by little and little to be laid aſide, whilſt many Biſhops interdicted the People the Uſe of the Cup for fear of Irreverence and Effuſion. And what they did firſt for their own Churches, was afterward confirmed by a canonical Sanction in the Council of *Conſtance*. This is as fair and ample a Confeſſion for the Practice of the Univerſal Church as we deſire, and it ſerves to ſhew the Vanity of all thoſe Arguments, from Scripture and Antiquity, that were offered at by the firſt Managers of this Diſpute, to prove the Practice of communicating in both Kinds not to be Univerſal. It ſuperſedes alſo all farther Trouble of citing Authorities in this Diſpute, as unneceſſary in a Matter ſo much beyond all Doubt and Exception by the Adverſaries own Confeſſion. Tho' the Reader that deſires to ſee the Authorities produced at large, may find them in *Voſſius* [*c*], and *Du Moulin* [*d*], and more amply in *Chamier* [*e*], and a late Treatiſe of a learned Writer [*f*] in our own Tongue, ſhewing, that there is no *Catholick* Tradition for Communion in one Kind. But *Bona* not only grants us all this, but tacitly anſwers all the plauſible Arguments uſed by *Bellarmin* [*g*] and others, to perſuade their Readers into a Belief of the antient Church giving the Communion only in one Kind. *Bellarmin* urges the frequent mention of reducing delinquent Clergymen to Lay-Communion; which he interprets Communion in one Kind. But *Bona* rejects this Notion of Lay-Communion as utterly falſe [*h*]; reflecting tacitly upon *Bellarmin* and other modern Writers of his own Church, as ignorant of the antient Diſcipline, who no ſooner hear of the Name, Lay-Communion, but preſently they take it in the Senſe that it now bears, and interpret it Communion in one Kind; which how falſe it is, ſays he, we may learn from hence, that we often read of Clergymen being thruſt down to Lay-Communion at that time, when Laymen communicated in both Kinds. Others draw an Argument from that which the Ancients call *Communio Peregrina*, the Communion of Strangers, which they interpret Communion in one Kind: But *Bona* [*i*] takes a great deal of Pains to ſhew the Ignorance of theſe Men, and makes an accurate Enquiry into the true Notion of this ſort of Communion, concluding that whatever it meant, it did not mean Communion in one Kind. *Bellarmin* draws another Argument or two from the Reſervation of the *Euchariſt* for the Uſe of the Sick, and from that private and domeſtick Communion which we have ſeen before was allow'd to private Chriſtians in their own Houſes, or in a Journey, or in the Wilderneſs: All which *Bellarmin* will have to have been only in one Kind. But beſides that this is falſe in itſelf: (For they reſerved not only one, but both Kinds for theſe Uſes, as we ſhall ſee more by and by) *Bona* [*k*] ſays, it is altogether beſide the Queſtion: For the Queſtion is not about private and extraordinary Communion in Caſes of great Exigency, but about the publick, ſolemn and ordinary Communion of the Church: Concerning which he concludes no Inſtance can be produced before the twelfth Century of its being celebrated only in one Kind.

But then, that he may not ſeem to give up the Cauſe of his Church, and deſert it as wholly deſperate, he pretends that the Change that was made by the Council of *Conſtance*, and confirmed by the Council of *Trent*, was againſt no divine Law; for Communion in both Kinds was neither inſtituted by God, nor did the antient Fathers ever teach it to be neceſſary to Salvation. One would wonder to ſee diſcerning Men ſo infatuated. What Words can be able to expreſs a divine Inſtitution, if thoſe of our Saviour are not, *Drink ye all of this?* Or how ſhould the Fathers believe Communion in both Kinds not to be neceſſary, who thought it neceſſary for Children, and actually communicated them in both Kinds, whenever they were capable of receiving it, as we have ſeen before? But he was ſenſible ſome of their own Popes have called it a grand Sacrilege to divide the Myſtery. *Gelaſius* [*l*] complains, that ſome received the Bread, but abſtained from the Cup, whom he condemns as guilty of Superſtition, and orders, that they ſhould either receive in both Kinds, or elſe be excluded from both: Becauſe one and the ſame Myſtery cannot be divided without grand Sacrilege. *Leo the Great* [*m*] declaims againſt them after the ſame manner: They receive the Body of Chriſt with an unworthy Mouth, but refuſe to drink the Blood of our Redemption. Such Mens ſacrilegious Diſſimulation being diſcovered,

[*c*] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. Diſp. 5. de Symbolis Cœnæ Domin.
[*d*] Moulin. *Novelty of Popery*. Book 7. Controverſy 12.
[*e*] Chamier de Euchariſt. lib. 8. cap. 9. [*f*] *Demonſtration that the Church of* Rome *has erred in her Decrees about Communion in one kind.* [*g*] Bellarm. de Euchar lib. 4. cap. 24.
[*h*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 3. Recentiores, qui audito nomine Communionis, ejus veteri notione neglecta, id ſolum concipiunt quod hodie ea voce ſignificatur, Laicam Communionem nihil aliud eſſe putant, quàm perceptionem Euchariſtiæ ſub unica ſpecie, aut extra Cancellos more Laicorum; Quod quàm falſum ſit vel ex eo liquet, quod ſæpe Clericos ad Laicam Communionem detruſos legimus, eo tempore, quo etiam Laici ſub utraque ſpecie communicabant. [*i*] Bona. ibid. n. 5. Quidam, inter quos Biniusi n notis ad Concilium Herdenſe, communionem Peregrinam cum Laica confundunt. Alii exiſtimarunt nihil aliud eſſe quam perceptionem Euchariſtiæ ſub una tantum ſpecie. Verum quid magis alienum à Diſciplina veterum Patrum? &c.
[*k*] Bona ibid. n. 1. [*l*] Gelaſ. ap. Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 12. Comperimus quod quidam ſumpta tantummodo corporis ſacri portione, à Calice ſacri cruoris abſtineant. Qui proculdubio, quia neſcio qua ſuperſtitione docentur obſtringi, aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut integris arceantur: quia diviſio unius ejuſdemque Myſterii ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt provenire.
[*m*] Leo Ser. 4. de Quadrageſima. Ore indigno corpus Chriſti accipiunt, ſanguinem autem redemptionis noſtræ haurire omnino declinant.— quorum deprehenſa fuerit ſacrilega Simulatio, notati & prohibiti a Sanctorum Societate Sacerdotali auctoritate pellantur.

let them be marked, and by the Authority of the Prieſthood caſt out of the Society of the Faithful. It is in vain to ſay here, as *Bona* does, that theſe Decrees were only made againſt the *Manichees*, who believed Wine to be the Gall of the Prince of Darkneſs, and the Creature of the Devil, and therefore refuſed to drink it: For their Reaſons are general againſt all Superſtition whatſoever, and in their Opinion the Sacrament may not be divided without grand Sacrilege, and thwarting the Rule of the firſt Inſtitution. Which *Bona* might alſo have learned from another Decree related in their Canon Law [n] under the Name of Pope *Julius*, who ſays, the giving of the Bread and the Cup, each diſtinctly by themſelves, is a divine Order and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and that it is as much againſt the Law of Chriſt to give them joyntly by dipping the one into the other, as it is to offer Milk inſtead of Wine, or the Juice of the Grape immediately preſſed out of the Cluſter: all which are equally contrary to the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Doctrine, as well as the Cuſtom of the Church, as may be proved from the Fountain of Truth, by whom the Myſteries of the Sacraments were ordained. Does not this plainly imply, that Communicating in both Kinds diſtinctly, was according to the Laws of Chriſt, and agreeable to his Rule and Doctrine, as well as his Example? With what Face then could *Bona* ſay, that Communion in both Kinds was neither inſtituted by God, nor did the antient Fathers judge it neceſſary? when even ſome of their antient Popes have told us ſo plainly, that Communion diſtinctly adminiſtred in both Kinds, is a divine Order, and that it is grand Sacrilege to divide them. And the Ancients always adminiſtred in both Kinds upon this Principle, becauſe it was the Law of Chriſt, whatever *Bona* or his Partizans can ſay to the contrary.

As to the other Part of the Queſtion, whether the Ancients did not in ſome private or extraordinary Caſes adminiſter the Sacrament in one Kind, we have no Diſpute with *Bona*, as being nothing to the Diſpute of publick Communion, by his own Confeſſion. Though all the Arguments made uſe of by him and *Bellarmin* in this Caſe, are far from being exactly true and concluſive. For whereas they argue for Communion in one Kind from private and domeſtick Communion, it appears from ſeveral Inſtances that this ſort of Communicating was often in both Kinds. Thus *Nazianzen* [o] ſays of his Siſter *Gorgonia*, that ſhe laid up the Antitypes both of the Body and Blood of the Lord. And St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaking of his Brother *Satyrus* [p] and others at Sea, expreſſes the Matter in ſuch Terms as plainly imply that they both eat the Bread and drunk the Wine. And whereas again they ſay, the Communion reſerved in the Church for the Uſe of the Sick was only in one Kind: The contrary is evidently proved from *Juſtin Martyr* [q], who ſays, The Deacons were uſed to carry both the Bread and Wine to the Abſent; and from St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Complaint [r] to Pope *Innocent*, that in that horrible Aſſault that was made upon his Church, the holy Blood of Chriſt was ſpilt upon the Soldiers Cloaths. Which *Baronius* himſelf [s] brings as an Argument to prove, that they were uſed to reſerve the Sacrament in both Kinds in the Church for the Uſe of the Sick. They argue farther, from the Example of ſuch as took long Journeys, or went to Sea, that they always communicated in one Kind. But *Baronius* [t] proves in the ſame Place, from the Authority of *Gregory the Great*, that they who went to Sea, carried both the Body and Blood of Chriſt along with them in the Ship. And *Bona* himſelf [u] tells us, there are ſome Inſtances of the Communion being carried in both Kinds to Hermits and Recluſes in the Wilderneſs, as he gives an Example in *Maria Ægyptiaca* out of *Sophronius*. They urge likewiſe the Uſe of the Preſanctified Sacrament, which the *Greeks* uſed all *Lent*, except on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, as has been noted before; and the *Latins* on the *Paraſceue* or *Good-Friday*; and this they pretend to tell us, with great Confidence, was only Communion in one Kind: For they reſerved only the Bread and not the Wine for this ſort of Communion. *Bellarmin* refers us to abundance of Authors for this, as Pope *Innocent*, Ep. 1. Cap. 4, who has not a Word about it; and *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, and the *Ordo Romanus in Officio Paraſceues*, and *Rabanus Maurus* and *Micrologus*. But *Caſſander* [x] has unluckily ſpoiled this Argument, and inverted it upon them. For he has obſerved, and *Voſſius* [y] after him, that the *Ordo Romanus* in the Office of *Good-Friday*, appoints Wine to be conſecrated with the *Lord's Prayer*, by putting ſome of the pre-conſecrated Body into it, *Ut Populus plene poſſit communicare*, that the People may have the full Communion in both Kinds. And the ſame is to be ſaid of the *Greeks* pre-ſanctified Communion: For in that *Liturgy* Wine and Water is ordered to be put into the Cup, and then in their Prayers before the Communion, the Elements are called the Body and Blood of the Lord. So *Caſſander*. But *Leo Allatius* [z], who wrote a peculiar Diſſertation upon this Subject, has more effectually ruined this Argument, which it is a

[n] Jul. Ep. ad Epiſc. Ægypt. ap. Gratian. de Conſecr. Diſt. 2. cap. 7. Audivimus quoſdam Schiſmatica ambitione detentos, contra Divinos ordines, & Apoſtolicas Inſtitutiones, iac pro vino in divinis ſacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam Euchariſtiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere.—Quod quam ſit Evangelicæ & Apoſtolicæ doctrinæ contrarium, & conſuetudini Eccleſiaſticæ adverſum, non difficile ab ipſo fonte veritatis probabitur, à quo ordinata ipſa Sacramentorum myſteria proceſſerunt. &c.
[o] Naz. Orat. 11. de Gorgon. p. 187. [p] Ambroſ. Orat. de Obitu Fratris, t. 2. p. 19. Toto pectoris hauriret arcano, &c. Vid. Voſſ. Theſes. p. 517. ex Tappero. [q] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. *Thus alſo ſome think we may take St.* Jerom *ſpeaking of* Exuperius *Biſhop of* Tholouſe, Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini caniſtro vimineo, Sanguinem portat in vitro, *meaning his carrying both kinds to the Sick.* [r] Chryſ. Ep. ad Innoc. t. 4. p. 681. [s] Baron. an. 404. t. 5. p. 194. [t] Baron. ibid. ex Gregor. Dial. 3. cap. 36. [u] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 18. n. 2. ex Vita Mariæ Ægyptiacæ. [x] Caſſand. de Communione ſub utraque Specie. p. 1027. [y] Voſſ. Theſes Theol. p. 519. [z] Allat. de Miſſa Præſanctificatorum. n. 7. p. 1559.

Wonder

Wonder *Bona* ſhould not obſerve, who ſo often refers to his *Diſſertation* and commends it. For he ſhews out of the *Greek* Writers, *Nicolas Cabaſilas* [a], and *Simeon Theſſalonicenſis* [b], that in this Communion there were both the Elements of Bread and Wine, either conſecrated before, or by the Touch of one another. So that this Argument not only proves nothing to their Purpoſe, but ruins the Hypotheſis of the Objectors. For this pre-ſanctified Communion of the *Greeks* was in both Kinds. And the very Prayers in this *Liturgy*, both before and after the Communion, (as *Allatius* [c] there obſerves) evidently ſhew it. For the Prieſt thus prays before Communion: *Vouchſafe by thy mighty Power to impart to us Thy immaculate Body and Thy precious Blood, and by our Miniſtry to all the People.* And after Communion, *We give Thee Thanks, O Lord, the Saviour of all, for all the good Things Thou haſt given us, and for the Participation of the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Chriſt.* And *Allatius* obſerves farther [d], that the ſame ſort of Communion in both Kinds was uſed on *Good-Friday* in *Spain* by the Order of the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, which agrees with what *Caſſander* obſerved before out of the *Latin* Church. And that which led *Bellarmin* and *Bona* into the Miſtake, to take this for Communion in one Kind was, that both the *Greek* and *Latin* Church reſerved only the Bread, and not the Wine, for this Service; but when they came to communicate, they put the pre-conſecrated Bread into a Cup of Wine, and ſaid the *Lord's Prayer* and ſome other Prayers, and that was eſteemed a Conſecration of it, and ſo they proceeded to communicate in both. I have been a little more particular in explaining this Rite, becauſe it is the only Inſtance our Adverſaries can urge with any Colour, of publick Communion in one Kind; which yet when rightly underſtood, we ſee, is no Argument for them, but directly againſt them. And at this Day the *Greeks*, and *Maronites*, and *Abyſſins*, and all the *Orientals*, never communicate but in both Kinds, as *Bona* [e] himſelf confeſſes out of *Abraham Echellenſis*, and other Writers. And as to other Inſtances of the Sick or Infants, or Men in a Journey, who communicate only in one Kind (if they were never ſo true, as we ſee many of them are falſe) they are private and extraordinary Caſes, that relate not to the publick Communion of the Church, and ſo come not within the State of the preſent Queſtion, which is only about publick Communion, and not what was done in ſome very particular and extraordinary Caſes.

SECT. II. *That in receiving in both Kinds, they always received the Elements diſtinctly, and not the one dipped in the other.*

HAVING thus diſpatched this grand Queſtion about Communion in one Kind, and ſhewed the Practice of the Church to be conſtantly to receive in both Elements, we are next to enquire, whether they received them both ſeparately and diſtinctly, or the one dipped into and mixed with the other. The modern *Greeks* have a Cuſtom, which they have retained for ſome Ages, of dipping the Bread into the Wine, and miniſtring it ſo mixed in a Spoon to the People [f]. Some learned Men, among whom are *Latinus Latinius* [g] and *Arcudius* [h], make this Cuſtom as antient as the Time of Pope *Innocent* and St. *Chryſoſtom:* But *Habertus* [i] and *Bona* [k] prove there could be no ſuch Cuſtom in thoſe Days, it being altogether contrary to the Uſage of the Church in that Age to mingle the Elements together, or miniſter them any otherwiſe than ſeparate to the People. And indeed there is nothing more evident than this in all the Writings of the Ancients, who ſpeak of delivering the Bread firſt with a certain Form of Words, and after that the Cup with another Form (as we ſhall ſee more by and by) and that commonly by diſtinct Perſons, a Biſhop or a Presbyter miniſtring the one, and a Deacon the other. So that it is needleſs to multiply Teſtimonies to ſhew, that mixing of the Elements is a novel Invention. I only note one Paſſage of an Epiſtle that goes under the Name of Pope *Julius* [l] in *Gratian*'s Collection, which ſeems to hint at the Beginning of the Practice, and condemns it as a great Corruption, contrary to the Primitive Inſtitution of our Saviour. Whereas, ſays he, ſome give the People the *Euchariſt* dipt in the Cup for a Complement of the Communion, this has no Authority to be produced for it out of the Goſpel, where Chriſt commended his Body and Blood to his Diſciples. For the Goſpel ſpeaks of the Bread being apart, and the Cup apart by themſelves. This is repeated in the ſame Words in the third Council of *Braga*, *An.* 675 [m]. *Bona* tells us farther, out of *Micrologus* [n], that it was forbidden by the old *Roman Ordo*; and that *Humbertus de Sylva Candida*, who wrote againſt the *Greeks* in the middle of the eleventh Century, declaims [o] bitterly againſt it; tho' he thinks, with more Zeal than he needed to do, for a very good Reaſon we may be ſure, becauſe the ſame Practice, as much an Abuſe as it was, and contrary to the firſt Inſtitution, was not long after authorized in the *Roman* Church. For Pope *Urban* the Second in the Council of *Clermont* ordered it in caſe of Neceſſity ſo to be adminiſtred to the Sick, and in other Caſes out of abundant Caution, for fear the Blood ſhould at any time be ſpilt. However it had various Fortune in the *Roman* Church. For *Paſchal* the Se-

[a] Cabaſilas Expoſ. Miſſæ. cap. 24. [b] Simeon. Opuſc. cont. Hæreſes. Et Reſp. 56. ad Gabriel. Pentapoliran.
[c] Allat. ibid. n. 19. [d] Ibid. n. 18. Ex Miſſa Mozarab. in die Paraſceues. [e] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 18. n. 2.
[f] Vid. *Dr.* Smith's *Account of the Greek Church.* p. 142.
[g] Latinius Ep. ad Anton. Auguſtin. [h] Arcud. de Concord. lib. 3. cap. 53. [i] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 10. Obſerv. 10. p. 271. [k] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 8. & lib. 2. cap. 18. n. 3. [l] Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 7. Quod vero pro Complemento Communionis intinctam tradunt Euchariſtiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex Evangelio teſtimonium recipit, ubi Apoſtolis Corpus ſuum & Sanguinem commendavit. Seorſum enim Panis, & ſeorſum Calicis commendatio memoratur. [m] Conc. Bracarenſ. 3 can. 1.
[n] Microlog. cap. 19. Non eſt Authenticum quod quidam corpus Domini intingunt, & intinctum pro Complemento Communionis populo diſtribuunt, nam Ordo Romanus contradicit.
[o] Humbert. Refutat. Calumniar. Michael. Cerularii.

cond not long after revoked the Licence of his Predeceſſor, and ordered [p] that neither Infants nor the Sick ſhould have the Communion mixed, but rather take the Blood alone, which he thought more decent than to give the Bread dipt in the Cup. Yet this did not ſatisfy the Council of *Tours* [q] mentioned by *Ivo*, for they thought ſtill, that the Sick in caſe of Neceſſity ought to have it dipt, that they might have it in both Kinds, and that the Presbyter who adminiſtred it, might ſay with Truth, The Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be unto thee for Remiſſion of Sins and Eternal Life. The Men of this Age did not yet think it lawful to communicate even the Sick in one Kind only, nor that the Prieſt could ſay with Truth to the Communicant, The Body and Blood of Chriſt, when he did not give him both Kinds. But *Bona* here pities their Ignorance: For they, poor Men! had not yet learned that noble Secret in Divinity, the Doctrine of Concomitancy, to know, that the Body of Chriſt cannot be without the Blood. But he goes on to acquaint us out of an old Ritual of *Joannes Abrincatenſis*, that this mixt Communion was ordered to be given to all the People likewiſe, for Fear of Effuſion. And in the antient Cuſtoms of the Monaſtery of *Cluny* publiſhed by *Dacherius* there is an Order, that the Novices ſhould thus communicate, for fear that if they took the Blood by itſelf, they might incur ſome Negligence and ſhed it. Though it is intimated in a Marginal Note there, that the old Cuſtom of giving both Kinds ſeparately was uſed in other Churches. In *England* the Cuſtom of mixing the Elements ſo far prevailed, that *Ernulphus* or *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *An.* 1120, wrote a Letter in Defence of it, which is alſo publiſhed by *Dacherius* in his *Spicilegium*, *Tom.* 2. where one *Lambert* propoſes the Queſtion to him, why the *Euchariſt* was adminiſtred at preſent after a different and almoſt contrary manner to that which was obſerved by Jeſus Chriſt; becauſe it was cuſtomary at that Time to diſtribute an Hoſt ſteept in Wine to the Communicants; whereas Jeſus Chriſt gave his Body and Blood ſeparately? To this *Arnulphus* anſwers, that this was one of thoſe Things that might be altered, and therefore though antiently the two Species of Bread and Wine were given ſeparately, yet now they were given together, leſt any ill Accidents ſhould happen in the Diſtribution of the Wine alone, and leſt it ſhould ſtick on the Hairs of the Beard or the Whiskers, or ſhould be ſpilt by the Miniſter. Yet for all this not long after *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in a Synod held at *Weſtminſter*, *An.* 1175, prohibited [r] the giving the *Euchariſt* ſteept in Wine as a Complement of the Communion. Thus this Matter was bandied about, and diſputed backwards and forwards in the *Latin* Church; ſome allowing it, others condemning it; now a Council ſettling it, and then another unſettling it, and condemning all that went before them; till at laſt the Council of *Conſtance* came in with her *Paramount* Authority, and, as *Bona* thinks, very wiſely put an End to all theſe Diſputes and Inconveniencies at once, by taking the Cup wholly from the People, and ordering that they ſhould neither have it ſeparately nor conjunctly: And ſo this Abuſe of giving the *Euchariſt* ſteept in Wine, after a long Courſe and Struggle of various Fortune, was cured with a worſe Error, which took away the Cup from the Laity, and denied one Part of the Sacrament wholly to the People. Let us now return again to the antient Church.

SECT. III. *That the Ancients received ſometimes ſtanding, ſometimes kneeling, but never ſitting.*

THE next Queſtion may be concerning the Poſture in which they received. The Reſolution of which muſt be in theſe three Concluſions. 1. That they ſometimes received ſtanding. 2. Sometimes kneeling. 3. Never ſitting, that we read of. That they frequently received the Communion ſtanding, may be evidenced two Ways: By a direct, and by a collateral Argument. The direct Argument is their poſitive Aſſertions concerning the ſtanding Poſture. Thus *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* ſpeaking of one who had often communicated among the faithful, repreſents him, τραπέζῃ ᾠκοδομημένῃ, as ſtanding [s] at the Lord's Table. Upon which *Valeſius* [*] makes this Remark, that antiently they received the *Euchariſt* ſtanding, not kneeling, as now the Cuſtom is. And *Habertus* undertakes to prove againſt the *Italian* Divines [†] as he calls them, that the whole Divine *Liturgy* was celebrated ſtanding, and that they both conſecrated ſtanding, and received ſtanding. And *Bona* [‖] acknowledges the ſame for the *Greek* Church, though he is a little more doubtful of the *Latin*. For the *Greek* Church he produces the Authority of *Chryſoſtom* (*Orat. in Encænia*) and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who bids his Communicant [t] receive it bowing his Body in the Poſture of Worſhip and Adoration. Some interpret this Kneeling [u], but it ſignifies ſtanding with Inclination, or bowing of the Body in the manner of Adoration. And ſo St. *Chryſoſtom* [x] repreſents both Prieſt and People as ſtanding at the Altar. This Altar, ſays he, (ſpeaking of the Altar of a Man's own Soul, ſending up devoutly Prayers and Alms to God) is a more tremendous Altar than that whereat thou who art a Layman ſtandeſt. And again, As the Prieſt ſtands invoking the Spirit, ſo thou invokeſt him alſo,

[p] Paſchal. Ep. 32. ad Pontium. [q] Conc. Turon. ap. Ivonem. Par. 2. cap. 19. Sacra Oblatio intincta debet eſſe in ſanguine Chriſti, ut veraciter Presbyter poſſit dicere infirmo, Corpus & Sanguis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti proficiat tibi in remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam. [r] Conc. Weſtmonaſter. can. 11. Inhibemus ne quis quaſi pro complemento Communionis intinctam alicui Euchariſtiam tradat. [s] Dionyſ. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 9. [*] Valeſ. in Loc. Stantes, non ut hodie genibus flexis, accipiebant. [†] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 8. Obſerv. 10. p. 150. [‖] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. Chap. 17. n. 8. [t] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 19. κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσευκτικῷ καὶ σεβάσματος, λέγων, ἀμήν. [u] Hamon L'Eſtrange, *Allyance of Div. Offic.* Chap. 7. p. 209. [x] Chryſ Hom. 20. in 2 Cor. p. 886. τοῦτο εἰκὼς ἔστιν ἐκείνῳ θυσιαστήριον, ᾧ σὺ παρέστηκας ὁ λαϊκός. It. καθάπερ ἕστηκε ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καλῶν. &c.

not by thy Words, but by thy Works. In like manner St. *Auſtin* repreſenting the Chriſtians way of Worſhipping God at the Altar, to anſwer the Calumny of the Heathen, who accuſed them of giving divine Worſhip to their Martyrs, ſays, Which of the Faithful ever heard the Prieſt when he ſtands [*y*] at the Altar ſay in his Prayers, *I offer Sacrifice unto thee, O* Peter, *or* Paul, *or* Cyprian, when he offers to God at their Monuments or Memorials? Which I produce here only to ſhew, that their Prayers were then offered in a ſtanding Poſture at the Altar. Upon which Account it was uſual for the Deacon at ſuch Times, eſpecially on ſuch Days as this Poſture was uſed, to call upon the People in ſome ſuch Form of Admonition as that mentioned frequently by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*z*] and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*a*], ὀρθοὶ σώμῳ καλῶς, Let us ſtand rightly and devoutly to offer our Sacrifices and Oblations. Some think *Tertullian* alſo refers to this Poſture, when he ſays [*b*], *Nonne ſolennior erit ſtatio tua, ſi & ad Aram Dei ſteteris?* Will not your Station be the more ſolemn, if you alſo ſtand at the Altar of God? But to ſpeak freely, I think *Tertullian* in that Place uſes the Word *ſtanding*, not to diſtinguiſh any particular Poſture of Prayer, but only to denote a longer Continuance in it on the Stationary Days, or Half-Faſts, when they continued their religious Aſſemblies till three in the Afternoon: For on theſe Days, as we ſhall hear preſently, they prayed always kneeling, though on other Days they did not; and therefore *Tertullian* could not mean that they prayed ſtanding on thoſe Days, but only that they extended their Devotions to a greater length on thoſe Stationary Days beyond others. But without this controverted Paſſage of *Tertullian*, there is ſufficient Evidence from the foregoing Teſtimonies, of their ſtanding to receive the *Euchariſt* at the Lord's Table.

And this is farther confirmed by a collateral Argument, which is, that on the *Lord's Day*, and all the Days of *Pentecoſt*, they were obliged to pray ſtanding, and in no other Poſture, as has been ſhewed [*] at large above: Therefore it is very reaſonable to believe, that at all ſuch Times they received the *Euchariſt* in the ſame Poſture they were obliged to pray, that is, ſtanding at the Altar.

But then the uſual Cuſtom was, on all other Days, and particularly on the Stationary Days, for the whole Church to pray kneeling, as has likewiſe been fully [†] evinced before: And therefore it is no leſs reaſonable to believe, that they received the Communion in the ſame Poſture as they prayed, though there are not ſuch poſitive Evidences of their Practice. What ſome alledge out of *Tertullian*, that the People did *Aris Dei adgeniculari*, kneel down to the Altars of God [*c*], is no good Proof: For that is only a corrupt Reading of the firſt Editions, which others ſince read more correctly, *Caris Dei adgeniculari*, falling at the Knees of the Favourites of God; alluding to the Cuſtom of Penitents falling at the Feet of the Miniſters and People, to beg their Prayers for them when they went into the Church. Nor is the Argument much more ſolid that others bring out of *Cyril's Catechiſm*, where he bids his Communicant receive the *Euchariſt* κύπλων: For that, as I have obſerved juſt now, ſignifies not kneeling, but ſtanding in a bowing Poſture. What St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays in one of his Exhortations to Communicants, ſeems more nearly to expreſs it: *Let us come with trembling, let us give thanks, let us fall down* [*d*] *and confeſs our Sins, let us weep and lament for our Miſcarriages, let us pour out fervent Prayers to God, and let us come with a becoming Reverence as to our heavenly King.* But if there were none of theſe Expreſſions, the very Cuſtom of kneeling at Prayers on theſe Days is a ſufficient Indication of the Poſture in which at the ſame time they received the Communion.

As to Sitting, there is no Example of it, nor any Intimation leading toward it in any antient Writer. I have ſhewed before, that in many Churches they allowed no ſitting at all in time of Divine Service, neither in Preaching, nor Reading the Scripture, nor in Pſalmody, nor in Praying, nor after Praying neither. And it would be unreaſonable to imagine, that what was rejected at all other Times, ſhould be allowed in receiving the Communion. Cardinal *Perron* indeed labours hard to prove, that the Apoſtles received ſitting, and that ſitting was alſo a Poſture of Adoration But his Vanity is abundantly chaſtiſed and expoſed by the learned *Daillé*, as I have noted before [‡] upon another Occaſion. So that this Poſture is wholly without Example in the antient Church. Nor are there many Examples of it among the Moderns; and of thoſe that be, ſome of them are ſuch, as conſidering their Motives, one would leaſt of all chuſe to imitate them. The *Arians* in *Poland* are ſaid to receive the Communion ſitting, to ſhew that they do not believe Chriſt to be their God, but only their Fellow-Creature. For which reaſon ſome of the Proteſtant *Poliſh* Synods [*e*] expreſsly forbid this Poſture, as peculiar to the *Arians*, and obliged all their People to receive either ſtanding or kneeling, not ſitting, as being

[*y*] Aug. de Civ. Dei lib. 8. cap. 27. Quis audivit aliquando Fidelium ſtantem Sacerdotem ad altare —— dicere in Precibus, Offero tibi Sacrificium Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane, cum apud eorum Memorias offeratur Deo, &c. It. cont. Fauſtum. lib. 20. cap. 21. Quis Antiſtitum aſſiſtens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre aut Paule aut Cypriane? ſed quod offertur, offertur Deo, &c.

[*z*] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. Hom. 29. de Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 375. [*a*] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 12. [*b*] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* viii. *n.* 3.

[†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* viii. *n.* 4. [*c*] Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. 9. [*d*] Chryſ. Hom. Ser. 31. in Natal. Chriſti. T. 5. p. 480. περσπέσωμεν ἐξομολογέμενοι, &c. [‡] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* viii. n. 7. [*e*] Synod. Wiodiſlav. an. 1583. Artic. 6. in Corpore Confeſſion. Par. 2. p. 309. Sententia jam olim in Sendomirienſi Synodo agitata, & Concluſio in generali Cracovienſi atque Petricovienſi Synodo facta ac repetita, in hoc etiam Confeſſu approbata eſt: nempe ne in uſu ſit ſeſſio ad Menſam Dominicam in ullis hujus noſtri Conſenſus Eccleſiis. Nam hæc Ceremonia, licet cum cæteris libera, Eccleſiis Chriſtianis & Cœtibus Evangelicis non eſt uſitata, tantumque Infidelibus Arianis, cum Domino pari ſolio ſeſe collocantibus propria, &c. Vid. Synod. Petricovenſ. Art. 4. ibid. p. 306. Synod. Cracovineſ. Art. 4. p. 303.

a Poſture taken up by the *Arians*, and contrary to the Practice of all Proteſtant Churches. We are likewiſe told, that it is the ſingular Privilege of the Pope to communicate ſitting, whenever he performs the Office of Conſecration. *Bona* [*f*] not only tells us this, but deſcribes the whole Ceremony out of the Book called *Ceremoniale Romani Pontificis*, and the old *Ordo Romanus*, which they that are curious in ſuch Matters may conſult in their proper Places. I go on with the Practice of the antient Church.

SECT. IV.

No Elevation of the Hoſt for divine Adoration in the antient Church for many Ages, till the Riſe of Tranſubſtantiation.

THERE is no one Thing that has made greater Stir and Confuſion in the Chriſtian World, for ſome Ages paſs'd, than the Adoration of the Hoſt, grounded upon a falſe Preſumption, that it is not Bread and Wine, but tranſubſtantiated into the real Body and Blood of Chriſt. I intend not to enter upon the Hiſtory of *Tranſubſtantiation* (which is a Doctrinal Point, and comes not properly into this Work, which only inquires into the Practice of the Church) but ſhall content myſelf to ſay, that in Fact the moſt eminent of the antient Fathers have declared, as plain as Words can make it, that the Change made in the Elements of Bread and Wine by Conſecration, is not ſuch a Change as deſtroys their Nature and Subſtance, but only alters their Qualities, and elevates them to a ſpiritual Uſe, as is done in many other Conſecrations, where the Qualities of Things are much altered without any real Change of Subſtance. Thus *Gregory Nyſſen* [*g*], This Altar before which we ſtand, is but common Stone in its Nature, differing nothing from other Stones wherewith our Walls are built; but after it is conſecrated to the Service of God, and has received a Benediction, it is an holy Table, an immaculate Altar, not to be touched by any but by the Prieſts, and that with the greateſt Reverence. The Bread alſo at firſt is but common Bread, but when once it is ſanctified by the holy Myſtery, it is made and called the Body of Chriſt. So the myſtical Oyl, and ſo the Wine, though they be Things of little value before the Benediction, yet after their Sanctification by the Spirit, they both of them work Wonders. The ſame Power of the Word makes a Prieſt become honourable and venerable, when he is ſeparated from the Community of the Vulgar by a new Benediction. For he who before was only one of the common People, is now immediately made a Ruler and Preſident, a Teacher of Piety, and a Miniſter of the holy Myſteries: And all theſe Things he does without any Change in his Body or Shape; for to all outward Appearance he is the ſame that he was, but the Change is in his inviſible Soul, by an inviſible Power and Grace. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [*h*] uſes the ſame Similitude and Illuſtration: Beware that you take not this Ointment to be bare Ointment. For as the Bread in the *Euchariſt*, after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is not mere Bread, but the Body of Chriſt: So this holy Ointment after Invocation, is not bare or common Ointment, but it is the Gift or Grace of Chriſt and the Holy Spirit, who by his Preſence and Divine Nature makes it efficacious; ſo that the Body is anointed ſymbolically with the viſible Ointment, but the Soul is ſanctified by the Holy and Quickening Spirit. St. *Chryſoſtom* in his famous Epiſtle to *Cæſarius* makes a like Compariſon, to explain the two Natures of Chriſt againſt the *Apollinarians*, to ſhew that he had both an Human and Divine Subſtance in reality without any Transformation or Confuſion: As the Bread, ſays he, before it is ſanctified, is called Bread, but after the Divine Grace has ſanctified it by the Mediation of the Prieſt, it is no longer called Bread, but dignified with the Name of the Body of the Lord, though the Nature of Bread remain in it, and they are not ſaid to be two, but one Body of the Son: So here the Divine Nature reſiding or dwelling in the Human Body, they both together make one Son and one Perſon. When this Paſſage was firſt produced by *Peter Martyr*, it was looked upon as ſo unanſwerable, that they of the *Romiſh* Church had no other way to evade the Force of it, but to cry out, It was a Forgery. *Peter Martyr* left it in the *Lambeth* Library, but it was raviſh'd thence in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. *Bigotius* a Learned *French* Papiſt publiſhed the Original, but the whole Edition was ſuppreſſed. Yet *Le Moyne* publiſhed it again in *Latin* among his *Varia Sacra:* And a Learned Prelate, who now ſo deſervedly holds the Primacy in our own Church, and whoſe indefatigable Induſtry againſt *Popery* will never be forgotten, having procured the Sheets which the *Sorbon* Doctors cauſed to be ſuppreſs'd in *Bigotius*'s Edition of *Palladius*, publiſhed it [*i*] in our own Tongue, with ſuch of the *Greek* Fragments as are now remaining. And in theſe Monuments it will ſtand as the unanſwerable Teſtimony of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and a Key to explain all other Paſſages of the *Greek* Writers of that Age, who were undoubtedly in the ſame Sentiments of the Bread and Wine ſtill remaining unalterable in their Subſtance.

Theodoret lived not long after St. *Chryſoſtom*, and he as plainly ſays, that the Bread and Wine remain ſtill in their own Nature after Conſecration. Our Saviour, ſays he, would have thoſe [*k*] who are Partakers of the divine Myſteries, not to mind the Nature of the Things they ſee, but by the Change of Names to believe that Change which is wrought by Grace. For he that called his own Natural Body Wheat and Bread, and gave it the Name of a Vine; he alſo honoured the viſible Symbols or Elements with the Name of his Body and Blood, not changing

[*f*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 8. [*g*] Nyſſen. de Bapt. Chriſti. Tom. 3. p. 369. [*h*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 3. [*i*] *Defence of the Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt Mr.* de Meaux. Lond. 1686. [*k*] Theod. Dialog. 1. tom. 4. p. 17. Vid. Ep. 130, & 145.

their Nature, but adding Grace to Nature. In another Place [*l*] he uſes the very ſame Weapon to foil an *Eutychian* Heretick, who to prove that Chriſt's Human Nature was changed into the Divine Nature after Union, uſes this Argument: As the Symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood are one Thing before the Invocation of the Prieſt, but after Invocation are changed, and become another Thing: So alſo the Body of our Lord after its Aſſumption was changed into the Divine Subſtance. To which *Theodoret* thus replies, Thou art taken in thy own Nets which thou haſt made: For neither do the myſtical Symbols depart from their own Nature after Conſecration, but remain in their former Subſtance, Figure and Form, and are viſible and palpable, as they were before; yet they are underſtood and believed to be what they are made, and are reverenced as thoſe Things which they are made. Compare therefore the Image with the Original, and thou ſhalt ſee their Likeneſs. For the Type muſt anſwer to the Truth. That Body has the ſame Form and Figure and Circumſcription, and in a word has the ſame Subſtance of a Body that it had before, but it is immortal after the Reſurrection, and is freed from all Corruption, and ſits at God's Right Hand, and is adored by every Creature, as being called the Body of the Lord of Nature. Theſe Words are ſo plain, that the Bread continues in its own Subſtance after Conſecration, as the Body of Chriſt continues in the Subſtance of Human Nature after its Aſſumption, that as Biſhop *Coſins* [*m*] has obſerved, *Nicolin* the Pope's Printer, who ſet forth theſe *Dialogues* at *Rome*, *An.* 1547, owns that *Theodoret*'s Opinion, as to what concerns *Tranſubſtantiation*, was not found, but he might be excuſed, becauſe the Church had made no Decree about it.

Ephrem Biſhop of *Antioch* lived about a hundred Years after *Theodoret*, *An.* 540, and he wrote againſt the *Eutychians* in the ſame manner. No Man, ſays he, that hath any Reaſon [*n*], will ſay, the Nature of palpable and impalpable, of viſible and inviſible, is the ſame. For ſo the Body of Chriſt, which is received by the Faithful, does not depart from its own ſenſible Subſtance, and yet it is united to a ſpiritual Grace: And ſo Baptiſm, though it becomes wholly a ſpiritual Thing and but one Thing, yet it preſerves the Property of its ſenſible Subſtance, I mean Water, and does not loſe what it was before.

The *Latin* Fathers are not leſs plain and full in their Teſtimony about this Matter. *Tertullian* not only frequently ſays it is Bread repreſenting [*o*] the Lord's Body; and the Figure of his Body [*p*]; but alſo teaches us to truſt to the Teſtimony of our Senſes in this and many other Things relating to Chriſt. We are not to call in Queſtion thoſe Senſes [*q*] of ours, leſt we begin to doubt of the Certainty of the very Things that are related of Chriſt, whether he was not deceived, when he ſaw Satan fall from Heaven, or when he heard the Father's Voice teſtifying of him, or when he touched the Hand of *Peter*'s Mother, or when he ſmelled the Spirit of the Ointment which he accepted to his Burial, or when he taſted the Wine that he conſecrated to be the Memorial of his Blood. St. *John* argues upon the Teſtimony of our Senſes, *what we have ſeen, what we have heard, what we have ſeen with our Eyes, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life.* But this Atteſtation is falſe, if our Senſes may be deceived in the Nature of Things, which we ſee with our Eyes, and hear with our Ears, and touch with our Hands. It is plain from theſe Words of *Tertullian*, that he never thought of *Tranſubſtantiation*, which contradicts four of the five Senſes of all Mankind, the Sight, the Touch, the Taſte and the Smell; and that he muſt be the moſt abſurd Man that ever wrote, if after all he could believe that not to be Bread, which according to his own Rule had the Teſtimony of ſo many ſeveral Senſes.

St. *Auſtin* uſes the ſame Argument with *Tertullian* in one of his *Homilies* to the newly baptized; which though it be not now among St. *Auſtin*'s Works, yet it is preſerved by *Fulgentius* [*r*] and *Bede* and *Bertram*. Here inſtructing them about the Sacrament, he tells them, that what they ſaw upon the Altar was Bread and the Cup, as their own Eyes could teſtify [*s*] to them: But what their Faith required to be inſtructed about, was, that the Bread is the Body of Chriſt, and the Cup the Blood of Chriſt. But ſuch a Thought as this will preſently ariſe in your Hearts: Chriſt took his Body into Heaven, whence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. And there he now ſits at the Right-hand of the Father. How then is Bread his Body? Or how is the Cup, or that which is contained in the Cup, his Blood? Theſe Things, my Brethren, are therefore called Sacraments, becauſe in them one Thing is ſeen, and another is underſtood. That which is ſeen, has a bodily Appearance; that which is underſtood, has a ſpiritual Fruit. If therefore you would underſtand the Body of Chriſt, hear what the Apoſtle ſays to the Faithful, Ye are the Body of Chriſt and his Members. If therefore ye be the Body and Members of Chriſt, your Myſtery or Sacrament is laid upon

[*l*] Id. Dial. 2. p. 85. [*m*] Coſins *Hiſt. of Tranſubſtan. p.* 77. [*n*] Ephrem ap. Photium. Cod. 229. [*o*] Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. 1. cap. 14. Panem quo ipſum corpus ſuum repræſentat. [*p*] Cont. Marc. l. 4. cap. 40. Panem corpus ſuum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, Figura corporis mei. [*q*] De Anima. cap. 17. Non licet nobis in dubium ſenſus iſtos vocare, ne & in Chriſto de fide eorum deliberetur —— ne forte deceptus ſit, cum Petri ſocrum tetigit, aut alium poſtea untiguen ſenſerit ſpiritum, quod in ſepulturam ſuam acceptavit, alium poſtea vini ſaporem, quod in ſanguinis ſui Memoriam conſecravit, &c. Falſa utique Teſtatio, ſi oculorum & aurium & manuum ſenſus natura mentitur. [*r*] Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiopis. cap. 11. Beda in 1 Cor. 10. Bertram. de Corpore & Sanguine Dom. [*s*] Quod ergo videtis, Panis eſt & Calix, quod vobis etiam oculi veſtri renunciant. Quod autem Fides veſtra poſtulat inſtruenda, Panis eſt Corpus Chriſti, Calix ſanguis Chriſti. —— Quomodo eſt Panis Corpus ejus? Et Calix, vel quod habet Calix, quomodo eſt Sanguis ejus? Iſta, fratres, ideo dicuntur Sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur, ſpeciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet ſpiritalem. Corpus ergo Chriſti ſi vis intelligere, Apoſtolum audi dicentem Fidelibus, Vos eſtis Corpus Chriſti & Membra, &c.

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the Lord's Table, ye receive the Sacrament of the Lord. Ye answer, *Amen*, to what ye are, and by your Answer subscribe to the Truth of it. Thou hearest the Minister say to thee, *the Body of Christ*, and thou answerest, *Amen*. Be thou a Member of the Body of Christ, that thy *Amen* may be true. But why then is this Mystery in Bread? Let us here bring nothing of our own, but hear the Apostle speak again. When he therefore speaks of this Sacrament, he says, *We being many, are one Bread, and one Body*. Understand and Rejoice. We being many, are Unity, Piety, Truth and Charity, one Bread and one Body. Recollect and consider, that the Bread is not made of one Grain, but of many. When ye were exorcised, ye were then, as it were, Ground; when ye were baptized, ye were, as it were, sprinkled, or mixed and wet together into one Mass; when ye received the Fire of the Holy Ghost, ye were, as it were, baked. Be ye therefore what ye see, and receive what ye are. Here St. *Austin* first says plainly, That it was Bread and Wine that was upon the Altar, for which he appeals to the Testimony of their Senses. 2. That this very Bread and Wine is the Body and Blood of Christ. Consequently it could not be his natural Body in the Substance, but only Sacramentally. 3. He says, the natural Body of Christ is only in Heaven: But the Sacrament has the Name of his Body; because tho' in outward, visible, and corporeal Appearance it is only Bread, yet it is attended with a spiritual Fruit. 4. Lastly he says, that the Sacrament not only is a Representative of the natural Body of Christ, but also of the Mystical Body, the Church; and that, as a Symbol of the Church's Unity, it is called the Body of Christ in this Sense, as well as the other. So that if there were any real *Transubstantiation*, the Bread must be changed into the Mystical Body of Christ, that is, his Church, as well as into the Body natural. These Things might be confirmed from abundance of parallel Passages in St. *Austin*'s Works, but this one is sufficient to shew his meaning.

The next irrefragable Testimony is that of Pope *Gelasius*, who wrote against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* about the Reality of the two Natures in Christ, *An.* 490, where he thus proves them: Doubtless the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ which we receive, are a Divine Thing; and therefore by them we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature, and yet the Substance and Nature [*t*] of Bread and Wine do not cease to be in them. And indeed the Image and Similitude of the Body and Blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious Action. By this therefore is evidently shewed us, that we are to believe the same Thing in our Lord Christ, as we profess and celebrate and take in his Image: That as by the perfecting Virtue of the Holy Ghost the Elements pass into a Divine Substance, whilst their Nature still remains in its own Propriety; so in that principal Mystery (the Union of the Divine and Human Nature) whose Efficacy and Power these represent, there remains one true and perfect Christ, both Natures, of which he consists, continuing in their Properties unchangeable. He must be blind that cannot see, how the Force of this Argument supposes, that Bread and Wine continue in their proper Nature and Substance in the *Eucharist*, notwithstanding the Sacramental Union that is made between them and the Body of Christ by the sacred Use of them. Without this it had been of no Force against the *Eutychians*, and they might with a very obvious Reply have inverted the Argument upon him, by saying, that as the Bread was changed from its own Nature into the very Substance of the natural Body of Christ, and remained no longer Bread; so the Human Nature was really changed into the Divine Nature, and continued no longer in its own Substance after its Assumption into the Godhead. Which Argument in the Mouth of an *Eutychian* had been unanswerable to *Gelasius*, had he with his Successors given into the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*.

Some time after *Gelasius*, lived *Facundus*, an *African* Bishop; about the Year 550, he wrote to excuse *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, for saying, That Christ received the Adoption of Sons: Which he does after this manner: Christ vouchsafed to receive the Sacrament of Adoption, both when he was circumcised, and when he was baptized. Now the Sacrament of Adoption may be called Adoption, as we call the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, which is in the consecrated Bread and Cup, his Body and Blood, not because the Bread is properly [*u*] his Body, or the Cup his Blood, but because they contain the Mystery of his Body and Blood. Whence our Saviour, when he blessed the Bread and Cup, and gave them to his Disciples, called them his Body and Blood. It is plain, according to *Facundus*, that the Bread and Wine are not properly the Body and Blood of Christ, but properly Bread and Wine still, and only called his Body and Blood, as Baptism and Circumcision are called Adoption, because they are the Sacraments of Adoption, and not the very Thing which they represent.

To these I only add the Testimony of *Isidore* Bishop of *Sevil*, who lived in the Beginning of the seventh Century, *An.* 630. He speaking of the Rites of the Church [*x*], says, the Bread, because

[*t*] Gelas. de duabus Natur. cont. Nestor. & Eutych. Bibl. Pat. t. 4. p. 422. Certe sacramenta quæ sumimus Corporis & Sanguinis Domini divina res est, propter quod & per eadem Divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, & tamen esse non desinit substantia vel Natura Panis & Vini. Et certe Imago & Similitudo Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in actione Mysteriorum celebrantur, &c.

[*u*] Facund. lib. 9. cap. 5. Potest sacramentum Adoptionis adoptio nuncupari, sicut Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane & poculo consecrato, corpus ejus & sanguinem dicimus; non quod Proprie corpus ejus sit panis & poculum sanguis, sed quod in se Mysterium corporis sanguinisque contineant. Hinc & ipse Dominus benedictum panem & calicem, quem Discipulis tradidit, corpus & sanguinem suum vocavit. &c. [*x*] Isidor. Hispal. de Eccles. Offic. lib. 1. cap. 18. Panis quia confirmat corpus, ideo Christi corpus nuncupatur; Vinum autem, quia Sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad Sanguinem Christi refertur. Hæc autem duo sunt visibilia, &c.

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it nouriſhes and ſtrengthens our Bodies, is therefore called the Body of Chriſt; and the Wine, becauſe it creates Blood in our Fleſh, is called the Blood of Chriſt. Now theſe two Things are viſible, but being ſanctified by the Holy Ghoſt, they become the Sacrament of the Lord's Body. *Bertram* alſo [*y*] quotes a like Expreſſion out of *Iſidore*'s *Origines*: That as the viſible Subſtance of Bread and Wine nouriſh the outward Man; ſo the Word of Chriſt, who is the Bread of Life, refreſheth the Souls of the Faithful, being received by Faith. But as Biſhop *Coſins* and Mr. *Aubertin* have obſerved, this Paſſage by ſome pious Fraud is not to be found in its proper Place. Now if the Bread be ſuch Bread in Subſtance as nouriſhes the Body, then it muſt be ſuch as is properly Bread ſtill, and not the incorruptible Body of Chriſt, which cannot be ſaid to be caſt out into the Draught, which yet *Origen* ſays of it [*z*], that the material Part of the Sacrament, the typical and ſymbolical Body of Chriſt, which goes in at the Mouth, goes into the Belly; but the real Body of Chriſt is only received by thoſe that are worthy, and by Faith. By all which it is evident, the Ancients did not know any thing of the new Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, but believed that the Bread and Wine ſtill remained in the *Euchariſt* in their proper Nature. He that would ſee more of this, may conſult Biſhop *Coſins*'s Hiſtory of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and Mr. *Aubertin*'s elaborate Book of the *Euchariſt*, where he may find all the other Arguments againſt this Doctrine propoſed, and the Teſtimonies of every Father vindicated againſt the Sophiſtry of *Perron* and *Bellarmin*, and all other *Romiſh* Writers upon this Subject; and alſo ſee what Oppoſition was made to the new Hypotheſis of *Paſchaſius Rathbertus* (which was rather a *Conſubſtantiation* than a *Tranſubſtantiation)* as ſoon as it appeared, by *Rabanus Maurus*, *Amalarius*, *Walafridus Strabo*, *Heribaldus*, *Lupus*, *Frudegardus*, *Joannes Erigena*, *Prudentius Tricaſſin*, *Chriſtianus Druthmarus*, *Alfricus* and the *Saxon Homilies*, *Fulbertus Carnotenſis*, *Leuthericus Senonenſis*, *Berno Augienſis* and others, to the time of *Berengarius*, after whom it met with greater Oppoſition from *Honorius Auguſtodunenſis*, *Amalricus*, *Peter* and *Henry de Bruis*, *Guido Groſſus* Archbiſhop of *Narbo*, *Francus Abbas*, the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, the *Bohemians* and Followers of *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, the *Wickleviſts* here in *England*, among whom was the famous *Riginald Peacock*, and many other learned Men to the time of the Reformation. The firſt Inventor of the name *Tranſubſtantiation* was *Stephanus Eduenſis* [*a*], as *Albertin* there ſhews: And he lived not long before the Council of *Lateran*, which firſt dogmatically eſtabliſhed it, *An.* 1215. He ſhews, that before this they rather believed an Impanation, or Concomitancy of the Body with the Bread ſtill remaining. Biſhop *Coſins* has many curious Remarks of the ſame Nature, and particularly he obſerves of the Recantation which Pope *Nicholas* II. obliged *Berengarius* to make, that it was ſo crude and abſurd, that even the preſent *Romaniſts* cannot digeſt it: For there he was obliged to profeſs, that the very Body and Blood of Chriſt was touched and broken by the Hands of the Prieſt, and ground with the Teeth of the Faithful, not ſacramentally only, but in truth and ſenſibly. Which the Gloſſer upon *Gratian*, *John Semeca*, marks with this Note [*b*], that unleſs you underſtand it cautiouſly, it will lead into a greater Hereſy than that of *Berengarius*; for it exceeds Truth, and is ſpoken hyperbolically. So little Underſtanding was there of this monſtrous Doctrine, when firſt it began to make its Appearance in the World.

But I ſhall purſue this Matter no farther, having ſufficiently demonſtrated that the Ancients knew nothing of this Doctrine, ſince they unanimouſly declared, that the Bread and Wine continued in their own proper Subſtance after Conſecration. Whence it follows, that they could not adore the *Euchariſt* with divine Adoration, which they did not believe to be any otherwiſe than typically and ſymbolically the Body of Chriſt. Indeed they did not ſo much as elevate it upon any Account for many Ages, much leſs for Adoration. Some pretend to cite St. *Baſil*'s Authority for lifting it up to ſhew it to the People in order to Adoration. So *Schelſtrate* [*c*], and *Bona* [*d*] after *Bellarmin*. But his Words will bear no ſuch Senſe: For he neither ſpeaks of Adoration, nor yet of Elevation to ſhew it to the People, but only of Conſecration, as the *Greek* Word, ἀνάδειξις, properly ſignifies, both in Foreign and Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as Mr. *Aubertin* proves by various Examples [*e*]. St. *Baſil*'s Words are theſe, τὰ τῆ ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῆ ἀναδείξεως τῦ ἄρτυ τῆ ἐυχαριστίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; [*f*]. Which *Bellarmin*, following a corrupt *Latin* Tranſlation, renders thus: Which of the Saints has left us in Writing the Words in which the People invocate the *Euchariſt*, when it is ſhewed to them? Whereas they ought to be rendered thus: Which of the Saints has left us in Writing the Words of the Invocation, or Prayer, wherewith the *Euchariſt* is conſecrated? And ſo *Perron* [*g*] himſelf with more than ordinary Ingenuity confeſſes, telling us, That St. *Baſil*'s Words are not to be underſtood of the Peoples praying to the *Euchariſt*, but of the Miniſter's praying to God in a ſolemn Form of Invocation to conſecrate the *Euchariſt*. Which, as I have ſhewed before [*], was not done barely by pronouncing thoſe Words, *This is my Body*, as now it is in the *Roman* Church; but by a formal Invocation and Thankſgiving, beſeeching God to ſanctify the Gifts;

[*y*] Bertram. de Corp. & Sang. Dom. ex Iſidor. Orig. lib. 6. cap. 19. [*z*] Origen. Com. in Mat. 15. t. 2. p. 27. [*a*] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 3. p. 969. [*b*] Grat. de Conſecr. Diſt. 2. cap. 42. [*c*] Schelſtrat. de Conc. Antioch. p. 219. [*d*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 13. n. 2. Bellarm. de Euchar. lib. 2. cap. 15. [*e*] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 2. p. 446. [*f*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 27. [*g*] Perron. de Euchar. lib. 2. Author. 15. cap. 3. ap. Albertin. ibid. [*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* iii, *n.* 11.

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which Form, St. *Basil* rightly says, was not by any of the Evangelists left in Writing. Some again urge the Testimony of *Germanus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, as one who speaks of elevating the Host after Consecration. And indeed he does so [*b*]: But then he gives another Reason for it, and not that of the Peoples Adoration. He says, It was to represent our Saviour's Elevation upon the Cross, and his Dying there, together with his Rising from the Dead. Which was far from the modern Intent of Elevation. This Author lived about the Year 715, and he is the first that mentions this Elevation among the *Greeks*, without any notice of Adoration. And for the *Latin* Church, there is a perfect Silence in all the older Ritualists about it till the eleventh Century, when it is mentioned by *Ivo* [*i*] *Carnotensis* and *Hugo de sancto Victore* [*k*], tho' still for the same Reason given by *Germanus*, and not for Adoration. The first Writer that assigns the Reason of it to be for Adoration, as Mr. *Daillé* [*l*] proves at large, is *Gulielmus Durantus*, who wrote his *Rationale* [*m*] about the Year 1386. So that *Transubstantiation* and Adoration of the *Eucharist*, as Mother and Daughter, came within an Age of one another. The most Learned now in the *Roman* Church, confess the main of this. *Bona* [*n*] says very frankly, he cannot trace the Original of elevating the Sacrament immediately after Consecration in the *Latin* Church, higher than *Ivo*, and *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Hildebert* of *Tours*, who make mention of ringing a Bell at this Elevation, in the twelfth and thirteenth Century when they lived: But he owns the old *Sacramentaria*, whether Printed or Manuscript, and the old Ritualists, *Alcuin*, *Amalarius*, *Strabo*, *Micrologus* and the rest, have not a Syllable about it. And whereas *Stephen Durantus* [*o*] boasts of its Antiquity, and says it begun with the very Infancy of the Church, he corrects his Mistake, as relying only upon the *Greek* Writers, who prove nothing of the Customs of the *Latin* Church. So that here we have a plain Acknowledgment of its Novelty: And *Daillé* [*p*] takes the same Confession under the Hand of *Morinus* [*q*] and *Goar* [*r*], two other learned Writers of the *Roman* Church, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* [*s*] does also from *Menardus*.

SECT. V.

No Adoration of the Host before the twelfth or thirteenth Century.

BUT it may be said, Though there was no Elevation of the Host, nor Ringing of a Bell before this time in the *Latin* Church, yet there might be divine Adoration for all that paid to the *Eucharist* from the Beginning. Cardinal *Perron* was so confident of this, that he makes Sitting a Posture of Devotion, on purpose to prove that the Apostles adored it Sitting. The Vanity of which Pretence has been shewed before. A great many other Proofs are alledged out of the Ancients to prove this Adoration. But they prove no more, but either that a Veneration was paid to the Sacrament, as to the Books of the *Gospel*, and the Water of Baptism, and the Lord's Table, and many other sacred Things, which no one denies; or else, that the Adoration was given to Christ, as divinely present every where, or as Sitting at the Right-hand of God in Heaven, whither they were directed, by the Admonition of *Sursum Corda*, to lift up their Hearts, and to elevate their own Souls, to adore him there. St. *Jerom* speaks of common and ordinary Veneration, when he says, Men were taught [*t*] by the Scriptures, with what Veneration they ought to receive holy Things, and serve in the Ministry of Christ's Altar, and not to esteem the holy Cups, and holy Veils, and other Things pertaining to the Service of the Lord's Passion, to be without Holiness, as inanimate Things and void of Sense, but as Things, which for their Relation to the Body and Blood of the Lord, were to be venerated with the same Majesty and Reverence as his Body and Blood. Such Reverence as this, which was given to the Cups and other Utensils of the Altar, no doubt was given to the Sacrament, as the symbolical Body and Blood of Christ: But this could not be a Veneration of divine Worship and Adoration, unless we can think that they gave divine Worship to the Cups and Utensils of the Altar, which he says were venerated with the same Respect as the Body and Blood of Christ. Mr *Aubertin* [*u*] gives a great many Instances of this kind of Veneration paid to Churches, and the Book of the Law, and Baptism, which can signify no more than their reverend Use of them as sacred and venerable Things. And such a Veneration they paid to the Sacrament; never putting consecrated Bread to any prophane or common Use; much less violating its Sacredness by any more indecent Practice, as was that Outrage of the *Donatists*, when they threw it to the Dogs; never touching it with unwashen Hands; being extreamly cautious not to let any Particle of it fall to the Ground: Which is a particular Caution, noted by many of the Ancients, *Tertullian* [*x*], St. *Austin* [*y*], *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* [*z*], and *Origen* [*], who stiles it a Veneration in expres Terms. Whence *Bellarmin* very wisely concludes, they

[*b*] German. Theoria Rer. Divin. Bibl.Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 163. [*i*] Ivo, Epist. de Sacram. Missæ. [*k*] Hugo de S. Vict. de Missæ Observat. lib. 2. cap. 28. [*l*] Dallæ de Objecto Cultus, lib. 2. cap. 6. [*m*] Durant. Rational. lib. 4. de 6. Parte Canonis. [*n*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. chap. 13. n. 2. [*o*] Bona. ibid. [*p*] Dallæ, *ubi supra*. [*q*] Morin. de Ordinat. Par. 3. Exercit. 9. cap. 1. [*r*] Goar. Not. in Eucholog. p. 146. [*s*] Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 256. ex Menardo, Not. in Gregor. Sacram. p. 374. [*t*] Hieron. Ep. ad Theophil. Discant, qui ignorant, eruditi testimoniis Scripturarum, qua debeant Veneratione Sancta suscipere, & altaris Christi ministerio deservire, sacrosque Calices, & sancta Velamina, & cætera quæ ad cultum pertinent Dominicæ Passionis, non quasi inanima & sensu carentis sanctimoniam non habere, sed ex consortio corporis & sanguinis Domini, eadem qua corpus ejus & sanguis majestate veneranda. [*u*] Albertin. de Euchar. p. 432. [*x*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. [*y*] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. [*z*] Cyril. Catech. Myst n. 18. [*] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. Cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni Cautela & Veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, &c.

must

muſt needs believe it to be Chriſt's natural Body, and adore it. As if holy Things could not be uſed with ſuch Caution and Reverence, but preſently it muſt be interpreted an Act of Adoration.

But the Ancients ſometimes ſay, they worſhipped Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*. Which we do not deny neither. St. *Auſtin* ſays, no Man eats [a] the Fleſh of Chriſt, but he that firſt worſhips it. And there are like Expreſſions in *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome other antient Writers. But then they ſufficiently explain their own meaning, giving us to underſtand, that they neither ſpeak of Oral Manducation, nor of adoring Chriſt as corporeally preſent in the *Euchariſt*, but as ſpiritually preſent, or elſe as corporeally abſent in Heaven. St. *Chryſoſtom* [b] ſays, they fell down before Chriſt their King as Captives in Baptiſm, and that they caſt themſelves down upon their Knees before him. And yet no one would conclude therefore that they worſhipped him as corporeally preſent in Baptiſm, although Baptiſm made them Partakers of his Body and Blood alſo. He ſays farther [c] that the King himſelf bowed his Body, becauſe of God ſpeaking in the Holy Goſpels. But it would be ridiculous hence to infer, either that they worſhipped the Goſpels, or Chriſt as corporeally preſent in them. Mr. *Aubertin* [d] has demonſtrated out of St. *Auſtin*'s Works theſe ſeveral Propoſitions, which are all Point Blank contrary to the Adoration of Chriſt as corporeally preſent in the *Euchariſt*. 1. That Bread and Wine are not properly and ſubſtantially the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but only Sacramentally and Figuratively. 2. That Chriſt is not ſubſtantially and corporally preſent in the *Euchariſt*, but corporally preſent only in Heaven. 3. That true Bread remains and is eaten in the *Euchariſt*. 4. That the Manducation of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt* is not oral, but ſpiritual. 5. That the Wicked do not eat or drink the proper Body and Blood of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*. 6. That the ſame Body cannot be in different Places at one and the ſame time; and that this is particularly aſſerted of the Body of Chriſt. 7. That a Body muſt neceſſarily occupy ſome Place and Space, and be extended by Parts, with Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity. 8. That Accidents cannot ſubſiſt without a Subject. All which directly overthrow the corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*, and conſequently ſhew, that the Adoration which was given to Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*, was not to his corporal Preſence, but his ſpiritual Preſence, or to his Body as abſent in Heaven.

But *Durantus* [e] undertakes to prove, that the Body of Chriſt was not only worſhipped as corporally preſent in the *Euchariſt* in the Uſe and Time of Celebration, but at other Times by Non-Communicants alſo. For this he alledges *Chryſoſtom* [f], who ſays that the Energumens at that time were brought by the Deacon and made to bow their Heads. Which *Durantus* interprets of bowing to the *Euchariſt*. But *Chryſoſtom* unluckily ſpoils his Argument. For at that time, he ſays, the *Euchariſt* was not conſecrated, but only about to be conſecrated; and theſe Energumens were not allowed to ſtay to hear the Prayers of Conſecration with the Faithful, but were diſmiſſed with the Catechumens and other Non-Communicants before the Communion-Service began. So that if they worſhipped the Hoſt, it muſt be an unconſecrated Hoſt, which according to *Durantus* himſelf would be plain Idolatry. So unfortunate are theſe Gentlemen in the beſt Arguments they can produce for Hoſt-worſhip among the Ancients, that their own very Proofs manifeſtly overthrow it.

On the other Hand there are moſt certain Demonſtrations, that there could be no ſuch thing as Hoſt-worſhip in the antient Church, not only taken from their not believing *Tranſubſtantiation* and the corporal Preſence, but from many other Topicks ſolidly deduced and ſubſtantially proved by two learned Writers, Mr. *Daillé* [g] and Dr. *Whitby* [h] in two excellent Diſcourſes upon this very Subject, to which I will commend the Reader, contenting my ſelf to mention the Heads of the principal Arguments, which they have more fully drawn out and proved. Mr. *Daillé* ranks his Arguments under two Heads, ſome general ones againſt the Worſhip of the *Euchariſt*, Saints, Relicks, Images and Croſſes; and others more particularly levelled againſt the Worſhip of the *Euchariſt*. Among thoſe of the firſt Kind he urges this as very remarkable, that in all the antient Relations of Miracles, there is never any mention made of Miracles being wrought by the *Euchariſt*, as is now ſo common in later Ages, eſpecially in the Book called The School of the *Euchariſt*, which is a Collection of Legends under the Name of Miracles wrought by the Hoſt upon ſundry Occaſions. 2. He urges another general Argument from the Silence of all ſuch Writers of the Church as ſpeak of Traditions, that the Worſhip of the *Euchariſt* is never once named among them. 3. That among the Heathen Objections and Calumnies which they raiſed againſt them, ſuch as their worſhipping the Sun and an Aſs's Head, and the Genitals of their Prieſts, and a crucified and dead Man, they never objected to them the Worſhip of Bread and Wine, which yet had been very obvious and natural, and invidious enough to have accuſed them of, had there then been any ſuch plauſible Ground for an Accuſation, as there has been in later Ages. 4. The Chriſtians uſed to object to the Heathens, that they worſhipped Things that were dumb and void of Life; Things that muſt be carried upon Mens Shoulders, and if they fell, could not riſe again; Things that muſt be guarded by Men, to ſecure them from Thieves;

[a] Aug. in Pſal. 98. [b] Chryſ. in illud, Simile eſt Regnum Cœlorum, &c. [c] In illud, Attendite ne Eleemoſynam faciatis. ap. Albertin. de Euchar. p. 432. [d] Albertin. de Euchar. p. 602, &c. [e] Durant. de Ritibus, lib. 2. cap. 40. n. 5. [f] Chryſ. Hom. 3, & 4. de Incomprehenſibili, p. 365, & 374. tom. 1. [g] Dallæ de Objecto Cultus Religioſi. cont. Latinos lib. 1, & 2. [h] Whitby, *Idolatry of Hoſt-Worſhip*, Lond. 1679. 8vo.

Things

Things that might be carried Captive, and were not able to preſerve and deliver themſelves; Things that might be laid to Pawn, (as the *Euchariſt* has been by ſome Princes in later Ages;) Things that are expoſed to Fire and Weather, and Ruſt and Moth and Corruption and other Injuries of Nature; Things that might be devoured by Mice and other Animals, and might be gnawed and dunged upon by the moſt contemptible Creatures. All which Objections might eaſily have been retorted by the Heathen upon the Chriſtians, had they then worſhipped the *Euchariſt*, or Images, or Relicks, or Croſſes, which are liable to all the ſame Reproaches. Theſe are general Arguments againſt Hoſt-worſhip, together with the reſt of that idolatrous Worſhip which now ſo abounds in the Church of *Rome*. But there are a great many more ſpecial Arguments urged in particular againſt the Hoſt-worſhip by that learned Man. As firſt from the Silence of all antient Writers about it. 2. From their uſing no Elevation of the Hoſt for Worſhip for many Ages, as we have ſhewed at large out of *Bona* before. 3. The Ancients knew nothing of ringing a Bell to give Notice of the time of Adoration to the People. 4. There are no Hiſtories of Beaſts miraculouſly worſhipping the *Euchariſt*, which ſort of Fictions are ſo common in later Ages. 5. The Ancients never carried the *Euchariſt* to the Sick or Abſent with any Pomp or Signs of Worſhip; never expoſed it to publick View in Times of ſolemn Rejoycing or Sorrow; never adored or invoked its Aſſiſtance in Diſtreſs, or upon any great Undertaking; which are now ſuch common Practices in the *Roman* Church. 6. The Ancients never enjoined Perſons newly baptized and Penitents to fall down before the *Euchariſt* and worſhip it, as is now commonly done in the *Roman* Church. 7. The Ancients never allowed Non-Communicants to ſtay and worſhip the *Euchariſt*, as the Practice now is; which yet had been very proper, had they believed the *Euchariſt* to be their God. But they uſed it only for Communion, not for Adoration. 8. The Ancients never uſed to carry the *Euchariſt* publickly in Proceſſions, to be adored by all the People; which is a novel Practice in the Judgment of *Krantzius* [*i*] and *Caſſander*. 9. The Ancients lighted no Lamps nor Candles by Day to the *Euchariſt*, nor burned Incenſe before it, as is now the Practice. 10. They made no little Images of the *Euchariſt*, to be kiſſed and worſhipped as the Images of Chriſt. 11. They had no peculiar Feſtival appropriated to its more ſolemn Worſhip. This is of no longer Date than Pope *Urban* IV, who firſt inſtituted it, *An.* 1264, and it is peculiar only to the *Roman* Church. 12. The antient *Liturgies* have no Forms of Prayers, *Doxologies*, or Praiſes to the *Euchariſt*, as are in the *Roman Miſſal*. 13. The Adoration of the *Euchariſt* was never objected by the Heathens to the Primitive Chriſtians; nor were they reproached, as the *Romaniſts* have been ſince, as Eaters of their God. It is a noted Saying of *Averroes*, *Quandoquidem comedunt Chriſtiani quod colunt, ſit anima mea cum Philoſophis*, Since Chriſtians eat what they Worſhip, let my Soul rather have her Portion among the Philoſophers. This learned Philoſopher lived about the Year 1150, when the Hoſt-worſhip began to be practiſed, which gave him this Prejudice to the Chriſtian Religion. 14. The Chriſtians objected ſuch Things to the Heathens, as they never would have objected, had they themſelves worſhipped the Hoſt; as that it was an impious Thing to eat what they worſhipped, and Worſhip what they eat and ſacrificed. Which Objections might eaſily have been retorted upon them. 15. The Chriſtians were accuſed by the Heathens of eating Infants Blood in their ſolemn Myſteries, but never any mention is made of eating the Blood of Chriſt, either in the Objection or Anſwer to it. The Ground of the Story aroſe from the Practice of the *Carpocratians* and other Hereticks, and not from the Chriſtians eating the Blood of Chriſt. 16. Laſtly, the Chriſtians never urged the Adoration of the *Euchariſt* in their Diſputes with the *Ebionites* and *Docetæ*, which yet would have been very proper to confute their Errors, who denied the Reality of the Fleſh of Chriſt. To theſe Arguments of Mr. *Daillé*, Dr. *Whitby* has added theſe farther. 1. That the Scriptures and Fathers deride the Heathen Deities, and ſay, that we may know they are no Gods, becauſe they have no Uſe of their outward Senſes. 2. Becauſe they are made Gods by Conſecration, and by the Will of the Artificer, part of that Matter which is conſecrated into a God, being expoſed to common Uſes. 3. Becauſe they were impriſoned in their Images, or ſhut up in obſcure Habitations. 4. Becauſe they clothed their Gods in coſtly Raiments. 5. Becauſe they might be metamorphoſed or changed from one Shape to another. All which might have been retorted upon the Chriſtians, had they worſhipped the *Euchariſt*, without any Poſſibility of Evaſion. *Soto* and *Paludanus* own, that the whole *Euchariſt*, Subſtance as well as Species, may be vomitted up again, or voided at the Draught. Which to affirm of the real Body of Chriſt, the Ancients would have accounted the greateſt Blaſphemy. For theſe and the like Reaſons we may ſafely conclude, that there was no ſuch Practice among the Ancients, as giving divine Honour to the Hoſt upon Preſumption of its being the real Body of Chriſt, though they treated it as the ſacred Symbol and Antitype of his Body with all imaginable Reſpect and Veneration. To deduce theſe Arguments at their full Length would fill a Volume, and therefore it is ſufficient here to have hinted the Heads of them in this ſummary Account, referring the Reader to thoſe two learned Authors, who have proved every Thing they ſay, for fuller Satisfaction. I now go on with the Practice of the antient Church.

[*i*] Krantz. Metropol. lib. 11. cap. 39. Caſſander. Conſultat. Sect. de Circumgeſtat.

SECT. VI. *The People allowed to receive the Eucharist into their own Hands.*

IN distributing the Elements the People were allowed to receive them into their own Hands. Which now, since the belief of *Transubstantiation* and the Adoration of the Host came in, is severely prohibited in the *Roman* Church. And this is at least another strong Presumption, that the Ancients had very different Sentiments of the *Eucharist* from those which now prevail in the *Roman* Church. As to Fact, there is no Dispute of the Matter. The Thing is confest by *Baronius* [k] and *Morinus* [l] and *Garsias Loaysa* [m], as *Daillé* [n] has noted out of them. And *Bona* [o] confesses he cannot tell when the contrary Custom first came in, but he thinks it very probable, that it began at the same time that they first brought into the *Western* Church the Use of Unleavened Bread, and Wafer-Hosts; which, as he proves before, was not till the twelfth or thirteenth Century. But that the Reader may not wholly depend upon these Concessions, I will note a few Places in the Margin out of *Tertullian* [p], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [q], *Cyprian* [r], *Origen* [s], *Dionysius Alexandrinus* [t], *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* [u], *Nazianzen* [x], *Basil* [y], *Ambrose* [z], *Austin* [*], *Chrysostom* [†] and the Council of *Trullo* [a]: Which I think it needless to repeat at length in a Matter so plain and uncontested. The very Custom of Washing the Hands before Communion, in order to receive it, the frequent Admonitions to beware of letting it fall, the Allowance of private Men to carry it home with them and communicate in private, the sending it to the Sick sometimes by private Men, which we have spoken of before, do all bear Testimony to the same Practice. But all these Customs are perfectly antiquated and abolished in the *Roman* Church, since the Practice of Host-worship came in, partly by forbidding the People to touch the Bread with their own Hands, but suffer it to be dropt into their Mouths, and partly by withdrawing the Cup wholly from them. Many wise and pretty Reasons are used to be given for abolishing this antient Custom, as that it is to prevent Mens Negligence and Irreverence and other Abuses: But the Fathers had much better Reasons for allowing it. For then it afforded them a noble Argument to keep innocent and holy Hands, free from Idolatry, Murder, Rapine and Extortion, and other the like Vices, when they must with those very Hands receive the immaculate Body and Blood of their Lord. A Man might declaim, says *Tertullian* [b], all the Day long with the Zeal of Faith, and bewail those Christians, who work with their Hands at the Trade of making Idols for the Heathen Gods, and come immediately from the Shop of the Adversary to the House of God, to lift up those Hands to God the Father, which are the Makers or Mothers of Idols, and stretch forth those Hands to receive the Body of the Lord, that were instrumental in carving Bodies for Devils. With what Eloquence does St. *Chrysostom* inveigh against Rapine and Bloodshed, and Strife and Contention, upon this very Topick? Consider, says he [c], what thou takest into thy Hand, and never dare to smite any Man: Do not disgrace those Hands, which are adorned with so great a Gift, by the Crime of Fighting and Contention. Consider what thou takest into thy Hands, and keep them free from all Rapine and Extortion. Consider that thou not only takest it in thy Hands, but puttest it to thy Mouth; therefore keep thy Tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious Words, from Blasphemy, Perjury, and all such kinds of evil Discourse. So again, Reproving those who in time of Sickness went to the *Jews* to get Charms and Amulets to cure their Distemper, he asks them, What Apology they would [d] make to Christ for thus flying to his Enemies in their Distress? How they could call upon him in their Prayers? With what Conscience they could come into the Church? With what Eyes they could look upon the Priest? With what Hands they could touch the holy Table? And in another Place, repressing the Peoples Fury against *Eutropius* (who having procured a Law to be made against Mens taking Sanctuary at the Altar, was himself not long after, by falling under the Emperor's Displeasure, forced to fly thither for Refuge; and then some of the People clamoured against him with revengeful Thoughts, and cried out it was but just that he should suffer the Effects of his own Law;) to suppress the Peoples Anger in this Case, and incline them to Thoughts of Mercy and Pardon, he asks them, How otherwise they could take [e] the Sacrament into their Hands, when Sermon was done, and say that Prayer, which commands them to beg of God, That he would *forgive them their Trespasses, as they forgave them that trespassed against them*, if they persisted to call for Justice upon their Enemy? These are handsome Turns of Eloquence, grounded upon this innocent and pious Custom of the Peoples taking the Sacrament into their own Hands, and they had often their due Weight and Force even upon the greatest Minds, as may appear from the Effect of that Speech which St. *Ambrose* made to the Emperor *Theodosius*, when he had caused

[k] Baron. an. 57. n. 147. [l] Morin. de Ordinat. Par. 3. Exercit. 12. c. 3. [m] Loaysa in Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 14. [n] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. 2. cap. 20. [o] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 7. Vid. Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9. [p] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. de Idololatr. cap. 7. [q] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 318. [r] Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 132. De Patient. p. 216. Ep. 56. al. 58. ad Thibaritanos. p. 125. [s] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. [t] Ap. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9. [u] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5. n. 18. [x] Naz. Carmen de Ornatu Mulier. t. 2. p. 152. [y] Basil. Ep. 289. ad Cæsaream Patriciam. [z] Ambr. Orat. ad Theodos. ap. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 18. [*] Aug. cont. Liter. Petil. lib. 2. cap. 23. Hom. 26. ex 50. [†] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. Hom. 22. p. 285, & 290. Hom. 24. p. 316. Hom. 6. cont. Judæos. t. 1. p. 540. Hom. 6. in Seraphim. Hom. 13. in Ephes. & passim. [a] Conc. Trul c. 101. [b] Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 7. Vid. Tertul. de Spectac. c. 25. Cypr. Ep. 56. al. 58. ad Plcb. Thibarit. p. 125. [c] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. Vid. Hom. 31. de Natali Christi. t. 5. p. 479. [d] Chrys. Hom. 6. cont. Jud. t. 1. p. 539. [e] Chrys. Hom. in Eutrop. t. 4. p. 554.

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ſeven thouſand Men to be ſlaughtered without any formal Tryal at *Theſſalonica*: St. *Ambroſe* met him as he was entring the Church, and thus accoſted him: With what Eyes wilt thou behold the Houſe of our common Lord? With what Feet wilt thou tread his holy Pavement? Wilt thou ſtretch out thoſe Hands yet dropping with the Blood of that unjuſt Slaughter, and with them lay hold [*f*] of the moſt holy Body of the Lord? Wilt thou put the Cup of that Blood to thy Mouth, who haſt ſhed ſo much Blood by the haſty Decree of an angry and impetuous Mind? This juſt Reproof of the Pious Biſhop, ſo handſomely addreſſed to the Emperor, made ſuch a deep Impreſſion on his Mind, that it melted him into Tears, and made him refrain from Church as a Penitent, till by way of Satisfaction, among other Things, by St. *Ambroſe*'s Direction, he made this good Law, That no Sentence of Death or Proſcription for the future ſhould be executed till thirty Days after its Promulgation, that Reaſon, and not Paſſion, might judge of the Equity and Reaſonableneſs of it. Such brave Speeches, and ſuch worthy Effects did that antient pious Cuſtom miniſter the Occaſion to of old, which is now laid aſide in the *Roman* Church, and changed into another Cuſtom, that has neither Precedent nor Uſe; ſerving only to feed Superſtition, and keep Men under the monſtrous and inveterate Prejudices of *Tranſubſtantiation*, which this innocent Rite ſerved in ſome meaſure to keep out of the Minds of Men in the Primitive Church

SECT. VII. *Whether the ſame Cuſtom was obſerved in delivering it to Women and Children.*

IT is farther obſervable, That in this Caſe no Diſtinction was made between Men, Women, and Children, but all received into their own Hands who were capable of ſo doing. Only in the latter End of the ſixth Century, we find a Rule made about Women, that they ſhould not receive it in their bare Hand, but in a fair Linnen Cloth. Some think this as antient as St. *Auſtin*'s Time, becauſe in one of the Sermons *De Tempore* [*g*] that go under his Name, there is mention made of it. For there it is ſaid, it was cuſtomary for Men to waſh their Hands when they communicated, and for Women to bring their little Linnen Cloths to receive the Body of Chriſt. But as many of theſe Sermons are ſpurious, ſo this in particular is ſometimes aſcribed to other Authors, and therefore no Weight can be laid upon it. However the Council of *Auxerre* [*h*] in *France*, *An.* 590, made a Rule, That no Woman ſhould receive the *Euchariſt* in her bare Hand. But after what manner ſhe ſhould receive it in her Hand, is not ſaid. A great many learned Perſons think that another Canon in that Council [*i*] orders them to receive it in a Linnen Cloth, becauſe there is mention made of Womens wearing a *Dominicale* when they communicate: Which they interpret a Linnen Cloth upon their Hand. So not only *Baronius*, and *Binnius*, and *Sylvius*, but alſo *Bona* [*k*] and *Habertus* [*l*], and even *Mabillon* [*m*], and *Voſſius* [*n*] underſtand it. But *Baluzius*, who is often more ſagacious than the reſt in telling the Meaning of hard Words, ſays, it means only the Womens Veil, which they were obliged to wear upon their Heads by antient Canons, conformable to the Rule of the Apoſtle [*o*]. And for this he quotes an antient Collection of Canons, where in the Council of *Maſcon* the *Dominicale* is expreſsly ſtyled the Veil which the Women wore upon their Heads at the Communion. So that whatever Covering the Women uſed for their Hands, when they received the Communion, it is plain it was a different Thing from the *Dominicale*. The Council of *Trullo* [*p*] ſpeaks of ſome in the *Greek* Church, who would not receive the Sacrament in their Hands, but in ſome little Inſtrument of Gold or other precious Material, out of a pretended Reverence to it, but they condemn, and forbid it as a ſuperſtitious Practice; ordering all Perſons to receive the Communion in their own Hands ſet in the Form of a Croſs, as is appointed in *Cyril*'s *Catechiſms* [*q*] and ſome others before them: and for thoſe that pretended to bring thoſe little Trinkets to receive the Communion with, they order them to be rejected, as Perſons who preferred inanimate Matter to the living Image of God. And withal they threaten Suſpenſion to any Prieſt that ſhall admit any Communicants to receive in ſuch manner. By which it is plain no Alteration was as yet allowed in this Matter in the *Greek* Church.

SECT. VIII. *The Euchariſt uſually delivered to the People with a certain Form of Words, to which they anſwered,* Amen.

THE next Thing obſervable, is, That the Prieſt in delivering the Elements to the People uſed a certain Form of Words, to which the People anſwered, *Amen*. The Form at firſt ſeems to have been no more than this: *The Body of Chriſt*; and, *The Blood of Chriſt*; to each of which the People ſubjoyned, *Amen*. *Tertullian* is thought to refer to this, when he asks a Chriſtian [*r*] who was uſed to frequent the *Roman* Theaters, How he could give Teſtimony to a Gladiator with that Mouth

[*f*] Ap. Theodor. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 18. [*g*] Aug. Ser. 252. de Temp. Omnes Viri, quando communicare deſiderant, lavant manus: Et omnes Mulieres exhibent Linteamina, ubi corpus Chriſti accipiant. [*h*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 36. Non licet mulieri nuda manu Euchariſtiam accipere. [*i*] Ibid. can. 42. Unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, Dominicalem ſuum habeat. Quod ſi non habuerit, uſque in alium Diem Dominicum non communicet. [*k*] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 3. [*l*] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 10. Obſerv. 8. p. 264. [*m*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 25. [*n*] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. de Symbolis Cœnæ Dom. p. 477. [*o*] Baluz. Not. in Gratian. Cauſ. 33. Quæſt. 3. cap. 19. Si mulier communicans Dominicale ſuum ſuper caput ſuum non habuerit, uſque ad alium diem Dominicum non communicet. [*p*] Conc. Trull. can. 101. [*q*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 18. [*r*] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. Quale eſt—— ex ore quo Amen in ſanctum proferis, gladiatori teſtimonium reddere?

wherewith he was wont to say *Amen* in the holy Mysteries? But that may refer as well to the *Amen* which they used at the End of the great Consecration Prayer, as to this Form at the Delivery. However *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* not long after speaks expressly of it. For he says [*s*] *Novatian* was used to make the People of his Party swear by the Body and Blood of Christ, when he delivered the *Eucharist* to them, that they would not forsake his Party and go over to *Cornelius*. So, says he, every Man instead of saying *Amen*, when he takes the Bread, is forced to say; *I will not return to* Cornelius. The Author of the *Constitutions* speaks of the Form in this manner [*t*]: Let the Bishop give the Oblation, saying, *The Body of Christ*: And let the Receiver answer, *Amen*. Let the Deacon hold the Cup, and when he gives it say, *The Blood of Christ, The Cup of Life:* And let him that drinks it say, *Amen*. So St. *Cyril* [*u*] bids his Communicant receive the Body of Christ, and say, *Amen*. And St. *Ambrose* [*x*], The Priest says to thee, *The Body of Christ*, and thou answerest, *Amen*. The like, as to the People's Answering *Amen*, is noted by St. *Austin* [*y*] as the general Practice of the whole World. And so by St. *Jerom* [*z*], *Leo Magnus* [*a*] and many others. By the Time of *Gregory the Great*, the Form of Delivery was a little enlarged: For then they said, *The Body* [*b*] *of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy Soul.* And by the Time of *Alcuin* and *Charles the Great*, it was augmented into this Form, *The Body of our Lord Jesus* [*c*] *Christ, preserve thy Soul unto everlasting Life.* Which is much the same with the former Part of that which is now used in our *Liturgy*. The *Scotch Liturgy* also orders the People to answer, *Amen*; which, we see, is conformable to antient Practice. The *Romanists* generally draw this Answer of the People into an Argument for *Transubstantiation*. Because saying *Amen* implies as much as the true Body of Christ. But they might as well argue, that the Bread is transubstantiated into the Bodies of the People, and that they too are but one proper, substantial, true, numerical Body with their Lord; Because St. *Austin* says this is one Meaning of the Body of Christ, to which when the Priest spake it, they answered, *Amen:* Ye answer, *Amen*, says he [*d*], to what ye are (that is, the Body of Christ), and by your Answer subscribe to the Truth of it. Thou hearest the Priest say, *The Body of Christ*, and thou answerest, *Amen:* Be thou a Member of the Body of Christ, that thy *Amen* may be true. In another Place he says, it denoted their Belief of the Reality of Christ's Suffering for them, that his Blood was truly shed [*] for their Sakes, and that they made Profession of this by saying *Amen*, This is true. And again [†], Christ shed his Blood upon the Cross for our Sakes: And ye who are Communicants, know what Testimony ye bear to the Blood which ye receive: For ye say *Amen* to it. Ye know what that Blood is, *which was shed for many, for the Remission of Sins.* So that in whatever Sense we take it, there is no Necessity of making it to signify a corporeal and substantial Presence, which it is certain St. *Austin* never thought of.

SECT. IX. *How* Novatian *and others abused the Communion to wicked Purposes.*

IT is here proper, before we pass on, to make a just Reflection upon the horrible Abuses of the Communion committed by some against the true End and Design of it, which was intended by Christ to represent our Union with himself and one another, but wicked Men made Use of it to base Ends and Purposes. We have already heard how *Novatian* abused it to strengthen his Schism, and bind Men over by an Oath upon it, that they would not desert his Interest and Party. And it was a like Abuse that was some time allowed in the superstitious Times of Popery, under the general Notion of many other superstitious Practices, called, Canonical Purgations. Which was, that when any one was suspected of a Crime, he was to purge himself by taking the Sacrament upon it. *Gratian* cites a Canon out of the Council of *Worms* [*e*] to this purpose: Whereas it often happens, that Thefts are committed in Monasteries, and they that commit them are not known: We therefore order, That when the Brethren are to purge themselves of such Suspicions, Mass shall be celebrated by the Abbot or some other appointed by him, and when it is ended, every one of them shall communicate, saying these Words, *Let the Body of Christ be my Purgation this Day.* But though this was allowed by a Council, it is justly reckoned a great Abuse by all sober Men. *Antonius Augustinus* in his Emendations upon *Gratian* [*f*] passes this Censure upon it, That it is to be ascribed to the great Corruption and Filth of the Times which allowed it. For even as the old

[*s*] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245. [*t*] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 13. [*u*] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5. n. 18. [*x*] Ambros. de sacram. lib. 4. cap. 5. Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi: Et tu dicis, Amen, id est, verum. It. de Initiatis. cap. 9. [*y*] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 12. cap. 10. Habet magnam vocem Christi sanguis in terra, cum eo accepto ab omnibus gentibus respondetur Amen. [*z*] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theophil. [*a*] Leo Ser. 6. de Jejunio Septimi Mensis. [*b*] Joan. Diacon. Vit. Gregor. lib. 2. [*c*] Alcuin. de Offic. & Helgaldus Vita Roberti Regis Galliæ. ap. Bonam. Liturgic. lib. 2. c. 17. n. 3. [*d*] Aug. Serm. ad Infantes. ap. Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis. cap. 11. Ad id quod estis, respondetis, Amen, & respondendo subscribitis. Audis Corpus Christi, & respondes, Amen. Esto membrum Corporis Christi, ut sit verum Amen tuum. [*] Aug. Ser. de 4. Feria sive Cultura agri. t. 9. p. 317. Quid dicit omnis homo, quando accipit Sanguinem Christi? Amen dicit. Quid est Amen? Verum est. Quid est verum? Quia fusus est Sanguis Christi. [†] Id. Ser. 29. de Verbis Apost. t. 10. p. 150. In cruce pro nobis Sanguinem fudit: Et nostis Fideles quale testimonium perhibeatis Sanguini quem accepistis. Certe enim dicitis Amen. Nostis qui sit Sanguis qui pro multis effusus est in remissionem peccatorum. [*e*] Con. Wormat. can. 15. ap. Grat. Caus. 2. Quæst. 5. cap. 23. Sæpe contingit, ut in Monasteriis furta perpetrentur, & qui hæc committant ignorentur. Idcirco statuimus, ut quando ipsi fratres de talibus se expurgare debuerint, Missa ab Abbate celebretur, vel ab aliquo cui ipse Abbas præceperit, præsentibus Fratribus: & sic expleta Missa, omnes communicent in hæc verba; Corpus Domini sit mihi ad Probationem hodie. [*f*] Anton. August. de Emendat. Grat. lib. 1. Dial. 15. p. 172. Hæc omnia sunt illorum temporum sordibus adscribenda,

Gloſſer upon *Gratian* obſerves [g], The Communion was not to be given to ſuſpected Perſons, as he proves from other Laws, particularly the Extravagant *de Purgatione Canonica. cap. Cum dilectis.* And therefore he ſays, this Canon in *Gratian* was of no Force, being diſannulled in Law. So that we need not ſcruple to call this a great Abuſe of the Holy Communion, though it had ſynodical Authority ſome time to enjoyn the Practice of it. I know nothing hardly that exceeds it under Pretence of Religion, unleſs it be that more horrible Abuſe which *Baronius* [h] himſelf relates out of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, concerning Pope *Theodore*, and the *Roman* Council, *An.* 648, who in their Cenſure of *Pyrrhus* and *Paulus* the *Monothelite* Hereticks, took Blood out of the Cup, and mingled it with Ink, and therewith ſubſcribed their Condemnation. An unparallel'd Inſtance of intemperate Zeal, for which there was neither Law nor Example in the *Roman* Church, as *Baronius* confeſſes, nor any Inſtance like it, ſave one in the *Greek* Church, when *Ignatius* in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, *An.* 869, made Uſe of the Blood in the ſacred Cup inſtead of Ink to condemn his Adverſary *Photius*, as *Baronius* alſo tells us [i] out of *Nicetas* in his Life of *Ignatius*. But I paſs over theſe horrible Abuſes, more becoming *Draco*, and his ſanguinary Laws, than the Pens and Practices of Chriſtian Biſhops, and go on with the more innocent Practices of the Primitive Church.

SECT. X.

Proper Pſalms for the Occaſion uſually ſung while the People were communicating.

DURING the Time of communicating, while the Elements were diſtributed to the People, it was uſual in moſt Places for the Singers or all the People to ſing ſome Pſalm ſuitable to the Occaſion. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [k] preſcribes the Thirty third Pſalm, which in our Diviſion is the Thirty fourth, for this Purpoſe: *I will bleſs the Lord at all Times, his Praiſe ſhall be always in my Mouth.* Which was chiefly ſung upon the Account of thoſe Words relating to the Sacrament, *O Taſte, and ſee that the Lord is gracious*, &c. For ſo St. *Cyril* more plainly declares, when he ſays [l], After this you hear one ſinging with a Divine Melody, and exhorting you to partake of the Holy Myſteries, and ſaying, *O Taſte, and ſee that the Lord is gracious.* St. *Jerom* [m] ſeems alſo to intimate, that they ſung both this and the xlvth *Pſalm*, when he ſays, They received the *Euchariſt* always with a good Conſcience, hearing the *Pſalmiſt* ſing, *O Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious*: And ſinging with him, *My Heart is inditing of a good Matter, I ſpeak of the Things which I have made unto the King.* This being a Pſalm peculiarly ſetting forth the Praiſes of Chriſt, and the Affection of the Church toward him: *Hearken, O Daughter, and conſider, incline thine Ear, forget alſo thine own People and thy Father's Houſe: So ſhall the King have Pleaſure in thy Beauty; for he is thy Lord God, and worſhip thou Him.* In *Africk* they ſeem to have delighted much in this Cuſtom, in ſo much that when one *Hilarius* a Tribune railed againſt it and all other Singing of Pſalms at the Altar, St. *Auſtin* wrote a Book particularly in Vindication of it, which is now loſt, but he mentions it [n] in his *Retractations*. And both he and *Tertullian* ſeem to intimate, that among other Pſalms they ſung the One Hundred Thirty third, *Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, Brethren, to dwell together in Unity.* For *Tertullian* [o] ſays, They were uſed to ſing this Pſalm when they ſupped together: By which moſt probably he means the Lord's Supper. And St. *Auſtin* ſays, it was a Pſalm [p] ſo noted and well known by its conſtant Uſe, that they who knew nothing of the Pſalter; could repeat that Pſalm, as having often heard it ſung, probably at the Altar. And he ſeems to ſay [q], that they ſung the xxxiiid *Pſalm* upon the ſame Occaſion. For he ſays expreſsly they ſung it daily, *I will bleſs the Lord at all Times, his Praiſe ſhall ever be in my Mouth.* Which conſidering how many Writers before ſpeak of it as ſung at the Diſtribution of the Elements, it is probable St. *Auſtin* means the ſame, that it was ſung daily at the Altar. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays they ſung the cxlvth *Pſalm* upon this Occaſion, chiefly upon the Account of thoſe Words in it, *The Eyes of all wait upon Thee, and thou giveſt them their Meat in due Seaſon.* For he interprets this of their Spiritual Meat at the Lord's Table. This *Pſalm*, ſays he [r], is diligently to be noted: For this is the *Pſalm* which has theſe Words, which they that are initiated in the holy Myſteries ſing continually in Conſort, ſaying, *The Eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou giveſt them their Meat in due Seaſon.* For he that is made a Son, and Partaker of the ſpiritual Table, does juſtly give Glory to his Father. Thou art a Son, and Partaker of the ſpiritual Table; thou feedeſt upon that Fleſh and Blood which regenerated thee: Therefore give Thanks to him that vouchſafes thee ſo great a Bleſſing, glorify him who grants thee theſe Favours: When thou readeſt the Words, compoſe and tune thy Soul to what is ſaid, and and when thou ſay'ſt, *I will exalt Thee, my God,*

[g] Gloſſa in Loc. Gratiani. Huic Capiti eſt derogatum, quia ſuſpectis non eſt danda Euchariſtia. [h] Baron. an. 648. n. 15. ex Theophane. [i] Baron. an. 869. t. 10. p. 428. [k] Conſt. lib. 8. cap. 13. [l] Cyril. Myſt. Catech. 5. n. 17. [m] Hieron. Ep. 28. ad Lucin. Bœticum. [n] Aug. Retract. lib. 2. cap. 11. Morem qui tunc eſſe apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut Hymni ad altare dicerentur de Pſalmorum libro, ſive ante Oblationem, ſive cum diſtribueretur populo quod fuiſſet oblatum, maledica reprehenſione ubicunque poterat lacerabat, &c. Huic reſpondi, & vocatur Liber contra Hilarium. [o] Tertul. de Jejun. cap. 13. Vide quam bonum & quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum. Hoc tu pſallere non facile noſti, niſi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas. [p] Aug. in Pſal. 132. p. 629. Pſalmus brevis eſt, ſed valde notus & nominatus. Ecce quam bonum & quam jucundum, &c. Ita ſonus iſte dulcis eſt, ut & qui Pſalterium neſciunt, ipſum verſum cantent. [q] Ibid. p. 630. Impletum eſt in eo quod quotidie cantamus, ſi & moribus conſonemus: Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, Semper Laus ejus in ore meo. [r] Chryſ. in Pſal. 144. t. 3. p. 594.

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my King (which are the first Words of this Psalm) shew thy great Love and Affection to him, that he may say to thee, as he said to *Abraham*, *I am thy God*. In the *Liturgy* which goes under St. *Chrysostom*'s Name [*s*] there is mention made of the People's Singing at this Time, but no Psalm specified, as here in his genuine Works. In the *Liturgy* called St. *James*'s [*t*] of *Jerusalem*, the Words of the Thirty fourth *Psalm*, *O Taste and see that the Lord is gracious*, are appointed to be sung by the Singers. St. *Mark*'s *Liturgy* [*u*] appoints the Forty second Psalm, *As the Hart desireth the Water Brooks, so panteth my Soul after Thee, O God.* And *Cotelerius* [*x*] has observed, that in some antient Rituals at the End of *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium* the cxxxix Psalm is appointed: *O Lord thou hast searched me out and known me*, &c. So that though the Custom of Singing Psalms in this Part of the Service was Universal, the particular Psalms varied according to the Wisdom and Choice of the Precentor, or the different Rules and Usages of different Churches. I have now stated and resolved the several Questions and Cases that may be put concerning the manner of communicating in the antient Church: And there remains but one Thing more to be considered, which was the solemn Thanksgiving and Prayers after receiving, which may be included with some other Concomitant Rites in the general Name of their Post-Communion Service; of which we will discourse in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Post-Communion Service.

SECT. I. *The Communion Service closed with several Sorts of Thanksgiving. First the Deacon's Bidding Prayer and Thanksgiving.*

WHEN all the People had communicated, and the Deacons had removed the Remainder of the Elements into the *Pastophoria*, or Place appointed for their Reception; it was usual first for a Deacon to admonish the People to return Thanks for the Benefits which they had received. The Form of this Exhortation in the *Constitutions* [*a*] runs thus: *Now that we have received the precious Body and the precious Blood of Christ, let us give Thanks to him that hath vouchsafed to make us Partakers of his Holy Mysteries; and let us beseech him that they may not be to our Condemnation, but Salvation, for the Benefit of our Soul and Body, for the Preservation of us in Piety, for the Remission of our Sins, and obtaining of the Life of the World to come.* Then he bids them rise up, and commend themselves to God by Christ. Upon which the Bishop makes a Prayer of Thanksgiving and Commendation of the People to God in the following Words.

SECT. II. *The Bishop's Thanksgiving or Commendation of the People to God.*

O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy Christ, Thy blessed Son; who heareſt those that with an upright Heart call upon Thee, who knoweſt the Supplications of those that in Silence pray unto Thee; we give Thee Thanks for that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us Partakers of thy Holy Mysteries, which Thou hast given us for the Confirmation or full Assurance of those Things which we stedfastly believe and know, for the Preservation of our Piety, for the Remission of our Sins; because the Name of Thy Christ is called upon us, and we are united unto Thee. Thou that hast separated us from the Communion of the Ungodly, unite us with them that are sanctified unto Thee; confirm us in Thy Truth by the coming of Thy Holy Spirit and his resting upon us; reveal unto us what Thing we are ignorant of, supply what we are deficient in, and strengthen us in what we know. Preserve Thy Priests unblameable in Thy Service, keep our Princes in Peace, our Governours in Righteousness, the Air in good Temperature, the Fruits of the Earth in Plenty, and the whole World by Thy Almighty Providence. Pacify the Nations that are inclined to War; convert those that go astray; sanctify Thy People; preserve those that are in Virginity; keep those that are married in Thy Faith; strengthen those that are in Chastity; bring Infants to mature Age; confirm those that are newly baptized; instruct the Catechumens, and make them fit and worthy of Baptism: And gather us all into the Kingdom of Heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit be Glory, Honour, and Adoration World without End. Amen.

SECT. III. *The Bishop's Benediction.*

AFTER this the Deacon bids the People bow their Heads to God in Christ, and receive the Benediction. Then the Bishop pronounces the Benediction in this following Prayer: *Almighty God, and True, with whom no one can compare, who art every where, and present unto all, yet not in them as Things of which they consist, who art circumscribed by no Place, not grown old with Time, nor bounded by Ages; who art without Generation, and needest no Preserver; who art above all Corruption, uncapable of Change, and unalterable by Nature; that dwellest in Light which no one can approach unto, and art invisible by Nature; that art known to all Rational Natures that seek Thee with*

[*s*] Chrys. Liturg. t. 4. p. 618. [*t*] Jacob. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 20. [*u*] Marci Liturg. ibid. p. 40. [*x*] Coteler. in Constit. lib. 8. cap. 13. [*a*] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 14. *it is called* προσφώνησις μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν.

an

an upright Heart, and art apprehended by thoſe that ſearch after Thee with a Pure Mind; O Thou God of Iſrael, *the* Iſrael *that truly ſees Thee, and the People that believes in Chriſt, ſhew thy ſelf propitious, and hear me for Thy Name's Sake; Bleſs this People that bow their Necks unto Thee, and grant them the Petitions of their Heart that are Expedient for them, and ſuffer none of them to fall from Thy Kingdom; but ſanctify them, keep and protect, help and deliver them from the Adverſary, and from every Enemy; preſerve their Houſes, and defend their going out and their coming in: For to Thee belongs Glory, Praiſe, Majeſty, Worſhip and Adoration: And to Thy Son Jeſus, thy Chriſt, our Lord and God and King; and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, World without End.* Amen.

SECT. IV. *The Deacon's Form of diſmiſſing the People with the ſhort Prayer*: Go in Peace.

AFTER this the Deacon uſed a ſhort Form of Words in the Nature of a Prayer for Peace, which was the Signal wherewith he diſmiſſed the whole Aſſembly; intimating that the whole Service was now finiſhed, and therefore praying that the Peace of God might continue with them, and preſerve them, he ſaid, ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Depart in Peace.* This was the uſual Form of breaking up all religious Aſſemblies in the *Greek* Church, as we have noted before in ſpeaking [*] of the Daily Morning Service out of this Author: And we are aſſured of it from St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*], who ſpeaking of the frequent Uſe of that ſhort Prayer of Salutation, *Peace be with you*, particularly takes notice of the Deacon's uſing it at the Diſmiſſion of the Aſſembly: The Deacon, ſays he, when he diſmiſſes you from this Meeting, does it with this Prayer, πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Go in Peace.* Whence we may learn, that they did not uſe it as an empty Form, but as a ſhort ſolemn Prayer, to ſend them away with a Benediction, or the Bleſſing of God upon them.

SECT. V. *What Account we have of theſe Prayers in other Writers.*

AS for the other Prayers uſed in this Part of the Service, we have no particular Account of them in other Writers. But they tell us in general, that ſuch Forms of Praiſe and Thankſgiving were always uſed after the Communion. St. *Auſtin* ſays [*c*], when all was ended, and every one had received the Communion, a ſolemn Thankſgiving concluded the whole Action. And ſo *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [*d*] bids his newly-baptized Communicant ſtay, when the Communion was done, to give Thanks to God, who had vouchſafed to make him a Partaker of ſo great Myſteries. St. *Chryſoſtom* has a long Invective [*e*] againſt thoſe who would not ſtay theſe laſt Prayers, but as ſoon as they had communicated themſelves, would be gone, and leave their Brethren to give Thanks alone: Whom he compares to *Judas*, who left the Apoſtles after Supper before the laſt Hymn was ſung; but all the other Apoſtles ſtaid to ſing the Hymn with their Lord, from whoſe Example the Church took up the Cuſtom of making theſe laſt Prayers after the Communion. It is an excellent Paſſage, and therefore I will tranſcribe it at length in his own Words: "Would you have me tell you "what is the Cauſe of Noiſe and Tumult in the "Church? It is becauſe we ſhut not the Doors "upon you all the Time of Divine Service, but "ſuffer you to draw off and go home before the "laſt Thankſgiving; which is a great Contempt "of God's Ordinance. What meaneſt thou, O "Man, in ſo doing? Chriſt is preſent, the An-"gels ſtand by him, the tremendous Table is "ſpread, thy Brethren are yet communicating, "and doſt thou deſert them and fly off? If thou "art called to a common Entertainment, thou "doſt not preſume, whilſt the reſt are ſitting, "to depart before thy Friends, though thou haſt "filled thyſelf before them: And doſt thou here "leave all and depart, whilſt the Holy Myſteries "of Chriſt are celebrating, and the ſacred Of-"fices performing? What Pardon can be ex-"pected, what Apology can be made for this? "Shall I tell you plainly, whoſe Work they are "a doing, who thus depart before all is finiſhed, "and wait not for the Euchariſtical Hymns at "the End of the Supper? It may perhaps ſeem "an hard and odious Saying, but it is neceſſary "to be ſaid, to reprove the Negligence of ma-"ny. When *Judas* communicated at the laſt "Supper in that laſt Night, whilſt all the "reſt were ſitting at Table, he ſtole off and "went out: And they imitate him, who go "away before the laſt Thankſgiving. For if he "had not gone out, he had not been made the "Traytor; if he had not deſerted his Fellow-"Diſciples, he had not periſhed; if he had not "broken away from the Flock, the Wolf had "not found him alone; if he had not ſeparated "himſelf from the Shepherd, he had not been a "Prey to the wild Beaſt. Upon this Account "we find him among the *Jews*, but the reſt ſtay "to ſing an Hymn, and go forth with their "Lord. Do you not now ſee, that the laſt "Prayers after the Sacrifice take their Riſe from "that Example?" Thus far St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſeems to intimate, that they had not only Prayers, but alſo Pſalms and Hymns of Thankſgiving, in Imitation of our Saviour's ſinging an Hymn after his laſt Supper with his Diſciples. And it is very probable, from what St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us in another Place, that the Church had ſuch an Affection for *David*'s *Pſalms*, that ſhe uſed and interſperſed them in all her Offices. *Primus & medius & noviſſimus eſt David* [*f*], *David* was in the Beginning, and Middle, and End of her Ser-

[*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x. *n.* 8.

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 713.

[*c*] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Quæſt. 5. Quibus peractis, & participato tanto Sacramento, Gratiarum actio cuncta concludit.

[*d*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 19.

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 34. de Bapt. Chriſti. T. 1. p. 317. It. Hom. 82. al. 83. in Mat. n. 700.

[*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. de Pœnitentia, in Edit. Latinis.

vices. 'Tis true, the Author of the *Conſtitutions* takes no notice of *Pſalms* or Hymns in the forementioned Place: But in another Place [*g*], where he has alſo a Prayer μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν, after Participation, beſides the Thankſgiving, there is order to ſing *Maranatha*, that is, *The Kingdom of God*, or *the Lord cometh:* And alſo, *Hoſanna to the Son of* David. *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Bleſſed be the Lord our God, who was manifeſted to us in the Fleſh.* Which ſeems to imply, that there were different Uſages in different Churches, and that this Author made his Collections vary ſometimes from themſelves, by interpoſing the Rites of different Churches. In the old *Gothick Miſſal* publiſhed by *Mabillon*, there is nothing appointed after the Communion but only two Prayers, the one called *Poſt-Communionem*; and the other *Collectio*, the Collect or concluding Prayer. And it is much after the ſame manner in the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, of which *Mabillon* gives a Specimen or two in his *Appendix*. But in the *Greek Liturgies*, as that under the Name of St. *James* [*h*], beſides the Prayers, there are ſeveral ſhort Hymns and Praiſes collected out of the *Pſalms* and other Scriptures appointed to be ſaid after the Communion: As that of the lvii *Pſalm*, *Set up Thyſelf, O God, above the Heavens, and thy Glory above all the Earth.* And, *Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore.* And, *Bleſſed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Save Thy People, O God, and bleſs Thine Heritage.* And, *O let our Mouth be filled with Thy Praiſe, that we may ſing of Thy Glory and Honour all the Day long*, Pſal. lxxi. 7. So in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s *Liturgy* [*i*], the People are appointed to ſing thoſe Words of the cxiii *Pſalm*, *Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore.* And the whole xxxiv *Pſalm*, *I will always give Thanks unto the Lord, his Praiſe ſhall ever be in my Mouth.*

SECT. VI.

The Thankſgivings always made in the Plural Number by the whole Body of the Church.

AND it is obſervable, That in all the antient Forms, the Thankſgiving Prayers are always in the Plural Number, repreſenting the whole Body of the Communicants as returning their Praiſes to God for the Mercies they had received. For then there were no private nor ſolitary *Maſſes*, where the Prieſt ſays the Office alone by himſelf without any Hearers, or communicates alone without any Partakers; but they all aſſiſted and communicated together: And ſo long it was very rational and proper to return a general Thankſgiving for the Benefits of the Communion which they had all received. But ſince private and ſolitary *Maſſes* came in, all theſe Forms are very improper and abſurd, to tell God, they have all received the Sacrament, and bleſs him for it, when none has received it but one, and ſometimes none has ſo much as heard the Office, but the Prieſt alone that repeats it. Yet theſe Offices now ſtand in the *Roman Maſs*, to the eternal Reproach of thoſe that abuſe them. For they ſtill ſay, *Quod ore ſumpſimus*, &c. *That which we* [*k*] *have received with our Mouths, O Lord, grant that we may receive with a pure Mind; and of a temporal Gift, make it unto us an eternal Remedy.* And there are many other Prayers in the ſame Tenour; all which ſuppoſe many to have communicated, when yet no one has received but the Prieſt alone. *Bona* [*l*] confeſſes this is not according to the Primitive Cuſtom. For thoſe Prayers were inſtituted at firſt for Communicants, when all or a great Part of the Church communicated together; for otherwiſe the very Name of Communion would here be improperly uſed, if more than one did not partake of the Sacrifice. And all he has to ſay for their retaining thoſe Prayers in the *Maſs*, when the uſe of them by private *Maſs* is become ſo improper, is only this: That though the antient Cuſtom of many Communicating together be left off, yet no Change is made in the Prayers; but they are retained ſtill, to ſhew us what was done antiently, and to excite us by the very Tenour of the Prayers to return to the Primitive Fervour. How happy would it be, if the *Roman* Church would in all Things obſerve this Rule, and return to the laudable Practice and Simplicity of the antient Church; reforming her Offices by the Primitive Standard, and caſting away all thoſe Corruptions, which appear from the whole Series of this Hiſtory to be manifeſt Innovations, either privately crept in by Connivance and Negligence in Times of Ignorance, or elſe forcibly impoſed by Tyranny and Power, contrary to the Uſages of the antient Church, and many times to the very Deſign of Divine Service, and the natural Intent of holy Inſtitutions! As it is plain in the caſe of having Divine Service in an unknown Tongue, and worſhipping Saints and Angels, and Images and Croſſes with divine Worſhip, and dividing the Sacrament, and miniſtring it only in one Kind, and many other Things of the like Nature; which as they contradict the very End of the divine Ordinances, and the natural Deſign of God's Inſtitutions; ſo they run counter to the whole Practice of the antient Church, as any one may ſee by conſidering the Allegations produced in theſe Collections, in which I have endeavoured to point out as well the Riſe of Errors, and the Original of Corruptions in latter Ages, as the true antient Practice of the Primitive Church in all the ſeveral Parts of Divine Service relating to the ordinary Worſhip of God.

And here I ſhould have put an End to this Account, but that there are a few Queſtions more that may be asked concerning ſome Appendages and Circumſtances of the Communion, which it will be proper to anſwer in this Place. As 1. How they were uſed to diſpoſe of the Remains of the *Euchariſt* after Communicating? 2. What

[*g*] Conſtit. lib. 7. cap. 26. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 1. p. 21.

[*h*] Liturg. Jacob. Bibl.

[*i*] Chryſ. Litur. T. 4. p. 621.

[*k*] Miſſal. Roman. p. 24. de Ritu celebrandi Miſſam, & in Canone Miſſæ. p. 306.

[*l*] Bona Rerum Liturgic. lib. 2. cap. 20. n. 1.

was their Uſage and Practice in regard to their *Agape* or Feaſt of Charity, ſo famous in antient Hiſtory? 3. What Preparation they required as neceſſary to Communicants, to qualify them for a worthy Reception? 4. What Time they adminiſtred the Lord's Supper, and how often they exhorted or obliged all Perſons to receive it? I will give as ſhort an Anſwer as I can to theſe Queſtions, and therewith put an End to this Diſcourſe.

CHAP. VII.

How the Remains of the Euchariſt *were diſpoſed of. And of their common Entertainment called* Agape, *or Feaſt of Charity.*

SECT. I. *Some Part of the* Euchariſt *antiently reſerved for particular Uſes.*

WE have obſerved before in ſeveral Places of this Book, that ſome Part of the *Euchariſt* was commonly reſerved for ſeveral particular Uſes, to be ſent to the Abſent, and communicate the Sick, and to teſtify the Communion of diſtant Churches one with another. And this was one Way of diſpoſing of the Remains of the conſecrated Elements when the Communion was ended: To which, I conceive, the Author of the *Conſtitutions* had regard when he orders the Deacon [a] to carry what remained into the *Paſtophoria* or Veſtry, which was the Repoſitory for all Holy Things belonging to the Church.

SECT. II. *The reſt divided among the Communicants.*

IF any Thing remained over and above what was neceſſary for theſe Uſes, then by other Rules it was to be divided among the Communicants. As appears from the Canons of *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, one of which is to this Purpoſe [b]: Let the Clergy and the Faithful, that is, the Communicants, divide among themſelves the Oblations of the *Euchariſt*, after all have participated, and let not a Catechumen eat or drink of them.

SECT. III. *This Diviſion of the conſecrated Elements a diſtinct Thing from the Diviſion of the other Oblations.*

SOME learned Perſons [c] confound this Diviſion or Conſumption of the conſecrated Elements with that other Diviſion of the Oblations among the Clergy, and alledge the Author of the *Conſtitutions* for it, as if he intended this when he ſays, [d] Let the Deacons divide what remains of the myſtical *Eulogiæ*, by the Orders of the Biſhop or Presbyters, among the Clergy; to the Biſhop four Parts, to the Preſbyter three Parts, to the Deacon two Parts, to the reſt of the Clergy, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Deaconeſſes, one Part. For this is acceptable to God, that every one ſhould be honoured according to his Dignity. It is plain, he ſpeaks not here of the conſecrated Elements, but of the Diviſion of the Peoples Oblations among the Clergy, as *Cotelerius* rightly expounds it. For this was one Way of maintaining the Clergy in thoſe Days, as has been more fully ſhewn [*] in another Place. And though he calls theſe by the Name of the myſtical *Eulogiæ*, yet that does not determine it to the conſecrated Elements: For, as has been noted before, *Eulogiæ* is a common Name that ſignifies both. And *Socrates* [e] takes it for the Oblations in this very Caſe, when ſpeaking of *Chryſanthus* the *Novatian* Biſhop, he ſays, he never received any Thing of the Church ſave two Loaves of the *Eulogiæ* on the Lord's Day. Where he certainly means not two Loaves of the *Euchariſt*, but of the other Oblations of the People, which it was cuſtomary for the Clergy to have their proportioned Shares in.

SECT. IV. *The Remains of the* Euchariſt *ſometimes given to innocent Children.*

SOMETIMES what remained of the *Euchariſt* was diſtributed among the innocent Children of the Church. For, as I have briefly hinted before, whilſt the Communion of Infants continued in the Church, nothing was more uſual in many Places than both to give Children the Communion at the Time of Conſecration, and alſo to reſerve what remained unconſumed, for them to partake of ſome Day in the Week following. Thus it was appointed by the ſecond Council of *Maſcon* [f] in *France*, *An.* 588. That if any Remains of the Sacrifice, after the Service was ended, were laid up in the Veſtry, he who had the Care of them ſhould on *Wedneſday* or *Friday* bring the Innocents to Church faſting, and then ſprinkling the Remains with Wine, make them all partake of them. And *Evagrius* [g] ſays it was the Cuſtom of old at *Conſtantinople* to do the ſame: For when they had much Remains of the Body of Chriſt left, they were uſed to call in the Children that went to School, and diſtribute them among them. And he tells this remarkable Story upon it, That the Son of a certain *Jew* happening one Day to be among them, and acquainting his Father what he had done, his Father was ſo inraged at the Thing, that he caſt him into his burning Furnace, where he was uſed to make Glaſs. But

[a] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 13. [b] Theoph. can. 8.
[c] Leſtrange, *Allyance of Div. Offic. Chap.* 7. *p.* 213.
[d] Conſtit. lib. 8. cap. 31. [*] *Book* V. *Chap.* iv. *n.* 1.
[e] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 12. [f] Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 6. Quæcunque reliquiæ ſacrificiorum poſt peractam Miſſam in Sacrario ſuperſederint, quarta vel ſexta feria Innocentes ab illo, cujus intereſt, ad Eccleſiam adducantur, & indicto eis Jejunio, eaſdem reliquias conſperſas vino percipiant. [g] Evagr. lib. 4. cap. 36.

the Boy was preſerved untouched for ſome Days, till his Mother found him: And the Matter being related to *Juſtinian* the Emperor, he ordered the Mother and the Child to be baptized; and the Father, becauſe he refuſed to become a Chriſtian, to be crucified as a Murderer of his Son. The ſame Thing is related by *Gregory* of *Tours* [*h*], and *Nicephorus Calliſtus* [*i*], who alſo adds, that the Cuſtom continued at *Conſtantinople* to his own time, that is, the Middle of the fourteenth Century; for he ſays, when he was a Child, he was often called to partake of the Remains of the Sacrament after this Manner among other Children.

SECT. V. *And ſometimes burnt in the Fire.*

IN ſome Places they obſerved the Rule given by God for diſpoſing of the Remainders of the Sacrifices of Peace-Offerings and Vows under the old Law, which was to burn them with Fire. *Lev.* vii. 17. This was the Cuſtom of the Church of *Jeruſalem* in the fifth Century, when *Heſychius* a Presbyter of that Church wrote his *Comment* upon *Leviticus*, where he ſpeaks of it [*k*] in theſe Words: God commanded the Remainder of the Fleſh and the Bread to be burned with Fire. And we now ſee with our own Eyes the ſame Thing done in the Church: Whatever happens to remain of the *Euchariſt* unconſumed, we immediately burn with Fire, and that not after one, two, or many Days. From hence our learned Writers [*l*] generally obſerve two Things: 1. That it was not the Cuſtom of the Church of *Jeruſalem* to reſerve the *Euchariſt* ſo much as from one Day to another, though they did in ſome other Churches. 2. That they certainly did not believe it to be the natural Body and Subſtance of Chriſt, but only his typical or ſymbolical Body: For what an horrible and ſacrilegious Thing muſt the very *Jews* and Heathens have thought it for Chriſtians to burn the living and glorified Body of their God? And how muſt it have ſcandalized ſimple and plain Chriſtians themſelves, to have ſeen the God they worſhipped burnt in the Fire? And with what Face could they have objected this to the Heathen, that they worſhipped ſuch Things as might be burnt (which is the common Argument uſed by *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Athanaſius*, and moſt others) if they themſelves had done the ſame Thing? If there were no other Argument againſt *Tranſubſtantiation* and Hoſt-worſhip, this one Thing were enough to perſuade any Rational Man, that ſuch Doctrines and Practices were never countenanced by the antient Church.

SECT. VI. *The other Oblations partly diſpoſed of in a Feaſt of Charity. Which all the Ancients reckon an Apoſtolical Rite accompanying the Communion.*

WE have ſeen how they diſpoſed of the conſecrated Elements; and are next to examine what they did with their other Oblations. It has been already obſerved, that ſome Part of theſe (by what Diſtinction made, is not very eaſy to tell) went toward the Maintenance of the Clergy. Out of the reſt a common Entertainment was uſually made, which from the Nature and Circumſtances of it was uſually called *Agape*, or Feaſt [*m*] of Charity; becauſe it was a liberal Collation of the Rich to feed the Poor. St. *Chryſoſtom* gives this Account of it, deriving it from Apoſtolical Practice: He ſays [*n*], the firſt Chriſtians had all Things in common, as we read in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; and when that ceaſed, as it did in the Apoſtles Time, this came in its Room, as an Efflux or Imitation of it. For though the Rich did not make all their Subſtance common, yet upon certain Days appointed they made a common Table, and when their Service was ended, and they had all communicated in the Holy Myſteries, they all met at a common Feaſt; the Rich bringing Proviſions; and the Poor and thoſe who had nothing, being invited, they all feaſted in common together. In another Place [*o*] he repeats the ſame Thing, ſaying, from this Law and Cuſtom (of having all Things common) there aroſe then another admirable Cuſtom in the Churches. For when all the Faithful met together, and had heard the Sermon and Prayers, and received the Communion, they did not immediately return home upon the breaking up of the Aſſembly, but the Rich and Wealthy brought Meat and Food from their own Houſes, and called the Poor, and made a common Table, a common Dinner, a common Banquet in the Church. And ſo from this Fellowſhip in eating, and the Reverence of the Place, they were all ſtrictly united in Charity one with another, and much Pleaſure and Profit aroſe thence to them all: For the Poor were comforted, and the Rich reaped the Fruits of their Benevolence both from thoſe whom they fed and from God. The ſame Account is given by the Author under the Name of St. *Jerom* [*p*], who ſays, when they met in the Church, they made their Oblations ſeparately, and after the Communion whatever remained of thoſe Sacrifices, they eat and conſumed in a common Supper together. The like is ſaid by *Theodoret* [*q*], *OEcumenius*, *Theophylact*, and others upon that Place of the Apoſtle. From whence it appears that this was a Rite always accompa-

[*b*] Gregor. Turon. de Glor. Martyr. lib. 1. cap. 10. [*i*] Niceph. lib. 17. cap. 25. [*k*] Heſych. in Levit. lib. 2. Quod reliquum eſt de carnibus & panibus, in igne incendi præcepit. Quod nunc videmus etiam ſenſibiliter in Eccleſia fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconſumta, non omnino ea quæ una die, vel duabus aut multis ſervata ſunt. [*l*] Vid. Du Moulin, *Novelty of Popery*, lib. 7. Controv. 11. chap. 19. Albertin. de Euchar. p. 853. Whitby, *Idolatry of Hoſt Worſhip*. [*m*] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. Ep. Interpol. *calls it* Δοχὴν. Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 28. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 165. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 559. [*o*] Id. Hom. 21. Oportet Hæreſes eſſe, &c. T. 5. p. 310. [*p*] Hieron. in 1 Cor. 11. 20. In Eccleſia convenientes Oblationes ſuas ſeparatim offerebant, & poſt Communionem quæcunque eis de Sacrificiis Superfuiſſent, illic in Eccleſia communem cœnam comedentes pariter conſumebant. [*q*] Theod. in 1 Cor. 11. 16. μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν λειτουργίαν ἑστιᾶσθαι. &c. OEcumen. in 1 Cor. 11. T. 1. p. 529. Theophylact. in 1 Cor. 11. 17.

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nying the Communion. And it is a ſingular Opinion of *Albaſpinæus*, when he aſſerts [r] that theſe *Agapæ* and the Communion were never celebrated at the ſame time, which he maintains without any Foundation againſt the concurrent Senſe both of antient and modern Writers.

SECT. VII. *Whether this Feaſt was before or after the Communion in the Apoſtles Days.*

THERE is ſome Difference indeed between the antient and modern Interpreters concerning one Circumſtance of the Love-Feaſts in Point of Time, as practiſed in the Apoſtles Days. The Ancients, as we have heard already out of St. *Chryſoſtom* and the reſt, generally ſay, theſe Feaſts were not till after the Communion, when the whole Ceremony of Preaching, Praying, and participating of the ſacred Elements was over, and the Remainders of the Oblations were to be diſpoſed of. But many of the Moderns think otherwiſe: Dr. *Cave* [s] ſays 'tis probable that in the Apoſtles Time, and the Age after them, this Feaſt was before the Communion, in Imitation of our Saviour's Inſtitution, who celebrated the Sacrament after Supper; and St. *Paul* taxing the Abuſes of the Church of *Corinth*, reproves them that when they came together for the Lord's Supper, they did not tarry one for another, but every one took his own Supper, and one was hungry, and another was drunken. All this, he ſays, muſt needs be done before the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, which was never adminiſtred till the whole Church met together. In this Opinion he has the Concurrence of *Suicerus* [t], and *Daillé* [u], and *Eſtius* [x], who ſays that *Pelagius*, *Primaſius*, *Haimo*, *Hervæus*, *Aquinas*, *Lyra*, *Cajetan*, and others of the *Latins* were of the ſame Opinion. That which ſeems moſt probable is, that they obſerved no certain Rule about this Matter, but had their Feaſt ſometimes before, ſometimes after the Communion, as it appears to have been in ſome meaſure in the following Ages.

SECT. VIII. *How obſerved in the following Ages. The* Euchariſt *commonly received faſting, and before this Feaſt, except upon ſome particular Occaſions.*

FOR when the Chriſtians in Time of Perſecution were obliged to meet early in the Morning before Day to celebrate the *Euchariſt* in their religious Aſſemblies, then their Feaſting before Communion could not well comport with the Circumſtances and Occaſion of their Meeting. And therefore in the Beginning of the ſecond Century we find the *Euchariſt* was received before, and the Feaſt poſt-poned. For ſo *Pliny* [y] repreſents it in the Account which he had from the Chriſtians in the Entrance of this Century: For having ſaid, that they met on the *Lord's Day* to ſing Hymns to Chriſt, they bind themſelves by a Sacrament, 'tis added, When this is done, our Cuſtom is to depart, and meet again to partake of an Entertainment, but that a very innocent one, and common to all. 'Tis plain here the Communion was firſt, and the *Agape* ſome time after. And ſo *Tertullian*, who gives the moſt particular Account of it, ſpeaks of it as a Supper a little before Night: Our Supper, which you accuſe of Luxury, ſhews its Reaſon in its very Name: For it is called ἀγάπη, which ſignifies Love among the *Greeks*. Whatever Charge we are at, it is Gain to be at Expence upon the account of Piety. For we therewith relieve and refreſh the Poor. There is nothing vile or immodeſt committed in it. For we do not ſit down before we have firſt offered up Prayer to God; we eat only to ſatisfy Hunger; and drink [z] only ſo much as becomes modeſt Perſons. We fill ourſelves in ſuch manner, as that we remember ſtill that we are to worſhip God by Night. We diſcourſe as in the Preſence of God, knowing that He hears us. Then after Water to waſh our Hands, and Lights brought in, every one is moved to ſing ſome Hymn to God, either out of Scripture, or as he is able, of his own Compoſing: And by this we judge whether he has obſerved the Rules of Temperance in Drinking. Prayer again concludes our Feaſt; and thence we depart, not to fight and quarrel, not to run about and abuſe all we meet, not to give ourſelves up to laſcivious Paſtime; but to purſue the ſame Care of Modeſty and Chaſtity, as Men that have fed at a Supper of Philoſophy and Diſcipline, rather than a corporeal Feaſt. As this is a fine Deſcription of theſe holy Banquets, where Charity is the Foundation, and Prayer begins and ends the Feaſt, and ſinging of Hymns and religious Diſcourſes ſeaſon the Entertainment, and Modeſty and Temperance runs through the whole: So the particular mention made of Lights, and Worſhipping God by Night, ſhews that they came after the Communion, and not before, in *Tertullian*'s Time; when they were uſed to receive the Communion in the Morning, and always Faſting, even upon thoſe Days when they deferred it till three in the Afternoon, as upon the Stationary Days, or till ſix at Night. For it was a Rule in the *African* Church to receive the *Euchariſt* faſting at all Times, except one Day, which was the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter*, commonly called *Cœna Domini*, becauſe it was the Day on which our Saviour celebrated his laſt Supper, and inſtituted the *Euchariſt* after Supper: In Imitation of which, it was the Cuſtom to celebrate the *Euchariſt* after Supper on this Day, in the *African* Churches, but on no other Day whatſoever, as we learn from the third Council of *Carthage* and St. *Au-*

[r] Albaſp. Obſervat. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 57. [s] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Par. 1. c. 11. p. 344. [t] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce Ἀγάπη. [u] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. 2. cap. 19. [x] Eſtius in 1 Cor. 11. 20. [y] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. Quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedere, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibam, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium. [z] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Ita ſaturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum ſibi eſſe; ita fabulantur, ut qui ſciunt Dominum audire. Poſt aquam manualem & lumina, ut quiſque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio poteſt, provocatur in medium Deo canere, &c.

ſtin. The Council of *Carthage* had an expreſs Canon [*a*] to this purpoſe: That the Sacrament of the Altar be never celebrated by any but ſuch as are Faſting, except on one Anniverſary Day, when the Supper of the Lord is ſolemnized. And purſuant to this they order, That if any Commendation of the Dead was to be made in the Afternoon, it ſhould only be done with Prayers, and not with the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, if they that aſſiſted at the Funeral-Office had dined before. St. *Auſtin* was a Member of this Council, and he aſſures us, that this Decree was conformable to the Practice of the Univerſal Church in his Age, which he thought to be derived from the Appointment of the Apoſtles. For though it be very apparent, that when the Diſciples firſt received the Body and Blood of the Lord, they did not receive Faſting; yet does any one now accuſe the Univerſal Church [*b*], becauſe all Men receive Faſting? For ſo it pleaſed the Holy Ghoſt, that for the Honour of ſo great a Sacrament the Lord's Body ſhould enter into the Mouth of a Chriſtian before any other Food. And therefore this Cuſtom is obſerved by the whole World. For neither becauſe the Lord gave it after Meat, ought the Brethren to meet after Dinner or Supper to receive it, or to imitate thoſe whom the Apoſtle reproves and corrects, who mingled it with their Tables. Our Saviour, to commend the Greatneſs of this Myſtery, was minded indeed to fix it in the Hearts and Memory of his Diſciples as the laſt Thing, before He went from them to his Paſſion: But He did not therefore order in what Manner it ſhould be received, that he might reſerve this for his Apoſtles to do, by whom he intended to order his Church. For if he had appointed, that Men ſhould receive it after Meat, I ſuppoſe no one would have altered that Cuſtom. But when the Apoſtle ſpeaking of this Sacrament, ſays, *The reſt will I ſet in order when I come*, 1 Cor. xi. 34. we are given to underſtand, that he then appointed this Cuſtom of Receiving faſting, which now the whole Church over all the World obſerves without any Variation or Diverſity. But adds, that ſome upon a probable Reaſon were delighted to offer and receive the Body of the Lord after Meat on one certain Day in the Year, when the Lord himſelf gave his Supper, to make the Commemoration of it more remarkable. And becauſe ſome on that Day choſe to faſt, and others not, therefore in many Places it was cuſtomary to offer the Sacrifice twice, to ſerve the Ends of both. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo frequently ſpeaks of their receiving the Communion Faſting [*c*]. Thou faſteſt, ſays he, before thou receiveſt the *Euchariſt*, that thou mayſt be worthy. And in one or two Places he vindicates himſelf from an Objection which his Adverſaries brought againſt him, as if he was uſed to tranſgreſs this Rule both in adminiſtring Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt*. They ſay, I gave [*d*] the Communion to ſome after eating. If I have done this, let my Name be wiped out of the Catalogue of Biſhops, and not be written in the Book of the *Orthodox Faith*. If I have done any ſuch thing, let Chriſt caſt me out of his Kingdom. But if they ſtill go on to object this, let them alſo degrade St. *Paul*, who baptized a whole Houſe after Supper. Let them alſo depoſe the Lord himſelf, who gave the Communion to his Apoſtles after Supper. So again [*e*], they object againſt me, Thou didſt firſt eat, and then adminiſter Baptiſm. If I did ſo, let me be *Anathema*; Let me not be numbered in the Roll of Biſhops; Let me not be among the Angels; Let me never pleaſe God. But if I had done ſo, what Abſurdity had I committed? Let them depoſe *Paul*, who baptized the Jaylor after Supper. Yea, I will ſay a bolder Thing, Let them depoſe Chriſt himſelf, for he gave the Communion to his Diſciples after Supper. This ſhews the Cuſtom of the Church was to adminiſter both Sacraments before eating, though at the ſame time it intimates, that to do otherwiſe was not an unpardonable Crime. *Gregory Nazianzen* hints alſo at this Cuſtom [*f*], when he ſays, Every Action of Chriſt is not neceſſary to be imitated by us: For he celebrated the Myſtery of the *Paſſover* with his Diſciples in an Upper Room and after Supper, but we do it in the Church, and before Supper. The like is ſaid by St. *Baſil* [*g*] and many other of the *Greek* Writers. And among the *Latins* there are ſeveral Canons of the Councils of *Braga* [*h*], *Maſcon* [*i*], *Auxerre* [*k*], and *Toledo* [*l*] to this purpoſe. Some of which allow the *African* Cuſtom of Communicating after eating on the *Thurſday* in *Paſſion Week*, but others upon the account of the *Priſcillianiſts* forbid it. And therefore *Socrates* notes it [*m*] as a ſingular Thing in the Churches of *Egypt* and *Thebais*, that on *Saturdays* they were uſed to adminiſter the *Euchariſt* after eating in the Evening. Which is prohibited by the Council of *Trullo* [*n*], not excepting the *Thurſday* in *Paſſion Week*, which though the *African* Fathers for probable Reaſons might allow, yet they utterly forbid it. By all which it appears, that the general Cuſtom of the Church was to celebrate the *Euchariſt* Faſting: And conſequently that theſe Love-Feaſts we are ſpeaking of, muſt be held after the Communion, and not before it. Yet it is but a ſorry Argument in *Mabillon* to conclude hence [*o*] that the Ancients muſt needs believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, becauſe they received

[*a*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 29. Ut Sacramenta altaris non niſi à jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die Anniverſario, quo Cœna Domini celebratur. Nam ſi aliquorum pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, ſive Epiſcoporum ſive cæterorum, Commendatio facienda eſt, ſolis Orationibus fiat, ſi illi qui faciunt, jam pranſi inveniantur. [*b*] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. 6. Liquido apparet, quando primum acceperunt Diſcipuli corpus & ſanguinem Domini, eos non accepiſſe jejunos. Nunquid tamen propterea calumniandum eſt univerſæ Eccleſiæ quod à jejunis ſemper accipitur? Et hoc enim placuit Spiritui ſancto, ut in honorem tanti Sacramenti, in os Chriſtiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam cæteri cibi. Nam ideo per univerſum orbem mos iſte ſervatur, &c. [*c*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 567. [*d*] Chryſ. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum. T. 4. p. 868. [*e*] Sermo ante quam iret in Exilium. T. 4. p. 969. [*f*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Baptiſmo. [*g*] Baſil. Hom. 1. de jejunio. [*h*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 16. Bracar. 2. can. 10. [*i*] Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 6. [*k*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 9. [*l*] Conc. Tolet. 7. can. 2. [*m*] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [*n*] Conc. Trull. can. 29. [*o*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallicana, lib. 1. cap. 6. n. 7.

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the Communion Faſting. For he might as reaſonably have concluded from *Chryſoſtom*, that the Water in Baptiſm was tranſubſtantiated, becauſe we have heard him ſay before, that they always adminiſtred Baptiſm Faſting. And ſome learned Men [p] are of Opinion, that for the three firſt Ages, though they generally received the *Euchariſt* Faſting in the Aſſemblies before Day, yet ſometimes they received after Supper. For *Cyprian* diſputing againſt the *Aquarians*, who celebrated in the Morning in Water only, and in the Evening in Wine and Water mixed together, does not contend with them about celebrating after Supper, but only becauſe they did not at both Times mix Wine with Water after Chriſt's Example. He would not ſo eaſily have paſſed over the Practice of the *Aquarians* in celebrating in the Evening, had there been no Inſtances of the like Practice in the Church: But as it was cuſtomary in *Egypt* to celebrate the *Euchariſt* on *Saturdays* after Dinner, and in *Africk* one Day in a Year after Supper; all he pleads for upon this Point, is only this [q], That the general Cuſtom of the Church to celebrate the *Euchariſt* in the Morning only, was not againſt the Rule of Chriſt, though he gave it in the Evening after Supper: Becauſe Chriſt had a particular Reaſon for what he did, which he did not intend ſhould oblige the Church: Chriſt offered in the Evening, to ſignify the Evening or End of the World; but we offer in the Morning, to celebrate our Saviour's Reſurrection. And he gives another Reaſon why they did not celebrate in the Evening generally as in the Morning, becauſe the People could not ſo well all come together in the Evening as in the Morning. By which it is plain, in *Cyprian*'s Time there was no abſolute Rule to forbid Communicating after Supper, though the Practice began generally to be diſuſed, and the common Cuſtom was to receive Faſting and at Morning Service.

SECT. IX.

Theſe Love-Feaſts at firſt held in the Church: But afterward forbidden by Orders of Councils.

THERE is one Thing more to be obſerved of their Love Feaſts, That as they were deſigned for the Promotion of Unity and Charity, they were commonly held in the Church for the three firſt Centuries, as learned Men [r] conclude from that Canon of the Council of *Gangra* [s], which was made againſt the *Euſtathians*, If any one deſpiſes the Feaſts of Charity which the Faithful make, who for the Honour of the Lord call their Brethren to them, and comes not to the Invitation, becauſe he contemns them, let him be *Anathema*. Theſe *Euſtathians* were Men who held their Meetings in private Houſes, and deſpiſed the Church; which is the Reaſon of this Canon made againſt them. However ſuch Abuſes were ſometimes committed in theſe Feaſts, that the Council of *Laodicea* not long after made a Law againſt having them in the Church [t], forbidding any to eat or ſpread Tables in the Houſe of God or the Church. And a like Decree was made in the third Council of *Carthage* [u], forbidding the Clergy to feaſt in the Church, unleſs it were by chance in a Journey for want of other Entertainment: And Orders are given to reſtrain the People as much as might be from ſuch Feaſting in the Church. But the Cuſtom was too inveterate to be rooted out at once; And therefore we find by St. *Auſtin*'s [x] Anſwer to *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, that they were ſtill kept in the Church: For whereas *Fauſtus* objected two Things againſt them: 1. That they were but the Spawn of the Gentile Banquets turned into Chriſtian Feaſts: 2. That the *Catholicks* were uſed to make themſelves drunk at them in the Memorials of the Martyrs: St. *Auſtin* rejects the firſt Charge as a mere Calumny, telling him, That the End of their *Agape* was only to feed the Poor with Fleſh, or the Fruits of the Earth: But the ſecond Charge he owns in Part as true, that the People ſtill held theſe Feaſts in the Church, and that ſome Exceſs was committed in them: But then, ſays he, there is a great deal of Difference between Tolerating and Approving: We do not approve of Drunkenneſs even in a private Houſe, much leſs in a Church: It is one Thing which we are commanded to teach, and another what we are forced to tolerate and endure, till we can correct and amend it. St. *Auſtin* [y] ſays all kind of Feaſting in the Church was prohibited by St. *Ambroſe* at *Milan* with good Succeſs: And it was he himſelf that gave the Advice to *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* to make the foreſaid Canon againſt it [z], in hopes to extirpate it, after the Example of St. *Ambroſe*. In *France* it was prohibited by the ſecond Council of *Orleance* [a] *an.* 541. Yet for all this, there were ſome Remains of it in the ſeventh Century, when the Council of *Trullo* [b] was obliged to reinforce the Canon of *Laodicea* againſt Feaſting in the Church under

[p] Vid. Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 297. Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 63. p 156. [q] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcilium. p. 156. *The Objection of the* Aquarians: An illa ſibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etſi mane aqua ſola offerri videtur, tamen cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus? Cyprian's *Anſwer:* Sed cum cœnamus, ad convivium noſtrum plebem convocare non poſſumus, ut ſacramenti veritatem Fraternitate omni præſente celebremus. *The* Aquarians *Object:* At enim non mane, ſed poſt cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus. Cypr. *Anſwers:* Nunquid ergo Dominicum poſt cœnam celebrare debemus, ut ſit mixtum calicem frequentandis Dominicis offeramus? Chriſtum offerre oportebat circa veſperam diei, ut hora ipſa ſacrificii oſtenderet Occaſum & Veſperam mundi.— Nos autem reſurrectionem Domini mane celebramus. [r] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 74. Trull. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. t. 1. p. 27.

[s] Conc. Gangren. can. 11. [t] Conc. Laodic. can. 28. [u] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 30. Ut nulli Epiſcopi vel Clerici in Eccleſia conviventur, niſi forte tranſeuntes hoſpitiorum neceſſitate illic reficiant: Populi etiam ab hujuſmodi conviviis, quantum fieri poteſt, prohibeantur. [x] Aug. cont. Fauſt. lib. 20. cap. 20. Nec ſacrificia eorum vertimus in Agapes.—— Agapes enim noſtræ Pauperes paſcunt ſive frugibus, ſive carnibus, &c. It. cap. 21. Qui autem ſe in Memoriis Martyrum inebriant, quomodo à nobis approbari poſſunt, cum eos, etiamſi in domibus ſuis id faciant, ſana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud eſt quod docemus, aliud quod ſuſtinemus: aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, & donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur. [y] Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 6. cap. 2. [z] Aug. Ep. 64. ad Aurelium. [a] Conc. Aurel. 2. can. 12. [b] Conc. Trull. can. 74.

Pain

Pain of Excommunication. So difficult a Matter was it to extirpate the Abuſes of antient Cuſtom, without deſtroying the Cuſtom itſelf, which was innocent in its Original, and of ſo great Service to the Chriſtian Church, whilſt it continued free from Abuſes, that it was the Envy and Admiration of the Heathen.

SECT. X.

How the Chriſtians were at firſt abuſed and calumniated by ſome of the Heathen, but admired and envied by others, upon account of theſe Feaſts of Charity.

SOME indeed were maliciouſly diſpoſed to calumniate and traduce the Chriſtians upon the account of this innocent Cuſtom, as guilty of I know not what black Deſigns. *Origen* [c] ſays, *Celſus* charged them with holding clancular and ſeditious Cabals upon the ſcore of theſe *Agapes*, or Meetings to ſhew Kindneſs to one another. Which is alſo noted by *Tertullian* in that Chapter of his *Apology*, where he gives [d] us that fine Deſcription of the Chriſtian Feaſts, in anſwer to this Suggeſtion. Others charged theſe Feaſts with the Practice of abominable Uncleanneſs: In anſwer to which *Minucius* [e] tells them, their Feaſts were not only chaſte, but ſober; for they did not indulge either Gluttony or Drunkenneſs; but tempered their Mirth with Gravity; with chaſte Diſcourſe, and chaſter Bodies. Others added that monſtrous Fable of their Feeding upon human Fleſh, and Feaſting upon Infants Blood. Which is mentioned and refuted by all the Apologiſts, *Athenagoras* [f], *Theophilus* [g], *Tertullian* [h], *Minucius* [i], *Origen* [k], *Juſtin Martyr* [l] and many others, whom the Reader may find at large, collected by the learned *Kortholt* [m] in his Book *De Calumniis Paganorum*, &c. The Reaſon of this Charge is by many of the Ancients aſcribed to the vile Practices of the *Carpocratians* [n], and other Hereticks, at leaſt tacitly or indirectly, whilſt they accuſe them of this Crime which the Heathens turned upon the Chriſtians in general. And ſo it is ſaid upon their Authority by many modern [o] Authors. *OEcumenius* [p] aſcribes it to another Reaſon: He ſays, in the Perſecution of the Chriſtians at *Lyons* under *Antoninus*, the Heathens having apprehended ſome Servants of certain Chriſtian Catechumens, put them to the Rack to make them confeſs ſome Secret of the Chriſtians; and they having heard their Maſters ſay, that the Holy Communion was the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and ſuppoſing it to be truly Fleſh and Blood (ἀυτὸι νομίζονλες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶ) to gratify the Inquiſitors they told them what they had heard. And the Heathens underſtanding this, as if the Chriſtians had really (ἀυτόχρημα) eat Fleſh and Blood, put two of the Martyrs, *Sanctus* and *Blandina*, to the Rack to make them confeſs it; to whom *Blandina* ſmartly reply'd, How ſhould they indure to do this, who for Exerciſe ſake abſtain from ſuch Fleſh as they might lawfully eat? If this were true, it would prove that the Heathens grounded their Calumny upon a falſe Apprehenſion they had of the Chriſtian Sacrament: But it would by no means prove what *Perron* and many of the *Romaniſts* would have, that the Ground of the Fable was the real Belief of Chriſtians, as if they believed the *Euchariſt* to be the real proper Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt: For this is expreſly ſaid to be only a falſe Apprehenſion of the Heathens, and utterly deny'd by the Chriſtians, according as *OEcumenius* relates the Story. Which yet is ſomething different from the Genuine Acts in *Euſebius* [q], for there is no Mention made of the *Euchariſt* in the Story, but it is only ſaid, that when ſome of the Chriſtian's Servants, who were Heathens, were apprehended, they fearing to be tormented, did by the Motion of Satan, and the Inſtigation of the Soldiers prompting them to it, falſely accuſe the Chriſtians, as if they were uſed to feaſt upon Man's Fleſh, and commit Inceſt, and other the like Things, which it is not fit either to ſpeak or think, and which we can hardly believe were ever done by any Men whatſoever. So that the Chriſtians Belief about the *Euchariſt* could not be the Ground about this Story, but it either ſprung from the Practices of the *Carpocratians*, or elſe (as the learned *Kortholt* [r] not without ſome probable Reaſons inclines to believe) it took its Riſe from the pure Malice and Fiction of the Heathens themſelves, ſome of whom never ſtuck at ſaying any Thing that would render the Chriſtians odious. However though there were many who thus calumniated theſe Chriſtian Feaſts by this Variety of Charges, yet there were ſome alſo who could diſcern the good Effects of them, and the great Influence they had not only on their own Members, but the very Heathen, who ſometimes would cry out and ſay, See how theſe Chriſtians love one another, as *Tertullian* [s] notes in ſpeaking of their Collations and Charity. Nay, *Julian* himſelf, though the bittereſt Enemy the Chriſtians ever had, could not help bearing Teſtimony to the Uſefulneſs of this Practice, which he looked upon with an envious Eye, as that which he imagined chiefly to uphold the Chriſtian Religion, and undermine the Religion of the *Gentiles*. For thus in one of his Letters to his *Gentile* Prieſts he provokes them to the Exerciſe of Charity by the Example of the Chriſtians and their Feaſts of Charity: There is the more Reaſon to be careful in this Matter, ſays

[c] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 4. βέλεται διαβαλεῖν τὴν καλυμμένην ἀγάπην. &c. [d] Tertul. Apol. c. 39.
[e] Minuc. p. 92. De inceſto Convivio fabulam grandem adverſum nos Dæmonum coitio mentita eſt.——At nos Convivia non tantum pudica colimus, ſed & ſobria——caſto ſermone, corpore caſtiore. [f] Athenag. Legat. p. 4. [g] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 3. [h] Tertul. Apol. cap. 7. & 11.
[i] Minuc. Octav. [k] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 6.
[l] Juſt. Apol. 1. & 2. & Dial. cum Tryph. [m] Kortholt. de Calumn. Pagan. cap. 18. p. 158. &c. [n] Epiphan. Hær. 26. Gnoſtic. n. 5. Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 7. Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 27. [o] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. 2. cap. 28. Baron. an. 120. n. 22. & 179. n. 44. [p] OEcumen. in 1 Pet. 3. 16. [q] Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 156.
[r] Kortholt. *ubi ſupra*. p. 163. [s] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39.

he [t], because it is manifestly the Neglect of this Humanity in the Priests, which has given Occasion to the impious *Galilæans* (so he commonly styles the Christians) to strengthen their Party by the Practice of that Humanity, which the others have neglected. For as Kidnappers steal away Children, whom they first allure with a Cake: So these begin first to work upon honest-hearted *Gentiles*, with their Love-Feasts and Entertainments and ministring of Tables, as they call them, till at last they pervert them to Atheism and Impiety against the Gods. This is a full Vindication of them from all those Aspersions, which the former Heathens had cast upon them, and an ample Testimony of their Usefulness from the Mouth of an Adversary, who saw and envied the Progress which Christianity made in the World by means of these Feasts of Charity, which he was minded to introduce into his own way of Heathen-Worship, with many other such Rites, in Imitation of the Christian Institution. Happy had it been for the Christian Religion, if Christians had never had Occasion to object more against their own Feasts of Charity, than *Julian* their bittereſt Enemy could find to object against them! They might then have gone on with Innocence and Glory, and have continued an useful and laudable Rite to this Day.

CHAP. VIII.

What Preparation the Ancients required as necessary in Communicants, to qualify them for a Worthy Reception.

SECT. I.

A general Answer to this Question, by referring to the Professions made by every Christian in Baptism, of Repentance, Faith, and Holy Obedience.

I CANNOT better answer this Question in general Terms than by saying, The Preparation which they required as necessary in every Christian, was the Performance of the Conditions and Obligations, which every Man laid upon himself in Baptism; the Observation of which put a Man in a Christian State, and the Favour of God; and was a continual Preparation for Death and Judgment; and consequently a continual and habitual Preparation for Approaches to God in Prayer and Holy Mysteries (between which, as to what concerns Preparation, the Ancients made little or no Distinction) since it was a Preparation that qualified a Man for a constant daily or weekly Communion, which was proper for those who were to receive the Communion in a manner every day, according to the Rules and Practice of those Primitive Ages, as we shall see in the next Chapter. Now the Obligation which every Man laid upon himself in Baptism, as we have shewed in a former Book, was the Profession and actual Performance of these three things. 1. Repentance, or a Renunciation of all former Sin, together with the Author of it, the Devil. 2. Faith, or Belief of the several Articles of the Christian Institution or Mystery of Godliness. 3. An holy and constant Obedience paid to the Laws of this Holy Religion. In the Performance of which sincerely and without Dissimulation, every Man was supposed to be truly qualified for Baptism: And what qualified him for Baptism, also qualified him for the Communion; of which there is this certain Evidence, that as soon as any Man was baptized, he was immediately communicated: Which could not regularly have been done, but upon Presumption, that he that was duly qualified for Baptism, was qualified for the Communion also. So that he that continued in the strict Observance of all the Particulars of his Baptismal Covenant, was presumed to be in a constant habitual Preparation for the Communion every Day: And this was that happy State of a Christian Life, which qualified those Primitive Saints for such frequent Reception; when frequency of Communion kept up a flaming Piety and Universal Holiness in their Souls, and such a State of continual Holiness made them always fit for, and desirous of frequent Communion. For these mutually acted in a holy Combination, and reciprocally assisted each other: An habitual Holiness was a constant Preparation for the Communion; and frequent Communion was one of the best Helps to keep them in a continual Preparation for it. And to Men of this Character and Behaviour there could be no great Labour needful, besides the constant Tenour of a pious Life; nor any long Time necessary to prepare for the Lord's Table, when the whole Business of their Lives was but as it were one continued Act of Preparation for it. They lived as Men that always expected Death, yet uncertain of the Time, and therefore were in a continual Preparation for it, which is the best Preparation for the Communion. Their Loins were girded about, and their Lamps burning; and they themselves like unto Men that waited for their Lord, that when he came and knocked, they might open to him immediately. And to them belonged the Blessing of Christ, *Luke* xii. 37. *Blessed are those Servants, whom the Lord when he cometh, shall find watching:* It was true of them, if ever of any, that Christ came and found them watching: And he girded himself, and made them sit down to Meat, in the spiritual Feast, and came forth and served them.

[t] Julian. Fragment. Epist. p. 555.

SECT. II.
What Failings are consistent with this Profession, and a State of Grace, and a continual Preparation for the Communion.

BUT it may be said, there is no such Thing possible as constant Preparation for the Communion: For no Man lives without Sin to be repented of. *In many Things we offend all*: And, *If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us.* But notwithstanding this supposed Difficulty, the Fathers assure us there were antiently many that were in a continual Preparation for the Communion, and did actually communicate every Day. For those Sins which unqualify Men absolutely for the Communion, are not those lesser Sins of human Frailty and Infirmity, which are called Sins of daily Incursion, without which no Man lives; but habitual and reigning Sins, which Men indulge, or such single Acts of greater Sins, as are answerable to Habits of Sin, and require a more severe Repentance; such as Adultery, Murder, and the like, which wound the Conscience to an high degree, and are not ordinarily cured in an Instant, but by a longer Course of Discipline, exacting both greater Severities in Repentance, and a longer Time of Probation. But those Sins of human Frailty, which the best of Men daily commit in some Degree or other, are not of this Nature, but are such as are consistent with the Profession of a good Christian, and a State of Grace, and a continual Preparation for the Communion; and they do not exclude Men from God's Favour, so long as Men labour and strive against them, and mourn for them, as for Infirmities, in a general and daily Repentance, upon which God is willing to pardon them. If it were not so, there could be no such Thing as Preparation for the Communion at all: And it would not only destroy frequent and daily Communion, but Communion in general; since no Man lives without such Infirmities; and if he were not to communicate till he had perfectly cured them, he must for ever abstain from communicating, and never come at the Lord's Table: Which were at once to destroy the very Ordinance itself, by making the Qualification for it Impracticable, and rendring it Impossible for any Man to be perfectly and truly prepared for it. And it is to be feared that some in these later Ages, by overstraining the Point, have done this great disservice to Religion, by obliging Men to such a Preparation for the Communion as is impracticable in itself, and frighting tender Consciences from the Holy Ordinance under Pretence of greater Reverence to it. By which Means it has sometimes happened, that they who perhaps have been the best prepared to receive it, have by needless Scruples or Terrors been kept at the greatest Distance from it. But the Ancients were extreamly cautious of this Delusion, and carefully taught Men to distinguish between such Sins as lay waste the Conscience, and destroy a State of Grace, and unqualify Men for the Communion; and such Sins of Infirmity and Human Frailty, as are consistent with a State of Grace, and do not unqualify Men for constant Communion; being such as are done away by a general Repentance and daily Prayer for Pardon and Forgiveness. This Doctrine and Distinction of Sins is often inculcated by St. *Austin* and others. It will be sufficient to hear their Sense in St. *Austin*'s Words upon [a] the Article of Remission of Sins in the Creed: Where speaking to the Catechumens, he tells them, when they had received Baptism, they should be careful to preserve a good Life in the Commands of God, that they might keep their Baptism to the End. I do not say, that ye should live here without Sin: But there are some venial Sins, without which we cannot live in this Life. Baptism is appointed for all Sins great and small: But for lesser Sins, without which we cannot live, Prayer is appointed. What says the Prayer? *Forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* We are once cleansed by Baptism, we are every Day cleansed by Prayer. But do not commit those Things, for which it will be necessary for you to be separated from the Body of Christ; which God forbid. For those whom ye see doing Penance, have committed great Crimes, either Adultery, or some other grievous Sins, for which they do Penance. For if their Transgressions had been light, the daily Prayer had been sufficient to blot them out. By this we may judge, that Sins of Infirmity, to which all Men are liable, and which were pardoned by their Daily Prayers, were reckoned no formal Breaches of the Baptismal Covenant, nor consequently any just Impediments to debar any Man from receiving the Communion every Day; (since none, except the *Pelagians*, thought it possible for Men to live in such Angelical Perfection, as to be above all manner of Failings in this mortal State of Human Frailty:) and therefore they did not require of Men, in order to communicate, such a Perfection as humane Nature was not capable of attaining.

SECT. III.
What Repentance required for such Failings.

YET for as much as lesser Sins, even of Infirmity, are Transgressions of the Law, and the Remainders of Corruption in our Nature, and in Strictness deserve Punishment, if God should be extream to enter into Judgment with us for them; nay, and if they be indulged and neglected, may commence greater and deadly

[a] Aug. de Symbolo. lib. 1. cap. 7. Cum baptizati fueritis, tenete vitam bonam in præceptis Dei: ut baptismum custodiatis usque in finem. Non vobis dico, quia sine peccato hic vivetis: sed sunt Venialia, sine quibus vita ista non est. Propter omnia peccata Baptismus inventus est: propter Levia, sine quibus esse non possumus, Oratio inventa. &c. Vid. Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 71. & Hom. 119. de Tempore. Ep. 108. ad Seleucianum. Hom. 27. ex 50. cap. 2. Hom. 12. in Joan. p. 47. Serm. 3. in Psal. 118. Hom. 26. in Joan. p. 93. *But especially his Book* de Fide & Operibus. cap. 26. *where he distinguishes three sorts of Sins.* 1. *Such great Sins for which Men did Publick Penance.* 2. *Such great Sins as deserved to be corrected and punished with severe Reproof, though they did not bring Men under Publick Penance: such as Anger and Evil-speaking.* 3. *Sins of Human Frailty and Daily Incursion, for which the Daily Prayer was the Daily Medicine. This triple Distinction of Sins is the most exact of any other.*

Sins

Sins of Wilfulneſs and Contempt; therefore upon this Account they adviſed, that Men ſhould not only ask Pardon daily for them, and confeſs them with Humiliation, and deplore them with Sorrow; but alſo ſtrive and labour againſt them with Care, and Diligence, and a perpetual Watchfulneſs, and pray againſt them, and yield no Conſent to them, but have their Wills continually bent againſt them, and hunger and thirſt after the Perfection of Righteouſneſs, and deſire to be filled therewith when they came to the Lord's Table. For as *Gregory the Great* expreſſes it [*b*], none are filled but thoſe that hunger; who faſt perfectly from Sin, and receive the Holy Sacrament with a Plenitude of Virtue. Therefore ſeeing the beſt of Men cannot be wholly without Sin, what remains, but that they ſhould endeavour daily to evacuate and purge themſelves from thoſe Sins, with which humane Frailty never ceaſes to defile them? For he that does not daily draw off the Dregs of Sin, though they be but little Sins which he amaſſes together, they will by Degrees fill his Soul, and deprive him of the Benefit of internal Satisfaction. In like manner *Gennadius* [*c*] perſuades thoſe who are guilty of no groſs Sins, but only of theſe leſſer Sins of Infirmity, to communicate every *Lord's Day*, or oftner if they pleaſe; only with this Caution, that their Mind be free from all Affection and Love to ſuch Sins. For he that ſtill retains a Willingneſs to commit them, will find himſelf more oppreſſed than purified by receiving the *Euchariſt*. And therefore let ſuch an one, when he is ſmitten or bitten in Mind for his Sin, cheriſh no Will or Inclination to his Sin for the future; and before he communicates, let him ſatisfy with Prayers and Tears; and ſo confiding in the Mercy of the Lord, who uſes to pardon Sins upon a pious Confeſſion, let him come to the *Euchariſt* in Security and without doubting. But this I ſpeak only of him who is not preſſed with capital and deadly Sins.

SECT. IV.

What Crimes unqualified Men abſolutely for the Communion, and what ſort of Repentance was required for them.

BUT, ſays he, if any Man is preſſed with the Commiſſion of mortal Sins after Baptiſm, I adviſe ſuch an one to make Satisfaction or Amends by publick Repentance, and to be reconciled to Communion by the Judgment of the Biſhop or Prieſt, if he would not receive the *Euchariſt* to his own Judgment and Condemnation. This he ſpeaks of ſuch heinous Offences as were direct Violations of the Baptiſmal Covenant, upon the Account of which Men were then by the uſual Diſcipline of the Church debarred from Communion and Prayers, till they had for a long time gone thro' the ſeveral Stages of publick Penance, and given ſuch evident Teſtimonies of their Abhorrence of Sin, and ſincere Converſion, as were requiſite and proper to ſatisfy the Church that they were real and hearty Penitents. In which State of Probation they were held a Year, or two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, according to the Nature and Quality of their Offence; and ſometimes all their Lives, if their Crime was extreamly great and ſcandalous, when they were allowed Communion only at the Hour of Death. And during this Courſe of Diſcipline, they were obliged conſtantly to attend the Church, to hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached for their Inſtruction; and to exerciſe themſelves in Prayers, and Confeſſion, and Tears, and Watchings, and Faſtings, and Almſdeeds, and Good-works, and whatever was proper to demonſtrate that they were acting a ſincere Part, and not playing the Hypocrite, in the Buſineſs of Repentance. Then according to their Zeal and Earneſtneſs in ſuch Employments, a Judgment was made upon their Sincerity; and the Time of their Penance was lengthened or ſhortned according to the Meaſures of their Activity, and when they were deemed perfectly to have amended their Lives and become new Men, anſwerable to the Tenour of their firſt Covenant, then they were reconciled and abſolved, and admitted again to the Privilege of the Communion. This was the ſtanding Rule of the Church with reſpect to thoſe who had committed groſs and ſcandalous Crimes, for which they were cut off from the Body as putrified Members, and kept at a Diſtance from the Prayers of the Church, and the Communion of the Faithful at the Lord's Table.

SECT. V.

Scandalous and notorious Sinners not to be admitted to communicate, without giving ſatisfactory Evidences of their Repentance.

I need not ſtand here to enumerate all the particular Crimes that were deemed Breaches of the Baptiſmal Covenant, and unqualified Men for the Communion. Some Account has been given already [*] of them, in ſhewing what Perſons might, or might not make their Oblations at the Altar: For they who might not offer, might much leſs communicate; And this Matter will come to be conſidered more exactly in the next Volume, when we treat of the Diſcipline of the Church. Here I ſhall only obſerve in general, that the Rules of the Church laid an Obligation upon all Miniſters of the Altar, to refuſe the Communion to all ſuch notorious Offenders, as were declared uncapable and unworthy of it by the ſtanding Laws of Communion, then well known to all in the Church: And that an over-haſty Admittance of ſuch Criminals, without ſufficient Time of Probation and ſatisfactory Evidence of their ſin-

[*b*] Greg. lib. 2. in Reg. cap. 1. tom. 1. p. 189. Non ſaturantur ergo niſi Famelici, qui à vitiis perfecte jejunantes divina Sacramenta percipiunt in plenitudine virtutis. Et quia ſine peccato Electi etiam viri eſſe non poſſunt, quid reſtat, niſi ut à peccatis quibus eos humana fragilitas maculare non deſinit, evacuare quotidie conentur? &c. Vid. Aug. Tract. 1. in 1 Joan. [*c*] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. cap. 53. Quotidie Euchariſtiæ communionem nec laudo nec reprehendo. Omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum ſuadeo & hortor, ſi tamen mens ſine affectu peccandi ſit.—— Sed hoc de illo dico quem capitalia & mortalia peccata non gravant. &c. [*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 2.

cere Converſion, was always reckoned a great Tranſgreſſion and Failure in the Exerciſe of the Miniſterial Function. It will be ſufficient at preſent to give two or three plain Evidences of this out of *Chryſoſtom* and ſome others. Let no cruel Perſon, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [*d*], no unmerciful, no impure Soul, come near this Table. I ſpeak this as well to you that receive the *Euchariſt*, as to you that miniſter. For it is neceſſary to ſay this to you that miniſter, that ye may diſtribute the Gifts with great Care. There is no ſmall Puniſhment hangs over your Head, if ye give the *Euchariſt* knowingly to any flagitious Man. His Blood ſhall be required at your Hands. Tho' it be a General, though it be a Conſul, though it be him that wears the Crown, if he comes unworthily, reſtrain him: Thou haſt greater Power than he. But you will ſay, how ſhall I know what ſuch or ſuch an one is? I ſpeak not of thoſe that are unknown, but of thoſe that are known. I will ſay a fearful Word: It is not ſo bad to admit Energumens, or Perſons poſſeſſed with a Devil, to this Holy Place, as thoſe Men, who, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Tread Chriſt under Foot, and count the Blood of the Covenant an unholy Thing, and do deſpight to the Spirit of Grace.* Let us not therefore caſt out *Demoniacks* only, but all ſuch as come unworthily to be Partakers of this Table. It is a remarkable Saying of St. *Ambroſe* [*e*] upon this Occaſion: Some Men deſire to be admitted to Penance only for this Reaſon, that they may preſently receive the Communion again: Theſe Men do not ſo much deſire to be abſolved themſelves, as to bind the Prieſt: For they do not put off their own evil Conſcience. Such a raſh Act in a Prieſt, in receiving a notorious Criminal without any clear Evidences and Fruits of Repentance, puts him in the Sinner's Condition, and makes him a Criminal before God for the Abuſe of the Authority committed to him. Therefore as the *Novatians* were generally condemned for being too rigorous in denying the Communion for ever to all ſuch as fell into great Sins after Baptiſm: So on the other hand the *Audian* Hereticks are cenſured [*f*] for being too haſty, in aſſuming Authority to pardon Sins by their own Power, and granting Remiſſion upon a bare Confeſſion, without preſcribing a Time for Repentance, as the Laws of the Church always required. *Cyprian* gives as ſevere a Reproof to ſuch of the Clergy, as were over-haſty in admitting thoſe that had lapſed into Idolatry in Time of Perſecution, before they had gone through a due Courſe of Penance, and had taken time to bewail and confeſs their Sin, and give ſufficient Evidences of their Repentance. When-as, ſays he [*g*], Sinners for much leſſer Crimes take a juſt Time to do Penance, and according to the Order of Diſcipline come to Confeſſion, and by Impoſition of Hands given them by the Biſhop and Clergy receive a Right to communicate: Now they are very haſtily and unſeaſonably admitted to Communion, and their Name is offered; and before they have done Penance, before they have made their Confeſſion, before they have received Impoſition of Hands, the *Euchariſt* is given them, although it be ſaid, That *Whoſoever eats the Bread, and drinks the Cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* The Martyrs, who lay in Priſon, were a little concerned in this Irregularity: For they were uſed to interceed for ſuch Criminals, to gain them Admiſſion before their Time: and therefore he wrote another [*h*] Letter to the Martyrs, to ſhew them the Danger and Inconveniencies of ſuch precipitated communicating of Sinners, and to diſſuade them from ſuch unſeaſonable interpoſing in their Behalf, before they had done their regular Penance. And he alſo wrote a long Diſcourſe to the Lapſers [*i*] themſelves, wherein he more largely ſets forth the Fallacy that was put upon them by this too indulgent Facility in granting them ſuch a prepoſterous Peace, which did not really give them Peace, but deſtroy it; nor grant them true Communion, but hinder their Salvation. By all which, and Abundance more that might be added upon this Head, it is evident that to reconcile a Sinner to the Altar, after the Commiſſion of any heinous and publick Crimes, they required him to go through a long Courſe of Penance publickly in the Church, in Order to give clear Satisfaction and Demonſtration by manifeſt Works and Fruits of Repentance, that he was a real Convert, and worthy of the Communion which he deſired: And to admit him before, was only to impoſe upon the Sinner, and incur the Diſpleaſure of God by proſtituting his Ordinance, and ſuffering the Vile to tread under Foot the Son of God.

But beſide theſe heinous Sins, which put Men under the publick Cenſures of the Church, there were alſo many other Crimes of an heinous Nature, which unqualified Men for worthy receiving, though they did not ordinarily bring them to a State of publick Penance, either becauſe Men could not be ſo directly and formally convicted of them, or becauſe they did not ſeem to carry ſo great Malignity and Contempt of God in them as the former. Among theſe St. *Auſtin* [*k*] reckons Anger and Evil-ſpeaking; and others add, raſh Swearing, Breach of Promiſe, Lying, Covetouſneſs, Drunkenneſs, and Sins of the like Nature. Now though theſe did not ordinarily ſubject Men to publick Penance, yet they were confeſſed on all Hands to be grievous and deadly Sins, and ſuch as Men ſhould not preſume to come with, unrepented of, to the Lord's

[*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 83. in Mat. p. 705. Vid. Chryſ. in Pſal. 49. p. 303. [*e*] Ambroſ. de Pœnit. lib. 2. cap. 9. Nonnulli ideo poſcunt pœnitentiam, ut ſtatim ſibi reddi communionem velint. Hi non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt, quam ſacerdotem ligare, &c.

[*f*] Theodor. de Fabulis Hæret. lib. 4. cap. 13. [*g*] Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. ad Cler. p. 37. Cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam juſto tempore, & ſecundum Diſciplinæ ordinem ad exomologeſin veniant, & per manus Impoſitionem Epiſcopi & Cleri jus Communicationis accipiant: nunc crudo tempore—ad Communicationem admittuntur, & offertur nomen eorum, & nondum pœnitentia acta, nondum exomologeſi facta, nondum manu eis ab Epiſcopo & Clero impoſita. Euchariſtia illis datur, &c. [*h*] Cypr. Ep. 11. al. 15. ad Martyr. p. 34. [*i*] Id. de Lapſis. p. 128. &c. [*k*] Aug. de Fide & Operibus. cap. 26.

Table.

Table. And therefore though the Ancients did not forcibly repel ſuch Sinners from communicating, yet they never failed to ſtave them off by Admonitions and Reproofs, declaiming ſharply againſt all ſuch Vices, and ſhewing Men the Danger of them as well as thoſe of the higheſt Nature.

SECT. VI. *Whether they required Confeſſion of Private Sins to the Prieſt as a neceſſary Qualification for the Communion.*

THIS was their conſtant way of proceeding with great and heinous Sinners, when their Crimes were Publick, Notorious, and Scandalous, in order to qualify them for a worthy Participation of the *Euchariſt* after any manifeſt Breach or Violation of their Baptiſmal Covenant. As to private Crimes, they laid no Neceſſity upon the Conſcience of Men to make either publick or private Confeſſion of them to any beſide God, to qualify them for the Communion. They ſometimes adviſed Men to publick Confeſſion for private Crimes, and many times Men voluntarily confeſſed their private Crimes, and ſubmitted to do publick Penance for them, as thinking this the ſecureſt Way to obtain perfect Forgiveneſs of God: And in ſome Places a publick Miniſter, called the Penitentiary, was appointed to hear Mens Confeſſions, and direct them in their publick or private Repentance. But as yet no indiſpenſable Obligation was laid upon Men to make Confeſſion of their private Crimes as a neceſſary Condition of Communion: Much leſs did they injoin Men auricular Confeſſion in order to obtain private Abſolution of a Prieſt, and do Penance afterward, without giving at preſent any evident Demonſtrations of Repentance. Their private Confeſſions were all Voluntary, and theſe chiefly in order to publick Penance: But whether for publick or private Penance, the Confeſſion of private Sins was a Matter of Advice and Prudence and free Choice, and not forced upon Men by any Laws of Neceſſity or indiſpenſable Obligation. I ſhall have farther Occaſion to handle this Matter more fully in the next Book about the Diſcipline of the Church: And therefore I will only mention a Paſſage or two here, that relate to Mens Preparation for the Communion. *Chryſoſtom* explaining thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup*: ſays, He does not [*l*] bid one Man examine another, but every one himſelf; making the Judgment private, and the Tryal without Witneſſes. And again [*m*] expounding the very ſame Words, The Apoſtle, ſays he, does not reveal or lay open the Sore, he does not bring the Accuſation upon the open Stage, he does not ſet Witneſſes of thy Crimes againſt thee: But bids thee, within thy own Conſcience, none being preſent but God who knows all Things, to ſet up a Judgment and ſearch after thy Sins; and recounting thy whole Life, to bring thy Sins to the Bar of thy own Mind; to reform thy Exceſſes, and ſo with a pure Conſcience to come to the ſacred Table, and partake of the Holy Sacrifice. And it is remarkable, that under *Nectarius*, St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Predeceſſor, a Law was made (upon Occaſion of a Scandal that was given by the Confeſſion of a Gentlewoman, defiled by a Deacon at *Conſtantinople*) that the Office of the Penitentiary Prieſt, which had been for ſome Time in that Church, ſhould be laid aſide; and that Liberty ſhould be given to every one, upon the private Examination of his own Conſcience, to partake of the Holy Myſteries. Which evidently ſhews, that they did not then believe there was any Divine Law for the Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, but that it was a Matter of Liberty and Prudence only. *Socrates*, who relates [*n*] the whole Story, ſays, he had it from the Mouth of *Eudæmon* the Presbyter, who gave *Nectarius* this Advice; and *Sozomen* [*o*] adds, that the Biſhops of moſt other Churches followed *Nectarius* his Example. In the *Latin* Church, it appears alſo from *Gennadius* [*p*], that the general Rule for great Crimes of a publick Nature was, to do publick Penance in the Church: But for private Crimes no other was neceſſarily required but private Satisfaction by a Change of Life from ſecular to religious, by continual Mourning to implore God's Mercy, by doing Things contrary to thoſe whereof the Sinner repents, and by receiving the *Euchariſt* every Lord's Day to the End of his Life. And *Laurentius* Biſhop of *Novaria* [*q*] ſpeaking of Repentance, ſays, After Baptiſm God hath appointed thee a Remedy within thy ſelf, he hath put Remiſſion in thy own Power, that thou needeſt not to ſeek a Prieſt when Neceſſity requires; but thou thy ſelf now, as a skilful Maſter always at hand, mayſt correct thy own Error within thy ſelf, and waſh away thy Sin by Repentance. It were eaſy to add Abundance more Teſtimonies both out of the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, but theſe are ſufficient at preſent to ſhew that they did not require private Confeſſion, as any neceſſary Part of that Preparation which Men were obliged to make for the purging of private Sins before they came to the Lord's Table: But their Direction was the Apoſtle's Rule, *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.*

SECT. VII. *That Preparation conſiſts not in com-*

YET they did not hereby diſcharge Men of all Obligation to cleanſe themſelves from Sin, but

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 28. in 1 Cor. p. 569. [*m*] Chryſ. Hom. 8. de Pœnitent. t. 1. p. 700. [*n*] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 19. [*o*] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 16. [*p*] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccleſ. cap. 53. Sed & ſecreta ſatisfactione ſolvi mortalia crimina non negamus, ſed mutato prius ſeculari habitu, & confeſſo Religionis ſtudio per vitæ correctionem, & jugi, imo perpetuo luctu miſerante Deo ita duntaxat, ut contraria pro iis quæ pœnitet agat, & Euchariſtiam omnibus Dominicis diebus ſupplex ſubmiſſuſque uſque ad mortem ſuſcipiat. [*q*] Laurent. Hom. 1. de Pœnit. Bibl. Patr. tom. 2. p. 129. Poſt baptiſma remedium tuum in teipſo ſtatuit, remiſſionem in arbitrio tuo poſuit, ut non quæras ſacerdotem, cum neceſſitas flagitaverit: Sed ipſe jam, ac ſi ſcitus perſpicuuſque Magiſter, errorem tuum intra te emendes, & peccatum tuum pœnitudine abluas.

ing to Communion at certain holy Seasons, but in Sanctity and Purity at all Times.

carefully preſſed upon the Conſcience the Neceſſity of univerſal Purity when they came to Feaſt upon the Body and Blood of Chriſt, at his Table. *Let a Man examine himſelf: For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh Damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's Body.* There were ſome ſo vain as to think, that a formal Appearing at the Lord's Table at ſome certain holy and ſolemn Seaſons was all the Preparation that was needful: As if the Circumſtance of Time added any real Qualification to their Souls. Againſt theſe Mens Extravagance, St. *Chryſoſtom* inveighs with the greateſt Sharpneſs: I obſerve many, ſays he, who are Partakers [r] of the Lord's Body inconſiderately and at all Adventures, more out of Cuſtom than by any Rule, or Reaſon, and Underſtanding. If the holy Time of *Lent* comes, or the Day of Chriſt's *Epiphany*, or *Nativity*, then they partake of the Holy Myſteries, whatever Condition they are in. But *Epiphany* is not the Time of Approaching: Neither does *Lent* make Men worthy to come, but the Sincerity and Purity of their Souls. With this come at all Times; without it come never. Conſider thoſe who were Partakers of the Sacrifices under the old Law; What Abſtinence did they uſe? What did they not do? What did they not perform, to purify themſelves in every Reſpect? And doſt thou, when thou comeſt to the Sacrifice, at which the Angels are even amazed and tremble, meaſure the Buſineſs by the Revolution and Periods of certain Times and Seaſons? How wilt thou ſtand before the Tribunal of Chriſt, who dareſt to touch his Body with polluted Hands and Lips? Thou wouldſt not preſume to kiſs the King with a ſtinking Mouth: And doſt thou kiſs the King of Heaven with a ſtinking Soul? That is the higheſt Affront that can really be offered to him. Tell me, wouldſt thou chuſe to come to the Sacrifice with unwaſhen Hands? I ſuppoſe not, but wouldſt rather not come at all, than with unclean Hands. Since therefore thou art ſo ſcrupulous and religious in a ſmall Matter, how dareſt thou to come and touch the Sacrifice with a polluted Soul? When-as thy Hands only hold it for a time, but thy Soul has it wholly diſſolved into it. At other times ye come not to it, tho' ye be clean; but at *Eaſter* ye come, although ye be defiled with Sin. Oh Cuſtom! Oh Prejudice! Thus St. *Chryſoſtom* reproves thoſe who contented themſelves with an outſide, formal Preparation, to comply with the general Cuſtom of receiving at ſome of the holy Feſtivals; which was a mere corporeal Purification, like the Phariſaical Righteouſneſs: For *they made clean the outſide of the Cup and Platter, whilſt their inward Part was full of Corruption and all Uncleanneſs.* In another Place [s] he thus oppoſes this fantaſtical Preparation, and deſcribes the true Preparation of the Soul by the Purity of a Man's Conſcience and a ſanctified Life. Many Chriſtians now-a-days, ſays he, are ſunk into ſo great Stupidity and Contempt, that though they be laden with Sins, and take no manner of Care of themſelves, yet they come to the Holy Table at the ſolemn Feſtivals Hand over Head, and juſt as mere Chance directs them: Not conſidering, that what makes it ſeaſonable to communicate, is not merely a Feſtival, or the Time of a more ſolemn Aſſembly, but a pure Conſcience, and a Life free from Sin. For as he, who is conſcious to himſelf of no enormous Crime, ought to come every Day; ſo on the other Hand, he who is fettered in Sins, and does not repent, cannot ſafely come upon a Feſtival. For it is not our coming once a Year that diſcharges us of our Sins, if we come unworthily: But this very thing rather increaſes our Condemnation, that though we come but once a Year, yet we come not even then with a pure Conſcience. Wherefore I exhort you all, not to come to the Holy Myſteries barely upon the Account of a Feſtival; but whenever ye deſign to partake of this Holy Sacrifice, to purge your ſelves many Days before by Repentance, and Prayer, and Alms, and Attendance upon ſpiritual Things; and not to return again like the Dog to his Vomit. Is it not abſurd to ſpend ſo much Care upon corporeal Things, as that when a Feſtival approaches, you will bring forth your beſt Clothes out of your Wardrobe, and make them ready many Days before, and buy you Shoes, and prepare a more ſplendid Table, and think of many Ways to deck and adorn yourſelf; But in the mean time have no Regard to your Soul, which lies neglected in Filth and Naſtineſs, and ready to periſh with Famine, and over-run with Impurity? How abſurd is it to preſent the Body here finely adorned, but your Soul naked and vilely clothed? When yet none ſees your Body but your Fellow-Servants; but your Soul is nicely viewed by the Lord, who will alſo ſeverely puniſh your Neglect of it. Know you not, that this Table is filled with ſpiritual Fire, and ſends forth ſecret Flames, as Fountains do their Water in Abundance? Bring not therefore hither Wood, Hay, Stubble, leſt you increaſe the Flame, and burn your Soul by ſuch a Participation: But bring hither Gold, Silver, precious Stones, that ye may make thoſe Materials ſtill more pure, and go hence with greater Gain and Advantage. If any Evil remains in your Soul, chaſe and drive it thence. Has any one an Enemy, from whom he has ſuffered great Injuries and Injuſtice? Let him diſſolve his Enmity, and reſtrain his flaming, ſwelling Mind, that there be no Tumult or Perturbation within. For thou art now about to receive a King by Communion: And when a King enters into thy Soul, there ought to be a perfect Calm, Tranquility, and Silence, and a profound Peace in thy Thoughts. But thou haſt been exceedingly injured, and canſt not

[r] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1050. Paſcha jejunant. t. 1. p. 710.

[s] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de Philogonio. t. 1. p. 402. Vid. Hom. 52. in eos qui

bear

bear to moderate thy Anger againſt him. What then? Wilt thou therefore more grievouſly injure thy ſelf? For thy Enemy, whatever he does, cannot do thee ſo much Harm, as thou doſt to thy ſelf, if thou art not reconciled to him, but trampleſt on the Laws of God. He has injured and affronted thee, and wilt thou injure and affront God? For not to receive an Enemy to Pardon and Favour, is not ſo much to take Revenge on him, as to affront God, who has given us this Law of Reconciliation. Therefore look not to thy Fellow-Servant, nor to the Greatneſs of the Injuries that he hath done thee; but look unto God, and putting his Fear into thy Mind, conſider this, that the greater Violence thou offereſt to thy Soul, by compelling it to be reconciled after ſuffering a thouſand Indignities, ſo much the greater Honour ſhalt thou obtain from him who prohibits thee Revenge. And as thou receiveſt God with great Honour here, he will receive thee with great Glory hereafter, and recompence thee a thouſand-fold for this Obedience. Thus did this holy Man explain in general the due Manner and Method of Preparing to receive the *Euchariſt*, and with the ſtrongeſt Arguments of Piety, and the utmoſt Force of Eloquence and Reaſon endeavour to perſuade his Hearers to the Practice of it.

SECT. VIII. *What Faith is required in Communicants.*

I have not room to tranſcribe all that this Author [*t*] and the reſt have ſaid farther in the general Exhortations to make a due Preparation for the Communion: Much leſs will it conſiſt with the Deſign of this Work to deſcend to all the particular Caſes and Queſtions that might be moved about it, the handling of which would eaſily ſwell into a Volume: And the Reader may find it already done in a great meaſure by our learned Biſhop *Taylor* in his *Worthy Communicant*, where he ſtates all the Duties required in order to a worthy Participation, together with the Caſes of Conſcience occurring in the Duty of him that miniſters, and in the Duty of him that communicates, out of the antient Writers. I ſhall content my ſelf to ſuggeſt a few Things relating to theſe Particulars, which are: 1. Faith. 2. Repentance and Obedience. 3. Juſtice. 4. Peace and Unity. 5. Charity and Beneficence. 6. Pardoning of Offences. 7. Laſtly, Mens Behaviour at the time of Communicating and afterwards, which I ſhall chiefly repreſent in the Words of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who has ſpoken ſo largely upon this Subject. And firſt with reſpect to Faith, they required in every Communicant, that was of Years of Diſcretion, not only an Orthodox Profeſſion of the ſeveral Articles of the Chriſtian Faith in general, but alſo a particular Faith with relation to the Myſtical Eating and Drinking of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Holy Sacrament. The former is evident from that uſual Form of Words in the Deacon's Admonition to all that had not a Right to communicate, to withdraw; among whom all Heterodox or Heretical Perſons were admoniſhed to be gone: μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων, *Let no Heterodox Perſon be preſent.* And in regard to this St. *Chryſoſtom* [*u*], or whoever was the Author of the Sermon of *Binding and Looſing Sin*, ſpeaking of Mens private Examination of themſelves, ſays, God hath given thee the Power of Binding and Looſing. Thou haſt bound thy ſelf with the Chain of Covetouſneſs; Looſe thy ſelf with the Injunction of the Love of Poverty. Thou haſt bound thy ſelf with the furious Deſire of Pleaſure; Looſe thy ſelf by Temperance. Thou haſt bound thy ſelf with the Heterodox Belief of *Eunomius*; Looſe thy ſelf with the religious embracing of the *Orthodox Faith*. But they did not only require an *Orthodox Faith* in general, but a particular Faith with reſpect to the Sacrament it ſelf, teaching Men, not the monſtrous Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, but that under the viſible Elements of Bread and Wine, ſanctified by the Spirit, the worthy Communicant by Faith might receive the ſpiritual Food of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and all the bleſſed Effects and Benefits of his Death and Paſſion. To this Purpoſe, they required Men to come with the Mouth of Faith, ſpiritually to eat Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood; and to ſee him ſacrificed with the Eyes of their Mind, whilſt his real bloody Sacrifice once offered was daily repreſented and commemorated in the viſible Images and Symbols of Bread and Wine. St. *Auſtin* is very copious in ſetting forth this neceſſary Doctrine of ſpiritual Manducation by Faith, as that which makes both Senſe and Piety of ſo many Expreſſions in the Goſpel, which otherwiſe would ſeem horrible and abſurd. Explaining thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*, he ſays [*x*], This ſeems to command a Crime. Therefore it is a figurative Speech, commanding us to communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and with Pleaſure and Profit to lay it up in our Minds, that his Fleſh was crucified and wounded for our Tranſgreſſions. So again [*y*] he brings in our Saviour telling his Diſciples, "Ye are not to eat this "Body which ye ſee, and drink that Blood "which my Crucifiers ſhall ſhed. But I have "commended to you a certain Sacrament, which "being ſpiritually underſtood will quicken you; "and though it be celebrated viſibly, it is inviſibly or ſpiritually to be underſtood." Meaning this Faith, with which the Body of Chriſt was to be received, to make it ſpiritually and really the true Body, and Life to the Receiver.

[*t*] Vid. Chryſ. in Pſal. 133. p. 488. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1872. [*u*] Chryſ. Hom. in illud Quodcunque ligaveris, t. 7. Edit. Savil. p. 268. [*x*] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſt. lib. 3. cap. 10. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo eſſe, præcipiens Paſſioni Domini eſt communicandum ... Suaviterque utiliter in Memoria recondendum quod Caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa & vulnerata eſt, [*y*] Aug. in Pſal. 98. t. 8. p. 452. Non hoc corpus quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis; & bibituri illum ſanguinem, quod fuſuri ſunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; ſpiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos, & ſi neceſſe eſt illud viſibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen inviſibiliter intelligi.

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For the true Body of Christ could no other ways be eaten but spiritually by Faith [z], whilst it was really absent in Heaven. The Hand could not reach that Body, nor the Teeth consume it; but Faith [a] could ascend up to Heaven, and there touch the Body of Christ; and with the Heart it might be eaten, though not with the Teeth and oral Manducation. This is therefore that special Faith which the Ancients so often require in every pious Communicant, to qualify him to eat the Flesh of Christ to Life and Salvation; a Faith whereby in Heart he ascends to Heaven, (according to the usual Phrase of the Church in her Sacramental Prayers, *Sursum Corda*, *Lift up your Hearts*; *We lift them up unto the Lord*;) and whereby he receives the real Body of Christ by spiritual Eating, which no wicked Man can receive, though he receive the Sacrament of his Body both in his Hand and Mouth to his Condemnation. Therefore St. *Austin* bids all Communicants prepare [b] their Heart, and not their Mouths, to eat *the Bread of Life, which came down from Heaven.* And St. *Chrysostom* [c] calls upon them to imitate Eagles, and fly up to Heaven. For *where the Carcass is, there will the Eagles be gathered together*, says our Saviour, calling his Body the Carcass because of Death. For if he had not fallen, we had not risen. But he calls us Eagles, shewing, that he that comes to this Body, ought to soar aloft, and have nothing to do with the Earth, nor move downward and creep upon the Ground, but always to fly upward, and look to the *Sun of Righteousness*, and have the Eyes of his Mind quick-sighted. For this Table is the Table of Eagles, not of Jack-Daws. And they who thus worthily receive him, may expect to meet him when he shall come down again from Heaven.

SECT. IX.

What Purity of Soul by Repentance and Obedience. How far Fasting useful or necessary to this Purpose.

2. BUT St. *Chrysostom* [d] observes, that to come unto Christ by Faith, is not barely to receive him in the outward Element, but to touch him with a pure Heart. And therefore he discourses excellently upon this most necessary part of Preparation, to some who put great Confidence in their Observation of the *Lent*-Fast, as if that were a just Preparation for the Communion. Let us give up our selves, says he, to the Practice of Virtue. For at this End [e] aims all our Fasting, and *Lent*, and religious Assemblies so many Days together, and our Hearing, and Prayers, and Preaching; that by these Exercises we may wash away the Guilt and Stain of whatever Sins we have any ways contracted during the whole Year, and so come with Piety and spiritual Assurance to partake of that Unbloody Sacrifice. But if we do not thus purify our selves, all that other Labour is in vain and to no Purpose, we reap not the least Advantage from it. Let every one therefore consider with himself, and examine in his Account, what Defect he has amended, what Virtue he has acquired, what Vice he has washed away, in what Part he is grown better: And if he finds any considerable Advantage of this Kind arise from his Fasting, and that many of his Wounds have been cured by it, let him come: But if he has been negligent, and has nothing to shew but his Fasting, without any other Goodness or Amendment, let him keep off and abide without, and then come when he has purged himself from all his Sins. Let no Man place his Confidence in Fasting only, who adheres to his Sins without Amendment. For 'tis possible a Man that does not fast, may obtain Pardon, having the Excuse of bodily Infirmity: But he that does not correct his Faults, cannot possibly have any Excuse. Thou hast omitted to fast, by reason of the Infirmity of thy Flesh: But why hast thou not been reconciled to thy Enemies? Canst thou here pretend bodily Infirmity also? Thou still retainest Hatred and Envy: What Excuse, I pray, canst thou plead for these? There is no flying for Refuge to bodily Infirmity in Behalf of such Sins as these. Thus *Chrysostom* shews the Necessity of correcting every evil Way, in Thought, Word and Deed, in order to prepare Men for a worthy Reception at God's Table; and that no Pretences of other Qualifications without Holiness, nor any Excuses for Sin will be accepted, whilst Christ has made his Commandments very practicable, and recommended his Yoke as easy, and his Burden as Light.

SECT. X.

How necessary Justice and Restitution to a worthy Communicant.

3. AND because there are some great Sins, to which Men have a more than ordinary Propensity and Affection, and are ready to find out a thousand Arts to palliate and retain them with a Semblance of Piety and pretended Devotion: The same Author is always very careful to particularize about these in Mens Preparation, pulling off the Vizard and false Colours they were apt to lay upon them. Thus in the Case of Injustice, many were inclined to impose upon themselves by that old Pharisaical Pretence of giving something to the *Corban*, to make a full Atonement, as they thought, for their manifold Rapines and Oppression. Whom he thus reproves, and lays open their Folly. Let no *Judas*, no *Simon Magus* come near this Table [f]: For they both perished in their Avarice and Love of Money. Wherefore let us fly from this Pit, and not imagine it suffici-

[z] Id. Ser. 2. de Verb. Apost. t. 10. p. 94. Manduca vitam, bibe vitam. Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit Corpus & Sanguis, si quod in Sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur. It. Tract. 26. in Joan. t. 9. p. 94. Qui manducat intus, non qui manducat foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. [a] Aug. Tract. 1. in 1 Joan. p. 236. Ipsum jam in cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed Fide contingere. [b] Aug. Ser. 33. de Verb. Dom. p. 40. Nolite parare fauces, sed Cor. &c. [c] Chrys. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Vid. Hom. 14. in Ephes. p. 1127. [d] Chrys. Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 454. [e] Chrys. Hom. 22. de Simultate. t. 1. [f] Chrys. Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 445. It. Hom. 86. p. 722. *cited before*, Chap. ii. n. 2.

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ent for our Salvation, that when we have ſpoiled Widows and Orphans, we offer a Golden Cup adorned with Jewels to this Table. Wouldſt thou honour this Sacrifice? Offer thy Soul, for which Chriſt was offered, and make it a Golden Soul. But if thy Soul remain worſe than Lead or Earth, what will thy Golden Veſſels profit thee? Let us not therefore labour to offer Golden Veſſels only, but offer what we acquire by our juſt and honeſt Labour. For theſe are more precious than Gold, which are not the Fruits of Covetouſneſs and Injuſtice. The Church is not the Work-houſe of Silver and Gold, but the Congregation of Angels. Therefore the Purity of our Souls is required: For God receives theſe Things upon the Account of our Souls. Doubtleſs that Table was not of Silver, nor that Cup of Gold, wherein Chriſt gave his Blood to his Diſciples: Yet all was precious and full of Reverence, becauſe they were filled with the Spirit. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks this to Mens own Conſciences in private, who knew their own Extortions, when perhaps the Church knew nothing of them; and he lays upon them the Neceſſity of Juſtice and Reſtitution in their private Accounts with God, before they could hope to gain his Favour, or be accepted at his Altar. For as to publick Offences of this kind, we have noted before [*], That when they were ſuch as the Church could take Cognizance of, they fell under her publick Diſcipline: And it was a ſtanding Law, that the Oblations of known Oppreſſors ſhould not be received; much leſs their Perſons to the Communion of the Altar.

SECT. XI. *The Neceſſity of Peace and Unity.*

4. ANOTHER Thing they much inſiſted on, was Unity and a peaceable Spirit: By which they chiefly intended that ſort of Peaceableneſs, which preſerves the Unity of the Church, not only in Oppoſition to formed and profeſſed Schiſms, but all Factions and Diviſions within the Boſom of the Church. As to formal and profeſt Schiſmaticks, they were Objects of the publick Diſcipline, and not to be admitted to Communion without publick Recantation and formal renouncing of their Errors. But beſides theſe there were another ſort of turbulent Spirits, who without breaking forth into profeſt Separations, were often the Occaſion of great Tumults and Diſquiet in the Church. Such were thoſe *Corinthians*, whom the Apoſtle ſo often rebukes for their factious Zeal and unneceſſary Diſputations and Contentions one with another; which proceeded from many evil Cauſes, and were attended with as bad Effects. For they ſprung from the bitter Roots of Envy and Pride and Ambition, and Covetouſneſs and Self-intereſt, and Self-love, and a blind, or elſe crafty and deſigning Admiration of one Teacher above another. *For one ſaid, I am of* Paul; *and another, I of* Apollos; *I of* Cephas; *and I of* Chriſt. And the Effects were Debates, Envyings, Wraths, Strifes, Backbitings, Whiſperings, Swellings, Tumults. Inſomuch that in their Sidings and Partyings, they came to expreſs a Diſdain and Contempt of one another in that, which ſhould have taught them the quite contrary Leſſon, the Celebration of the Lord's Supper and their Feaſts of Charity. For in eating, every one took before others his own Supper: And one was hungry, and another was drunken. Upon which the Apoſtle gave them that moſt ſolemn Admonition, 1 *Cor.* xi. 28. *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himſelf, not Diſcerning the Lord's Body.* It was not long after St. *Paul*'s Death, that *Clemens* Biſhop of *Rome* had Occaſion to write a long Epiſtle to theſe *Corinthians* upon the very ſame Subject of their ſeditious Factions and Diviſions, where among many other Arguments to perſuade them to Unity and Peace, he bids them [*g*] beware, that the manifold Bleſſings of God did not turn to their Condemnation, if they walked unworthy of him, and neglected to do what was good and pleaſing in his Sight with Unanimity and Concord. Therefore he bids [*h*] them, quickly remove this Evil, and fall down before the Lord, and weep and pray to him, that he would be merciful and reconciled to them, and reduce and reſtore them to the pure and comely Way of Brotherly Love. For this is the Gate of Righteouſneſs which opens unto Life. Charity unites us [*i*] unto God; Charity covers a multitude of Sins; Charity beareth all Things: Charity has nothing of Pride or Baſeneſs in it; Charity has no Schiſm; Charity raiſes no Sedition; Charity does all Things in Concord. By Charity all the Elect of God are made perfect; without Charity nothing is acceptable unto God. Therefore he adviſes the Ring-leaders of the Sedition and the Heads of Faction to be ſubject to their Rulers, and repent, and to lay aſide all arrogant [*k*] and proud Boaſting of the Tongue; ſince it was better to be found little and approved in the Fold of Chriſt, than to be high-minded and rejected from the Hope of his Kingdom. He bids them ſacrifice their own Intereſt to the Peace of the Church. Who among you is of a noble and generous Temper? Who [*l*] has any Bowels of Compaſſion? Who is filled with Charity? Let him ſay: If upon my Account there be Sedition, and Diſcord, and Schiſm; I will willingly depart, and go away whitherſoever you pleaſe; I will do what the People command me; only let the Fold of Chriſt be in Peace under the Elders that are ſet over them. He that does this, ſhall purchaſe to himſelf great Honour in the Lord, and every Place will receive him. *For the Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulneſs thereof.* Thus did that holy Man exhort the ſeditious *Corinthians* to lay aſide their factious and turbulent Spirit, and betake themſelves to the Ways of Unity and Peace, as ever they hoped to find Mercy and Fa-

[*] *Book* XV. *Chap.* ii. *n.* 2.
[*g*] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Cor. n. 21.
[*h*] Ibid. n. 48.
[*i*] Ibid. n. 49.
[*k*] Ibid. n. 57.
[*l*] Ibid. n. 54.

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vour at the Hands of the Lord. And the Ancients generally uſe this Argument againſt uncharitable Strife and Contention, and Schiſm and Diviſion, that they are Crimes of that Magnitude, that without Repentance even the Blood of Martyrdom will not waſh away and blot out the Stain and Guilt of them. Which is a noted Saying of *Cyprian*'s [*m*], repeated and approved by *Chryſoſtom* [*n*], St. *Auſtin* [*o*], *Fulgentius* [*p*] and many others.

SECT. XII. *Of Charity and Mercy to the Poor.*

5. ANOTHER Thing they much recommended as a neceſſary Qualification in a worthy Communicant, was the Exerciſe of Beneficence and Charity to the Indigent, eſpecially to the poor Members of Chriſt. For when they themſelves were about to receive the greateſt Bleſſings in the World, they thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould ſhew Kindneſs, according to their Ability, to his and their Brethren. This was the Foundation of their Oblations and Love-Feaſts mentioned before; and the Neglect, or Abuſe, or Partiality uſed in them, was always reputed a capital Miſdemeanor. But this was not all: They not only required Men to be charitable in the Act of Communicating, but at all Times; and allowed not the moſt plauſible Pretences that could be offered to the contrary. Some apologized for their Uncharitableneſs, as they did for their Injuſtice; they wiped their Mouths, and cried out *Corban*, It is a Gift to Chriſt, wherewith thou mighteſt be profited by me: And ſo they thought themſelves diſcharged by Commutation: They gave to God's Uſe ſome Gift which he required not, and let the Poor periſh, whom he had commanded them to ſuſtain. To theſe St. *Chryſoſtom* [*q*] thus elegantly diſcourſes. Would you honour the Body of Chriſt? Do not then deſpiſe him when he is naked. Do not honour him here in the Church with Veſtments of Silk, and neglect him without Doors, when ready to periſh with Cold and Nakedneſs. For he that ſaid, *This is my Body*, and confirmed the Thing with his Word, ſaid alſo, *Ye ſaw me an hungred, and fed me not:* And, *for as much as ye did it not to one of the leaſt of theſe, ye did it not unto me.* For this Body of Chriſt (the *Euchariſt*) needs no Clothing, but a pure Mind: But that other Body of his needs much of our Care. Therefore let us learn to be wiſe, and honour Chriſt according to his own Will. Give him that Honour which he has commanded; diſtribute your Riches among the Poor. God has no need of golden Veſſels, but of golden Souls. I ſay not this, to forbid any Man to offer ſuch Gifts; but becauſe I judge it proper, together with theſe, and before theſe, to do Works of Charity. For God indeed receives theſe, but the other are much more acceptable to him. Veſſels only profit him that offers them, but Works of Charity profit both the Giver and Receiver. The one is often an Occaſion of Oſtentation, but the other is all Humanity and Mercy. What Profit is it to Chriſt, that his Table is filled with golden Cups, whilſt he himſelf is famiſhed by Want? Therefore firſt feed him when he is hungry, and then of your Superfluity and Abundance adorn his Table. You make him a golden Cup, but will not give him a Cup of cold Water. What does this profit him? You prepare Coverings for his Table embroidered with Gold; but he himſelf is naked, and you cover him not with neceſſary Clothing. What Advantage is there in all this? Tell me, I pray: Suppoſe you ſhould ſee a Man want neceſſary Food, and you inſtead of relieving his Hunger, ſhould only adorn his Table with Gold: Would he take this as any Kindneſs, and not rather look upon it with Indignation? Or, if you ſaw a Man cloathed in Rags, and frozen with Cold, and you inſtead of giving him Raiment, ſhould erect golden Pillars, and ſay, you did it for his Honour: Would he not rather ſay you mocked him, and think you put the greateſt Affront imaginable upon him? You may apprehend the Caſe to be the very ſame with Chriſt: When he wanders about as a Stranger, having no Houſe to cover his Head, then thou neglecteſt to take him in; thou contemneſt his Perſon, but beautifieſt his Pavement and his Walls, and the Heads of his Pillars: Thou makeſt his Lamps to hang on Silver Chains, but wilt not vouchſafe to viſit him when he is chained in Priſon. I ſpeak not this to prohibit thee from doing theſe Things, but to excite thee to do the other together with them, or rather before them. For no Man was ever condemned for not building magnificent Temples, but for neglecting the Poor Hell is threatned, and the Fire that ſhall never be quenched, and Puniſhment with Devils. Whilſt therefore you adorn God's Houſe, do not neglect your afflicted Brother. For he is more properly the Temple of God than the other. For thoſe may be plundered of all their Treaſure by Infidel Kings, and Tyrants, and Thieves: But what thou doſt to a Brother that is hungry, or a Stranger, or naked, the Devil himſelf cannot rob thee of, but it is laid up in a ſafe Repoſitory, where no Violence can make a Prey of it. It were eaſy to give the Reader many other ſuch affecting Paſſages out of *Chryſoſtom* [*r*] and others, but this one is ſufficient to ſhew what Streſs they laid upon Charity or Beneficence to the Poor, in order to qualify Men for a worthy Reception of the Holy Communion.

SECT. XIII. *Of Charity in Forgiving Enemies, and Pardoning Offences.*

6. BUT this was not the only kind of Charity they required to be exerciſed upon this Occaſion: There was another more difficult to be practiſed, and yet no leſs neceſſary to be performed by all that would lay

[*m*] Cypr. de Unit. Eccleſ. p. 113. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 11. in Epheſ. p. 1107. [*o*] Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. 4. cap. 17. [*p*] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum. cap. 39. [*q*] Chryſ. Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 455. [*r*] Vid. Chryſ. Hom. 1. in 1. Tim. p. 1631. Hom. 9. de Pœnitent. t. 1 p. 704. Hom. 25. t. 5. p. 369.

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any juſt Claim to the Mercy of God in the Sacrifice of Chriſt's Body and Blood: And that was the Duty of Pardoning and Forgiving Enemies, without which it was abſurd and impudent to preſume to ask God Pardon at the Holy Table. Therefore St. *Chryſoſtom* [*s*] explaining thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Matth.* v. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee; leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way, firſt be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift:* ſays, By all this Chriſt intended to ſignify, that the Holy Table would not receive Men that were at Enmity with one another: No, nor yet could they ſo much as offer their Prayers acceptably to God. Therefore hear this, ſays he, all ye that are initiated in the Holy Myſteries, and come not in Enmity to the Communion of the Altar. Let them alſo hear it, who are not yet initiated. For they have a common Concern in theſe Words alſo. For they offer likewiſe their Gifts and their Sacrifice, I mean their Prayers and their Alms; which the *Pſalmiſt* often calls Sacrifice: *The Sacrifice of Praiſe ſhall honour me:* And, *Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe:* And, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice.* Whence he concludes, That if a Man come to pray with ſuch a Mind, he had better leave his Prayers, and go firſt and be reconciled to his Brother, and then come and offer his Prayers. It is uſual with *Chryſoſtom* upon this account to tell his Hearers, that they [*t*] who are unqualified for the Communion, are unqualified for their Prayers likewiſe: Becauſe they in effect pray to God to curſe themſelves, whilſt they pray for Forgiveneſs of Sins only in the ſame manuer as they forgive their Enemies. If we have Deſigns of Revenge in our Hearts, ſays he [*u*], when we pray, we pray againſt our ſelves, ſaying, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.* Theſe are terrible Words, and the ſame as if one ſaid to God: "Lord, I have "forgiven my Enemy, forgive Thou me: I "have looſed him, looſe Thou me: I have par- "doned my Enemy, pardon me: If I have re- "tained his Sins, retain thou mine: If I have "not looſed my Neighbour, do not thou looſe "my Offences: What Meaſure I have meted to "him, meaſure thou to me again." It was with this Argument that he induced the People to ſhew Mercy to their great Enemy *Eutropius*, when he was fled for Sanctuary to the Altar. How will you be able to take the Holy Sacrament into your Hands, and uſe the Words of that Prayer, wherein we are commanded to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*, if you exact Puniſhment of your Debtor? In another Place [*x*] he tells them if they forgave their Enemies, they might then come with a pure Conſcience to the Holy and Tremendous Table, and boldly ſay the Words contained in that Prayer, *Forgive us, as we forgive.* But if they retained Anger or Malice in their Hearts [*y*], they were no fitter to partake of that Holy Table than Fornicators, or Adulterers, or Blaſphemers. For how canſt thou deſire God to be gracious and merciful to thee, who art ſo implacable and inexorable to thy Fellow-Servant? Admit he has injured and affronted thee. Haſt thou not often injured and affronted God? And what Compariſon is there betwixt the Lord and a Servant? It may be alſo thy Fellow-Servant was firſt injured by thee, and only returned the Complement, and payed thee in thy own kind, and thou art incenſed at that: But thou, without any Injury or Provocation received from God, treateſt him contumelioufly; nay, not only when He does thee no Harm, but when He daily loads thee with Bleſſings, and continually pours forth his Benefits upon thee. He adds [*z*], that this Sin of Malice and Revenge was the more dangerous and inexcuſable, becauſe it had none of the little Pleas which were commonly urged in the Behalf of other Sins, to be offered in its Favour. If I bid you faſt, you plead the Excuſe of bodily Infirmity; if I bid you give to the Poor, you plead Poverty your ſelf, and the Care of your own Children: If I call upon you to attend divine Worſhip, you pretend the Avocations of worldly Care and ſecular Buſineſs; If I bid you hear Sermons, and conſider the Power of the Doctrine contained in them, you plead Diſability and want of Learning to underſtand them; If I adviſe you to admoniſh and correct your Brother, you tell me, he will not hearken to your Counſel; you have admoniſhed him, and he deſpiſes you. Theſe are but cold Excuſes, yet they are Excuſes in ſome ſort. But if I bid you lay aſide your Anger, which of theſe Excuſes can you make? You cannot plead bodily Infirmity, nor Poverty, nor Want of Underſtanding, nor Want of Time and Leiſure from worldly Buſineſs, nor any other ſuch Excuſe: Therefore this of all others is a moſt unpardonable Sin. How then will you hold up your Hands to Heaven, or move your Tongue, or ask Pardon of your Sins, when if God were diſpoſed to pardon them, you will not ſuffer him to do it, while you refuſe to pardon the Offence of your Fellow-Servant? Having uſed theſe and many other excellent Arguments to ſhew Men the Neceſſity of Reconciliation and mutual Forgiveneſs, when they came to the Holy Communion, which is the Covenant of Forgiveneſs, and Peace with God and Man, he takes notice of two Evaſions, which ſome Men uſed in this Caſe to palliate and foſter ſtill ſomething of an ill-natured Temper, and make it ſeem conſiſtent with their Duty. Some were indeed afraid to ſay thoſe Words of the *Lord's Prayer, Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*; as being ſenſible it was no better than curſing themſelves,

[*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 16. in Mat. p. 166. [*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. Hom. 22. de Ira. t. 1. p. 288. [*u*] Chryſ. Hom. in Eutrop. t. 4. p. 554. Hom. 38. de Pœnitent. & Euchar. t. 5. p. 570. [*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in Gen. p. 358. [*y*] Hom. 22. de Ira. t. 1. p. 277. [*z*] Ibid. p. 282.

while they continued in ſuch an evil Diſpoſition: And therefore they only ſaid the firſt Clauſe, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, and drop'd the ſecond, which contains the Condition of their forgiving others: And they were ſo vain as to think, this was a ſufficient *Salvo* to their Conſciences, and a Security againſt the Menaces that were threatned to a revengeful Temper. To whom he replies [*a*], That this was but a vain Caution, for whether they ſaid the Words or not, God would deal with them according to their Actions; Chriſt having told them in the very next Words, *If you forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive you your Treſpaſſes.* Others excuſed themſelves by ſaying, I bear no Hatred or Malice againſt my Enemy, I am not concerned or troubled at his Enmity, I will have nothing to do with him. But ſays *Chryſoſtom*, this is not enough, that thou wilt give him no Trouble, that thou wilt do him no harm, that thou wilt bear no rancorous Mind againſt him; but thou muſt endeavour to reſtore him to a friendly Temper. For God has not commanded us to have nothing to do with our Enemy, but to have many things to do with him. For this Reaſon he is our Brother: and for this Reaſon God ſaid not, Forgive thy Brother what thou haſt againſt him; but *Go, and be reconciled to him, if he hath ought againſt thee*; and ceaſe not, till thou haſt brought that Member to its proper Harmony and Concord. He has alſo there [*b*] theſe remarkable Words, I tell you before, I proteſt, I proclaim it aloud, Let no Man that has an Enemy, come to the Holy Table, and receive the Body of the Lord. Let no Man come that has an Enemy. Haſt thou an Enemy? come not. Wouldſt thou come? Be reconciled, and then come and receive the Holy Body. Thy Lord, to reconcile thee to his Father, refuſed not to be ſlain, and ſhed his Blood for thy Sake: And wilt not thou ſpeak a Word, nor go to make the firſt Offer, to reconcile thy Fellow-Servant? This he ſays to thoſe, who thought it below them, and an Act of Puſillanimity and Diſgrace, to ſeem to make the firſt Step toward reconciling an Enemy, by being firſt in the Offer and Motion of Peace. But he aſſures them it was a Duty, and an honourable Duty, thus to imitate Chriſt in a charitable Condeſcenſion? And whatever might be the Effect of it here, it would have a double and a triple Crown hereafter. Finally he tells them with a ſolemn Proteſtation [*c*], in the Cloſe of all, that if after Forty Days Warning he found any ſtill perſiſt irreconcilable to one another, he would no longer uſe Admonitions, but proceed to ſeverer Methods, and order them to be kept back from the Holy Myſteries, till they ſhould amend their Fault, and come to the Holy Table with a pure Conſcience, which was the only proper Way to partake of the Communion.

SECT. XIV. *Of their Behaviour at the Communion and afterwards.*

THESE were ſome of thoſe neceſſary Qualifications they required in Men before they came to the Holy Communion. And at the Time of Celebration, the very Offices of the Church were ſo framed as to elevate Mens Souls to the higheſt Pitch of Reverence, Devotion and Thankfulneſs to God for his Mercies in the Sacrifice of Chriſt his only Son. To which purpoſe the Reader may recollect what has been ſaid of the great Thankſgiving in the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*; and the *Surſum Corda*, or Call to lift up their Hearts to the Lord; and of the Seraphical Hymns and Angelical Glorifications intended to ſet forth the Praiſes of God in this excellent Myſtery. To which may be added that Advice of *Origen* [*d*], That Men ſhould approach it with the profoundeſt Humility, imitating the good Centurion, and ſaying, *Lord I am not worthy that thou ſhouldſt come under my Roof.* That they ſhould then quit all Thoughts of earthly Things, and conſider they were then in the midſt of Cherubims and Seraphims, Angels and Archangels, and all the Powers above. For this Myſtery, [*e*] in *Chryſoſtom*'s Phraſe, turns Earth into Heaven. Open the Gates of Heaven, and ſee; or rather not Heaven, but the Heaven of Heavens, and then you ſhall ſee what I ſay. For that which is the moſt honourable of all Things there, that I will now ſhew you upon the Earth; not Angels, or Archangels, not the Heavens, or the Heaven of Heavens, but the Lord of them all, whom you not only ſee, but touch, and eat, and carry Home with you. Therefore upon this he grounds ſeveral excellent Exhortations. Let us become Eagles [*f*] and fly up to him in Heaven; let us have nothing to do with the Earth, but look upward to the Sun of Righteouſneſs; let us not receive him with polluted Hands, but come to him with Reverence and all imaginable Purity; ſaying, By this Body I am no longer Earth and Aſhes; I am no longer a Captive, but free: For this I hope to receive Heaven and all the good Things therein, Immortal Life, the Condition of Angels, the Society of Chriſt. Cleanſe therefore and waſh thy Soul, prepare thy Mind for the Reception of theſe Myſteries. If the Son of a King in all his Ornamental Robes, his Purple and his Diadem, were put into thy Hands to carry, thou wouldſt contemn all earthly Things. But now thou receiveſt not the Son of a Mortal King, but the Only-begotten Son of God: And art thou not afraid ſtill to retain the Love of worldly Things? Why is not this Ornament alone ſufficient for thee, but thou muſt yet needs look to the Earth, and be in love with Riches? Knoweſt thou not that thy Lord has an Averſion to all the Pomp and Magnificence of this Life? Was he not therefore born of a poor Mother, and at his Birth laid in a Manger? And was

[*a*] Ibid. p. 289. [*b*] Ibid. p. 285. [*c*] Ibid. p. 294. [*d*] Orig. Hom. 5. de Diverſis. t. 2. p. 441. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 38. [*f*] Ibid. p. 536. & 538.

not

not his Anſwer this, to the Man who thought to make a gain of his Service, *The Son of Man hath not where to lay his Head?* Let us therefore imitate him; and paſſing by the Beauty of Pillars and Marbles, let us ſeek for Manſions in Heaven above; and trampling upon all worldly Pride, and the love of Riches, let us take to our ſelves lofty Souls, and mind the Things that are on high. When you come to the holy Table and the ſacred Myſteries, ſays he [*g*] in another Place, do it with Fear and Reverence, with a pure Conſcience, with Faſting and Prayer. Conſider what a Sacrifice you partake of, what a Table you approach unto. Conſider, that thou who art but Duſt and Aſhes, receiveſt the Body and Blood of Chriſt. God calls thee to his own Table, and ſets before thee his Son; where the Angelical Powers ſtand about with Fear and Trembling, and the Cherubims cover their Faces, and the Seraphims cry with Reverence, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts.* Let us therefore come with the greateſt Reverence alſo, and give Thanks, and fall down and confeſs our Sins, and with Tears bewail our Offences, and offer up fervent Prayers to God. And ſo purifying our ſelves in Quietneſs and decent Order, let us come as to an heavenly King; and receiving the Holy and Immaculate Sacrifice, let us kiſs and embrace it with our Mouths and Eyes, and therewith warm our Souls; that we come not together to Judgment and Condemnation, but to create in us Sobriety of Mind, and Charity and Virtue, and reconcile our ſelves to God, and obtain a laſting Peace, and whatever other Bleſſings ariſe from thence; that we may both ſanctify our ſelves and edify our Neighbours.

And as they thus taught Men, with what Veneration and ſerious Deportment they ought to behave themſelves at the Lord's Table; ſo they endeavoured to make laſting Impreſſions of Virtue upon Men's Minds by this Argument, ſhewing them what Obligations of Holineſs and Purity the Reception of the Body and Blood of Chriſt laid upon every Member of the Body, and every Faculty of the Soul. It was an Oblation of their Bodies and Souls to God; it was an Oath, or Bond and Covenant to do no Evil, but to exerciſe themſelves in all manner of Virtue, as *Pliny* [*h*] repreſents it from the Mouths of ſome Chriſtians. Therefore *Chryſoſtom* elegantly repreſents it as an Obligation laid upon every Member of the Body, the Hands, the Eyes, the Lips and Tongue, the Heart and Soul eſpecially, to abſtain from all Pollution and Impurity of Sin. Thou faſteſt, before thou doſt communicate, that thou may'ſt appear worthy [*i*]: And doſt thou deſtroy all after Communicating, when thou oughteſt to be more temperate? I do not enjoyn thee to faſt, but to abſtain from Luxury and all the evil Effects of it, immoderate Laughter, diſorderly Words, pernicious Jeſting, fooliſh and vain Diſcourſe, and whatever a Chriſtian ought not to ſpeak, who has been entertained at Chriſt's Table, and touched his Fleſh with his Tongue: Whoever thou art therefore, purify thy Hands, thy Lips and thy Tongue, which have been the Gates at which Chriſt enter'd into thee. When thou ſitteſt down to a common Table, remember that ſpiritual Table, and call to mind that Supper of the Lord. Conſider [*k*] what words thy Mouth hath ſpoken, Words worthy of ſuch a Table, what Things thy Mouth hath touched and taſted, what Meat it has fed upon. Doſt thou think it no harm with that Mouth to ſpeak evil of and revile thy Brother? How canſt thou call him Brother? If he is not thy Brother, how couldſt thou ſay, *Our Father?* For that implies more Perſons than one. Conſider with whom thou ſtoodſt in the time of the Holy Myſteries; with Cherubims, with Seraphims. But the Cherubims uſe no Reviling. Their Mouth is filled with one Office, Glorifying and Praiſing God. How then canſt thou ſay with them, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, who uſeſt thy Mouth to Reviling? Tell me, if there were a royal Veſſel, always filled with royal Dainties, and ſet apart only for this Uſe; and one of the Servants ſhould uſe it to put Dung in; would he dare after that to put it, thus filled with Dung, among the other Veſſels appointed for royal Uſe? No, certainly. Yet this is the very Caſe of Railing and Reviling. You ſay at the Holy Table, *Our Father*, and then immediately add, *which art in Heaven.* This Word raiſes you up, and gives Wings to your Soul, and ſhews that you have a Father in Heaven. Therefore do nothing, ſpeak nothing of earthly Things. He hath placed you in the Order of Spirits above, and appointed you a Station in that Quire. Why then do you draw your ſelf downward? You ſtand by the Royal Throne, and do you revile your Brother? How are you not afraid, leſt the King ſhould take it as an Affront offered to himſelf? If a Servant beats or reviles another in our Preſence, who are but his Fellow-Servants, though he does it juſtly, we rebuke him for it. And dare you ſtand before the Royal Throne, and revile your Brother? See you not theſe holy Veſſels? Are they not always appropriated to one peculiar Uſe? Dares any one put them to any other? But you are more Holy than theſe Veſſels, yea, much more Holy. Why then do you pollute and defile your ſelf? You ſtand in Heaven, and do you ſtill uſe Railing? You converſe with Angels, and do you yet revile? You are admitted to the Lord's Holy Kiſs, and do you yet revile? God hath honoured and adorned your Mouth ſo many ways, by Angelical Hymns, by Food, not Angelical, but Super-angelical, by his own Kiſſes, and by his own Embraces, and do you after all theſe revile? Do not, I beſeech you. Let that which is the Cauſe of ſo many Evils, be far from the Soul of a Chriſtian. With what Force and Eloquence does this holy Wri-

[*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de Nativ. Chriſti. t. 5. p. 479. [*h*] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 567. [*k*] Id. Hom. 14. in Epheſ. p. 1127.

ter here ſhew us the Obligation, which the Reception of the *Euchariſt* lays upon Men to abſtain from Evil-ſpeaking? But it equally lays a Reſtraint upon all the other Members of the Body, and Operations of the Soul, as well as the Tongue. Which *Chryſoſtom* excellently deduces after this manner in another Place: Be grateful to thy Benefactor by an excellent Converſation [*l*]; Conſider the Greatneſs of the Sacrifice, and let that ingage thee to adorn every Member of thy Body. Conſider what thou takeſt in thy Hand, and never after endure to ſtrike any Man: Do not diſgrace that Hand by the Sin of Fighting and Quarrelling, which has been honoured with the Reception of ſo great a Gift. Conſider what thou takeſt in thy Hand, and keep thy Hand free from all Rapines and Injuſtice. Think again, how thou not only receiveſt it it in thy Hand, but putteſt it to thy Mouth, and keep thy Tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious Speech, from Blaſphemy and Perjury, and all Words of the like Nature. For it is a moſt pernicious Thing, that the Tongue, which miniſters in ſuch tremendous Myſteries, and is dyed with the Purple of ſuch precious Blood, and made a golden Sword, ſhould be put to the vile Practice of Railing and Reviling, and ſcurrilous and abuſive Language. Regard with Veneration the Honour wherewith God has honoured it; and do not debaſe it to ſuch mean Offices of Sin. Conſider again, that after thy Hand and thy Tongue, thy Heart receives that tremendous Myſtery: Then never deviſe any Fraud or Deceit againſt thy Neighbour, but keep thy Mind pure from all malicious Deſigns. After the ſame manner guard thy Eyes and thy Ears. For is it not moſt abſurd, after that myſtical Hymn that was brought from Heaven by the Cherubims, to defile thy Ears with the Songs of Harlots, and effeminate Muſick? And what Puniſhment can be too great for thee, if thou ſuffereſt thoſe Eyes, which have ſeen the unſpeakable and venerable Myſteries, to wander gazing after Harlots, and committeſt Adultery in thy Mind? *Tertullian*, among many other Arguments which he uſes againſt a Chriſtian's going to be a Spectator at the *Roman* Games, uſes this as one, taken from the ſame Topick: What an Abſurdity is it [*m*] for a Man to go from the Church of God into the Church of the Devil? *Out of Heaven*, as the Saying is, *into the Mire?* Firſt to lift up his Hands in Prayer to the Lord, and then to toſs thoſe very Hands to wearineſs in the Praiſe of a Stage-Player? To make that Mouth, which was uſed to ſay *Amen* at the Holy *Euchariſt*, give Teſtimony to a Gladiator? To cry out, *World without End*, to others beſides Chriſt his God? By ſuch familiar Arguments drawn from the Nature of the Sacrament, and the Inconſiſtency of all vicious Actions with the Deſign, and Circumſtances, and whole Tendency of it, did the Ancients endeavour to poſſeſs Mens Minds with the Senſe of their Duty, and their great Obligation to perſevere in Holineſs, and glorify God both in Body and Spirit all their Days. Which as it was but their reaſonable Service, ſo it was the only Way to make this Holy Sacrament effectual to their Salvation, and uſeful in their preſent State, by keeping up a perpetual and flaming Love for Chriſt, which qualified them for a frequent Reception, and almoſt daily Repetition of it; which is the laſt Thing to be conſidered in this whole Enquiry.

CHAP. IX.

Of frequent Communion, and the Times of celebrating it in the antient Church.

SECT. I.

All Perſons, except Penitents under Cenſure, antiently obliged to receive the Communion every Lord's Day, by the Canons of the Church.

IT has been ſhewed before, in ſpeaking againſt private and ſolitary Maſſes, that though it be now the Cuſtom in the Church of *Rome* for the Prieſt to receive the *Euchariſt* without any other Communicants, either Clergy or Laity, how many ſoever be preſent at the Action, yet there was no ſuch Cuſtom ever heard of in the antient Church. And tho' in moſt other Churches this Corruption be reformed, yet there remains a great Defect ſtill uncorrected, which is the Want or Neglect of frequent Communion. I ſhall make no farther Enquiry into the Cauſes of this Neglect, whether it proceed from a general Decay of Chriſtian Piety, or from a Want of ſtrict Diſcipline in the Church, but only obſerve that it is a great Declenſion from the Zeal and Fervour of the Primitive Ages. For then it is certain it was both the Rule and Practice for all in general both Clergy and Laity to receive the Communion every Lord's Day, except ſuch as were unqualified for it either as Catechumens or Penitents, who of courſe for want of a due Preparation were obliged to abſtain from it. Among the Apoſtolical Canons there are two to this Purpoſe. The firſt ſays, If any Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon, or any other of the Clergy, does not communicate, when the Oblation is offered [*a*], let him ſhew Cauſe why he does not, that if it be a reaſonable Cauſe, he may be excuſed; but if he

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 266.

[*m*] Tertul. de ſpectac. cap. 25. Quale eſt de Eccleſia Dei in Diaboli Eccleſiam tendere? de cœlo, ut aiunt, in cœnum? illas manus quas ad Dominum extuleris, poſtmodum Hiſtrionem laudando fatigare? Ex ore quo Amen in ſanctum protuleris, Gladiatori teſtimonium reddere? *εἰς αἰῶνας* alii omnino dicere niſi Deo Chriſto? *See more ſuch Arguments in* Cyprian. Ep. 36. al. 38. p. 125.

[*a*] Can. Apoſt. Can. 8.

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ſhew no Cauſe, let him be excommunicated; as giving Scandal to the People, and raiſing Suſpicion againſt him that offers. And the next Canon ſays, If any of the Faithful come to Church to hear the Scriptures read, and ſtay not to join in the Prayers and receive the Communion, let them be excommunicated, as the Authors of Diſorder in the Church. The Council of *Antioch*, which was held in the Middle of the fourth Century, repeats this Decree: Let all thoſe be caſt out of the Church, who [*b*] come to hear the Scriptures read in the Church, but do not communicate with the People in Prayer, or diſorderly turn away from the Participation of the *Euchariſt*, till by Confeſſion and Fruits of Repentance and Interceſſion they have obtained Pardon. Theſe Canons ſhew, that as often as they met together for Divine Service on the Lord's Day, they were obliged to receive the *Euchariſt* under Pain of Excommunication. And all other Canons which ſpeak of the Order of Divine Service, plainly ſhew that the Celebration of the *Euchariſt* was always one inſeparable Part of it. The Council of *Laodicea* [*c*], as has been often noted before, deſcribes the whole in this Order. Firſt after the Sermon the Prayers of the Catechumens, and then the Prayers of the Penitents, and after their Departure, the Prayers of the Faithful, and then the Kiſs of Peace, and laſt of all the Offering of the Holy Oblation. And all ſuch Canons as forbid the Penitents to be Partakers of the *Euchariſt* [*d*], do plainly ſuppoſe all the reſt of the People to be Partakers of it. And if any Man did not partake of it, it was an Intimation either that he was doing Penance, or at leaſt was conſcious to himſelf of ſome great Crime, for which he ought to do Penance: For no others were allowed to abſtain from the conſtant Participation of the *Euchariſt*. All they that do not communicate, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom* [*e*], are Penitents: If thou art of the Number of thoſe who do Penance, thou mayſt not partake. For whoever does not partake, is one of that Number. Which implies, that all were obliged conſtantly to communicate, who were not doing Penance publickly or privately for their Offences. And this was ſo much the Practice of thoſe Days, that the Council of *Eliberis* [*f*] orders, that they who would not communicate, ſhould not be allowed to make their Oblations. Which was a Sort of Excommunication of them. For the Oblations and the *Euchariſt* commonly went together. The firſt Council of *Toledo* [*g*] orders thoſe who come to Church, but neglect to communicate, to be admoniſhed: And if they amend not upon Admonition, then to be reduced to the State of formal Penance for their Crime. It were no hard Matter to ſhew the like Preſcriptions in many other [*h*] Councils, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew what was the ſtanding Rule of the firſt Ages, as to Mens Obligations to be conſtant in receiving the Communion once a Week in their ſolemn Aſſembly on the Lord's Day.

SECT. II. *This ſhewed to be the conſtant Practice for the three firſt Ages.*

AND if we run over the whole Hiſtory of the three firſt Ages, we ſhall find this to have been the Church's conſtant Practice. *Ignatius* exhorts the *Epheſians* [*i*] to be diligent in aſſembling frequently to celebrate the *Euchariſt*, and glorify God. For when ye often meet together, ye demoliſh the Power of Satan; and the Harmony of your Faith deſtroys the Deſtruction which he meditates againſt you. This Frequency of Communion may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be then, according to the known Practice, once a Week, on every *Lord's Day*. For on this Day, (as *Pliny*, who was Cotemporary with *Ignatius*, informs us [*k*], from the Teſtimony and Confeſſions of ſome Chriſtians, whom he as Proconſul of *Bithynia* examined) they were uſed to meet before it was Light by reaſon of the Perſecutions, and then not only ſing Hymns to Chriſt their God, but alſo to bind themſelves by a Sacrament againſt the Commiſſion of all manner of Wickedneſs. *Juſtin Martyr* ſays [*l*] more expreſsly in his Apology to the Emperors, that on the Day called *Sunday* they were all uſed to meet together both out of City and Country, and hold a religious Aſſembly in this manner: Firſt a Reader read the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles: Then the Preſident of the Aſſembly made a Sermon; after which they all roſe up to common Prayers; and when thoſe were ended, Bread and Wine were brought to the Preſident, who conſecrated them with Prayer and Thankſgiving, to which all the People ſaid *Amen*. Then all the preſent Members participated of the *Euchariſt*, and it was carried to the Abſent by the Deacons. The like Account is given by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, when he ſays [*m*] that as ſoon as the Bread was broken in the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, they permitted every one of the People to take Share of it. And we ſhall preſently ſee more of this Cuſtom of communicating every Lord's Day in the Writings of *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, and *Euſebius*, and many others, who ſpeak of other Days as well as the Lord's Day, appropiated in ſome Churches to this Service: But about theſe the Cuſtom varied: For on other Days ſome Churches celebrated the *Euchariſt*, and others did not; but on the Lord's Day it was univerſally celebrated in all Churches, and never omitted by any Aſſembly of Chriſtians whatſoever. In ſo much that ſome

[*b*] Conc. Antioch. can. 2. [*c*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. & 49. [*d*] Vide Conc. Nicen. can. 11. & 13. Conc. Ancyr. can. 4, 5, 6. κοινωνήτωσαν λίχα προσφορᾶς. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. [*f*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 28. Placuit ab his qui non communicant, Epiſcopos munera accipire non debere. [*g*] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 13. De his qui intrant in Eccleſiam, & deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur. Quod ſi non communicant, ad Pœnitentiam accedant. [*h*] Vid. Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 4. Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 39. [*i*] Ignat. Ep. ad Epheſ. n. 13. συνέρχεσθε πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθε εἰς εὐχαριστίαν. &c. [*k*] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. [*l*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97, & 98. [*m*] Clem. Strom. 1. p. 318. Vid. Conc. Laodic. can. 49. Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent. Gaudent. Ser. 2. de Paſcha.

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have obſerved [n] out of *Chryſoſtom* [o], that *Sunday* was antiently among other Names called *Dies Panis*, the Day of Bread, becauſe the Breaking of Bread was ſo general a Cuſtom in the Church on that Day.

SECT. III. *The* Euchariſt *celebrated on other Days beſides the* Lord's Day, *in many Churches.*

As to other Days, we may obſerve out of *Tertullian*, that in his Time they not only received the *Euchariſt* on *Sundays* [p] in their Morning Aſſemblies before Day, but alſo at other Times on other Days; particularly on the Anniverſary Feſtivals of the Martyrs; and the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, which were but one continued Feſtival; and all their Stationary Days, that is, *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* in every Week throughout the Year. Theſe Things are not commonly obſerved by Writers on this Subject, but they add conſiderably to the Argument about frequent Communion. *Tertullian* ſays expreſsly of theſe Stationary Days, that they were always obſerved with Receiving the *Euchariſt*. For he tells ſome, who objected againſt it on theſe Days, That their Station would be ſo much the more ſolemn [q] for their Standing at the Altar. And whereas they ſcrupled to communicate becauſe they were afraid that Receiving the *Euchariſt* would be a breaking of their Faſt: (For theſe were *Semijejunia*, Half Faſts, which they obſerved till three in the Afternoon:) He takes away [r] this Scruple alſo, and tells them, that Receiving the *Euchariſt* would be ſo far from breaking their Faſt, that it would the more recommend it to God, and by doing this they would perfectly perform both Duties together. St. *Baſil* [s] agrees with *Tertullian* in making the Stationary Days not only Faſt Days, but Days of Communion. For reckoning four Days in the Week on which they received the Communion, he counts *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* with *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, to compleat the Number. And *Socrates* [t] notes it as a peculiar Cuſtom in the Church of *Alexandria*, that though they had religious Aſſemblies on theſe Days, and all other Divine Service performed on them, yet they had not the Communion. Which Exception implies, that to receive the Communion on thoſe Days, was the general Cuſtom of other Churches.

Tertullian as plainly intimates that they received the Communion upon all the Feſtivals of the Martyrs [u]. And the ſame is noted by *Cyprian* [x], and *Chryſoſtom* [y], and *Sidonius Apollinaris* [z]. The Paſſages have been cited at large in another Place [*], and therefore I need not here repeat them. *Tertullian* [a] ſays farther, that the fifty Days of *Pentecoſt*, or all the Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, were one continued Feſtival. And ſince all Feſtivals were Communion Days, we may conclude that the Communion was celebrated every Day during this Interval.

Saturday alſo, or the *Sabbath*, in every Week, was obſerved as a religious Feſtival in many Churches. And therefore on this Day likewiſe they generally received the Communion. This is expreſsly ſaid by *Socrates* [b], and *Caſſian* [c], and St. *Baſil* [d], and *Timothy* of *Alexandria* [e], and St. *Auſtin* [f], and the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [g], and the Council of *Laodicea* [h]. I have already [†] produced the ſeveral Teſtimonies of theſe Writers at large upon another Occaſion, and therefore it is ſufficient here to make a ſhort Reference to them. By all this it appears undeniably, that in many Churches they had the Communion four times every Week, on *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, and *Sundays*, beſides incidental Feſtivals, which were very frequent, for as *Chryſoſtom* [i] tells us, there was ſcarce a Week paſſed in the Year but they had one or two Commemorations of Martyrs.

SECT. IV. *And in ſome Places every Day.*

BUT we are aſſured farther, that in ſome Places they received the Communion every Day. St. *Auſtin* ſays [k] in ſome Places only on the *Saturday* and the *Lord's Day*; and in other Places only on the *Lord's Day*. For this was left to the Liberty of every Church: But they that communicated the ſeldomeſt, did it at leaſt every *Lord's Day*. So again [l], The Sacrament of his Body, the Church and its Unity, is in ſome Places prepared and taken every Day at the Lord's Table; in other Places only on certain Days with an Interval of Time between them. In the greater Churches probably they had it every Day, in the leſſer only once or twice a Week. *Carthage* ſeems to have been one of thoſe Churches which had it every Day [m] from the Time of *Cyprian*. For *Cyprian* and *Auſtin* [n] after him ſpeak of it as the Cuſtom of that Church to receive it Daily, unleſs they were under ſome ſuch grievous Sin as ſeparated them

[n] *See Biſhop* Taylor's *conſtant Commun.* p. 462. [o] Chryſ. Hom. 5. de Reſur. in Edit. Latinis. [p] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Antelucanis cœtibus Euchariſtiam ſumimus, &c. [q] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. Nonne ſolennior erit ſtatio tua, ſi & ad aram Dei ſteteris? [r] Ibid. Ergo devotum Deo obſequium Euchariſtia reſolvit, an magis Deo obligat? [s] Baſil. Ep. 219. ad Cæſaream Patriciam. T. 3. p. 278. [t] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [u] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 3. [x] Cypr. Ep. 12. al. 37. Ep. 39. al. 34. [y] Chryſ. Hom. 59. de Martyr. T. 5. p. 779. [z] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 17. [*] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ix. *n.* 5. [a] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 3. De Idololat. cap. 14. [b] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. lib. 6. cap. 8. [c] Caſſian. Inſtit. lib. 3. cap. 2. [d] Baſil. Ep. 289. [e] Timoth. Can. 13. [f] Aug. Ep. 118. [g] Conſtit. lib. 2. cap. 59. [h] Conc. Laodic. Can. 49. [†] *Book* XIII. *Chap.* ix. *n.* 3. [i] Hom. 40. in Juventin. T. 1. p. 546. Hom. 65. de Martyr, &c. [k] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. 2. Alii quotidie communicant corpori & ſanguini Dominico, alii certis diebus accipiunt: alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum & Dominico: alibi tantum Dominico, &c. [l] Id. Tract. 26. in Joan. p. 94. Hujus rei Sacramentum, id eſt, unitatis corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in Dominica menſa præparatur & ſumitur. *See alſo* Aug. Ser. 29. de Verb. Dom. al. 5. in Appendice. It. lib. 2. de Serm. Dom. in monte. cap. 7. T. 4. [m] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Euchariſtiam quotidie ad cibum ſalutis accipimus, &c. [n] Aug. de Dono Perſeverantiæ. cap. 5.

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from the Body of Chriſt, and kept them as Penitents from Communicating. Therefore *Cyprian* gives this as one Senſe of that Petition in the *Lord's Prayer*, *Give us this Day our Daily Bread*, as if it might be underſtood in the ſpiritual Senſe, as well as the natural, as a Petition to be Daily fed with the Fleſh of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*, which was the Bread of Life. In another Place [o] he exhorts the Martyrs to prepare themſelves for the Fight of Perſecution, conſidering that they therefore drink the Cup of Chriſt's Blood every Day, that they may be able to ſhed their Blood for Chriſt. Therefore, ſays he [p] a little after, Let us arm our Hand with that ſpiritual Sword, that it being mindful of the *Euchariſt*, (the Chriſtian Sacrifice) may valiantly refuſe thoſe abominable and deadly Sacrifices of the Heathen; Let that Hand, which has received the Body of the Lord, embrace the Lord himſelf, being afterward to receive the Reward of an eternal Crown from the Lord in Heaven. To which may be added what he ſays in another Place [q], That the Prieſts who celebrated the Daily Sacrifices of God, did alſo prepare the Martyrs to offer themſelves as Victims and Oblations unto God. Where by the Daily Sacrifice he certainly means the *Euchariſt*, which is often called the Daily Sacrifice [r] by the Ancients, for the ſame Reaſon as the *Lord's Prayer* is called the Daily Prayer, becauſe they were both daily celebrated at the Altar. St. *Jerom* aſſures us [s] it was the Cuſtom at *Rome* for the Faithful to receive the Body of Chriſt every Day. Which he neither abſolutely commends, nor diſallows, but leaves every Man to abound in his own Senſe, only requiring Men to receive it with due Preparation. In another Place [t] he ſays, it was not only the Cuſtom at *Rome*, but of the *Spaniſh* Church to communicate every Day. And to one who propoſed the Queſtion to him as a Caſe of Conſcience, Whether he ought to communicate every Day? he gives this Anſwer, That the Cuſtoms and Traditions of every Church, which did not prejudice the Faith, were to be obſerved in ſuch manner as they were handed down by their Forefathers; and the Cuſtom of one Church was not to preſcribe to, or overthrow the contrary Cuſtom of another. And he wiſhes that all Men might receive the *Euchariſt* every Day, provided they might do it with Condemnation and Pricks of Conſcience for unworthy Receiving. Which is the ſame Reſolution as St. *Auſtin* gave in the Queſtion: For having ſtated the Arguments on both Sides, for and againſt daily Receiving; the one Pleading, That Men ought to abſtain for a few Days, that they might prepare to receive more worthily when they came to it: And the orther arguing, That unleſs their Sins were ſuch as deſerved Excommunication, and the Cure of a more ſolemn Repentance, they ought not to ſeparate themſelves from the Daily Medicine of Chriſt's Body; he divides the Matter between them, determining that each Party might act according as their own Judgment and Faith in this Caſe piouſly directed them. For neither of them [u] intended to diſhonour the Body and Blood of the Lord, whilſt they ſtrove earneſtly who ſhould do the greateſt Honour to the Holy Sacrament of their Salvation. In like manner as *Zacchæus* and the Centurion were at no Variance between themſelves, neither did the one prefer himſelf before the other, when the one received the Lord into his Houſe Rejoycing, and the other ſaid, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou ſhouldſt come under my Roof:* For they both really honoured their Saviour, though in a different, and as it were, in a contrary Way, being both miſerable in their Sins, and both alike obtaining Mercy. So it is with Pious Chriſtians in this Caſe; The one out of Honour dares not receive the Sacrament every Day, and the other out of Honour dares not let any Day paſs without Receiving it. This was an holy Strife indeed, and we ſee the Diſpute was not, Whether they ſhould receive it only once or twice a Year, but whether they ſhould receive it once or twice a Week, or rather every Day. We have heard *Gennadius* ſay before [x], that he neither praiſes nor diſpraiſes Receiving the *Euchariſt* every Day, but he perſuades and exhorts all to receive it every *Lord's Day*, if their Minds be pure from Affections to Sin. St. *Ambroſe* was more peremptory in his Advice to receive it every Day. If it be our daily Bread [y], ſays he, why doſt thou receive it once a Year only, as the *Greeks* are uſed to do in the *Eaſt?* Receive that daily, which is for thy daily Advantage: And ſo live that thou mayſt deſerve daily to receive it. He that does not deſerve to receive it every Day, does not deſerve to receive it after a Year. Again [z], I ought always to receive that which is ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, that my Sins may always be forgiven me: I that am always ſinning, ought always to have my Medicine at hand, as he that has a Wound, ſeeks without delay for a Cure. St. *Ambroſe* here is very plain, that the Communion was adminiſtred daily in the *Weſtern* Church, but he ſeems to reflect upon the *Greek* Church, as if they had left off that Cuſtom. But he is to be interpre-

[o] Cypr. Ep. 36. al. 38. ad Thibaritanos. p. 120. Conſiderantes idcirco ſe quotidie calicem ſanguinis Chriſti bibere, ut poſſint & ipſi propter Chriſtum ſanguinem fundere. [p] Ibid. p. 125. Armemus dexteram gladio ſpiritali, &c. [q] Cypr. Ep. 54. al. 57. ad Cornel. p. 118. Sacerdotes qui ſacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus, hoſtias Deo & victimas præparemus. [r] So Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. Θυσία καθημερινὴ, καθ' ἑκάστην. &c. [s] Hieron. Ep. 50. ad Pammachium. cont. Jovin. cap. 6. Scio Romæ hanc eſſe conſuetudinem, ut fideles ſemper Chriſti corpus accipiant: quod nec reprehendo nec probo. Unuſquiſque enim in ſuo ſenſu abundat. [t] Ep. 28. ad Lucinium Bœticum. De Euchariſtia quod quæris, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Hiſpaniæ obſervare perhibentur, &c. [u] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. 3. [x] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccleſ. cap. 53. *See the laſt Chapter. n.* 3. [y] Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 5. cap. 4. Si quotidianus eſt Panis, cur poſt annum illum ſumis, quemadmodum Græci in Oriente facere conſueverunt? &c. [z] Id. lib. 4. c. 6. Qui ſemper pecco, ſemper debeo habere Medicinam, &c.

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ted by St. *Auſtin* [a], who ſpeaks the ſame Thing, but does not charge the whole *Greek* Church, nor any Part of it with this Innovation, but only ſome particular Men in ſome Parts, who did not think themſelves under any Obligation to receive it daily. And indeed it appears from St. *Chryſoſtom* and others, that about this time many began ſcandalouſly to neglect frequent Communion, and contented themſelves to receive once or twice a Year upon ſome ſolemn Feſtival. But the Church was far from encouraging this Contempt: For ſhe kept ſtill to the Cuſtom of daily Communion in many Places, and in all Places to the Celebration of it on *Saturday* and the *Lord's Day*, and in many Places on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* alſo; and they that were piouſly diſpoſed, were conſtant Communicants at theſe Times; and they that were negligent and prophane, were earneſtly invited to be more frequent in communicating; and there are many ſevere Invectives againſt their Remiſsneſs. *Euſebius* [b] ſays expreſsly, that they celebrated the Memorial of Chriſt's Body and Blood, ὁσημέραι, every Day. And it appears from the Council of *Laodicea* [c] that they had it twice in the Week, on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, in *Lent*, and at all other Times of the Year more frequently. St. *Baſil* [d] ſpeaks of four Days in the Week on which it was uſual to receive the Communion, beſides incidental Feſtivals of Martyrs. And he commends it as good and uſeful to communicate and participate of the Holy Body and Blood of Chriſt every Day, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. *Palladius* tells us [e] how *Macarius* adviſed a Woman that had been under the Power of Inchantment, never to omit receiving the Communion, telling her, that that Judgment had befaln her becauſe that for five Weeks ſhe had neglected to partake of the Holy Myſteries. But none is more expreſs in this Matter, nor more vehement againſt the Neglect of frequent Communion, than St. *Chryſoſtom*. He tells us ſometimes that they had Communions every Day for thoſe that were more devoutly diſpoſed; ſometimes on the three more ſolemn Days in the Week, *Fridays*, *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, on which Days the whole Church was expected: though for all this many came not above once a Year. In vain, ſays he [f], is the daily Sacrifice, καθημερινὴ θυσία, in vain do we ſtand at the Altar: There is none to participate. He ſpeaks this againſt thoſe who came but once a Year out of mere Cuſtom at ſome ſolemn Feſtival, whilſt in the mean time the Sacrifice was daily offered, though they refuſed to partake of it. In another place diſcourſing of the Difference between the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian Paſſover* [g], he ſays, The *Jewiſh Paſſover* comes but once a Year, but the *Chriſtian Paſſover* is celebrated in every *Synaxis* or Aſſembly. And a little after, *Lent* comes but once a Year, but the *Paſſover* is celebrated three times a Week, and ſometimes four, or as often as we pleaſe. Again, This is what deſtroys [h] all Religion, that Men meaſure their Worthineſs not by the Purity of their Souls, but by the length of Time, and take this for Piety and Reverence, that they come not frequently to the Lord's Table; not conſidering that if they come unworthily, though but once a Year, they are worthy of Puniſhment. It is not Boldneſs to come frequently, but to come unworthily, though a Man do it but once in all his Life. But we are ſo ſtupid and inſenſible as to think, that when we have wallowed in Sin all the Year without any Care to repent, it is ſufficient that we have not daily preſumed in a contumelious manner to touch the Body of Chriſt: Not conſidering that the *Jews* who crucified Chriſt, but it did once. But was their Sin ever the leſs for that? And *Judas* betrayed him but once. But did that excuſe him? Why therefore do we meaſure this Matter by Time only? Let the ſeaſonable Time of our coming be a pure Conſcience. The Communion is the ſame now as it is at *Eaſter*, there is the ſame Grace of the Spirit, it is the *Paſſover* every Day. The ſame Sacrifice is offered on *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*, and *Sundays*, and the Feſtivals of the Martyrs. It is plain by all this, that the Communion was celebrated ordinarily three or four times a Week, if not every Day; tho' ſome were ſo vain as to think, they were the more reſpectful to it, in not coming above once a Year, out of a pretended Reverence for it; who yet when they did come, came only to eat it to their Condemnation, for want of a Mind duly prepared to receive it. Whom he thus reflects upon in another Place: Many partake of this Sacrifice only once a Year, others twice, and others frequently. Which of theſe are the moſt acceptable? They only who do it with a pure Conſcience, with a pure Heart, with a Life unblameable. With this Qualification come [i] always; without it come not ſo much as once. For they that do ſo, take only Judgment, Condemnation and Puniſhment to themſelves. This he repeats over and over again in his *Homilies*. He that is conſcious to himſelf of no Crime, ought to come to the Lord's Table: But if Men are laden with Sin, and do not repent [k], it is not ſafe for them to come even once upon a Feſtival. The *Jews* have their annual Memorials of God's Benefits on their Feſtivals, but thou who art a Chriſtian, haſt a daily [l] Memorial, as I may ſay, in theſe holy Myſteries. The beſt Preſerver of Kindneſſes is the Remembrance of them, and perpetual Thankſgiving for them. Therefore thoſe venerable and ſalutary Myſteries, which we celebrate every Day [m] in our Aſ-

[a] Aug. de Sermone Dom. in monte, lib. 2. cap. 7. t. 4. Plurimi in Orientalibus partibus non quotidie cœnæ Dominicæ communicant, cum iſte panis Quotidianus dictus ſit. [b] Euſeb. Demonſtr. Evangel. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 37. [c] Conc. Laodicen. can. 49. [d] Baſil. Ep. 289. ad Cæſaream. [e] Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. cap. 19. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 923. *See alſo* Caſſian. Collat. 7. cap. 30. *Where he ſpeaks of Daily Communion.* [f] Chryſ. Hom. 3 in Eph. p. 1051. [g] Chryſ. Hom 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant, t. 5. p. 705, & 709. [h] Hom. 5. in 1 Tim. p. 1548. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1872. [k] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de Philogon, t. 1. p. 403. [l] Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 455. [m] Hom. 26. in Mat. p. 259.

ſemblies,

ſemblies, are called the *Euchariſt* or Thankſgiving: Becauſe they are the Memorial of God's Kindneſs to us. It were eaſy to collect Abundance more ſuch Paſſages out of this ancient Writer, but I will only add one Place more, where he thus ſharply taxes the Peoples Negligence of frequent Communion: I often obſerve, ſays he, a great Multitude flock together [n] to hear the Sermon, but when the Time of the Holy Myſteries comes, I can ſee few or none of them: Which makes me ſigh from the Bottom of my Heart, that when I your Fellow-Servant am diſcourſing to you, you are ready to tread upon one another for Earneſtneſs to hear, and continue very attentive to the End; but when Chriſt our common Lord and Maſter is ready to appear in the holy Myſteries, the Church is in a manner empty and deſerted. What Pardon or Excuſe can be allowed for this? By this Neglect you loſe all the Praiſe that is due to your Diligence in Hearing. If you had laid up in your Hearts what I preach to you, it would retain you in the Church, and prompt you to receive the Holy Myſteries with Piety and Veneration: But now, as if you were hearing one play upon an Inſtrument, the Preacher has no ſooner done, but ye are all gone out of the Church. This, I confeſs, proves that in *Chryſoſtom*'s Days there was a great Abatement of the Primitive Zeal, and a great Declenſion from the Original Practice: But ſtill it is evident that frequent and daily Communions were in ſome meaſure kept up by the Clergy and devouter Sort of Laity, who conſtantly frequented them, though many careleſs Chriſtians had no other Regard to them, but only to come formally once or twice a Year, and that with Superſtition enough inſtead of Religion, at ſome of the ſolemn Feſtivals.

SECT. V. *When firſt it came to be ſettled to Three Times in the Year.*

WHEN Matters were come to this Degeneracy, ſome Councils inſtead of reviving the antient Diſcipline, and quickning Men by juſt Cenſures to frequent Communion, contented themſelves to oblige the Laity to receive three Times a Year, at the three great Feſtivals, *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Pentecoſt*, under the Penalty of not being reputed Catholick Chriſtians, if they neglected to communicate at thoſe three noted Seaſons. Thus it was firſt determined in the Council of *Agde* [o] about the Year 506. And ſo Things continued to the Time of *Charles the Great*, when the third Council of *Tours* [p] made a Decree to the like Purpoſe, *An.* 813. That all Laymen, who were not under the Impediment of greater Sins, ſhould receive three Times a Year at leaſt, if not more frequently. And yet the Clergy continued to communicate frequently with ſome of the devouter Laity every *Lord's Day*, as appears from the Writers of that Age, particularly *Rabanus Maurus* [q], and *Bertram* [r], who ſays the Sacrament was adminiſtred not only at the *Paſchal* Solemnity every Year, but on every Day throughout the Year, when as yet the Corruption of private and ſolitary *Maſs* did not prevail, which came not in till ſome Ages after. And it is remarkable, that even in this Age the Council of *Aix la Chapelle* [s] made ſome Attempt to reſtore the antient Practice to its Primitive Luſtre, by reviving the Decree of the Council of *Antioch*, which orders all ſuch as come to Church to hear the Scriptures, but refuſe to receive the Holy Communion, to be caſt out of the Church, till they ſhould amend their Fault by Confeſſion and Repentance.

SECT. VI. *And afterward to once a Year by the Council of* Lateran.

BUT the Diſeaſe was grown too epidemical and inveterate to be eaſily corrected; and therefore in a degenerate Age the Corruption went on and increaſed, and the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the IIId added Strength and Confirmation to it; reducing the Obligation to communicate ſtill within narrower Bounds. For whereas before all Men were obliged to communicate at leaſt three Times a Year, this Council made it neceſſary to do it no more than once at *Eaſter*, when every Man and Woman that was come to years of Diſcretion, was bound to make Auricular Confeſſion of all his Sins to his own Prieſt, and receive the Communion [t], unleſs the Prieſt adviſed that for ſome reaſonable Cauſe he ſhould abſtain from it. This Rule was afterward taken into the Body of their Canon Law [u]. And here we may Date the utter Ruin of the Antient and Apoſtolical Practice of frequent and general Communions. For from this time People began to think themſelves diſcharged of the Duty of frequent communicating, and contented themſelves with receiving once a Year at *Eaſter*, leaving their Prieſts to communicate alone; which quickly was attended with another Corruption of private and ſolitary *Maſſes*, which uſurped the Room of the antient general Communions of the whole Church one with another, and made the antient Prayers a perfect Heap and Maſs of Abſurdities, whilſt they prayed and gave Thanks to God for the whole Congregation as Communicants, when there was not ſo much as one Communicant properly ſpeak-

[n] Hom. 3. de Incomprehenſibili. t. 1. p. 362.

[o] Conc. Agathen. can. 18. Seculares, qui in Natali Domini, Paſcha, & Pentecoſte, non communicaverint, Catholici non credantur, nec inter, Catholicos, habeantur.

[p] Conc. Turon. 3. can. 50. Ut ſi non frequentius, vel ter Laici homines in anno communicent, niſi forte quis majoribus criminibus impediatur.

[q] Raban. de Propriet. Sermonis. lib. 1. cap. 10. It. de Inſtit. Cleric. lib. 1. cap. 31.

[r] Bertram. de Corp. & Sanguine Dom. in Præfat. Sacramenta — non ſolum per omnes Paſchæ ſolennitates celebrantur ſingulis annis, verum ſingulis in anno diebus.

[s] Conc. Aquiſgran. cap. 70. ex Conc. Antioch. can. 2.

[t] Conc. Lateran. 4. can. 21. Omnis utriuſque Sexus fidelis, poſtquam ad annos diſcretionis pervenerit, omnia ſua ſolus peccata confiteatur fideliter ſaltem ſemel in anno proprio Sacerdoti, & injunctam ſibi pœnitentiam ſtudeat pro viribus adimplere, ſuſcipiens reverenter ad minus in Paſcha Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum, &c.

[u] Decretal. Gregor. lib. 5. tit. 38. de Pœnitent. & Remiſſion. cap. 12.

ing among them, but all mere Spectators of the Prieſt pretending to act in the Name of the whole Church, and communicate in Pageantry without any real Communion. This was the general State of the *Romiſh* Service at the time of the Reformation, except in ſome few Collegiate Churches, where, if *Bona* [x] ſay true, the Clergy continued to communicate with the officiating Prieſt, according to antient Cuſtom, without which, he confeſſes, it is hard to make intelligible Senſe of many of their Prayers that are daily uſed in their Service.

SECT. VII. *What Attempt was made to reſtore frequent and full Communions at the* Reformation.

SOME Attempt was made by the firſt Reformers to rectify theſe Abuſes, and reſtore frequent and general Communions in many Places. And they happily carried their Point ſo far, as to aboliſh private *Maſſes* in all Places: But the reſtoring the antient Way of the whole Church's communicating every *Lord's Day*, was a Matter not ſo eaſy to be effected; partly by reaſon of the Prejudices which Men had imbibed by the Prevalency and long Duration of contrary Cuſtom; and partly by reaſon of that Affection which Men retain for their Vices, which will not ſuffer them to comply with an Inſtitution, that requires a conſtant Purity of Soul, and a Conſcience always void of Offence, to qualify them for a worthy Reception of a weekly or daily Communion. *Calvin* laboured hard at his firſt coming to *Geneva* to eſtabliſh a monthly or a weekly Communion, as moſt agreeable to the Practice of the Apoſtles and the primitive Church: He pleads earneſtly for it in his *Inſtitutions* [y], where he cenſures the Popiſh Cuſtom of communicating only once a Year, as moſt certainly the Invention of the Devil: Yet after all he could not prevail to have ſo much as a monthly Communion ſettled among the People, but was overborn in his Endeavours, and forced to yield to a Rule, which requires the People to communicate only four times a Year. However, he ſays, he took Care to have it entred [z] upon Record, that this was an evil Cuſtom, to the Intent that Poſterity might with more Eaſe and Liberty correct it. But whether it ever was corrected to this Day, is what I am ignorant of: Moſt probably it never was, ſince I have had occaſion to ſhew in another Work [*], communicating only four times a Year continued to be the general, ſtanding Cuſtom in the *French* Church. Their Diſcipline required no more, though they encouraged more frequent Reception. The *Church of England* was a little happier in her Attempts of this Kind. For though her Rules require the People in general to receive but three times a Year, as of neceſſary Eccleſiaſtical Obligation; yet in our Cathedral Churches the *Euchariſt* is ordinarily celebrated every *Lord's Day*; as it is alſo in ſome of the *London* Pariſh-Churches; and others both in City and Country have monthly Communions. Yet there remains a great deal ſtill to be done, to bring this Matter to the primitive Standard. For even in our Cathedrals the Communions are very thin, and there is ſtill room for thoſe Complaints of St. *Chryſoſtom*, In vain do we ſtand at the Altar, in vain is the daily Sacrifice offered, there are none, in a manner, that communicate. The Churches are crowed to hear the Sermon, but when the time of the Holy Myſteries comes, they are empty and deſerted. Men are earneſt to hear their Fellow-Servant preach an eloquent Diſcourſe, but when Chriſt the common Lord and Maſter of all is ready to appear, and entertain them, they fly, though never ſo kindly invited, from his Table. This muſt needs grieve the Hearts of all pious Servants of Chriſt, who ſtand there to miniſter in his Name, whilſt few hearken to their Admonitions, and the generality excuſe themſelves from communicating, as if it were no Chriſtian Duty. And in Country Pariſhes the Matter is ſtill more deplorable, where the Deſpair of Succeſs deters the Miniſter from attempting it. For here Men are generally ſo averſe to a weekly Communion, that they will not be prevailed upon with all the ſerious Exhortations that can be uſed, to comply with the ſtanding Rules of the Church, which oblige them to communicate three times a Year, though the Miniſter himſelf be under an Obligation to Preſent every ſuch Non-Communicant as a notorious Delinquent. *But if the Foundations be caſt down, what can the Righteous do?* Experience tells us, it is as much Labour in vain to Preſent a negligent People for not communicating three times a Year, as it is gravely to exhort them to a weekly Communion. This Diſcouragement which Miniſters commonly meet with, in trying to bring Men to comply with the ſtated Rules of communicating three times a Year by Church-Cenſures, which are wholly neglected, makes them deſpair of going any higher towards the Perfection of the primitive Practice: Since they who cannot be prevailed upon by the preſent Diſcipline to communicate three times a Year, are too Obſtinate and Stubborn to hearken to any the moſt ſerious Admonitions that can be uſed to incline them to a weekly Communion.

SECT. VIII. *Wherein this is ſtill deficient, and what ſeems yet neceſſary to be done in order to reduce Communion to the Primitive Standard.*

WHAT effectual Remedy can be applied to this inveterate Diſeaſe, is not very eaſy to determine. Yet certainly the Regaining of that which was ſo much the Glory of the primitive Church, and the great Support of Chriſtian Innocence and Piety (as frequent weekly Communion moſt certainly was) muſt be a Thing worthy the moſt ſerious

[x] Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. cap 17. n. 2. Sine quo vix poſſunt intelligi, quæ in Liturgicis Orationibus quotidie recitantur.
[y] Calvin. Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 17. n. 46. [z] Calvin. Reſponſ. de quibuſdam Eccleſ. Ritibus, p. 206. [*] *French Churches Apology for the Church of* England. *Book* III. *Chap.* xiv.

Thoughts

Thoughts and Conſideration of all thoſe, into whoſe Hands God has put Power and Authority by a ſuperior Influence to redreſs Abuſes, when they can ſafely do it to Edification, and not to Deſtruction. If I were worthy to give any Advice in the Caſe, it ſhould be this, Firſt to reſtore the Practice of the true antient Diſcipline, and after that the Way would lie open to revive the Practice of the true primitive Way of communicating weekly every *Lord's Day*. But it will be ſaid, there lies an inſuperable Difficulty againſt the Reſtoration of the antient Diſcipline in the preſent Poſture of Affairs: The State of the preſent Times, and the general Corruption of Mens Morals, will not admit of it: The *Church of England* has for two hundred Years wiſhed for the Reſtoration of this Diſcipline, and yet it is but an ineffective Wiſh; for nothing is done towards introducing it, but rather Things are gone backward, and there is leſs Diſcipline for this laſt ſixty Years, ſince the Times of the unhappy Confuſions, than there was before. To which it may be anſwered, That the Difficulty is certainly great, but not inſuperable: For Diſcipline is one of God's Ordinances in his Church, and he appoints nothing but what is practicable in it ſelf, if Men be not wanting on their Part to contribute toward the Exerciſe of it. But to give Rules in this Caſe is a nice and tender Point, and I had rather it ſhould be done by the Wiſdom of others than my ſelf. Something has already been ſuggeſted by a late learned Writer [†] on this Subject, very uſeful for obtaining the End now propoſed; and therefore I ſhall content my ſelf at preſent to refer to his Suggeſtions, and put an End to this Diſcourſe.

[†] *Penitential Diſcipline of the Primitive Church.* Cap. 4. London. 1714.

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